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No. 23, 1 December 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 23, 1 December 1980

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

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HISTORICAL TRIAL, PEOPLE'S VICTORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 2-4

[Editorial]

[Text] The prosecution and public trial of the 10 principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have been conducted by the Special Procuratorate under the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court, both set up in accordance with the decision of the 16th Standing Committee of the 5th NPC. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, the bunch of big thieves who have committed countless crimes and who deserve to be brought to judgment, have finally been put in the dock of the People's Court to be tried. This is a reflection of the people's wishes. It is also a demonstration of the strength of the political power of China's dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the socialist legal system and the Chinese people's conviction that the four modernizations will be victorious.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques committed towering crimes of usurping the party and the state. They framed and persecuted--in a premeditated way--party and state leaders, including the chairman of the state, the premier of the State Council, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC and the general secretary of the CCP Central Committee. They framed and persecuted party and government leaders at all levels and tortured many of them to death. They ruthlessly persecuted and suppressed large numbers of cadres and common people and created countless frameups throughout China. Countless innocent common people were also involved. They stirred up large-scale violence, directed beatings, smashing and looting, destroyed our "Great Wall," "smashed" public security organs, procuratorial organs and the people's courts, disrupted production, destroyed culture, threw China into severe chaos and caused the greatest disasters. After the failure of their conspiracy to usurp party and state power, they repeatedly plotted to launch an armed rebellion. The cruel and evil Lin Biao and company even plotted to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong. They conducted this series of criminal activities for the purpose of usurping the power of the party and state, overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and imposing feudal fascist rule through a "change of dynasty." This is the general character of their crimes. It is only reasonable for the Special Court to conduct a public trial of the 10 unpardonably wicked counterrevolutionary criminals and to sentence them according to their crimes, using the law as the yardstick. The indictment listing their crimes clearly explains to us that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques have been prosecuted

and tried, not because they made mistakes in political lines but because they severely offended China's socialist criminal law. They committed crimes, including subverting the government, splitting the country apart, staging armed rebellion and counterrevolutionary killings, causing physical injury and counterrevolutionary framing, organizing and leading counterrevolutionary cliques, engaging in counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation, extorting confessions by torture and illegally taking people into custody. They violated the law and committed crimes and should thus be punished according to law.

The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were extremely vicious counterrevolutionaries. Harboring counterrevolutionary ambitions, and for the purpose of achieving their common counterrevolutionary goal, they worked in collusion. Both the clique headed by Lin Biao and that headed by Jiang Qing formed factionalist groups and secretly organized forces for armed rebellion. After the death of Lin Biao in the crash, the clique headed by Jiang Qing engaged more frenziedly in activities to usurp the party and state.

As soon as the "Great Cultural Revolution" began, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques conducted activities to usurp the party and the state in a premeditated and planned way. Their criminal act of framing and persecuting Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as included in the indictment, was a typical example. In August 1966, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was chairman of the state. At the 11th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee, which closed on 12 August, Liu Shaoqi was reelected as a standing member of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. At this moment, Lin Biao and Ye Qun stealthily fabricated some materials to frame Comrade Liu Shaoqi. They told Lei Yingfu about these materials and instructed him to write a report to Lin Biao, who then forwarded it to Jiang Qing. Following this, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda decided on their own to hold a "mass meeting to criticize and struggle against Liu Shaoqi," and then they personally persecuted him. Jiang Qing was directly in charge of the "Liu Shaoqi special case group." She vigorously extorted confessions by torture and concocted false evidence. Thus, a great conspiracy which shocked China and the whole world took place with their close collusion. They accused Liu Shaoqi of being a "big traitor, big hidden traitor and big scab" and persecuted him to death. While persecuting Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Jiang Qing made the decision to arrest and detain 11 people. Of these, two were tortured to death. They employed this kind of dirty trick to frame and persecute a large number of old proletarian revolutionaries, including not only Comrade Liu Shaoqi, but also Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, Chen Yi, He Long, Peng Dehuai, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian, Lu Dingyi, and Luo Ruiqing. These criminal acts made people boil with anger.

The methods adopted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were extremely cruel, sinister and ruthless. They carried out all kinds of activities--overt and covert, violent and nonviolent. Not only did they organize the so-called large and small "fleets" and "artillery troops," engage in espionage activities such as tailing and shadowing, assassination and kidnapping, searching people's houses and gathering intelligence, but also cruelly extorted confessions by torture and wantonly concocted stories, fabricated false evidence, arbitrarily charged people as traitors, spies, special agents or counterrevolutionaries without any evidence and caused them to die. What they committed were feudal fascist criminal acts.

What soul-stirring and frightening disasters the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques caused to the whole nation during the 10 years when they were going against the historical trend. In order to overthrow the socialist system, they directly framed and persecuted 425 leading cadres of the party, government and army, persecuted more than 727,000 common people and tortured 34,274 of them to death. Under their rule, feudal fascist autocracy was energetically enforced, frameups and disasters occurred throughout the country, people could not live a peaceful life, socialist democracy and the legal system were severely trampled upon, industrial and agricultural production was unprecedentedly sabotaged and the whole national economy was on the brink of collapse. In a word, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques did all kinds of evil deeds and are guilty of the most heinous crimes. The charges stated in the indictment are filled with the blood and tears of the people and are supported by ironclad evidence of their counterrevolutionary crimes. The witnesses who will testify to their crimes in court are people of all nationalities of the whole country, particularly the cadres and masses who were falsely accused, persecuted and implicated.

Marx once said: "Man's reflections on the forms of social life, and, consequently, also his scientific analysis of those forms, take a course directly opposite to that of their actual historical development. He begins, post factum, with the results of the process of development ready at hand before him." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 92) If we adopt this Marxist scientific method to analyze the counterrevolutionary activities conducted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, we will be able to expose more profoundly their reactionary nature. Like all other matters, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques underwent a process of development. As they were conducting counterrevolutionary activities, they often adopted covert methods so as to give people a false impression. Judging from the "results of the process of development," we can easily see that all their illegal and criminal activities were related to conspiracies, and we can understand that they are a bunch of out-and-out counterrevolutionaries, counterrevolutionary doubledealers, sinister and cunning counterrevolutionary conspirators and careerists. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company have caused disasters to the people and the country and have committed towering crimes. These criminal acts clearly brought out their counter-revolutionary characters. The exposure, prosecution and trial of their illegal and criminal acts will provoke the people to greater hatred and indignation. Moreover, this will help us further sharpen our vigilance and enhance our ability to spot the handful of hostile elements, particularly counterrevolutionary conspirators and careerists.

The socialist legal system is a powerful weapon to attack the enemy and protect the people. We are prosecuting and trying the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques because we want to work strictly according to law and judge their crimes in a solemn and fair way. Our judicial workers observe the following principles: "Use the facts as the basis and the law as the yardstick." When handling these cases, we have consistently put stress on investigation, studies and evidence rather than on readily believing confessions. Without adequate evidence, we cannot decide on a verdict. However, if our conclusions are supported by irrefutable facts and conclusive evidence, the defendant can be declared guilty even if he pleads not guilty. We believe the Special Court will sentence the

Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to the punishments they deserve, based on the facts of their crimes and in accordance with the "Criminal Law of the PRC" and the "Law of Criminal Procedures of the PRC." We also believe the Special Court will uphold justice for the people.

The trial of the 10 principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques is a very good judicial practice from which we can learn many things and accumulate more experience in rule by law. The era of lawlessness when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques acted wildly in defiance of public opinion and trampled upon the legal system is gone forever. We must learn from our negative experience, further strengthen and perfect the socialist legal system and rule our country by means of the legal system. We must adhere to the principle of "all people are equal before the law" and uphold the dignity of the law. No matter who a person is, how high his position is, the judicial organs will pinpoint his legal responsibility if he offends the criminal law. Even Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao, who once seized the key posts in the party, government and army and were extremely arrogant and high-and-mighty, cannot escape trial by the law. Under socialist conditions, a handful of criminals and hostile elements who adopt an antagonistic attitude toward socialism and attempt to sabotage it will continue to emerge. The masses and cadres must make an effort to learn to use the weapon of the socialist legal system, fight against all kinds of crimes and protect the people's interests.

The millions upon millions of Chinese people unanimously hail and support the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques according to law. It is a trial by the people, because it demonstrates the people's wishes. It is also a trial by history, because history is the fairest judge. The fairness and justice of this trial lie in the fact that we will absolutely not allow Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company to escape punishment according to law. Therefore, this trial is a great victory achieved by the people of all nationalities in China. At this moment of triumph, we should neither relax our vigilance nor forget the bitter lessons of the 10 years of turmoil. Instead, we should treasure our present situation, which is characterized by stability and unity. We should further carry forward socialist democracy, strengthen education in the legal system, establish the authority of the socialist system, develop an excellent situation and insure the smooth progress of the socialist four modernizations.

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THE STATE OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IS THE BASIC POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR ALL QUESTIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 5-10

[Article by Duan Shixian [3008 0013 6343]]

[Text]

I

The basic law of sociohistorical movements revealed by Marxism is that social productive forces determine production relations and that the latter must suit the nature of the former. As a vanguard of the proletariat, our party must not divorce itself from this cardinal point of historical materialism in all our programs, line and tasks. Our party has been following this law to lead the Chinese nationalities to overthrow the counterrevolutionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and to build proletarian dictatorship. Each and every one of the CCP members came across this principle when they first studied Marxism. During the periods of democratic revolution and socialist revolution they preached this principle to the masses time and again. This principle contains the wisdom as well as the common sense of Marxism. Yet, why should we raise this point when our party has struggled for nearly 60 years and when our People's Republic has been founded for 30 years?

History and many facts today show that it is not easy--in fact, it is even quite difficult--to thoroughly understand this principle in theory and earnestly follow it in practice. Although we have been talking about it for years, we still deviate from it at times.

In our country, where the level of productive forces is relatively low and development is not balanced, the coexistence of diversified economic sectors is an objective need of economic development in a certain historical period. However, in the hope of immediately realizing common labor and common ownership for the whole society, we emphasize state ownership and neglect the collective body. We have abolished the individual economy, which actually belongs to the socialist economic system. Moreover, we have even treated the rural commune members' small household sideline production and private plots as a "capitalist tail" and have suggested that it be cut off.

Often we do not treat and assess a certain kind of production relations in terms of productive forces. Rather, we put productive forces aside and abstractly classify the production relations as progressive or backward, advanced or elementary. We unconditionally believe that the "larger the scale of" and "more

public" the ownership, the better it is. In other words, we believe that collective is better than individual ownership, large-scale collective is better than small-scale collective ownership and ownership by the whole people is the best of all. It seems that the faster the "elevation" and "transition" of ownership, the more revolutionary it is.

In the historical stage of socialism, the existence and development of a commodity economy are an objective historical reality and inevitable phenomenon. However, a commodity economy often reminds people of capitalism. This provides an opportunity for people like Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the "gang of four," who would desperately incite a fervent craze to abolish commodity currency, restrict capitalist rights, gravely disturb the people's thinking and undermine the socialist cause.

In our vast country, with its enormous population, there are hundreds of thousands of enterprises of different capacities. With highly centralized, unified and planned management, a state monopoly of purchasing and marketing is practiced in production, circulation and distribution. The economic activities of the regions, departments and enterprises, which vary in natural and economic conditions, are without exception included in the all-embracing plan. While state interests are emphasized, collective and individual interests are forgotten. The above phenomenon has caused shortcomings and a lack of vitality in the social economy. Though this problem has irritated us, we have not thought more deeply about the system itself.

When some of our enterprises have completed the state-assigned program, they organize some extra production, sell part of the products or establish some relevant economic relations on their own in order to obtain more profits. However, they have been criticized for violating the nature of the socialist economy and playing evil capitalist tricks. When some rural communes and production teams practice the flexible system of job responsibility, both the enthusiasm of the masses and production are enhanced. Yet they fear that they will be criticized for not doing the proper thing. When some individual urban shops or cooperative teams are enjoying a good business, which enables them to earn a living and greatly facilitates the masses, they are often squeezed out, and things are made difficult for them. They are criticized for disrupting the socialist economy and snatching away the "rice bowl" of state enterprises.

Basically speaking, the occurrence of such questions in our economy is related largely to our occasional inadequacy in understanding and following the law by which production relations must suit the productive forces. By no means should we think that we sufficiently understand this law. Rather, we should frequently and repeatedly study and understand this law better in light of the tasks and characteristics of each period. Especially in the modernization of socialist construction at present, we face the important task of reforming our economic system and readjusting our economic policy. Therefore, it is significant to summarize the positive and negative experiences from the socialist economic construction over the last 30 years and to understand and study anew the law by which production relations must suit the productive forces.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that we must treat the state of productive forces as a point of departure for all questions. Having followed a tortuous road, we should return to this basic point of departure by studying and understanding it again.

II

The theory that production relations must suit the productive forces has a rich connotation. Our emphasis here is on the question of "suitability." Popular beliefs over the years indicate that the question of "suitability," if not dealt with correctly, will be a major factor in obstructing our understanding of this law. Therefore, we attempt to analyze this in three aspects: What in the productive forces do production relations have to suit? What is meant by "suitable"? What characterizes "suitability"?

Productive forces can be examined from the standpoints of quantity and quality. According to Marxism, production relations must suit the productive forces. This means that they must suit the nature, which is an inevitable stage of development, of the productive forces. Marx said: "Men develop in the social production in which they live relations which are definite, inevitable and not to be changed by their will. This means production relations that suit the definite /stage of development/ [in boldface] of their material productive forces." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82) The nature of the means of labor as a major instrument of production characterizes the different stages of the development of material productive forces. Concretely speaking, in a given nation they are characterized by the nature of the ability to use (not merely to possess) the instruments of production. The development from stone to bronze and iron and from manual to mechanical instruments and automatic electronic control is a qualitative change in the instruments of production. This kind of change marks the stages of development of productive forces. An expansion in quantity only and an absence of qualitative change in the instruments of production cannot bring productive forces to an advanced stage. For example, in a society in which hoes, spades and plows pulled by oxen are widely used in farming, even when there is an increase in the number of these kinds of tools and in the areas of cultivation, the nature of productive forces remains unchanged. Only when a new instrument of production which is vital to the development of social production appears and is widely used can there be a qualitative change in the productive forces.

Production relations must suit the productive forces. This means that they must accord with the present, not the future or possible, nature of productive forces. In other words, productive forces determine production relations. When there is a qualitative change in the productive forces, conflict will appear in the existing production relations which have previously been effective. As the productive forces develop, production relations will become obstacles, and thus discord will emerge between the two. This is one kind of unsuitability. Another kind of unsuitability will result when some people, out of subjective will, push production relations "ahead of" productive forces or to an "advanced" stage, so that production relations "overtake" the nature of productive forces. Take an example from everyday life. An adolescent finds that the shoes he wore as a child are too small for his feet. He cannot walk properly in them, yet an

adult's shoes are too big for him. He cannot walk properly in the latter either. Only shoes that fit exactly are suitable and good for walking. This simple and vivid analogy explains why production relations must suit the nature of productive forces.

In fact, oversized shoes are neither suitable nor durable. We buy bigger shoes than necessary because we think the child's feet grow bigger day by day. We think that shoes that are too big today will fit in the future. Likewise, some people believe that production relations must suit the future development of productive forces. In other words, they believe that production relations must suit the productive forces which are too advanced for the present. This may be a happy, but is not a realistic, wish. Similarly, when shoes are too big for our feet, we can only stagger a few paces. Then the shoes will fall off or our feet will hurt. Our practice in the economy over the years proves this point. Although there have been many "big" and "public" things, the national economy has not yet reached the proposed target.

In an analysis of production relations, what is public or private and what is absolutely public or moderately public cannot be simplified and classified as good or bad and superior or inferior. From the Marxist point of view there is no abstract truth, only concrete truth. Divorced from concrete conditions, even rain cannot be judged as good or bad. Divorced from productive forces, it is absurd to assess certain production relations as good or bad and superior or inferior. For instance, which form of ownership is better: primitive commune ownership or serfdom? In judging an economic relationship, if we do not follow the economic law but simply consider whether the relationship accords with eternal justice and judge it on the basis of the abstract idea that anything public must be better than private, we will certainly end up negating serfdom. Actually, at a certain stage of the development of production, the replacement of primitive commune ownership by serfdom was a necessary and great historical advance. Without serfdom there would not have been any ancient civilization from which modern socialism emerged. Any production relations that suit the productive forces are good and superior and vice versa.

There is an objective criterion by which to judge whether production relations suit productive forces. It is not sufficient merely to approve or disapprove of the development of the productive forces. With a little development, productive forces are not yet "suitable." Only when the productive forces develop as fast as history allows will they be suitable. Productive forces are the most active and revolutionary factor. They are forever developing, smoothly and conspicuously, amid suitable production relations. But they may also develop through setbacks amid unsuitable production relations. There are cases in which the productive forces could have developed rapidly but are actually developing slowly. If we judge them as suitable, our decision on actual production relations or on whether some of their links should be reformed will be hindered.

There is another point concerning the suitability between production relations and productive forces. Once a production relation suitable to the productive forces is formed, its "suitability," which will certainly remain for a rather long period, must play an active role of speeding up the smooth development of productive forces during that period. This is because the development of

productive forces must go through a cumulative quantitative change before it attains an intrinsic qualitative change. Only when the qualitative change emerges, that is, when a new and more advanced productive force is formed, will the original production relation become unsuitable. Marx pointed out that, regardless of the form of the production relation, it "will not vanish before all the productive forces within it have been brought into play; and a new and more advanced production relation will not appear before its material condition ripens in the womb of the old society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 83) A production relation lives before a new and more advanced productive force comes into being. In order to have improvement, its unsuitable links should be partially regulated according to the productive forces. However, a divorce from the development of productive forces and "incessant revolutions" in production relations carried out under a subjective desire will only hinder or harm the normal development of productive forces.

III

During the period of democratic revolution, our party, by following the law that production relations must suit productive forces, correctly analyzed the state of productive forces and production relations in old China, formulated a correct policy and led the revolution to victory. However, during the period of socialist construction, at certain times and under certain conditions we did not follow this law well, and this resulted in some mistakes in our economic construction. The reasons for this are many. To a great extent they were inevitable under the conditions at that time.

According to the evolution of human society, a new production relation ferments in the old system before appearing with a new productive force. As a social form for a new productive force, it is always in tune with the new productive force and will not be out of tune with it for a certain period of time. However, just as in some other countries where the proletariat has seized the reins of power, our socialist production relations have had a special evolution. They are based on the strength of the proletarian rule. In the absence of our own experience in building the new social economic system, we had to basically rely on the Marxist vision of future socialism and follow what had already been done in countries where socialism had been established.

According to Marxist scientific socialism, the socialist economic system means that the production relation of common labor, common ownership and distribution according to work is practiced in the whole society. The founder of Marxism also had a vision of predictable and fascinating production relations. In building the socialist economy in our country we earnestly tried to realize this vision. However, we often neglected the fact that while expounding socialist production relations the founder of Marxism also stressed the material prerequisite, namely, a highly socialized productive force. This is of major importance, yet we have not paid sufficient attention to it. Divorced from the actual state of our productive forces, the production relations were handled in such a way as to "transcend" the stage or to be ultra "leftist." A tremendous price was paid.

China is primarily a country in which the small peasant economy prevails. The small peasant socialist ideology, which tried to build a realm of equality on the

foundation of the small peasant natural economy, was rooted in a deep tradition. Even today this ideology is influential. Marx pointed out that in the Germany of his day, where a commodity economy was not yet highly developed, there was no foundation upon which political economy could exist. "Political economy was imported as a product from England and France. The German professor of political economy was always a student. The theories of other countries became dogmatic rules in their hands, rules which they explained in the light of the bourgeois outlook which surrounded them. In other words, the theories were twisted." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 15) A similar situation exists here: scientific socialism is often twisted by some of our comrades, who view it from the small peasant's point of view.

In studying the development of socialist ideology we can see that, in founding scientific socialism, Marx and Engels adhered to the intrinsic principle of starting with the productive forces and treating socialism as an inevitable result of the development of socialized productive forces, instead of treating it as a realization of the ideas of reason, goodwill and equality or as a realm of equality which is divorced from the state of development of productive forces. Marx and Engels found the basis for socialism to be definitely realized in the nature of social productive forces. All that is divorced from social productive forces and from socialism is mere fantasy. An important but not unique criterion for scientific socialism is the social strength and means to realize socialism. Taking the nature of socialized productive forces as a point of departure for theory and practice is an important factor in distinguishing scientific socialism from other, unscientific socialist ideologies.

Therefore, to adhere to Marxist scientific socialism we must strictly follow the basic historical materialist viewpoint that productive forces eventually determine everything. We must also understand that production relations must suit the nature of productive forces. We must get rid of all the unscientific socialist viewpoints and, in particular, rid ourselves of the influence of small peasant socialism.

IV

On the eve of seizing power over the whole country, Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed our productive forces and production relations in this way: About 10 percent of our national economy consisted of modern industry, and around 90 percent was farming and manual industry. "This is our basic point of departure for all questions during the period of the Chinese revolution and for a fairly long period after victory. This gives rise to a series of problems regarding our party's strategy, tactics and policy." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 1368)

Three decades have passed, the faces of China have changed, socialist reforms have been victoriously carried out in our national economy and the development of the socialist economic system has gradually been consolidated. Yet today we still face the question of understanding the state of our productive forces. A general and objective assessment of our foundation for modernization is imperative for the present and for a period of time to come.

After three decades of construction there has been relative growth in our modern industry. We have initially formed a system of national economy of a certain scope, and we possess some advanced modern technological equipment. Yet in agriculture the percentage of manual labor and self-sufficient production is still high. In industry manual operations and semimechanical production techniques are also widely in use. Moreover, our country is so vast that the development is quite unbalanced between some regions and others. In some places even coarse, primitive tools are still used in production. In general, our productive forces are still in a rather backward state of development and consist of numerous levels.

What kind of production relations can suit this state of productive forces? Even if we have not been able to answer this question, after three decades of experience in socialist construction we should have a higher and more correct level of understanding. At present our productive forces are not yet highly socialized. They are not the kind of productive forces to be directly practiced, unified and thoroughly planned in the whole society. To suit our productive forces at present, the state-owned economy and collective economy should be superior. Next, different sectors of the economy, such as individual economy and state capitalist economy (mainly foreign investment and Sino-foreign joint venture) should coexist. In a state-owned economy the production unit should be the main body of the economy, but it should have relative independence. Its self-interests are different from but unified with the state interests. Collective economy, whether urban or rural, should actually be collective ownership, with economic organizations of the laboring masses assuming sole responsibility for their own losses and profits. Individual economy built upon individual labor and other sectors of economy should be supplementary to state-owned and collective economy. Therefore, in our socioeconomic life there are state, collective and individual interests which work in harmony in the overall economic relations of society. The operation of the national economy is guided by state planning. It has the function of bringing into play the law of value and links regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism. Practice will show that this socialist economy consisting of a diversified yet unified relation of interests will be the economic situation for a long historical period in our country.

In the 1 1/2 years since the economic reform policy was formulated at the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our economy has gone through a lot of changes. People clearly sense that economic life is active, new things keep coming up and other things, though only budding, are a breath of fresh air. In the first half of this year more than 6,000 industrial enterprises in the country have become pilot units experimenting with greater independence. These enterprises have begun to gain certain rights in such aspects as production, exchange and distribution and to shoulder certain responsibilities. Based on their own interests, they can decide on some economic activities. This becomes an internal drive for them to obtain the greatest possible economic results, so that, in general, the revenues created for the country rise and the enterprises and staff welfare improve. Some cases are quite prominent examples of this. Some rural production teams of many provinces, cities and autonomous regions practice, in keeping with regional conditions, the system of production responsibility with various forms of joint output and remuneration. In agricultural sideline production, the development has been rapid, the growth of production has

been tremendous and the income for both the individual and the collective has risen. Some members have had a good harvest even in a year of natural disasters. Some leaped in a short time from "relief households" to progressive units. In many cities and towns there has been considerable restoration and development in individual and cooperative industrial and business units. Some of them assist state-owned or collective enterprises in processing and equipment manufacturing, some are commission or distribution agents, while others are involved in production and distribution. Each unit adopts a suitable style. The styles are diversified; some reveal traditional or regional characteristics which play a positive role that is irreplaceable. There have been reforms in some aspects of our economic system which have been practiced for a long time, namely, in the commodity, financial, trade and foreign trade systems. Limited competition has appeared in our economic life and has brought about a busy and active atmosphere. Exhibitions of the means of production, especially of mechanical and electrical products, have been held, and trade companies and warehouses have been built one after another. The situation in which the means of production could not circulate in the market has changed. Different kinds of joint operations between the same trades or between different trades are constantly being established; trans-regional and transdepartmental professional companies have appeared. Banks have fostered their role as the lever in the national economy by revising certain loan conditions and regulating interest rates. Reforms will also come about in other systems, such as the labor wage system and the pricing system. All these are changes within production relations, not just changes on the surface.

How to look at these reforms and regulations is an imperative question which concerns the law that production relations must suit the productive forces. Since the objective criterion for the suitability of production relations to productive forces depends solely on whether the productive forces are well developed, then that criterion is the only one by which to judge this suitability. If we understand this point, we shall grasp a basic point. Production relations that are disadvantageous to the development of productive forces must be negated and abandoned, and vice versa. It is necessary to revise or reform any economic system which has not actively facilitated the development of productive forces or which contains certain links and aspects that obstruct this development. Economic systems which have promoted this development should be persistently continued. Imperfections in them can gradually be corrected in practice. The reason we communists held a revolution was to liberate the productive forces. Should we now hesitate in carrying out the reforms to promote productive forces and to speed up the construction of the four modernizations? Doing what is good for the development of productive forces--this is always justly recognized by history and supported by the people. The construction of the four modernizations is a new target for us; economic reforms are intricate and complicated. Therefore, to reach our target sooner and to avoid taking detours, we must be realistic, go deep into the masses, reinforce surveys and studies and discover the new conditions and new problems on the basis of reality. We must not indulge in rigid or semirigid ways of finding "suitable" or "idealistic" production relations in conventions.

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ON THE NEED AND WAYS TO LOWER THE ACCUMULATION RATE

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[Article by Wei Liqun [7614 4409 5028]]

[Text] China is now in the process of drawing up a long-term plan for the development of the national economy. In this plan the fixing of a suitable accumulation rate is of important significance to the healthy future development of the national economy. In the preceding period, by summing up historical experiences, some comrades held that we should gradually lower the accumulation rate, which for many years has ranged from as high as over 30 percent to about 25 percent. However, other comrades disagreed. Actually, must the accumulation rate be lowered, and if so, to what extent and by what way? This is worth investigating. This article intends to discuss some of these elementary views.

The Basic Demarcation of a Rational Accumulation Rate

Accumulation is the source of expanded reproduction. There is no doubt that the four modernizations require a considerable amount of accumulated funds, and we should also increase the accumulated funds as much as possible. However, the increased accumulation and the raising of the accumulation rate within a given period cannot be fixed at will but must be conditioned by the following restrictions.

One, it is restricted by the total national income and its speed of growth at a given time. Accumulation and consumption are the two sectors on which national income is based. The greater the total national income in a given period, the greater the amount distributable to the two sectors. If the national income is large and the speed of growth is fast, the accumulation rate can be raised appropriately, because even if this is done, a rational increase in consumption will not be affected. On the other hand, if the national income is small and the speed of growth is slow, the accumulation rate must be lowered appropriately. In this way a rational increase in consumption will not be affected. This is why the total amount and speed of growth of the national income determine to a great extent the accumulation rate. The level of development of China's productive forces at present is rather low. The average national income per capita in 1978 was only 347 yuan (equivalent to U.S.\$224), and it is still fairly backward compared with that of other countries in the world. At the same time, based on actual conditions, the growth of industrial production is limited by energy resources. Agriculture in particular, which occupies a greater proportion of

the national economy, has still not broken away from its dependency on nature, and its growth is unstable. At present and in the near future the national income still cannot grow very rapidly. These facts determine that the amount that can be used for accumulation cannot be very large.

Two, it is restricted by the need to gradually improve the livelihood of the people. Under the socialist system, an increase in accumulation cannot be like that under capitalism, which is obtained by intensifying the exploitation of the workers and sacrificing the consumption of the workers, even to the extent of expropriating the necessary labor of the workers. Only the surplus portion of the national income, after deducting what is used for rationally improving the livelihood of the people, can be used for accumulation, so that the unremitting growth of socialist production can be closely synthesized with a gradual improvement in the livelihood of the people. China has a large population, and its natural growth rate is high. It requires large sums for consumption. According to estimates, about 80 percent of the new annual increase in national income must be used to increase the portion of consumption. This cannot but greatly limit the increase in accumulation.

Three, it is restricted by the proportion of material composition (wuzhi goucheng) in the national income at a given time. This is because, for the funds used in accumulation to fulfill their function, there must be sufficient and additional suppliable means of production and corresponding means of consumption. Not only must there be no hindrance of simple reproduction, but there must also be no gap. China has a population of over 900 million, and the people's living standards are low. We must pay close attention to increasing the production of means of consumption and cannot one-sidedly develop the production of means of production. Therefore, for some time to come the means of production used in accumulation are bound to be limited. At the same time, we must also supply additional means of subsistence to bring about expanded reproduction; otherwise, expanded reproduction will also run into difficulties. We have had intimate knowledge of this fact. For example, from 1958 to 1960 the accumulation rate was as high as about 40 percent. Capital construction was on too large a scale, and heavy industry was squeezing out agriculture and light industry. Not only was there a shortage in the supply of means of production, but the production and supply of means of consumption were also extremely strained. From 1970 to 1972 the accumulation rate again rose sharply to about 34 percent. Capital construction again was on too large a scale, and this resulted in a very wide gap in material supply. The increase in the number of workers was too high, and the big increase in total wages and staple food sales volume exceeded permissible objective conditions. We had no alternative but to reduce the scale of capital construction. Judging from historical experiences, the means of production and means of subsistence we can use for expanded reproduction in the near future are very limited. Therefore, the scale of accumulation cannot be set too high.

Summing up the above, there is a basic limit to which accumulation can be increased and the accumulation rate raised in a given period. The accumulation rate must be in keeping with the financial and material resources of the country at that time, the condition of material composition in the national income and a gradual improvement in the livelihood of the people. Naturally, the accumulation rate can be neither too high nor too low. If the accumulation rate is too

low, not only will the speed of economic development be affected and the long-range interests of the people damaged, but a vicious circle will also appear in the national economy. Therefore, only if we set a suitable and rational accumulation rate, so that harmony can be maintained in the relationship between accumulation and consumption, can there be a healthy development of the national economy.

In the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic, although we have acquired some successful experiences in setting the accumulation rate, we have also had lessons in failure. In the First Five-Year Plan the average accumulation was 24.2 percent. Production and construction developed very rapidly, economic results were good and there was a marked improvement in the lives of the people. Facts have proved that this kind of accumulation, which conformed to the economic level at that time, was more appropriate. However, in the years when the accumulation rate was over 30 percent, relations between various sectors of economic life were very tense and even seriously dislocated. The livelihood of the people could not be improved and even declined. At present China is beset with numerous difficulties, and there are many problems left over from the past regarding the livelihood of the people and production and construction which must be solved. Therefore, in the near future it is more appropriate to set China's accumulation rate at about 25 percent.

The Necessity of Appropriately Lowering the Accumulation Rate

Must we gradually lower the accumulation rate to a rational level in keeping with China's actual economic conditions? There are two views on this question which we must now discuss.

The first view holds that the high accumulation in China from 1970 to 1978 achieved high-speed economic growth and that the poor results in the use of accumulated funds were attributable to the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. As we now have good political conditions, so long as we make the effort to improve the use of accumulated funds, there is no need to lower the accumulation rate. We would say that this kind of thinking is one-sided.

First, let us look at the reasons for the improper use of accumulated funds in those years. Naturally, the main reason was the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. However, economically speaking, setting the accumulation rate too high was also an important factor. In those 9 years the accumulation rate was set at above 31 percent, the average being 33 percent. This exceeded the burden the state and people were able to bear. The results were as follows: 1) Setting the accumulation rate too high adversely affected the people's livelihood. In those 9 years the amount of the national income devoted to accumulation increased by 93 percent, and the accumulated funds increased by 200 percent, outstripping the speed of growth of the national income. It was therefore very difficult for the state to produce the necessary funds for improving the people's livelihood, and the people's actual living standard was lowered. Not until after 1977 was there any improvement. Although production developed, for a long time there was no corresponding improvement in the people's livelihood, and the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses were seriously dampened. People are the most active factor in the productive forces. If the enthusiasm and creativity

of the workers cannot be brought into play, how can there be good results in production and construction?! 2) Setting the accumulation rate too high and the scale of capital construction too large exceeded the possibilities for supplying the necessary materials. Every year there were gaps everywhere in the supply of the principal materials and equipment needed for capital construction. The period for completing capital construction became longer and longer, and there were more and more unfinished construction projects. Compared with normal conditions, the construction period for large and medium-size projects doubled, and some projects even took longer. The ratio of fixed assets in capital construction fell from 83.7 percent in the First Five-Year Plan to 64.7 percent. Because of insufficient financial and material resources, capital construction for a long time had to wage a war of attrition, and the use of accumulated funds inevitably achieved fewer and fewer positive results. 3) Setting the accumulation rate too high and the scale of accumulation too large caused part of the materials required for guaranteeing simple social reproduction to be diverted to capital construction and prevented the existing enterprises from smoothly carrying out replacement and transformation of equipment. The result was that enterprises engaged in the production of goods in short supply "drained the pond to catch the fish" and "killed the hen to get the egg." Because of the shortage of energy and raw materials, many enterprises were forced to lower their equipment utilization rate. As a result, production forces could not be fully utilized, and the improvement of economic results was affected. 4) To satisfy the need for high accumulation, it was inevitable that excessive prominence was given to the production of means of production and that too many financial and material resources were allocated to heavy industry and not enough to agriculture and light industry. This placed a great strain on the production and supply of consumer goods in those years. From this we can see that the poor economic results of those years were inseparable from an accumulation rate that had been set too high.

Second, let us again study the conditions governing the speed of economic growth in those years. For the time being let us not discuss how many of the statistics in those years were false or exaggerated. Judging only from the existing figures, the average speed of growth in those years was not high compared with the First Five-Year Plan but actually was lower. The more serious thing was that, because of the one-sided pursuit of production value and volume, the quality of many products fell. In those years many of the products were unsuitable and below standard. Overstocking was serious. Although certain heavy industry departments made headway, agriculture and light industry remained very backward. These poor economic results, which slowed the rational and proportionate growth of the national economy, were not wanted by the people.

How can we actually sum up the lessons of China's experiences in economic construction? We hold that, apart from political reasons, the principal reason for the unsatisfactory economic development in the past was the dominant position occupied by "leftist" ideology in economic construction. Eagerness to obtain results and the setting of high targets, high accumulation and high speed divorced from reality are important manifestations of "leftist" ideology in production and construction. We definitely cannot think that because of the fine political conditions at present we can continue to set a high accumulation which exceeds objective conditions. On the contrary, only by resolutely

eliminating the influence of the "left" in economic work, truly proceeding from reality, working according to our abilities and advancing in an orderly manner under the guidance of the correct political line can we develop the national economy in a realistic and healthy way. After the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee decided on a policy of readjusting the national economy and specified that coordinating the proportional relations of accumulation and consumption was an important aspect of this policy. This was well founded and entirely correct.

Another view holds that we must proceed from existing concrete conditions in determining long-term plans for the accumulation rate. It holds that on the one hand the present foundation of China's heavy industry is much stronger than before and can supply conditions for increasing accumulation. On the other hand the present scale of capital construction is very large, and it is also very difficult to lower the accumulation rate. It should be said that these conditions do objectively exist. Under such conditions, the lowering of the accumulation rate will give rise to a certain contradiction in the production structure already formed and the scale of capital construction already developed. For example, the production capacity of some enterprises, particularly in the machine building industry, cannot be fully brought into play for some time, and some of the projects under construction may have to be reduced in scale, postponed or even stopped. All this will result in difficulties in our work and even give rise to losses. This should be overcome and avoided as much as possible.

However, we should see that heavy industry is already top-heavy in the present industrial structure and that agriculture and light industry are languishing. Thus, the spending of large sums of money on the production and expanded reproduction of intermediate products does not leave much for end products which directly satisfy the people's consumption needs. For a long time we have suffered setbacks because we developed heavy industry too rapidly, set the scale of accumulation too high and of capital construction too large and neglected developing those departments concerned with the means of consumption and improving the people's livelihood. The result of this will not quicken the speed of economic development but, on the contrary, will slow down economic development. If we do not properly readjust the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and between accumulation and consumption, it will be impossible to put our national economy on the correct path and very difficult to improve the people's livelihood. This not only will affect the smooth progress of the four modernizations but also will directly affect the consolidation and development of the situation of stability and unity. The question is clearly placed before us. Should we continue to maintain the status quo, follow the old path, let heavy industry continue to grow, set a higher scale of accumulation and capital construction and continue to ignore improving the people's livelihood? Or should we proceed from China's unique situation, resolutely readjust the proportions of the economy and set up a rational industrial structure so that agriculture and light industry can develop more rapidly in order to guarantee the improvement of the people's livelihood year after year and to continue to lay a more solid foundation for heavy industry? This is the road that will enable China to gradually achieve modernization. We can only take the latter road. There is no other choice.

Of course, there are numerous contradictions and great difficulties in our present task of readjusting the excessively heavy industrial structure and curtailing the excessively large scale of capital construction. However, if we do not make up our minds now to gradually change this unreasonable state of affairs and resolutely reverse this passive situation, we are found to bring more contradictions and difficulties to national economic development and to the people's lives and thus affect the progress of the modernization program. Problems must be solved. If we keep putting things off, we will only inflict greater losses and encounter more difficulties. Thus, we must not submit and be content with things as they are just because there are difficulties. Instead, we must face the difficulties squarely and take effective and feasible measures to lower the accumulation rate to an appropriate level and gradually eliminate the imbalances between various economic sectors. In this way we can insure the sustained and steady development of the national economy.

The Question of Speed After the Accumulation Rate Has Been Lowered to an Appropriate Level

Will the rate of economic growth be affected after the accumulation rate is lowered? Some comrades said that the rate of growth cannot be guaranteed once the accumulation rate is lowered. Here it is necessary to clarify three points.

1. What is the relationship between accumulation and speed? Is the rate of economic development determined by the rate of accumulation? Our answer is in the negative. Marx pointed out: "Production expands year after year for two reasons; First, because more and more capital is invested in production; second, because the rate of utilization of capital is steadily being raised." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book II, p 598) However, the effect of accumulation on the scale and speed of expanding reproduction is determined not only by the amount of accumulation but also by the rate in which accumulated funds are utilized. In actual economic activities, there always are cases in which an enterprise can attain an impressive rate of growth without increasing accumulation. All it has to do is to tap its latent potentials, raise labor productivity and improve management and administration.

2. How high a speed do we want? Speed is an important question, and we should strive for a relatively high speed of economic development. However, what we want is not high speed for a short period. We must not take the beaten track of "high speed, high accumulation, low efficiency, low consumption." Instead, we must strive for a steadily growing speed, a speed achieved on the basis of the proportionate growth of various sectors, good economic results and steadily rising living standards. To attain this kind of speed it is necessary to proceed from realities, work within the limits of our capability and make the scale of construction correspond to our present national strength. In other words, the accumulation rate must be reasonable. If we unsuitably boost the accumulation rate for the purpose of achieving high speed, we may be able to give others an impression of "ten thousand horses galloping ahead" and achieve a high growth rate for some time, but such a speed is hard to maintain. Eventually we will be compelled to slow down and will even suffer great losses.

3. After the accumulation rate has been lowered gradually to an appropriate level, it is still fully possible to insure a relatively high economic growth rate. At present our country possesses many favorable economic factors, in addition to good political conditions. We have already established a fairly solid material and technical foundation in the past 30 years. Today there are 400,000 industrial and communications enterprises of various types throughout the country, with total assets of state enterprises worth close to 500 billion yuan. Due to the long practice of "leftist" policies and the limitations of a much too rigid economic system, we have been seriously handcuffed in giving full scope to our existing productive capacity. However, as long as we emancipate our minds and adopt more flexible policies to enliven the economy, we will certainly be able to tap the huge potentials. After the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee we introduced new economic policies and started a number of pilot projects on structural reform. In 1979 the country's gross industrial and agricultural output value was 8.5 percent higher than that of the previous year. In the first half of this year the industrial growth rate was 13.6 percent higher than that in the corresponding period last year. These gratifying achievements are clear proof.

In addition, we should note that, although the accumulation rate is now somewhat lower compared with that in previous years, the total amount of accumulation will still increase year after year. Based on the present level of accumulation, the total annual accumulation is much greater than the sum total of the First Five-Year Plan period. If we could achieve a marked economic growth rate with that kind of accumulation level during the First Five-Year Plan period, as long as we follow the correct line, principles and policies in future economic construction and conscientiously sum up past experiences in the utilization of accumulated funds, we will certainly be able to attain a better and higher economic growth rate with limited accumulated funds.

The Principal Ways To Lower the Accumulation Rate to an Appropriate Level

How, then, should we lower the accumulation rate to an appropriate level? Based on past experiences and present economic conditions, we should mainly adopt the following measures:

First, exercise strict control over the scale of capital construction, rationally readjust the direction of capital construction investment and effectively curtail capital construction. The scale of capital construction and the nature and number of construction projects will directly affect and determine, to a great extent, the accumulation rate for the current year and in the days to come. The larger the scale of capital construction, the larger will be the amount of accumulated funds needed. As more and more capital construction investment is spent on productive construction, especially construction for the production of capital goods, the accumulation rate will be forced upward. Therefore, to lower the accumulation rate we must do the following four things: 1) We must reduce the scale of capital construction in the next few years. This requires us to exercise strict control over all capital construction funds--both budgetary and supplementary, both expenditure and bank loans, both domestic funds and foreign loans. As further steps are taken to implement the new economic policies and the new economic system, more money will be spent on supplementary capital

construction. It is exceedingly important for us to take effective economic and administrative measures to keep such funds under control, because in this way we can prevent the scale of capital construction from growing excessively and can rationally arrange investment. 2) With a given amount of capital construction investment, we must suitably raise the percentage of investment going into the production of consumer goods and nonproductive construction in order to check the trend of growing accumulation. 3) We must carefully round off all projects under construction, especially large and medium-sized projects, including imported items. Proceeding from the overall needs of economic readjustment, we must adopt resolute and bold measures to delay or halt projects as circumstances require and quickly rid ourselves of these burdens which weigh upon us. At the same time we must exercise strict control over the number of new projects, especially big ones, and take care to grasp the scale, progress and content of the import of advanced technology and equipment from other countries. 4) We must strive to improve the returns on capital construction investment.

Second, reduce circulating funds and further reduce the proportion of the accumulation of circulating funds in the national income. For many years now the proportion of the accumulation of circulating funds, especially the accumulation of such funds in state-owned industrial and commercial enterprises, in the national income has been growing steadily. Although it has been reduced somewhat in the last 2 years, it is still on the high side. Suitably reducing the circulating funds and the proportion of the accumulation of circulating funds is not only necessary but possible. Provided we reform the system of circulation, raise the level of management and smooth the flow of commodities, we can reduce circulating funds and thus lower the overall accumulation rate.

Third, make rational arrangement for defense construction. China is carrying out its modernization program in a tumultuous international environment. To effectively safeguard the smooth running of the modernization program, we must place defense construction in a proper position, strengthen national defense and do a good job of getting prepared against war. However, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his 1956 speech "On the Ten Major Relationships": "Only with the faster growth of economic construction can there be greater progress in defense construction." "We must strengthen our national defense, and for that purpose we must first of all strengthen our work in economic construction." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, pp 271-272) Only by accelerating economic construction and building up our country's economic strength can we fundamentally enhance our capability in the war against aggression. Therefore, while making rational arrangement for defense construction we must, where possible, do all we can to amass more funds and materials and first of all do a good job of economic construction. This will help advance the cause of modernization and is conducive to better stepping up combat readiness and consolidating national defense.

Lowering the accumulation rate to a reasonable level that tallies with actual conditions is a correct and important policy decision for the readjustment of proportions between various economic sectors. Our long-term plans must embody this important guiding thought. However, the readjustment of the proportions between accumulation and consumption involves many things. In particular, it takes time to change the structure of production. Therefore, in our concrete work method we should proceed from the goal of promoting the benign cycle of the

national economy and lower the accumulation rate gradually and in a planned and systematic way in order not to inflict unnecessary losses on economic life as a whole. We should also point out that, when we say we want to lower the accumulation rate to around 25 percent, we do not mean we will fix it at that level permanently. Following the development of the productive forces, the rise in labor productivity and the increase in national income, we can suitably raise the accumulation rate. The crux of the matter is that we must take the interests of the state, the collective and the individual into account and keep accumulation and consumption in suitable and reasonable proportions in order to promote the planned, proportionate and sustained development of the national economy.

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THERE SHOULD BE A RADICAL CHANGE IN THE GUIDING THOUGHT FOR FISHERY DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]]

[Text] Speeding up fishery development is an important road to take in strengthening this weak link of agriculture and improving the people's livelihood. It is also an important way for many rural villages both inland and along the coast to show their superiority and to drive away poverty and become affluent. Unfortunately, at the moment our fishery is economically very weak, and it also has many problems. To foster the development of fishery, much work has yet to be done. One task which is of a decisive nature is to further wipe out the extreme leftist line and make a radical change in our guiding thought.

Why the Difficulty in Having Fish To Eat?

Our country has a continental shelf for fishery with an area of 430,000 square nautical miles, equivalent to 2.25 billion mu. In addition, we have an inland water area of 0.25 billion mu. Our coastline is 18,000 kilometers long, and if we add to this the coastlines around our many islands, we are among the countries with the longest coastlines in the world. However, the value of our fishery products occupies only 1.4 percent of the gross value of our agricultural output. At present the world's average yearly per capita output of aquatic products is about 35 jin. In Japan it is 189 jin, but in our country it is less than 10 jin. If we deduct the portion expended for industrial raw materials, for export and for fertilizer and feed and the portion which is wasted, then the per capita figure does not exceed 5.5 jin. Not only in the average town and village but also in the southern part of the country, reputed to be "rich in fish and grain," there is a feeling that it is difficult to have fish to eat. While there are many objective reasons, such as the overly rapid population increase and so forth, to account for the economic weakness of our country's fishery industry, the main causes were actually the disruptions caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and defects in our own work.

Over the past 30 years we have not expanded our fishing areas in the oceans and high seas to any great extent, but the strength of our motor-driven fishing fleet has increased over 100 times. Two-thirds of this increase has been made in the past 10 years. As a result of a blind increase in the fishing capacity, plus a prolonged period of exhaustive and indiscriminate fishing activities under a production command which totally disregarded the laws governing fishery

development, the hitherto fairly rich fishery resources in nearby waters have been seriously depleted. In nearby waters at present the available reserves of the principal kinds of fish of economic value have generally shrunk, and the proportion of fish of economic value in the gross output has declined considerably. Fish of economic value have virtually disappeared from the Bohai Sea, where only small shrimp and prawns can now be found. There is no longer any high fishing season in the Yellow Sea for such categories of fish as the hairtail and small yellow croaker. They have practically lost their production value. In the Donghai Sea the output of large yellow croaker has also been seriously reduced, while the resources of the hairtail there can hardly be depended upon.

The guiding thought for agricultural development lays stress on taking grain as the key link. With agriculture aiming at elbowing out fishery, reclamation of land from the water areas has been going on apace; the result has been a considerable reduction of the fish breeding areas both in freshwater regions and in the sea areas. According to incomplete statistics from Hunan, Hubei, Jiangsi and Anhui, since the liberation more than 15 million mu of land has been reclaimed from lakes and ponds. Along the valleys of the Changjiang and the Huai He, over 2.6 million mu of land has been reclaimed from ponds. In Hubei Province, "the province of a thousand lakes," the lake area has shrunk in size by three-fourths. The "800-li Dongting Lake," which poets of old described as "a jade plate of quicksilver," has likewise dwindled in size since liberation due to land reclamation and the accumulation of silt and sand. Over the 53 years from 1896 to 1949 the lake shrank an average of 19.8 square kilometers a year in size, but over the 27 years from 1949 to 1976 the average annual shrinkage was 96.7 square kilometers. This is about five times the average annual shrinkage over the 53 years before liberation. As a result of this large-scale land reclamation from the water areas, the annual haul of freshwater fish has decreased every decade, as follows: In the 1950's it was over 600,000 tons; in the 1960's, over 400,000 tons; and in the 1970's, over 300,000 tons. In the provinces along the seacoast the total acreage of land reclaimed from beaches and harbors amounted to more than 1.8 million mu, exceeding by one-seventh the total area available for fish breeding and raising. In some localities even the fishponds which the fishermen's forefathers had patiently built up were destroyed.

Certain kinds of fish have the habit of swimming back and forth along the rivers or on the lakes or high seas in search of food or to lay eggs. In our water conservancy projects we built dikes and embankments but left no water passages for the fish. This almost destroyed the chances of survival and growth of the fish population. Such famous species as the hilsa herring of the Changjiang, freshwater crabs of Yangcheng Lake and the crabs of Shengfang have all shrunk in output or actually are on the verge of extinction, mainly because of the blocking of the water passages and an insufficient water flow. In the past, in the Tai Hu, Hong Ze Hu, Chao Hu and Hong Hu areas there used to be an abundant growth of such species of big fish as the black carp, grass carp, silver carp and bighead carp, but since the blocking of the water passages these "big four" species have disappeared and given way to "three baby" species (baby croaker, baby whitebait and baby white shrimps). At the present moment work is being stepped up on building the Gezhou Dam in the middle stretches of the Changjiang. If effective measures are not taken to save and preserve the fish species in these regions, then world-famous species of fish such as the white sturgeon and the Chinese sturgeon may well face the danger of extinction.

In recent years factories in the country have dumped into the rivers, lakes and seas about 4,000 tons of untreated industrial wastewater daily. This caused serious water contamination and endangered the existence of fish. In Jilin Province all the 140 rivers and waterways there have been polluted. Whereas fish production in the 1960's reached 31,000 tons annually, now it has dwindled to 5,000 tons. The Sungari River is now virtually devoid of fish. In certain badly polluted localities in the southern part of the country, large numbers of fish, shrimp, crabs and clams were actually poisoned to death by pollution, thus seriously affecting the market supply and the fishermen's livelihood. Since 1974, from 70,000 to 80,000 tons of crude oil have been discharged into the Yellow Sea and the Bohai Sea every year. This far exceeds the standard set by the State Council for the quality of water fit for fishery. It has been found that the catches of fish and shrimp from these areas have a heavy smell of crude oil. After eating this seafood, people would vomit or suffer from stomach ailments. The only thing to do was to throw the seafood away.

The system of control over freshwater fishery is much too rigid. In the spheres of production control and sale of products, the units engaged in fish breeding and raising have little decisionmaking power. Fishermen have the obligation only to raise and catch fish but no right to sell their fish. Fish raising not only does not produce much benefit but actually is criticized in certain localities as a capitalist trade. All these factors seriously dampen the enthusiasm of peasants and fishermen for fish breeding and raising.

Then there is also the legal side of the question. Many countries in the world today have already enacted a complete set of fishery regulations and laws. In our country much confusion still reigns in our water areas. In inland waters, reclamation and dam building proceed at will, and pollution of the environment is frequent. In many localities there are frequent occurrences of fish stealing, taking fish by force, dynamiting fish underwater and poisoning fish in fishponds. All these are due to laxity in our fishery administration and to the unhealthy state of our legislation.

If we summarize the above problems, we may say that in the main the question concerns our guiding thought. Some of our comrades have been in the habit of considering fishery as not at all essential. Hence, in the planning and arranging of industrial or agricultural production and water conservancy construction, no thought is given to fishery, which in fact has no place at all in the economy. However, when it comes to making market arrangements and attempting to solve the problem of supplying fish for the people to eat, then all objective rules are thrown to the wind, and fervent attempts are made to enlarge the fishing fleets and their equipment and to raise the targets of fishery production. Even in purchasing, attempts are made to buy as much as possible. Hence, the main reason why there is little or no fish for people to eat is that the guiding thought has violated both natural laws and economic laws.

Following the issuance by the central government of the two decisions on agricultural development, party committees and local governments at various levels have all reinforced their leadership work over fishery, and the situation has improved steadily. At the present moment it has taken a great change for the better. Nevertheless, in making arrangements for agricultural production, many

comrades still have in their minds "grain, cotton, edible oil, pigs, domestic fowl and eggs," while fish is ignored. To date it is still evident that fishery cannot "fall in line." Even in some bona fide fishery districts, nobody dares mention the principle that fishery must take the lead. And even if in some fishery districts this principle is mentioned, it is difficult to implement it because of the lack of leadership guidance, or of concrete job plans, or of the support of the necessary personnel and material resources. In many localities only cultivated land ranks as important, and water areas come next. In many water areas good for fish breeding the necessary provisions, except mere water, are lacking, and the fish in the ponds are left to their fate. Besides, organs taking charge of aquatic products have suffered many changes. The size of their staff has been cut again and again. In certain localities fishery resources have been continually destroyed, while contamination of the waters has become more serious with each passing year. For this reason, in order to promote fishery development we must raise our understanding of the important position that fishery should occupy in the national economy. There must be a radical change in our guiding thought. Just as we look at cultivated land as important, so we must accord importance to the utilization of water areas. We must grasp fish breeding and raising in the same way as we grasp hog raising and be firmly determined to reinforce this weak link of fishery, so that it can really be developed and can progress alongside agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and the various subsidiary trades. We must insist that production be guided by fishery's own production rules, must strengthen fishery management and must push for the enactment of relevant legislation. At the moment we must especially grasp the two links of protecting the fishery resources in nearby waters and promoting fish breeding and raising.

Fishery Resources Definitely Must Be Protected in Offshore Waters

Since the catches from fishing areas in offshore waters account for over one-half the entire country's fishery output, protection of the fishery resources in nearby waters is exceedingly important. Unfortunately, certain comrades have not yet grasped this point. Whenever the topic of promoting fishery is mentioned, invariably there come forth demands for increasing the number of fishing junks and fishing nets and raising the targets of fish catches. Since the year before last, efforts have been made to reduce the number of fishing vessels and to restrain the intensity of fish catching. But over the past year the number of motor-driven fishing junks in the country has increased by 3,000 vessels, equipped with a total of 200,000 horsepower. When promoting the so-called "compensation trade," certain units this year have blindly accepted a number of trawlers for the offshore waters.

After liberation our country did experience a period during which "additional ships and nets meant increased production." This was during the 1950's. This was because before liberation, due to the depredations of war and the oppression and exploitation of the ruling class, plus the fact that the fishing boats were small and the nets poor, it was not possible to properly carry out any fishery work. In short, there was no way of fully developing or utilizing the resources. Hence, over a certain period after liberation, when the resources were still abundant, adding to the number of boats and nets did bring about an increase in output. Now the situation has changed greatly. The existence of a strong

fishing force in our offshore waters already poses a serious threat to the available resources. Should there be a further increase in fishing junks and fishing nets, it is possible that not only would there be no increase in production, but the resources would be gradually exhausted.

To foster industrial development it is essential that there definitely be resources, since obviously we cannot "cook a meal without rice." If in fishery construction we do not look into the conditions of the resources but, instead, act blindly and increase the number of ships and nets, then this is tantamount to "cooking meals without rice" on the waters. Quite some time ago it was common knowledge that in the Bohai Sea area there were few fish of economic value that could be caught. To catch fish of economic value, fishing fleets of the ocean fishery corporation of Tianjin Municipality, which borders on Bohai Bay, had to steer clear out of the Hai River, cross the Bohai Sea, circle around the Shandong Peninsula and proceed south to the mouth of the Changjiang where the Zhoushan fishing grounds are located. On top of having to make this long-drawn-out journey, the company incurred a loss of 0.3 yuan per jin of fish. Meantime, pressure on the Zhoushan fishing grounds was greatly increased. All in all, it would have been more worthwhile if the state had sent the fish overland from the Zhoushan fishing grounds instead.

Some comrades are of the opinion that the "vast stretches of the open sea have unlimited resources which we can take from without fear of their exhaustion." This is not correct. In a given area and over a definite period of time, the resources of fish and prawns in the sea are limited. Among the categories of fish in our country's offshore waters, very few have journeyed to and from the oceans. Instead, the majority are regional in character. Partly because of climatic conditions and partly because of the specially favorable environments of the water areas, many species of fish dwell for generations in our country's sea areas. Some species spend the winter in the deep seas, but when a certain season arrives they swim in shoals along fixed routes to nearby shores in search of food, to put on weight or to lay eggs. Any damage done to these fish resources necessarily means, first of all, damage done to ourselves. Moreover, because the collective breeding and raising of these species of fish has a regional character, once the resources are damaged or destroyed, their restoration or recovery is not at all easy. Judging from past experience, those species with a short production cycle take 3 to 4 years to recover, while those with a long production cycle take 5 to 6 years or even 7 to 8 years. For example, in the 1930's the Japanese invaders indiscriminately caught the real porgy in our Yellow Sea. This brought about the extinction of the real porgy, and to date there has been no recovery. In the last part of the 1950's we ourselves were out in full force to catch baby cod. The result was that the cod resources dwindled and have not yet recovered. We should learn from these lessons. The various provinces and municipalities and the various fishery districts should, after mutual consultation, make unified plans with due consideration for all concerned and sign agreements with the aim of adequately protecting the resources. At the same time, we should actively open up deep sea fishing grounds, promote fishing in the oceans, and in this way reduce the pressure on the fish resources in offshore waters.

To utilize resources in offshore waters rationally, we must have a correct understanding of the concepts governing the development of fishery production. In the past our concept of the development of fishery production one-sidedly emphasized the output target and the fishing or catching capacity but overlooked the protection of resources. As a result, we gave insufficient attention to such targets as those concerning the breeding and raising areas, increased breeding of resources, production per unit and quality of output. This did not cover sufficient ground. As a matter of fact, when it was found that the resources in offshore waters had been seriously depleted, we should have appropriately decreased production and raised product quality. We should, literally speaking, hide the fish in the water and protect the baby fish, so that fish breeding and reproduction can multiply and increase. This should be taken as an important direction of development. The fishermen have rightly said: "One thousand small fish weigh only 1 jin and are hardly sufficient for one meal; yet when these thousand fish have grown big, they can feed one hundred people or more." Our ancient sages said: "Draining the pond to catch all the fish, you can get the fish all right! But beware, there will be no fish next year!" In ancient times our historical documents ordained: "Do not catch egg-laying fish or use closely knitted fishing nets; do not kill fish which are less than one foot in length; do not sell them or eat them." If we really wish to promote fishery development in our offshore waters, we should treasure our fishery resources. We must look farther ahead. Just as birds flap their wings before flying, we should first take one step backward so that we may take two steps forward. We eat less fish now just for the sake of eating more fish in the future.

There is another problem concerning arrangements for the fishermen's livelihood. The fishermen's livelihood today is a hard one. To a certain degree this is due to the blind and exhaustive catching of fish in our offshore waters in the past, without regard to the possible consequences. Indeed, we must earnestly help the fishermen solve their livelihood problems. Excessive fish catching and allowing the fishermen to catch baby and parent fish go against their fundamental interests and surely do not constitute the proper way to solve their livelihood problems. After reducing the intensity of fishing in our offshore waters, we should appropriately broaden the scope of our economic policy covering collective fishery in the fishery areas. We should set up more artificial fish breeding grounds and establish fishery-industrial-commercial complexes. We should encourage the fishermen to make good use of their superior qualities and in various ways help them increase their earnings. They should no longer do such stupid things as to disregard future consequences and drain their ponds to catch all the fish.

Promote Fish Breeding and Raising by Depending on Policy and Science

A fundamental way to develop the fishery industry of our country is to mobilize the masses of people and the various industries and trades to make good use of all available water areas to promote artificial fish breeding.

Our inland water areas cover about 250 million mu, of which about 75 million mu are suitable for fish breeding and raising. Of the latter, a little over one-half is presently being utilized. Along our coastline there are some 7.4 million mu of beaches, of which about one-fourth is being utilized for fish breeding and

raising. Our country was the first country in the world to engage in artificial fish breeding. We have traditional and working experience in this connection. Following a prolonged period of selection and nursery work, we have improved a number of species most suitable for artificial breeding. Additionally, we have established a fairly advanced set of management techniques covering fish breeding, nursing and raising. However, at present the production results of the breeding and raising units differ greatly from one to another. This is evidence that the potential for increasing production has not been fully tapped. Nevertheless, all in all there are good conditions and a great future for the development of the fish breeding and raising industry.

In his analysis of the course of history of man's utilization of the natural resources, Marx said: "Economically, the natural conditions of the outside world may be divided into two main categories: natural resources as materials for living, such as the fertility of soil, water and its plentiful aquatic products, and so on; and natural resources as a means of labor, such as the rushing waterfalls, navigable waterways, forests, metals, coal and so on. In the first cultural stage, the first category of natural resources was of decisive significance. In a more developed stage, the second category of natural resources was of decisive significance." (Marx: "Das Kapital," Vol I, p 560) The natural trend in fishery development is to start from a mere dependence on natural catching or fishing and then proceed to a combination of natural catching and artificial breeding and raising, thus uniting catching and raising.

The development of agriculture depends first on policy backing and second on science. The breeding and raising of aquatic products is also developed in this manner. After the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee, the development of the hog raising enterprise has been rather rapid, while the enterprise of fish breeding and raising has developed rather slowly. One of the important reasons is that in policy implementation fish raising does not enjoy the same priority as hog raising. At present the state is unable to devote more money and natural resources to developing the fish raising enterprise, but there is great potential in depending on policy backing and science for increasing production. Not to allow the peasants to see and enjoy the benefits of fish raising but merely to call on them to raise fish "for the party's sake" will get us nowhere. If there is a policy for fish breeding and raising which links the interests of the communes and brigades and those of the commune members, and if the state undertakes to provide the support, if necessary, in terms of funds and natural resources, then there is great hope for the development of the fish breeding and raising enterprise.

At the present moment certain industrial departments are being reorganized for joint operation. As for the breeding and raising of aquatic products, we should also appropriately promote joint operation or management. This can arouse the enthusiasm of all parties concerned to fully utilize all water areas and beaches fit for fish breeding and raising, although due regard must be given to the prerequisite of not violating the ownership rights of all the waters and beaches. Water areas belonging to the state can be operated by the state or jointly by the state and communes and brigades. Waters belonging to the collectives, if they are within the realm of one commune or brigade, can be operated either by the commune or brigade itself or jointly with the state, with the participation

of commune members who are experienced in this trade and have a strong sense of responsibility. Multiregional and large-scale water areas can be operated by the higher-level organs. Or, instead, joint breeding and raising companies may be organized, with a board of directors and with everybody chipping in some shares. The companies can be run independently. At the present moment, in certain state-owned reservoirs and state-operated fishery grounds much confusion reigns, and the relationship with nearby communes and brigades is not at all good. If the communes and brigades and the state-operated fish breeding units can join together in management, then they will have common interests and will work together to reinforce fishery control and stop such malpractices as fish stealing, taking fish by force, dynamiting fish underwater or poisoning fish. Joint operation between the state and the communes and brigades may take the form of state-operated breeding and raising units directly linked with communes and brigades in operation and management. Or the form of "compensation trade" may be adopted, whereby state-operated industrial and mining enterprises and supply and marketing organs cooperate with communes and brigades to open up base areas for fish breeding and raising. In the localities today there still are many water areas suitable for fish breeding and raising but not yet utilized for that purpose. The collectives and individuals must now come forward and make use of these water areas to breed and raise fish, the sooner the better.

One of the important characteristics of the fishery industry is the highly commercialized nature of its products. Under the present conditions, with the supply of aquatic products falling behind demand and a relatively large disparity between fixed price and market price, it is extremely important to give due respect to the operation of the law of value and to the decisionmaking power of the collective breeding and raising units with regard to their products so as to arouse the enthusiasm of the fishermen. We should review the present quota-levy system which applies to fish breeding and raising units. Wherever possible we should enlarge the decisionmaking power of these units where their products are concerned. This is an important feature of a broadened and magnanimous policy for the fishery industry. Farm trade fairs have always provided the principal avenue for the marketing of aquatic products. Since last year there has been a constant increase in the volume of aquatic products delivered to the market. This has been welcomed by all concerned and has played an important role in activating the urban and rural markets and enhancing the income of the commune members. We must liberate our thought and learn how to use the law of value in guiding fishery production. If production can be increased, state-operated supply and marketing organs need have no fear that there will be no fish to buy.

Roughly speaking, to raise 1 jin of fish requires over 2 jin of feed grain. For hog raising at present the communes and brigades have reserve grain, and the state also provides grain as a reward for sales. But no such grain provisions exist for fish raising. In the fishery areas, shortages of grain and feed present a real problem which blocks the development of the breeding and raising enterprise. In Guangdong, Shanghai and Beijing there is a practice of giving 1 jin of feed grain for each jin of fish purchased. This really supports the development of the fishery industry. From now on, appropriate measures should be taken to solve the problem of feed grain. In particular, efforts must be made to step up the raising of maggots and earthworms and in various ways to open up the sources of supply of feed materials for the fish raising enterprise.

Regardless of whether the breeding and raising units are state owned or collectively owned, they should bear in mind the special features of fishery production and implement the principle of pay according to work and more pay for more work. A system which stipulates fixed output, awards and responsibility and at the same time is suitable to local conditions should be instituted. This will serve to arouse the enthusiasm of the workers and commune members.

The traditional fish raising techniques in our country are a precious heritage from our forefathers. We should do our utmost to preserve them, exalt them and continually raise their scientific level. However, we should not be complacent and stand still, but must earnestly learn and adopt the modern and new fish raising techniques of foreign states. Many provinces and municipalities in the country are now promoting the method of container fish raising. The initial results show that for container raising the output of freshwater fish per mu is generally equivalent to the yield from 10 mu of inland fishponds or 100 mu of open waters. The experimental containers in Hubei Province yield a per mu output of 36,800 jin. Initial results show that container fish raising can fully utilize natural water areas and possesses such merits as high production, quick results and ease of control. The only problem is the high cost involved. We should earnestly take stock of our experiences, continue to promote experimentation and strive hard to lower production costs. Meanwhile, there is also another experiment which has achieved good results. This is the use of terrestrial heat or of excess heat from industrial plants to warm up running water for fish raising. Those localities and enterprises possessing sufficient conditions for this kind of experiment should not hesitate to try it out.

To insure the development of the fish breeding and raising enterprises we must continue to overcome the ideology which one-sidedly stresses grain as the key link and considers arable land as important and water areas as unimportant. Past experience has amply proved that not using a large area of water for raising fish but instead reclaiming it for planting grain not only throws the water system into confusion but also disturbs the ecological balance. It will result in serious consequences. Besides, judging from actual results, the gain therefrom cannot cover the loss. According to investigations, some 600,000 mu of land was reclaimed from the Honghu, and about 500,000 mu of arable land was derived therefrom. Apart from the investment outlay on the reclamation work, expenses were incurred every year to fight drought or to drain away excess water. The new field produced 340 jin of grain per mu. The total receipts per year amounted to only 20 million yuan. On the other hand, if the 600,000 mu of water area had been used for the production of aquatic products, the value of the annual output could have reached 30 to 40 million yuan. To turn shallow sea beaches into arable land costs even more. Moreover, the soil in such fields remains saline for years and produces a very low yield. However, if we use the area for breeding and raising aquatic products, it has been found that in some localities 1 mu of oysters has an annual output value equivalent to the annual output value of grain from 2 mu of paddy field, each capable of turning out 2,000 jin of grain. Similarly, 1 mu of laver or razor clam is equivalent in value to the grain output of 5 mu of paddy field. The per mu yield of prawns is as high as 300 to 500 jin. One ton of prawns for export can be exchanged for 56 tons of wheat, while 1 mu of dried oysters can be exchanged for 44 tons of wheat. In the past, in the reclamation of land from lakes, only the yield and not the amount of land was

taken into account. This kind of field was given the name "compensation fields for fishing nets." The masses say: "Reclaiming land from lakes to compensate for fishing nets is akin to breaking one earthenware jar in order to protect another jar." Indeed, we must earnestly summarize our experience and lessons and should not act so stupidly as to break one jar just to protect another jar. A celebrated man of wealth in our country's history, Fan Li, also known as Tao Zhong, author of the book "Fish Raising Classic," told people about his method of getting rich: "There are five ways to make a living. The first and foremost is from aquatic life." What he meant by "aquatic life" was fish, and what he had in mind was fish raising. If we were to take fishery seriously only from an ideological point of view, reinforce our leadership, protect our water areas well, depend on policy backing to stir up the enthusiasm of the masses and rely on science in fish raising, then after a few years' efforts we could certainly reap presentable results.

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A GOOD FORM OF TOWN-COUNTRY COOPERATION--AN INVESTIGATION OF 'FACTORY-TEAM LINKS AND THE DIFFUSION OF PRODUCTS' IN WEIHAI MUNICIPALITY

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[Article by Gu Shutang [6253 2579 1016] and Chang Xiuze [1603 0208 3419]]

[Text] When we recently conducted a preliminary investigation into the circumstances of the "factory-team links and the diffusion of products" in Weihai Municipality, Shandong Province, we felt very strongly that the diffusion of part of their products by urban enterprises to communes and production teams was a good form of cooperation between town and country, of the integration of agriculture and industry, and a good way of developing industry and agriculture.

(1)

Weihai Municipality's product diffusion began to develop in 1971. The latest move in this product diffusion concerns the No 1 Carpet Factory. From 1958 to 1970 this factory's annual output of "Seagull" brand carpets fluctuated around 2,400 square meters. As a result of the development of foreign trade, this factory was required by the higher levels to raise its output to more than 5,000 square meters. Taking into account the number of workers and staff in the factory (300 people) it would only have been possible, even by making the greatest efforts, to produce 3,000 square meters. If they had wishes to greatly increase the number of staff and workers, they had no labor norms, and there was also a considerable labor shortage in this small town. So the factory transferred the laborious task of carpet weaving to suburban communes and production teams, thus shifting the burden to them and leaving the factory itself responsible only for mending and repairing, ironing and washing. In 1974 the factory established a total of 18 processing centers in rural areas, with 1,137 processing workers. As a consequence of the implementation of product diffusion, this factory raised its output of carpets to 10,000 square meters, a threefold increase over 1970. This method of doing things attracted the attention of other factory and municipal leaders, and since 1974 it has become widespread throughout the municipality. This form of town-country cooperation--"factory-team links and product diffusion"--has now begun to develop vigorously throughout the municipality.

"Factory-team links and the diffusion of products" has three main forms: 1) A continuous sequence is formed between town and country. For example, in the embroidery industry the embroidery factory takes responsibility for equipment,

pattern design, providing materials and so on, while the communes are responsible for organizing the relevant production brigades for the work, and the production brigades or teams make specific arrangements for commune members to do the embroidery work. 2) There is a diffusion of processes or of parts, in which the factory transfers a particular process or a certain group of parts to communes and production teams to work on them. Here the processing costs are met by the factory, which is also responsible for marketing. 3) There is a complete diffusion of products. The channels of supply, production and marketing do not alter; the factory is responsible for supplying raw materials and for purchasing the finished products, and it also receives a certain amount of commission. Of these three forms, the first two are used in the majority of cases.

Because "factory-team links and the diffusion of products" is well suited to the requirements for the development of industry in Weihai Municipality, the development of dispersed processing centers has been very rapid. In the table below we show the process of this development during the period 1971-1979.

<u>Year</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
Enterprises under the municipal authority implementing diffusion	9	10	11	13	18	34	42	49	49
Brigades accepting product diffusion:									
Total	7	9	17	26	30	72	120	142	160
In the municipality	7	9	15	24	28	66	86	108	108
Number of dispersed processing centers:									
Total	16	19	28	39	51	122	182	253	287
In the municipality	16	19	25	36	47	112	142	213	229
Number of processing workers:									
Total	212	312	843	1469	1838	3664	4984	5971	8867
In the municipality	212	312	667	1254	1638	3210	3700	4679	6442
Processing costs (RMB 10,000):									
Total	229	258	362	342	352	485	678	1035	1251
In the municipality	229	258	358	333	340	456	630	979	1167

Today, of 83 enterprises under the authority of the municipality, 49, or 59 percent, are implementing product diffusion; of a total of 195 brigades in the suburban areas of the municipality, 108, or 55 percent, have taken on processing work. In particular, the extent of diffusion is even greater in the No 2 light industry sector. This sector consists of 25 enterprises, and they have set up a total of 206 dispersed centers, with 6,913 processing workers as well as 20,000 female embroidery workers. These processing centers have already become an important force in the development of the No 2 light industry.

Product diffusion has encouraged the development of industry. In 1979 the gross output value of the entire municipality was 305.47 million yuan, an increase of 3.62 times over the figure prior to the introduction of diffusion (1970). In the same period the output value of the No 2 light industry sector was 97.12 million yuan and its profit 11.49 million yuan, which, compared with the figures prior to diffusion, represented increases of 5.39 and 6.34 times respectively. It is clear that the economic results of practicing product diffusion are outstanding.

Product diffusion has also promoted the development of enterprises run by rural communes and production teams and brought about many changes in the economic structure of the rural areas. In the wake of the development of enterprises run by communes and production teams there has been a rapid increase in the standard of living of the commune members.

(2)

The advantages of implementing product diffusion are:

1. It helps to bring into play the superiority of our labor resources.

China's labor resources are plentiful. Right now China's rural areas already have a labor force in excess of 300 million. Because of the small cultivated area, the phenomenon of labor surpluses has occurred in some areas. Thus, how to organize the rural labor force has become a problem of the utmost urgency. Weihai Municipality has 198,000 people, of whom 166,000, or 80 percent, live in rural areas. The area of land under cultivation in the whole municipality is only 179,300 mu, an average of just over 1 mu per person. Since agricultural mechanization is developing fairly quickly in the area, the phenomenon of labor surpluses is becoming more and more pronounced.

To consider a different aspect, because China's agricultural base is at present somewhat weak, it cannot meet the requirements imposed on it by the rapid development of industry and the increase in the urban population. Thus, industry should be developed, but the urban population must also be controlled. This being so, the surplus labor forces from the rural areas cannot rapidly move into the towns and cities. This constitutes a contradiction, and Weihai Municipality's introduction of "product diffusion" has resolved this contradiction rather well.

Let us take the No 1 Carpet Factory as an example. Last year this factory wove 28,000 square meters of carpet, had an output value of 6.16 million yuan, and made a profit of 1.81 million yuan. Compared with the period prior to the implementation of diffusion, output increased 9.1 times, output value 14.7 times and profits 14.5 times. But what of the circumstances of the changes in the labor force? At present there are 380 workers in the factory itself, of whom 270 are permanent staff and 110 are temporary personnel, a situation which has not changed much from what it was in the past. But in 41 dispersed sites in the rural areas the factory has a work force of 2,174 permanent processing workers, 4.72 times as many as work in the actual factory.

As far as the labor situation in the municipality as a whole is concerned, it can be roughly summed up as follows. 1) The manner in which the rural labor forces

are employed. In 1979 the total agricultural labor force of Weihai Municipality comprised 53,993 persons, of whom 6,442, or 11.9 percent, were engaged in the processing centers. If we include the 20,000 female embroidery workers, this adds up to 48.9 percent of the total labor force in the rural areas. 2) The supplementary account of urban labor forces. In 1979 the work force of Weihai Municipality's industrial enterprises comprised 23,201 persons (of whom 12,244 were permanent workers), and the permanent staff of the dispersed centers (including counties outside the municipality as well as the suburban areas) numbered 8,867 persons, with another 20,000 temporary female processing workers. Even if we do not include the latter category and base our calculations solely on the permanent processing workers in the dispersed centers, these still represent about 72.4 percent of the entire municipality's permanent industrial work force.

If we are to bring about the four modernizations, then of course we must introduce advanced technology and equipment. Nevertheless, to resolve the problem of our lack of funds and our surplus labor we must lay a great deal of stress on bringing into play the superiority of China's plentiful labor resources and further develop labor-intensive industries. This kind of industry requires little capital investment and can accommodate a large labor force. Reckoning the labor force employed in terms of a unit's fixed assets, in the entire country's industrial setup it takes, on the whole, 10,000 yuan to accommodate one able-bodied worker, and some enterprises which are introducing advanced technological equipment may require several tens of thousands of yuan or even larger amounts. However, in Weihai Municipality's collectively owned enterprises, which depend mainly on light industry and the handicraft industry, each staff member requires fixed assets of only 3,978 yuan. Thus, the people there have solved the employment problems of many people with the use of only a relatively small amount of capital investment. At the same time, production is developing very quickly. This explains why the more rapid development of the production and export business of labor-intensive enterprises and the vigorous bringing into play of the superiority of our labor resources have an important part to play in the rapid realization of modernization at the present stage in China.

2. It helps to realize economic results with limited capital.

We are establishing socialism under the conditions of a poor foundation to begin with and only meager funds. For this reason, apart from bringing into play the superiority of our labor resources, the question of how to make economic use of our limited funds and how to increase the effective use of our existing funds is one of extreme importance.

The "product diffusion" implemented by Weihai Municipality is an effective means of using funds economically and of making good use of existing funds.

First of all, this product diffusion makes it possible to economize on the investment of capital in the construction of new factory buildings, accommodations for workers and other service installations. As stated above, in 1979 Weihai Municipality set up a total of 287 rural processing centers with a permanent staff of 8,867 persons. According to the calculations of the units concerned, if all these 8,000-plus processing workers were to be concentrated in

urban work, then it would be necessary to build new factory buildings and workers dormitories covering an area of 68,000 square meters and to invest capital to the tune of 4.8 million yuan. It is true that it was necessary to construct some essential factory buildings for the rural processing work, but because the rural processing centers are on a relatively small scale, it was possible to do things simply and thriftily, and they did not require much money. Apart from this, looking at things from the angle of building in urban areas, since the 8,000-plus processing workers are scattered throughout the countryside, savings have been made in the whole realm of setting up commerce, service industries, municipal administration, communications, education, health services and other public facilities.

Second, it has been possible to bring partly obsolete equipment into use, thus saving society's funds.

In the process of Weihai Municipality's implementation of "product diffusion," many industrial enterprises transferred obsolete equipment which they were replacing for use in the dispersed sites, some on the basis of payment by installments and some on the basis of recovering certain depreciation charges. The dispersed sites repaired and put to use these old machines and extended the working life of the equipment, using these pieces of production equipment to continue supplying goods and thereby greatly economizing on investment in equipment.

3. It helps to change the backward appearance of the rural economy and to quicken the pace of agricultural modernization.

How to speed up the development of agriculture is a key problem in the establishment of China's four modernizations. There are two possible ways to develop agriculture: One is to invest massive sums of money and to introduce advanced technology in a big way, carrying out large-scale, highly efficient agriculture; the other is the method of overall development, that is, not only producing grain but also, by suiting methods to local conditions, developing forestry, animal husbandry, sideline industries, fisheries and cash crops, developing enterprises run by communes and production teams and establishing new rural areas which will make people's lives easier and more comfortable. The latter method, although it will not increase agricultural productivity in such a direct way, will nevertheless cause the income of the peasants to increase more rapidly and allow them to grow prosperous more quickly as a result of overall development. Thus, construction funds can be accumulated comparatively quickly on the basis of the gradual improvement of the peasants' lives. Weihai Municipality's "factory-team links and the diffusion of products" has broadened our views in this respect.

The development of product diffusion has greatly promoted the growth of enterprises run by communes and production teams. At present, Weihai's 7 communes and 195 brigades are operating enterprises run by communes or production teams on 438 sites, and of these there are 58 commune industrial enterprises and 380 industrial enterprises run by production teams, involving a staff of 9,497 persons. Between 1975 and 1979 the output of industrial enterprises run by communes rose, on the average, by 50.9 percent every year, while profits rose

by 33.8 percent. With the development of industrial enterprises run by communes and production teams, great changes have come about in the economic structure of the rural areas. Taking the income from industrial and sideline enterprises run by production teams as a proportion of the total income from agriculture, it developed from 22.28 percent in 1971 to 30.43 percent in 1979.

The development of product diffusion has provided substantial funds for agricultural mechanization. Last year the processing costs flowing into the rural areas amounted to 11.67 million yuan, and this income already represents an important source of funds for agriculture. There are now a total of 1,077 tractors in Weihai Municipality's suburban areas, an average of 5.5 tractors per production brigade. Spurred by this agricultural mechanization, there has been rapid growth in the entire municipality's agricultural production. Last year's average per-mu yield of grain reached 1,042 jin, a 110-percent increase over 1970's per-mu yield of 496 jin. Such an increase is seldom seen in the north China region.

Following the development of the rural economy, there has also been an outstanding rise in the standard of living of the commune members. Last year the average per-capita allocation of income from the collective for commune members was 211 yuan, of which the average share of net processing charges for each member of the agricultural population was 71.9 yuan; in brigades which took on rather more processing work obligations, the increase in incomes was even more striking. The real incomes of many brigade members have already surpassed the level of income of urban workers.

The Beizhudao brigade, with a total of 427 households and 1,447 people, has 6 production teams for grain, vegetables, fruit, and so on and 7 workshops fulfilling processing tasks in 8 varieties of products, including machine embroidery and ceramics. In the whole brigade there are 695 men and women engaged in full- or part-time work, and of these, 450 are engaged in industrial or sideline enterprises. In 1979 the total income of the brigade was 820,000 yuan, of which 630,000 yuan was income from industry and sidelines, and the average per-capita income was 276 yuan, or 2.55 yuan per day. The highest net income for a household was 2,700 yuan. The per-mu yield of grain was 2,000 jin and of vegetables 15,000 jin. The brigade has now accumulated public funds of 1.8 million yuan; it owns six tractors and three other motor vehicles. This brigade has now implemented free medical care, free nurseries and free primary and middle school education and has brought into effect a labor insurance scheme for the old retired commune members, and so on. The embryonic form of a new, rich and prosperous socialist rural area is really taking shape before our eyes.

In the long-term view, "factory-team links and the diffusion of products" is likely to play an increasingly important role in narrowing the gap between town and country and between industry and agriculture.

(3)

In the process of implementing "product diffusion," Weihai Municipality has gained some experience that merits our attention.

1. We should strengthen the centralized guidance of product diffusion.

Product diffusion is a new form of cooperation between town and country which extends to both urban and rural areas. In the process of product diffusion it is possible that problems of various sorts may arise on either the rural or the urban side. For example, some factories may only pass on to the rural areas products which require a lot of labor and which yield only small profits, keeping for themselves those which do not require so much labor and which produce larger profits. There also have been cases in which certain processing centers in the rural areas choose only what is to their own advantage, whether it be jobs which produce large profits but require a lot of work or jobs which yield smaller profits but require less work, and so on. For this reason it is necessary to strengthen centralized guidance.

One requirement is to arrange the transfer of products in a centralized way. Weihai Municipality has established a product diffusion bureau, which has investigated all the factories, one by one, and has arrived at a basic understanding on three points: a basic understanding of product orientation and of the channels of supply and marketing; a basic understanding of equipment and craft technology; and a basic understanding of the labor forces of enterprises. On the basis of this understanding they have adopted the method of integrating the higher and lower levels and have drawn up their plans for product diffusion. They suggest that the following conditions are necessary for the diffusion of products: 1) There should be stable sources of raw and processed materials; 2) there must be a market for the products; 3) there should be protective administrative measures for harmful or dangerous assignments; and 4) if the work is not too complex, the technology will be adequate.

Another requirement is to centralize deployment. For several years Weihai Municipality has adhered to the principle of the "three priorities," which are: giving priority to poor communes and production teams in organizing the transfer of products; giving priority to making arrangements for production teams which have little land and many people; and giving priority to making arrangements for production teams which have a weak industrial base, so as to rapidly alter the unfavorable distribution of industry between town and country.

In addition to this, Weihai Municipality has achieved good results by its adoption of the method of economic contracts in order to resolve some contradictions in product diffusion.

2. We should conscientiously insure product quality.

From our inspection of several factories, it seems that the quality of the goods produced by dispersed processing is still relatively good. For example, in 1979 the No 1 Carpet Factory produced 28,000 square meters of carpet, of which the proportion reaching export quality was as much as 100 percent, and it has earned a certain reputation in the international market. Quality has also been guaranteed for other products, such as drawnwork, embroidery, leather goods, engines and parts for oil pumps.

Weihai Municipality is able to guarantee the quality of its products by drawing on three areas of experience.

First, within the municipality, arrangements have been made for the factories which are transferring their products to help the processing centers in technical and management aspects. On the technical side, the main factory takes responsibility for the technical training of personnel from the processing centers, and during the training period it provides living expenses for the apprentices. Help is given to the dispersed centers in drawing up technical operating instructions for their production, and people are frequently sent to the production sites to provide technical guidance. From the point of view of management, they help the processing centers set up and perfect their management teams and their labor organization, as well as establish all kinds of rules and regulations.

Second, they conscientiously guarantee product quality. The vast majority of processing centers have established complete quality control systems and carry out inspections in accordance with the factory's standards of quality. At the Beizhudao brigade processing center we saw that, when they are making gloves for the leather goods factory, there is a strict system of responsibility for each process; every processed product is marked by the worker who made it, and there are people specially assigned to inspection. Any product which is not up to standard is, without exception, returned to the original worker for repair.

Third, the factories and processing centers have drawn up an agreement under the terms of which rewards are given for high-quality products, and reductions are made in the processing fees for goods which do not measure up to the required quality. For example, the No 1 Carpet Factory and its processing centers have reached an agreement whereby the processing fees of the processing centers are increased by 15 percent for every high-quality carpet they produce (with everybody getting a bonus), while when quality requirements are not reached the fees are reduced by 15 percent. Making prices dependent on quality and distributing rewards and penalties fairly have greatly encouraged the raising of quality.

3. We should establish equitable processing fees. The fairness, or otherwise, of processing fees directly affects the economic gains of both sides and is a matter of great concern to both the factories and the processing centers.

Looking at the overall situation in Weihai Municipality, the processing fees paid by the factories have guaranteed profits for the factories and have also increased the incomes of the communes and production teams; they have activated the enthusiasm of both parties concerned and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production.

Nevertheless, because there are no centralized standards for processing fees, there exists a situation of inequality among the various processing centers. Since industrial enterprises are beginning to implement profit sharing, communes and production teams are also hoping to be able to reap greater benefits from the factories' profits. The municipal departments concerned are planning the centralized examination and approval of processing fees, which will operate on the principles of aiding the support to agriculture and helping enterprises

increase their accumulated funds. The factories practicing product diffusion will offer suggestions on fixed prices for processing, and these suggestions will undergo examination by a responsible bureau and be submitted to the municipal planning commission for approval.

We believe that three factors should be taken into consideration in fixing processing fees.

- 1) Part of the processing fees should provide compensation for human labor: the income of workers in the processing centers should, in principle, be largely similar to the wages received by workers in factories and enterprises for doing the same kind of work.
- 2) Part of the processing fees should provide compensation for the use of physical installations and natural resources: this includes compensation from the processing fees for the use of factory buildings and equipment, the consumption of electricity, and so on. In addition, certain transportation and management costs should also be defrayed out of this part of the processing fees.
- 3) So as to support the development of industry in communes and production teams, in the sharing of profits gained by factories which overfulfill their plans we might consider handing over a suitable proportion as a financial reward to all the processing centers which had a hand in fulfilling the obligations.

Since the products made by each processing center are all different, some simple and some complex, and because the time taken to train workers may be long or short, we may allow a certain degree of flexibility in processing fees. Certain differentials should be maintained in the processing fees for different products, but they should not be too large, so that due consideration may be given to the interests of each side involved.

CSO: 4004

OVERCOME THE FORCE OF HABIT OF SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION AND TAKE THE ROAD OF INTEGRATION BETWEEN SPECIALIZED DEPARTMENTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 26-29

[Article by Tan Zhuo [6223 5398], director of the Dalian General Sewing Machine Factory]

[Text] The Dalian General Sewing Machine Factory began to practice cooperation between specialized departments in the second half of 1978. This year we have smashed the shackles of conventional thinking and organized integrated operations which transcend provincial and municipal boundaries and go beyond the limitations of a particular industry, with the result that there has been considerable improvement in our factory's production, and our economic results have become more and more outstanding. From these 2 years of practice we feel that, in order to increase the rate of development of sewing machine production and to satisfy the ever-increasing living requirements of the people, it is essential to overcome the force of habit of small-scale production and take the road of integration between specialized departments. This is an important part of the present reform of economic management, as well as a necessary trend in the development of modernized industry.

Sewing machines are a widely sold product and are manufactured in large batches, and there is an objective requirement for the implementation of large-scale production so as to manufacture the product in large numbers and at high quality. However, there is a big contradiction between the objective requirement and the subjective knowledge. The predecessor of our factory was a small hardware factory formed by the integration of 27 households of small handicraft workers. The experimental production of sewing machines was begun in 1958, and in 1962 the factory was officially named the Dalian Sewing Machine Factory. In October 1978 it absorbed three commune-level factories and five neighborhood factories, thus establishing the Dalian General Sewing Machine Factory. As a consequence of this, the ideology and force of habit of small-scale production is relatively pronounced in our factory. The implementation of the work of integrating the operations of specialized departments has met with serious obstruction from the ideology of small-scale production. If we are to steadfastly and indomitably take the road of integration between specialized departments, the thinking of leading cadres must be greatly emancipated and must be freed from the feudal ideological fetters of self-sufficiency and setting up one's own organization which stem from small-scale production. Lenin pointed out: "The historical task of the proletariat is to train, educate and transform all elements of a petit

bourgeois class origin which have been bequeathed to it by the old society. But if this is to be achieved, then it is necessary for the proletariat to transform these people with a petit bourgeois class origin; it is essential that the proletariat influence them and that they not influence the proletariat." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 16, p 49) In keeping with this spirit of Lenin's, and uniting to carry out the work of integration between specialized departments, we have undertaken thorough and painstaking political ideological work in order to eradicate the influence of the small producer's mentality in our factory.

1. Eradicate the selfishness of small-scale production, spread spare parts around and raise the level of specialization.

In the second half of 1978, in order to practice specialization, we farmed out the great majority of our spare parts, along with the relevant equipment, from the main factory to several specialized factories in Luda Municipality and to enterprises run by communes and production teams in local counties and districts. Regarding this kind of move, which requires only a small expenditure, which shows rapid results and which is of extreme value in developing production, some comrades were very critical, had many misgivings and worried about this and that. Some even went so far as to say: "Our resources, built up over decades of operations, have been thrown away in a moment; it's a terrible waste!" It is clear that some of our comrades have become accustomed to treating and organizing large-scale production from the viewpoint and with the methods of small-scale production; ideologically they are concerned only with a part and do not look at things as a whole; they look only at what is in front of their eyes and are not interested in the long term. There is a fairly serious amount of selfish departmentalism, and the selfishness of small-scale production still prevails.

Selfishness is the prime characteristic of small-scale producers, and this way of thinking has its roots in the private ownership of small-scale production. Over a span of 20 years, by means of socialist reform, the private ownership of small production was transformed into collective ownership or ownership by the whole people. After undergoing much ideological education, the private ownership mentality of small-scale production has been greatly weakened. Nevertheless, we have been unable to eradicate the deeply ingrained selfishness of small-scale production, even after carrying out repeated campaigns. This is because, whenever a new reform is introduced, the selfishness of small-scale production will find expression, to a greater or lesser extent, either clearly or obscurely, in specific work. This problem is made clear by the fact that some comrades maintain that it is a "waste of resources" when we farm out some specialized equipment, according to work requirements, to specialized branch factories. We are not adopting a simple and brutal approach of complete negation of this mentality but are taking an analytical stance instead. Those comrades who look after things in the factory as well as they do things in their own homes should be praised and encouraged. The attitude of treating the factory as one would treat one's own home should be encouraged, and the advantages of practicing specialization and integrated operations should also be explained. We are patiently explaining to these comrades that the farming out of relevant equipment is not a waste of this property, but rather an aid to the better realization of the equipment's potential; that it is not a free transfer, but that certain

depreciation charges are exacted; that it is not done for the private benefit of any one person, but in the interests of meeting the need for socialist specialized large-scale production.

During the 10 years of disaster, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company did their utmost to propagate petit bourgeois selfishness. To date we have not been able to completely liquidate this pernicious influence, and it is, moreover often decked out to look even more selfless than the proletariat. An example of this was when we transferred some relevant equipment from the main factory, which is under the system of ownership by the whole people, to collectively owned branch factories. There were people who went so far as to maintain that this was retrogression, saying that it was "dividing socialism" and "practicing capitalism." To counter this mentality we are organizing the study and discussion by cadres of the question "What is socialism?" in order to impress upon them the need to support and foster the collective economy in a socialist society. To promote the better reform of the concept of private ownership in small-scale production, we must form links with collectively owned enterprises and bring them further into the sphere of modernized large-scale production. The method of rejecting the development of the collective economy is a product of the ultra-leftist line and constitutes sham socialism. What we are practicing is socialism which conforms to the actual conditions pertaining to China's present stage, and it bears no resemblance to "practicing capitalism."

2. Eradicate the parochialism of small-scale production and practice wide socialist cooperation transcending provincial and municipal boundaries.

As a result of our implementation of specialized production, there has been a great increase in the output of sewing machines, which means that we need to promote even more wide-ranging integration, raise the level of socialized large-scale production and attain our goal of further developing production, raising annual output from this year's level of 270,000 machines to a level of 500,000 next year, and then advancing toward an annual output of 1 million machines. In all fields, whether in factory buildings, equipment or technological resources, there is still a long way to go before such large-scale increases can be achieved. In particular, we have insufficient casting capacity, and there is an even bigger gap in the supply of timber for the sewing machine platforms. What, then, is to be done? First of all, we are placing our hopes in a capital investment by the state of more than 10 million yuan, which will enable us to erect new factory buildings, buy equipment and set up a new organization. Of course, for the time being the state has financial difficulties and cannot invest; even if the state were to invest, past experience indicates that the results would not be seen for 3 to 5 years. When the party Central Committee promulgated the guiding principle of encouraging strong points, avoiding weaknesses and bringing superiority into play, the tentative idea occurred to us that, if foreign countries could operate transnational corporations, why should we not practice cooperation transcending provincial and municipal boundaries? What was wrong with the idea of using the capacity of factories which were not very busy, outside Luda Municipality and even outside Liaoning Province, to develop sewing machine production, a measure which would help other people as well as resolve our own difficulties? Thereupon, we rushed all over the place making inquiries and conducting research, and eventually we concluded agreements with wooden goods factories in Qingyuan and

Tieling in Liaoning and the counties and municipalities of Yanji, Wangqing and Antu in Jilin. Under the terms of these agreements they will produce 100,000 cabinet-style sewing machine platforms in the near future and 400,000 in the long term. We have laid the foundation for our task of producing 500,000 machines next year, which is a very gratifying accomplishment.

However, because of the mischief done to some of our comrades by the narrow-mindedness of small-scale production, these comrades have adopted a censorious attitude toward this kind of wide-ranging integration. Some have said things like this: "For one's father and mother to have a thing is not like having it oneself. If we can do something ourselves, then we should form as few links as possible with outside units. The flesh on someone else's body is never the same as that on one's own body." The reason why these comrades do not want to embark on joint enterprises which go beyond regional and municipal boundaries is that the mentality and habits which have been fostered over a long period of small-scale production forms and conditions of economic life make them unwilling to establish connections with other production units. It is just as Marx said: Small-scale production forms "reject cooperation.... They are concerned only with the narrow limits of the natural emergence of production and society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 266) In the past the field of vision of some comrades was narrowed by the stuffiness caused by a long period of small-scale production. When they were transferred from individual enterprises to collectives or to state-run enterprises, because they were again working in a restricted environment, and also because they suffered the deprivations and disturbances of the ultraleftist ideological trend, this parochialism of theirs was not properly overcome.

In order to overcome the parochialism of small-scale production and to broaden the horizons of our comrades, we have spent a great deal of time talking about the features of the light industry front and explaining the inevitable trend toward integration. We have discussed our factory's development program and our blueprint for good future prospects, and we have boosted everybody's confidence in integration. We have spoken of our factory's strong points and present difficulties and suggested how to encourage strengths and avoid weaknesses. We have talked a lot about the need for light industry to rely on integration in its development, as well as about the advantages of integrated cooperation. Marx said: "The problem at issue is not only that the productive forces of individuals have been increased by means of cooperation, but also that, when a productive force has been brought into being, this force itself must necessarily be a collective force." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 362) If we wish to practice integration and to increase the productive forces, then we must eradicate the parochialism attached to small-scale production and not stuffily wrap ourselves up in our own affairs again.

Only when we had undertaken to thoroughly eradicate small-scale production parochialism could the work of integration achieve a relatively rapid development. At present we are already closely integrated with more than 30 units in 3 provinces, 3 municipalities and 8 counties, and some of these have already fulfilled their agreements, which is a powerful guarantee for the raising of our capacity to produce sewing machines.

3. Eradicate the conservatism of small-scale production and go in for the work of trial manufacturing of new products in a big way.

Since the experimental production of our first sewing machine in 1958, our factory has been in operation for more than 20 years. However, after 20 years we are still making only one product, and this can be called having "the same system all along for 20 years." A factory cannot go on having "the same system for 20 years." The manufacture of new products is an important measure in an enterprise's struggle for survival and development, because society is advancing and the needs of the people are also changing. If an enterprise has not dared to blaze new trails, and if it does not have an abundance of new products to satisfy market requirements, then that enterprise may lose its competitiveness, and this eventually must lead to collapse. To raise the competitiveness of our enterprise and to meet the ever-increasing requirements of the people's material and cultural life, beginning last year our factory embarked on the trial manufacture of new products.

In the matter of handling the trial manufacture of new products we have also encountered obstruction from the force of habit generated by small-scale production. Some comrades say that in manufacturing new products we should not make them too new, because if we do, no one will want them when they go on sale. Others make far too much of the difficulties involved in manufacturing new products. All this kind of thinking reflects the conservatism of small-scale production and the prejudice of sticking to old ways. "A characteristic of small-scale commodity production is its completely primitive handicraft technology, a technology which has scarcely altered from ancient times right up to the present." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 496) Low-level productive forces do not possess any reserves and thus do not have the requisite capacity for improving production technology or product variety. This is what determines the sticking to old ways, the complacency and conservatism, the being content with things as they are and the unwillingness to progress which small-scale production is most accustomed to. Because those comrades who have previously managed small-scale production have not been schooled in the law of value, they have yet to grasp the fact that the law of value must be respected in production operations; they do not take pains over the use of new technology or the reform of the instruments of production, and they lack sufficient understanding of the importance of getting new products onto the market so as to increase the competitiveness of the factory.

The mentality of sticking to old ways is a spiritual yoke around the neck of enterprises in their existence and development. If this mentality is not stamped out, there will be no way of making innovations in our products, and then enterprises will not be able to progress and inevitably will be eliminated through market competition. To overcome the mentality of sticking to old ways inherent in small-scale production, we have organized visits to consumers by cadres to conduct market research and discuss the importance of the trial manufacture of new products in keeping with the actual state of affairs, and this has initially united the thinking of the leading groups. Everybody believes not only that it is necessary to manufacture new products, but that this must be done well; not only that we must be competitive in domestic markets, but also that we must strive to enter the international market and win glory for our country.

To speed up the renewal and replacement of products and to make sure that old products can be used as a basis for the manufacture of new ones, we have set up a sewing machine research unit and an experimental workshop for new products. In all processes, from ideology to organization, we have raised the trial manufacture of new products to an important place on the agenda. After 2 years of hard work and trial manufacture we have succeeded in producing 5-function and 21-function sewing machines. Preparation of the installations for producing the five-function sewing machines is now complete, and we will be able to begin manufacturing them in small batches before the end of the year. Apart from this, in carrying out cooperation which went beyond provincial and municipal boundaries, we achieved the trial production of more than 10 kinds of sewing machine platforms, including cabinet-style, desk-style and variable-height platforms. By combining the different machines, platforms and stands, we now have more than 10 new product varieties and have changed the backward state of affairs of using the same system for 20 years and producing only a single product type.

For 2 years we have been continually rooting out the outworn concept of small-scale production, thus effecting increases in the quality of sewing machines and in the variety of products and, in particular, increasing output considerably. Output in 1979 showed a 17-percent increase over 1978; output in the first half of this year showed a 34.9-percent increase over the same period last year. After 20 years of effort, only now have we been able to achieve a production capacity of 200,000 machines a year. By initiating coordination between specialized departments, we have achieved, in only 2 years, a capacity of 300,000 machines and can attain a capacity of 500,000 next year. All this fully demonstrates the power of coordination between specialized departments and clearly proves that production can be greatly developed by eradicating the concepts of small-scale production and taking the road of integration between specialized departments. As some comrades have said, with great insight, "The road of integration between specialized departments is the one we must follow. If we take it soon, we will enjoy the benefits, but if we take it too late, we will only suffer."

Our socialist system has severed all ties with the semicolonial, semifeudal old China. At present the influence of the capitalist mentality still persists, but the feudalist mentality and its influence have been completely wiped out. As far as the force of habit of small-scale production is concerned, the situation is similar. As a result, the contradictions and the struggle between the proletarian and nonproletarian ideologies, as well as the contradictions between the proletarian and feudal ideologies, may still frequently show themselves in every aspect of life in society. In the field of industrial production, these contradictions and struggles are manifested in their most concentrated form in the conflict and struggle which socialized large-scale production is forced to wage with the small producer mentality and its parochial view. To take our factory as an example, this point can be fully explained. We are deeply conscious of the fact that, even where the socialist public ownership system is in force, the small producer mentality cannot be eradicated at a stroke and that a long period of struggle is required. It is just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There are still many people among the proletariat who preserve the petit bourgeois mentality; both the peasants and the urban petit bourgeoisie have a backward mentality, and this is a burden they must bear in the struggle. We should patiently educate them over a

long period of time and help them to get rid of this millstone around their neck and to struggle with their own errors and shortcomings, so that they are able to advance with great strides." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 806) We are determined to further liberate our thinking, to continue to overcome the influence of the small producer mentality and to make a better job of specialization and integrated cooperation in order to make a bigger contribution to the rapid development of sewing machine production.

CSO: 4004

THE GOAL OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES AND THE GOAL OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION
ARE A DIALECTICAL UNITY--DISCUSSION WITH COMRADE WU ZHENKUN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 29-31

[Article by Feng Baoxing [7458 1405 5281]]

[Text] Based on the viewpoint of Stalin, the article by Wu Zhenkun, "It Is Necessary To Make Clear the Scientific Implications of the Goals of Socialist Production," published in RED FLAG No 17, 1980, points out that the goal of socialist production is the satisfaction of people's consumption needs, while the satisfaction of the demands of increased reproduction is a means of attaining this goal. In the final analysis, the demands of administrative management and the establishment of national defense serve the purpose of satisfying people's consumption demands. This understanding is correct. However, the author pointed out that the production goal of the enterprise in a socialist commodity economy is to directly utilize value. Since this viewpoint does not reflect the actual conditions of the movement of a socialist commodity economy, I cannot agree with it. Below I express my opinions for discussion with Comrade Wu Zhenkun.

Comrade Wu Zhenkun said, "The goal of any social production is not determined by commodity production but by the ownership of the means of production." It is certainly correct to say that the goal of production is determined by the ownership of the means of production. However, Marxist political economy holds that, in order to recognize the essence and overall appearance of an ownership system, it is also necessary to analyze the entire process of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. Therefore, without an examination of the socialist commodity production and distribution to each according to his work, we cannot give a scientific explanation of the nature of the socialist system of ownership. If we discard commodity production, commodity exchange and distribution to each according to his work which is carried out every day in actual economic life, our understanding of socialist public ownership can only be an empty abstraction; if we start from this empty abstraction to describe the relationship between the goals of social production and enterprise production, we cannot but arrive at a simplified conclusion which does not conform to objective reality.

Under the conditions of commodity production, how is the economic movement of socialist ownership by the whole people realized? As far as the economics of ownership by the whole people is concerned, although the means of production belong in the realm of ownership by the whole people, they are used, managed and operated separately by tens of thousands of enterprises. Each enterprise

is a relatively independent commodity producer organized according to the demands of socialized production. As far as the workers of every enterprise are concerned, they do not directly consume the use value which they produce. They create wealth for society, and, in accordance with the principle of exchange for an equal amount of labor, they obtain material benefits. The prerequisite of all this lies in the realization of the value of the products of the enterprise. This is to say that the work of producers in enterprises under the ownership of the whole people can only be recognized by society through the sale of products. Although the labor consumption charges of the various enterprises for producing the same product are different, what determines the value of products is the labor time required by society. When an enterprise sells its products and the consumption of labor in the individual enterprise is greater than the required labor in society, and if the surplus amount of labor required is not recognized by society, the enterprise will incur losses. On the contrary, if the consumption of labor in the individual enterprise is lower than the required labor in society, surplus income, or superprofits, will be gained. The enterprise submits its income to the state in the form of taxes and profits, and after other necessary deductions it allocates the surplus within the enterprise in the form of wages and bonuses according to the amount and quality of labor performed by the various workers. In order to guarantee and increase the income of staff and workers, what directly concerns the enterprise is to realize the value of the product and to strive to lower the individual value of the product so as to obtain superprofits. This is the direct goal of the relatively independent commodity producer in enterprise production under the system of ownership by the whole people.

Is the direct production goal of the enterprise then contrary to the goal of social production? In a socialist commodity economy, the direct production goal of the enterprise and the social production goal are a dialectical unity.

Use value is the material bearer of value. To realize the value of a commodity, the enterprise must produce the use value required by society. To gain surplus income, the enterprise must also strive to improve technology, improve management operation, economize on manpower and material resources and, as far as possible, reduce the time of individual work. The various enterprises work hard toward this end. This will cause a general decrease in the actual labor consumption in the majority of enterprises and thus cause a reduction in the required labor time in society and an increase in the productivity of social labor. In this way society can produce even more use value within the same labor time and thus create material conditions for satisfying the people's consumption needs to the greatest extent. It can thus be seen that, with regard to some enterprises, the direct goal of enterprise production is certainly value and profit. But seen from the overall situation of society, the pursuit of this goal by the enterprise will form the means to produce more and more use value and satisfy the people's consumption needs to the greatest extent. It can also be said that the realization of the goal of the whole of social production lies in the realization of the direct production goals of the various enterprises.

The unity of the direct production goal of the enterprise and the goal of social production mentioned above is determined by the basic nature of socialist commodity production. The objectively existing dialectical unity between the direct

production goal of the enterprise and the goal of social production is a basic standpoint in the reform of the economic management system that we are currently carrying out. No matter whether it is the preliminary profit allocation for increasing enterprise autonomy or the delegation to the enterprise of the responsibility of shouldering its own profits and losses after the reform of the tax and price systems due to be carried out, all this is vividly embodied in this unity. It can now be clearly seen that whenever this reform is carried out, there will be an increase in the profits of the enterprise, the income of its staff and workers, the tax and profits submitted to the state and the total amount of use value rendered to the state. The preliminary results of the practice of this reform have proved the dialectical unity of these two aspects.

We say that the goal of social production and the goal of enterprise production are a dialectical unity. This means that there are also contradictions between the two. The unity is brought about in the process of constant adjustment of contradictions.

The first contradiction between the direct production goal of the enterprise and the goal of social production is that the enterprise tends to start from its own partial interests and acts with blind enthusiasm. This is manifested in such phenomena as duplicate production, duplicate construction of plants, bottlenecks in the supply of raw materials, blind increases in productivity, extension of the capital construction front, thus causing a tremendous waste of social labor, and so on. All this does not promote the attainment of the goal of social production. These contradictions are difficult to avoid in a commodity economy. However, since a socialist commodity economy is built on the foundation of public ownership of the means of production, the state, representing the interests of all the people, can consciously make use of the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy and the law of value, implement long-term and annual plans, coordinate functions from lower to upper and from upper to lower levels, coordinate guidance and command and make full use of the necessary administrative means, various economic levers and economic legislation. By organizing various combinations of economic models, it can provide the necessary supervision, guidance and coordination to the economic activities of the enterprise, lead the production of the enterprise onto a path which conforms to the goal of social production, and thus promote the full development of the vitality and enthusiasm of the enterprise along lines which are beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood.

The next contradiction between the production goal of the enterprise and the goal of social production is sometimes seen when the enterprise, in order to attain superprofits so as to increase the income of its staff and workers, does not adopt the method of reducing labor consumption and increasing labor productivity, but instead adopts the method of arbitrarily raising prices or disguising price increases by using inferior materials, turning out substandard goods and generally lowering quality, thus damaging the interests of society. As long as there is a commodity economy, the existence and emergence of this contradiction are unavoidable. However, under the conditions of public ownership, a solution can be found which is beneficial to society. On the one hand, the state can impose administrative sanctions and economic penalties on those who violate state stipulations with arbitrary or disguised price increases. On the other hand, we

must, under the conditions of maintaining a balance between the amount of currency in circulation and the amount of commodities which can be supplied, carry out regulation by using the great economic force of competition. When there is competition, enterprises producing inferior, overpriced commodities will be forced to lower the price and improve the quality. Otherwise the goods will remain unsold.

To sum up, in examining the goal of social production under the socialist system, we cannot depart from the fundamental economic condition that a socialist economy is still a commodity economy and examine the question from the viewpoint of a natural economy. In actual economic life, products are still commodities and are the unity of use value and value. This is the basic starting point which we must firmly grasp in the examination of problems. For many years an important lesson in our economic work has been the distinct opposition between use value and value in production. We maintained that the goal of production was to attain use value and neglected the reduction in the consumption of social labor required to produce use value. This consequently caused serious damage to the development of the national economy. Two different situations can exist in the production of use value, whether in theory or in practice: In one situation the labor consumption costs in the production of use value are high, thus inflicting losses on industrial enterprises and "poor teams with high output" in agriculture. Under these conditions, although use value is produced, the people's livelihood cannot be improved. For example, viewed from the overall situation, in the 22 years from 1957 to 1979 the speed of development of production in our country was not low, and the increase in use value was not slow, but the average unit's labor consumption costs in producing use value did not decrease but actually increased. The net result of this was a drop in the profit rate. From 1965 to 1979 alone there was a drop of 16 percent in the profits and tax on every 100 yuan of sales in state-operated industry. This was one of the basic reasons why the people's livelihood did not improve much in this period despite the development of production. In the other situation the labor consumption costs in the production of use value are constantly reduced, thus providing people with more high-quality goods at low prices. Under these conditions, growth of the production of use value is followed by constant improvement in the people's livelihood. Obviously, to satisfy people's consumption needs on the widest scale, what is needed is not the production of use value with high consumption and poor results but the production of use value with a constant reduction in the labor consumption costs in our units. If the use value of the unit is calculated according to a fixed price, it is the production of use value with a constant growth in the profit rate and in the amount of profit. It is precisely because of this that, in striving to lower labor consumption costs in the production of use value in order to pursue value and profits, enterprises are not contradicting the goal of social production but are attempting to realize the goal of social production.

CSO: 4004

LISTEN TO THE PARTY AND LISTEN TO THE MASSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 32-35

[Article by Guo Xi [6753 3556] and Cheng Fu [6134 1133]]

[Text] In our revolutionary ranks there is a loud and clear slogan known as "Listen to the party." Every member of the Communist Party and every revolutionary fighter undoubtedly should listen to the party. This is something which is demanded by the principle of party spirit. How can one be a party member or revolutionary fighter if one does not listen to the party? Unfortunately, during the 10 years of havoc the meaning of "Listen to the party" was badly confounded.

The original meaning of "Listen to the party" is precisely to learn and carry through the line, principles and policies of the party. The Chinese Communist Party is the leading core of all the people in China. Long-term historical experience has proved that the correct line, principles and policies laid down by the party have reflected both long-term and immediate benefits for the masses, have expressed the will and wishes of the masses and are in line with the law of social development. Without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, there could not have been the socialist new China, nor would the victory of socialist modern construction be possible. In fact, "Listen to the party" is nothing but the basic principle of upholding the leadership of the party. Leadership of the party means collective leadership and not arbitrary rule by an individual. Therefore, "Listen to the party" does not amount to listening to an individual.

During the "Cultural Revolution," however, the question of "Listen to the party" and upholding party leadership was distorted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. They deliberately reversed the relationship of the party and the masses, created modern superstition, replaced listening to /the party/ [in boldface] with listening to /an individual/ [in boldface] leader and preached listening to one person only; moreover, they insisted on "acting in accordance with" every single word of that person without regard to whether these words were right or wrong. If you expressed any doubt or did not fully carry out these words, you would be charged and punished. The band of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing even changed "Listen to the party" into listening to their so-called "men of the proletarian headquarters." Chen Boda frequently persecuted others for not listening to him. Jiang Qing publicly clamored, "Not listening to me is tantamount to not listening to the party." This band of counterrevolutionaries advertised listening to only one person; it was feudalist rubbish. In feudal society the emperor was the supreme figure, and blind loyalty to the emperor was

preached: "I am the state," and "When an emperor orders an official to die, the official dares not refuse." Even when an emperor talked rubbish, such words were looked upon as "sound advice from the mouth of the wise" or "golden rules" and had to be obeyed unquestioningly. If a person were to say something to the contrary and thus offended the emperor, then "the emperor would get very angry," and the person would receive a death sentence; even his whole family and relatives would be involved and executed. We must eliminate the remnant pernicious influence of feudalism and restore the original meaning of "Listen to the party."

It is absolutely necessary to listen to the party; there is not the slightest doubt about this. However, it seems that for a long time certain people formed this concept: The masses have to listen to the party, but party members have no need to listen to the masses. Such a viewpoint of isolating listening to the party from listening to the masses and setting the former against the latter is obviously wrong and harmful; it violates the principle of our party on the consistency of party spirit and affinity with the people.

The thinking that the party cannot depart from the masses, just as fish cannot depart from water, and that without the masses there would not be the party is a basic principle of historical materialism. Stalin expounded this principle profoundly in the form of a myth. He said: In Greek mythology there was a famous hero called Antaeus. His father was Poseidon, god of the sea, and his mother was Gaea, goddess of the earth. It was generally recognized by people that he was a fearless hero. The reason why Antaeus was so powerful and invincible that no one dared contend with him was that whenever he ran into difficulty in the course of a duel he would lean on the ground and obtain fresh energy from the body of his mother. However, he had a fatal weakness, and that was that once he left his mother, the earth, he would lose his strength. Thus, his enemy Hercules made use of his weakness by thinking of a way to make him leave the ground and then lifted him up and choked him to death in the sky. Stalin said that the Bolshevik Party was like the hero Antaeus in the sense that the masses were the mother of the party. The party is invincible only if it takes root among the masses, relies on the masses and always maintains the most extensive contact with the masses. All members of our party should never forget this most basic principle and must listen to the masses.

"Listen to the party" means, fundamentally speaking, listening to the masses, that is, understanding the people's wants, meeting their urgent needs, always acting on behalf of the people and being responsible to the people in all aspects. Listening to the party is consistent with listening to the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "All speeches and actions of communists must take as the highest standard obtaining the greatest benefits for the broadest realms of the masses and the greatest support from the broadest realms of the masses." "The Communist Party is a political party which obtains benefits for the nation and the people and must never pursue any private ends for itself." Our party faithfully represents the interests of the people of all nationalities within the whole country. From the day it was established, our party has carried the great ideal of liberating the whole of China and the whole people and takes serving the people wholeheartedly as its only aim. To realize this great ideal, countless party members and revolutionary martyrs selflessly and fearlessly fought bravely one after the other and finally greeted the birth of a new China. Similarly, in the

process of socialist revolution and socialist construction our party still genuinely and earnestly wishes to manage national affairs well and not to pursue any self-interest. This is a fact witnessed by the masses.

Our party is for the people. We communists are ourselves part of the masses. History is created by the masses. The masses are the masters of history, our country and society. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "A political party of the working class does not treat the masses as its own tools but self-consciously identifies itself as a tool of the masses to fulfill a specific historical mission in a specific historical period." "It becomes the vanguard and can lead the masses because, and only because, it is the wholehearted servant of the masses, reflects the interests and wills of the masses and strives to help the masses organize themselves to fight for their own interests and wills." "To affirm this concept of the party is to affirm the point that the party does not possess any power to go beyond the masses, to bestow favors, to monopolize everything and impose orders on the masses or to assume the role of emperor or overlord over the masses."

Organizations at various levels of our party and all party members must at any time and on any issue stand on the side of the masses. The party cannot take on everything and does not have the power to force the masses to do this or do that. We only have the obligation to listen to the masses and do not have the power to refuse to listen to the masses; the party cannot in any way depart from the masses. We shall have an invincible power only if we proceed from reality and maintain the closest contacts with the masses. In all our activities we must closely rely on the masses, care about their hardship, listen to their voices, pursue their wise advice, rely on their power and protect their interests; in this way we can fulfill our various tasks in a better manner. If listening to the party and listening to the masses are in unison, then the nature of the party and the nature of the people are in unison.

Our party must listen to the masses; there is no doubt about this. However, the words of the masses are often at variance and different; then whose words must be listened to? Whose advice is to be taken? Indeed, in actual life the masses do express both correct and incorrect opinions. Some of their words may be fundamentally correct but carry wrong components; some may be fundamentally wrong but carry correct elements. While there are serious opinions, there are also grumbles, "words carrying a sting," "words aiming at discrediting others," and so on. We must listen to all these seriously, analyze them in a concrete manner and deal with each case on its merits. If such an opinion is beneficial to the people, to the construction of modernization and to the upholding of the four basic principles, then we must listen to it and act according to it. For cases contrary to this, we should carry out persuasion and education as well as explain the reasons patiently. On questions of the most basic principles--for instance, on such basic questions as the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist road--we should and can accomplish unity of thinking, while on other questions we should allow various views to "contend." That is to say, the masses can express different opinions or even express opposite views. It is not possible to demand that every word uttered by the people be correct, as that would be an excessive demand, and in practice no one can do it. If we demand that every word uttered by people be true, then this simply amounts to asking people not to

folk, and how can one still be said to be listening to the masses? We are not afraid of differing opinions, but we are afraid of ten thousand horses standing mute. As the wise old saying goes, "A thousand men saying yes is not as good as one scholar making sharp criticism." Therefore, on the question of listening to the masses our party members, especially those who shoulder certain leadership responsibilities, must be openminded, patient and sincere and must pool the wisdom of the masses with correct methods to achieve the correct concentration through extensive democracy. Our party members must follow the example of the current party Central Committee in listening to the masses sincerely and wholeheartedly; then the masses will listen to the party, and we will certainly be able to realize the four modernizations.

Our party members, especially those who are cadres, may encounter situations in which contradictions arise in the course of listening to the party and listening to the masses. This is because sometimes the party is correct but certain segments of the masses do not understand and so cannot accept what the party says for the time being; then it is necessary to adopt correct methods to enlighten the masses by carrying out serious propaganda repeatedly and educating the masses so as to arouse them to accept the leadership of the party voluntarily. Resorting to coercion or commandism is simple but brutal; neither measure can help solve things, and both are wrong. Commandism is out of the question; tailism is also out of the question. Sometimes certain words of the party do not tally with or do not entirely conform to reality or are wrong. Then it is even more necessary to listen carefully to the opinions of the masses; at the same time, it is necessary to promptly reflect the same to party organizations, to accept the correct views and reasonable demands of the masses and to rectify decisions which do not conform to reality. To achieve unity between the words of the party and the words of the masses is precisely a major responsibility in the actual work of every party member, especially those who are leading cadres. There is no reason why we should not do well as the link and bridge between the party and the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "To serve the people wholeheartedly and never depart from the masses; to always proceed from the interests of the masses and not from the interests of an individual or a small clique; the unitary nature of responsibility to the people and responsibility to leading party organs--such are our starting points." This is our criterion for handling the relationship between listening to the party and listening to the masses.

How should we judge whether the words of the party and the words of the masses are correct or wrong? Surely we can only base our judgment on social practice, the only standard of testing the truth. All correct views of the party formed on the foundation of practice by the masses reflect the greatest interests of the broadest realms of the masses and must be listened to; whenever it has been proved by the practice of the masses that an opinion of the party is not correct and is against the greatest interests of the broadest realms of the masses, then the correct view of the masses should be accepted. For instance, in the direct elections now being carried out below the county level, some leaders of party committees restrict nominations made by the masses. Thus, instead of nominated candidates there are appointed candidates who are disliked by the masses. What should be done in such a situation? Of course we should trust the majority of the masses and respect their views. Party members who are representatives of the people should represent the views of the masses and seek unity in listening to the

party committee and listening to the masses. If a party member listens only to the party committee but not to the correct views of the masses, he will become a "wall" and not a link or a bridge between the party and the masses and will be on the opposite side of the masses.

Party members and leading cadres at various levels must at all times firmly listen to both the party and the masses. The existence of bureaucratism is a serious problem at present. A bureaucrat listens to neither the party nor the masses. One type of bureaucratism involves giving arbitrary and impractical directions; bureaucrats of this type tower above the masses, abuse power, keep up appearances, like to make empty talk, order people about, do not proceed from the actual situation, do not care about the hardship of the masses and do not listen to the views of the masses. This type of bureaucrat does not know about the situation but has great determination; he does not have too many ways of solving problems but issues confused orders. We have indeed suffered this type too long! Another type of bureaucratism involves not doing anything; bureaucrats of this type are rigid in their way of thinking, stick to conventions, are dilatory in doing things, do not have any sense of responsibility, shift responsibility to others, neither listen to the voices of the masses nor find ways to solve actual problems and "assume the role of a monk but do not perform a monk's duty." Bureaucrats of a more serious type are those who are full of bureaucratic airs, frequently give people a dressing down, seek retaliation, suppress democracy, deceive their superiors and delude their subordinates, act in an imperious and despotic way, practice favoritism, resort to bribery as well as accept bribes, and bend the law; in short, they do not want democracy but want to become "overlords." All in all, a bureaucrat departs from reality, departs from the masses, closes his eyes and does not listen to any criticism. Even people in ancient times realized that "the rise and fall of a government has much to do with whether the channels through which criticism and suggestions may be communicated to the leadership are open or blocked." Bureaucrats do not even understand this principle. To combat bureaucratism it is necessary to carry out education and ideological struggle; it is also necessary to adopt effective administrative and economic measures, and for vile cases leading to serious consequences the culprits must be charged in accordance with the law. In keeping with the law and the constitution, we must insure that party members and cadres listen to both the party and the masses. No one can do as he pleases or act like an overlord by placing himself above the party organization and the masses. The press now openly criticizes bureaucratism; this clearly shows the self-confidence of our party and is well received by the masses.

Listen to the party and listen to the masses; cadres who do so are of course good cadres. However, there is another type of so-called "obedient cadre" who is not a good cadre. Some patriarchal figures abuse the power invested in them to subjugate others, demanding that they be obsequious and meekly submit to oppression; they become characters of the Jia Gui [6328 2710] style and even turn the relationship between others and themselves into one of personal bondage. The behavior of this type of man is far, far removed from the requirement of listening to the party and listening to the masses! Cadres are the wealth of the party and the country, as well as the public servants of the people; however, in the eyes of this type of patriarchal figure, they become their private tools. On the question of evaluating and choosing cadres, they do not care whether the cadres

have both ability and political integrity, but make their selection according to their personal likes and dislikes; those they consider to be "obedient" are put in an important position and selected for promotion, while those considered to be "disobedient" are left out in the cold and rejected or even thrown out. Thus, all subordinates must be obsequious and listen to this "patriarch." Is this not "one person alone has the say"?! Nevertheless, there are indeed some "obedient cadres"; they do not listen to the party or listen to the masses, but say yes to whatever their "superior" says without reserve, regardless of whether such words are right or wrong. There is a type of "obedient" man who flatters and toadies for the private end of protecting his own interests. This type of man is well worth looking out for. Listening to the words of this type of "obedient cadre," you will not be able to hear the factual and true words of the masses. This is entirely against the criterion of political life within our party. In the organizational principles of our party there is the rule that individuals should obey the organization and subordinates should obey the superiors; that is to say, subordinates must carry out decisions and instructions made by higher organizations, but this never means negating the equal status of comrades within the party. All party members, whether they take up a leading post or not, are ordinary party members enjoying equal rights and equal status, and all must fulfill their duties; "privileged party members" not restrained by party discipline or state laws are not allowed to exist within the party. Superiors must not order subordinates about by gesture, while subordinates should not fawn upon superiors, so that we can avoid the relationships often mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong, such as cat and mouse, personal bondage as in the old society or factionalism.

Party members, especially those who shoulder specific leadership responsibilities, must listen to the masses and insure that the masses have the right to express themselves freely. In the past, in view of the situation in which people were not allowed to talk, it was undoubtedly correct to have raised the issue that "people should be allowed to talk." This is because, if the masses are not allowed to talk freely and thus become mute and silent, then there is hardly any democracy, and what can you listen to? Among certain leading cadres who have a patriarchal way of thinking, this slogan is often interpreted as a "favor" bestowed on the masses to show off their own "enlightenment." They either "allow" people to talk but take no further action if no one talks or do not listen to people who do "talk," or they hear a correct view but do not put it into practice or practice it correctly but take the credit for themselves. Sometimes the situation is even worse. Today the people are "allowed" to talk and tomorrow they will again "not be allowed to talk." People can only say things that are agreeable to the leading cadre but cannot say anything different from or opposed to his views, while criticism is completely out of the question. Otherwise, the speaker is either made "to put on small shoes" if the case is minor or is seized upon for his shortcomings, has a label put on him or is bludgeoned if the case is serious. The saying "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" is completely forgotten. If you punish a comrade for what he says, then who will still "say all he knows and say it without reserve"? Socialist democracy means that the masses are the masters; talking is their most basic democratic right and is not bestowed as a favor by any person. It appears that even this common principle has been confounded.

There is a way of speaking which describes the act of reflecting to higher authorities situations and views, in the name of the interests and wishes of the masses, as "pleading in the name of the people" or "speaking for the masses." "To plead in the name of the people" was a phenomenon that occurred under the historical conditions of feudal society. A similar situation occurs in a socialist system when democracy within the party and democracy among the people are undermined. Of course, such "speaking for the masses" is different in nature from the act of "pleading in the name of the people" in feudal society. In a socialist country, leading cadres at various levels are dutybound to speak in the interests of the masses. The masses have the right to reflect their own views and requests. Sometimes, however, the phenomenon whereby the masses themselves cannot speak also occurs. This is not only the result of the question of the style of thinking of certain leaders, but is also mainly a question of the imperfection of the system of socialist democracy.

To cope with the requirements of the construction of socialist modernization and the democratization of political life within the party and the country, it is necessary to reform the system of leadership of the party and the country so as to fully develop inner-party democracy and democracy among the people, as well as to insure that all the people do really enjoy the power to run the community and the country in various effective ways, especially the power to run the regime at the basic level and the various enterprises and undertakings, and also enjoy various civil rights. In this way the status of the people and their right to really become the masters are safeguarded in practice and in keeping with the constitution, laws and concrete measures. We must strive to create democracy of a higher level and of a more practical nature than the democracy of capitalist countries, to create political and material conditions for the masses to fully enjoy and exercise the basic right of talking or freedom of speech and to build our country into a modern socialist power having a high degree of democracy and civilization.

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A PUBLIC SERVANT--ON YU JIE, A MEMBER OF THE CPPCC NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S STANDING COMMITTEE

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[Article by correspondent]

[Text]

I

Comrade Yu Jie is a member of the CPPCC National Committee's Standing Committee. His old home is in the Lijiang brigade, Jiayi commune, Pingjiang County, Hunan Province. In early 1970 he returned from Beijing to his native place. Everyone in his native place knew that he had served as a vice minister in the Ministry of Grain and the Ministry of Commerce and had subsequently been in charge of a supervisory group sent to the Ministry of Finance by the Central Committee. Why did such a high-ranking cadre come back to this mountain valley? People speculated on the reasons. A dozen or more villagers who were curious walked the more than 20-li mountain path and went specially to await the arrival of Yu Jie at the commune.

This was just after New Year's Day in 1970. From the door of a house in Jiayi commune emerged a simply dressed and white-haired old man; this was no one else but Yu Jie. Back in 1925 Yu Jie was already taking part in the secret peasant association in his village, and he also took part in the Northern Expedition. In 1930 he followed the Red 5th Army and went into the Jinggang Mountains. During the Long March he served as head of the supply department in the 6th Army Group of the Red 2d Front Army. After reaching Yanan he engaged in the trade affairs of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region. In the initial period after the liberation he served as head of the trade department of the civilian and military committee in northwest China. During the "Cultural Revolution" the evil hand of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" moved toward this old man, who was then almost 70 years of age. It was Premier Zhou who protected Yu Jie. In 1969 Yu Jie requested that he be allowed to return to and recuperate at his old home in Pingjiang. The premier approved his request in less than 3 days. Thus, Yu Jie came back to Pingjiang along with his youngest son, Xiaoyu.

His fellow villagers did not expect that all of Yu Jie's belongings would be so simple: two duffel bags, a few old wooden boxes and a sewing machine. Did he really serve as a vice minister and travel by limousine in Beijing? Had he really come to settle in Lijiang? Under the doubtful glances of his fellow

villagers, Yu Jie settled down in the Lijiang brigade and built a house at his own expense.

Back in his home village, Yu Jie wore peasant clothes and spoke the native dialect of Pingjiang County; he was amiable and affable and did not put on the slightest airs or manners of "high-ranking officials." Fellow villagers got acquainted with him very quickly. Since his name had been Yu Daren in the past, fellow villagers cordially addressed him as "Father Da." There were more chats and conversations once he got acquainted with the villagers.

One day the mother of Yu Jie's granddaughter-in-law came to be a guest at his place. According to customs in the mountain area, the guest should first be treated to a bowl of noodles on arrival and then to a meal of eight big dishes. Yu Jie, however, broke the established rules. At lunchtime a large bowl of vegetable soup was placed on the table for the meal. The mother of Yu Jie's granddaughter-in-law was rather unhappy about this. When news of this incident got around the area, fellow villagers could not see the logic behind it. Was he saving up his money for his children? No. Xiaoyu wanted to buy a watch. Yu Jie did not give him a single fen but had him earn 100 hian by carrying logs in the lumber camp. His grandsons, Yuanlong and Jinlong, had participated in work for a year, but both still did not own watches. Want to buy a watch? All right. Yu Jie called together his grandsons and granddaughter-in-law and assigned them a task: each of them was to raise 10 pigs of 200 jin each, sell the pigs and then buy their watches. When his granddaughter Guiying got married, he insisted on not holding a banquet and even wrote the brigade a letter saying that it was necessary to be industrious and thrifty in handling such affairs. He himself also led a very poor but clean and honest life. That old wooden box had been in use since his Yanan days. He would bring it along whenever he went to Beijing to attend conferences. Later a comrade accompanying him mentioned that it was indeed inconvenient to carry such a large box back and forth. It was then that Yu Jie bought a canvas bag which cost some 10-odd yuan. As for his furniture, it consisted of a pinewood chair which had only one arm remaining, a bed which was the sort of "hammock" slept in by peasants as well as several small stools and a workbench, all of which were unpainted.

In Yu Jie's opinion, these matters were entirely reasonable and logical. We are cadres; how can we seek enjoyment while people are still living in very poor conditions? The children of cadres must earn their own livelihood and not stare eagerly at the few yuan of their fathers. However, things in the world are just as strange as that: cadres come from the people and are the people's public servants; but when they live the same life as common people, the latter will ask, "They should live in big cities; why come back to small mountain valleys? They earn so much money and should enjoy themselves; why come and live a peasant's life like us?" The logic which leads to the asking of such questions must in itself be examined. Why do these peasants take big cities, limousines and the salary of a few hundred yuan as being synonymous with cadres? Is it because some cadres feel that public servants and masters have changed positions? To eliminate these questions it is necessary to have the spirit and actions of old Yu Jie.

II

Soon after Yu Jie returned to his native village he completed the formalities of leaving office to rest and recuperate; every month the Ministry of Finance sent him his salary by mail. The portion of his salary that he spent on himself was indeed not large. As time went by his fellow villagers finally became aware that "Father Da's hand is really free indeed!"

The barefoot doctor in the brigade went to study in other places; he came back after only half completing his study because of a lack of money. The old man gave him money to continue his study. The county authorities extended the highway from the Lutou lumber camp to Lijiang; when the commune members went to build the highway, the old man donated 200 yuan to "salute" them. The mountain village was short of doctors and medicine; the old man spent his own money to buy some medicine for the commune members.

The Hengchuan production brigade where Yu Jie lived was a poor brigade. In the past the grain ration per capita was less than 300 jin. The ultraleftist policies bound the hands and feet of the peasants. The development of a diversified economy was not allowed; where could the peasants earn any money? They went without food and thus starved. After Yu Jie settled in the brigade, conditions began to change. He donated 2,000 yuan to the production brigade for the purpose of buying pigs, fertilizers and various kinds of farming tools and materials in urgent need. With sufficient water and fertilizer, the crops grew well. Over the past few years the grain ration of the commune members has doubled.

Fellow villagers also remember that, when the brigade went in for a small hydroelectric project a few years ago, Yu Jie, who was still in Beijing at that time, sent the brigade a total of more than 6,000 yuan after he heard about the project. Later the turbine pump was damaged by the current. After Yu Jie returned to the brigade, he led a group of people up the mountain to repair it. That year Yu Jie was already more than 70 years old. They went from Lijiang to the Lutou lumber camp and then climbed the mountain along the Lijiang River; here the mountain path alone was some 3 to 4 li long. This mountain path was so difficult that even young people sweated as they climbed it. However, the old man's footprints were left everywhere on the green mountain beside the Lijiang River. Dikes, channels and caves were built entirely under the old man's direction. Finally, the mountain village of Lijiang was lit by numerous bright lamps.

Our revered Comrade Yu's deeds quickly spread far and wide around the whole area and the whole county. The Xiejiang commune authorities approached our revered Comrade Yu for advice when they decided to build a bridge. Members of Xiejiang commune had been longing for a bridge for several decades. Without a bridge, no through highway could be built. Each year more than 10 million jin of goods had to be carried in and out on the shoulders of the commune members. In 1976 the commune party committee was determined to unload this heavy burden from the shoulders of the commune members by building a bridge. One day, while they were making preparations for the work, Comrade Yu came to Xiejiang after walking more than 30 li. Looking at the rapidly flowing river, he seemed to see the eagerness of the people of Xiejiang. The greatest problem of the Xiejiang bridge project was capital. Our revered Comrade Yu immediately arranged for 160,000 yuan

in investment, 40 tons of cement and 12 tons of dynamite for Xiejiang commune from the county, prefecture and province. The provincial authorities even sent an engineer specially for the job. All members of Xiejiang commune were moved by the old man's actions. The bridge was finally completed in January 1978.

The mountain was still the original mountain and the fields were still the original fields, while the water of the Guluo River was still flowing quietly. However, the people in the mountain areas had changed. Their questioning turned into happy astonishment: Could all these things be true?! Could it be true that such a good cadre is living among us?! The commune members were at once surprised and happy; the question marks were followed by a big exclamation mark. As for our revered Comrade Yu, he just made the simple remark: What's so surprising about this? Are these not matters we Communist Party members should do?! I have retired from the post of vice minister, but I have not retired from the post of the people's public servant.

III

Our revered Comrade Yu's home village is called "Lijiang." Indeed, it is a scenic place with green mountains and a beautiful river. However, Comrade Yu did not come here to enjoy his remaining years. He is concerned about the kind of crops to be sown at the change of seasons; he is also concerned about the time the fields should be irrigated. He cares about the matters of the brigade; he also cares about the matters of the commune and the county. One leading comrade on the county committee made the following remark:

"In these 10 years our revered Comrade Yu has made quite a number of suggestions to us. Some of them did not appeal to us at the time. But later, when documents came down from the central authorities, we found that many things contained in those papers had already been raised by Comrade Yu! For instance, he had warned us about the problems of mountain forests, capital construction in agriculture and suiting measures to local conditions. This old man is really marvelous!"

After the Great Leap Forward the mountain forests in the south suffered serious damage. Comrade Yu felt great pain when he saw the damage. He said: The way to tackle poverty in Pingjiang is to put the mountains in order. Seventy percent of the area is mountainous, 10 percent of the area consists of the river and the rest is fields, houses and roads. What else should we grasp if we do not grasp the problem of mountains and forests? He said: Do not attend to the trivial and thereby neglect the essential. Tea, oil, hemp and paper are the four special products of Pingjiang. The 100,000 dan worth of tea and 100,000 dan worth of oil produced in 1 year is much greater than 100 million jin of grain! "Beneath the forests is the source of the granaries." One of Comrade Yu's remarks can be summarized as a guiding principle: "Pingjiang must develop not only the revolutionary tradition but also the tradition of production."

Everyone in Pingjiang, from commune members to cadres in the county, must hold up their thumbs and say "Brilliant!" whenever they talk about Comrade Yu's deed of transforming the mountains. In 1975 Comrade Yu moved to the Hengchuan production brigade. At that time the commune members worked all day long in the fields, and each earned only some 60-odd yuan a year. After Comrade Yu arrived, he

immediately proposed to the brigade: Stop hillside farming to facilitate afforestation. It is very easy to write these few words now, but just imagine the great risk involved in such a proposal 5 years ago! Not only that, Comrade Yu even distributed the task of afforestation to every household. Today this is known as the "system of responsibilities," but 5 years ago fixing output quotas for each household was considered out-and-out capitalism! Comrade Yu took no heed. He said: "The 60 Articles" have not been declared invalid by the central authorities; we are acting in accordance with "The 60 Articles." What farmers need are concrete results. Now the commune members benefit from the mountains every year; last year the income per capita had already reached 120 yuan. The brigade has also bought several machines.

Comrade Yu not only proposed to transform the mountains but knew how to transform the mountains. In 1978 Comrade Yu and several retired Red Army veterans in the county inspected the 10 districts of the county. One evening they arrived by auto in Huangjin commune. Comrade Yu found many commune members cutting trees on the hillside, so he went over and asked what the matter was. The commune members told him that they had been instructed by higher authorities to "clear the land for afforestation." In other words, all the old trees were to be cleared away before new ones were planted. The old man got angry and said, "This is not afforestation but deforestation. Such a method of afforestation won't produce any timber for the next 20 years. Let the common people living on a mountain live off the mountain; live on what? Live off what? Stop cutting the trees at once!" That evening Comrade Yu found the cadres concerned and exchanged views with them. Afforestation in Pingjiang should be carried out in a comprehensive way. Pine, bamboo and China fir should be grown at the same time, so that when one lot of trees grew into useful timber and was felled, another lot of trees would still be maturing. Only then could the mountain remain green and still provide an unlimited supply of wealth. Returning from the inspection, Comrade Yu wrote the county committee a long letter entitled "Investigation of Several Current Problems in the Rural Areas." The first problem was the need to grasp forestry production well.

Several years have passed. In September this year the Pingjiang county committee convened a conference for all grade-three cadres of the county to discuss the problem of forestry production. This was the first conference of this type in 30 years. Needless to say, many of the remarks made by Comrade Yu echoed in the ears of both leading cadres of the county and cadres of the Lijiang brigade during the conference. As for cadres of Huangjin commune, that unusual inspection made by Comrade Yu also rose before their eyes. The waves of happy astonishment and respect kept rolling in their hearts.

Capital construction for agriculture was another problem which concerned Comrade Yu. He unambiguously opposed the formalism in agricultural capital construction. In 1974 Jiayi commune was prepared to transform the Gaoduan River by straightening the curved river channel, which originally was more than 1,000 meters long. Comrade Yu resolutely opposed this project. It would require 14,000 laborers from the whole commune but had an economic result of producing only 50 mu of fields. Commune members of the Lijiang brigade raised this view at the work-site. Comrade Yu went to raise this view before the county authorities. He said: Just keep talking about transforming the river; can the Huang He and the

Changjiang be straightened? Communists must not engage in empty talk! Finally the work was stopped. One of the cadres responsible for the project at that time says in recollection, "I was not convinced by Father Da's words at that time. Now it appears that he was right. What he safeguarded was the interests of the masses of commune members. He was farsighted." At first Pingjiang County also carried out four major work projects simultaneously. The front was too broad, and the works could not be completed after much delay. More than 100,000 laborers were required every year. Comrade Yu again raised his views before the county committee. The county committee accepted his views and rectified this practice by checking the unhealthy tendency toward egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources.

Now, when many comrades recollect the instances that Comrade Yu "participated in government and political affairs," they all have the feeling that one of his fundamental guiding thoughts is suiting measures to local conditions and proceeding from reality. Shungkou commune wanted to establish a glassware factory. When Comrade Yu learned about it, he immediately raised objections. Where could the raw materials and fuel be obtained? How could the problem of technological strength be solved? He worked out the details with the cadres and cleared up their confusion. "You must suit measures to local conditions and draw on local resources!" This inspired the cadres, who then established a plaster ornamental plate factory. Now this small commune-operated enterprise has received the attention of the Department of Construction Materials under the State Council. Sanshi commune wanted to establish a tire factory. Comrade Yu expressed his consent. There are several thousand vehicles in the county; how can it get along without a place for repairing tires? This factory is desirable! He personally went to Guangzhou and Changsha to make purchases for this factory.

Perhaps quite a few people would think: Is it not boring for old cadres to retire and have nothing to do? But look at our revered Comrade Yu; he is so busy all day long. He said, "Revolutionary work exists everywhere at any moment, so long as you care to do it. If you don't do it, then there won't be any work. Fear not that there is no work to do, but just fear that you don't do the work." Thus, within a decade the people's view of this revolutionary old man turned from one of questioning to happy astonishment and then from happy astonishment to admiration. There also are people who ask him: Why not go back to live in a big city? He said, "Here the water is pure and the air is fresh. These two things are the most essential for a human being." To members of the Communist Party, people are the water and the air. In Comrade Yu Jie people find the true image of a public servant of the people.

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ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE ROLE OF SOIL SCIENCE

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[Article by Xiong Yi [3574 3015]]

[Text] Soil is the porous layer on the earth's surface. It is the independent natural object which has been formed gradually when rocks undergo weathering and other soil-formation processes. It is the place where animals and plants are bred. It is also one of the bases from which man obtains the source of energy for life. Over the past millennia, man's various activities of material production have been closely connected with soil.

Soil is a moving and changing matter. It consists not only of minerals, organic matter, water and air, but also of numerous species and vast quantities of micro-organisms. These constituent elements differ in quantity, distribution, type and properties, and, moreover, they interact in very complicated ways. Therefore, there are many kinds of soil, and soil can undergo numerous changes. The motion and changes of soil are affected by environmental factors, and man's activities also produce significant effects on soil. If man observes natural laws, the fertility of soil may be continually improved. If man uses soil irrationally, soil will be ruined.

Soil science is a science which studies the material composition and laws of motion of soil as well as its relationships with external environmental conditions and with plant growth. From the macrocosmic viewpoint, the area and volume of soil is large, and we must frequently evaluate and try to know its overall picture. From the microcosmic viewpoint, soil is a complicated system in which chemical, physical and biological actions and reactions are occurring simultaneously, affecting one another and changing continually. Soil science is not only the basic science of agriculture but also an important branch of geography, biology, ecology, environmental science and engineering. The research work in soil science affects these disciplines quite significantly. With the development of the national economy, in particular with the acceleration of the modernization of agriculture, the role of soil science will become increasingly conspicuous. Therefore, we must attach due importance to soil science, bring its role into play and place it in its deserved position in our economic construction.

I. Contributions of Our Country's Soil Science Studies

Soil science developed in our country in ancient times. Works such as "Book of History" (in particular the volume on geography, "Yu Kung") and "Kuan Tzu," written during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, recorded the types, characteristics and forms of soil at that time. However, the systematic study of soil science in our country began during the 1930's. Before liberation, soil science as well as other natural sciences were not given adequate attention. The conditions for studying soil science were extremely difficult, and the success of soil science studies was insignificant. After liberation, many organizations for soil studies were set up, and the number of professional personnel has increased continually. They have achieved a number of successes and made important contributions to agricultural production.

To help develop agricultural production, soil science must help to solve two important problems: The first one is to expand the cultivated area and to use soil resources rationally, and the second one is to raise the output per unit area. Since the liberation, through a series of professional soil investigations and nationwide general surveys on soil, we have obtained a general picture of our country's soil resources, carried out statistical work and evaluations on the basis of districts and subject matter, put forward schemes for the rational opening up and development of areas and drawn up a blueprint for the rational distribution of agriculture.

During the initial period after the founding of our People's Republic, to develop the production of rubber, our workers in the field of soil science investigated that part of the southern tropical land which is suitable for forestry and specified which parts of our country were suitable for planting rubber trees, as well as put forward programs for developing tropical crops. In the process of planting rubber trees, they closely integrated their work with the realities of production, applied the fruits of their studies in using potash fertilizer to prevent and cure the verticillium of rubber trees, and thus eliminated a great obstacle to production. Simultaneously, they also began the work of studying how to open up and use red soil resources.

Our country has 1,170,000 square kilometers of red soil, which is an important soil resource. It is distributed mainly in the tropical and subtropical regions. In those regions the climate is temperate and rainfall is abundant, but the soil displays such disadvantageous features as being acid, having poor quality, containing much clay, being hardened and impervious and so on. Such features have led to difficulties in opening up and exploiting these regions. Before liberation these regions suffered from serious water loss and soil erosion. Large stretches of land went out of cultivation, and output was very low. Over the past 30 years the workers of various localities in the field of soil science have accumulated a vast quantity of scientific information about the types, formation, physical and chemical characteristics, improvement and use of red soil. They have put forward various ways of using red soil comprehensively according to the biological and climatic conditions of red soil. In opening up and exploiting red soil, various units concerned and vast numbers of the masses have conducted numerous experiments and studies, have established the role of phosphate fertilizer in promoting increases in output and have also put forward a scheme of

rational manuring, that is, planting green manure crops and using phosphate fertilizer to help increase nitrogenous fertilizer. (Phosphate fertilizer can help boost the output of leguminous plants which yield green manure. Therefore, after the green manure crops are turned over, the nitrogen compounds in the soil will increase. This is the meaning of "using phosphate fertilizer to help increase nitrogenous fertilizer.") This scheme played an enormous role in production. Later, relatively clear-cut conclusions about the conditions of potassium compounds in red soil and the effectiveness of potash fertilizer in boosting output were obtained. There was also continuous progress in the studies of calcium, magnesium, sulfur and certain trace elements. These achievements have gradually been popularized and applied to the practice of production.

In the 1950's, to formulate a program for improving the Huang He basin, we organized several hundred people to carry out a large-scale soil investigation in the north China plains. Thus, it was established that the crucial reason for the low yield in this region was a combination of the harmful effects of dry climate, waterlogging, salinity and alkalinity. We based our study on the laws of evolution of the soil and the characteristics of the natural conditions there, and we realized that drainage was the key to improving the soil of this region. This task continued for many years. Over the entire area we conducted extensive investigations on soil and groundwater and studied the laws of formation, distribution and evolution of saline and alkaline soil. Moreover, at many points we studied the law of motion of water and salts, as well as measures of prevention, cure and improvement. We based our study on the natural law, "Salts come and go with water," and put forward a comprehensive scheme for tackling problems. The scheme had irrigation as its core and integrated the improvement of soil with the cultivation of manure. However, late in the 1950's, to solve the problem of drought, we blindly took river water to the fields for irrigation; we irrigated the land but did not drain it and accumulated water on the land without releasing it. This went against the natural laws that applied to this area and led to the vicious creation of more marshland and secondary salinization. (The salinization of soil is the accumulation of salts in the surface soil. If such accumulation is caused by man's inappropriate measures, it is called "secondary salinization.") After learning from this bitter experience, the workers in soil science conducted experiments on the method of irrigation and drainage by means of wells, and the results were conspicuous. This method could help depress the level of groundwater, reduce salinity, resist drought as well as prevent and cure salinity and alkalinity. The practice of production and the experimentation and research by various units enabled this method to develop into the more advanced method of combining wells and irrigation canals and ditches, combining deep and shallow wells, pumping out saline water and replacing it with fresh water, as well as allocating rainwater, river water, soil water and groundwater in a coordinated way. In many regions nowadays, drought, waterlogging, salinity and alkalinity have basically been eliminated or brought under control, and output has been increasing steadily. Recently scientists have divided the "Huanghuaihai" (Huanghe, Huaihe and Haihe) plains into districts for the purpose of making improvements on a district-wide basis and have thus provided a scientific basis for improving soil by various means which suit different conditions in different districts.

Paddy soil is distributed extensively throughout the country. It occupies approximately 400 million mu. The output of rice takes up a considerably large proportion of the national grain output. The study of paddy soil is of significance to the overall situation. For many years the development of this study has centered around two aspects: "cultivating paddy soil which gives high and stable yields" and "improving and exploiting paddy soil which gives low yields." Based on the experiences in obtaining bumper rice crops, the more systematic study of the development process, fertility characteristics and methods of cultivation of high-yield paddy soil not only deepened our knowledge of paddy soil but also promoted high yields of rice crops. A definite area of low-yield paddy soil is distributed over various localities, and such soil enjoys great potential for giving higher yields. The workers in soil science of various localities have worked with the masses to analyze and study the reasons why various types of low-yield paddy soil give low yields. They have proposed corresponding measures for improvement and achieved marked results. In recent years some southern provinces and regions have been practicing the system of three crops in two seasons. However, because the soil is immersed in water for an overly long period of time, and because drainage is poor, waterlogging and secondary change of topsoil into groundwater layer have occurred. (Changing of topsoil into groundwater layer means that the soil is waterlogged. If waterlogging is caused by man's inappropriate measures, it is called "secondary change of topsoil into groundwater layer" or waterlogging peril.) The physical and chemical properties of soil will deteriorate and the fertility of soil will decrease. Preventive measures and cures for these problems have been proposed, and leading cadres at various levels should pay attention to these problems.

Based on the vast amount of scientific research conducted over three decades, the book "China's Soil" was compiled by the Nanjing Soil Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and published in 1978. It describes in relatively great detail the types, distribution, basic characteristics, fertility characteristics, exploitation and improvement of our country's soil. It provides systematic information for scientific research, teaching and production.

II. Problems of Soil Science Related to the Modernization of Agriculture

Soil is the base for agricultural production. We will definitely fail to modernize agriculture if we do not study or understand soil or work according to the laws concerning soil. At present, expanding the cultivated area, conserving soil resources, raising the productivity of soil and preventing the degeneration of soil have become problems of concern in the international arena. In achieving agricultural modernization in our country we must pay attention to and solve the several soil problems mentioned below.

First, we must use soil resources rationally. Our country has 9.6 million square kilometers of land area and abundant soil resources. However, our average per capita cultivated area is rather small when viewed in a global context. If we merely proceed from the planting of crops and only consider the unfavorable factor of the small per capita cultivated area, it seems that the prospects for agriculture will not be broad. However, if we view the whole spectrum of agriculture, we will find that, aside from the existing cultivated land, we also have 4 billion mu of prairies, nearly 2 billion mu of forested area, 1.2 billion mu of

land suitable for forestry, as well as other land which can be opened up, including 1.6 billion mu of deserts and 800 million mu of wasteland suitable for agriculture. Therefore, there is great potential. Our aim should be to march toward exploiting 9.6 million square kilometers of land and fully utilizing this base which generates energy for life.

Different types of soil have different properties and are suitable for different occupations. Some are suitable for forestry, some for animal husbandry and some for farming. In opening up and exploiting soil we must work according to the properties of soil and its suitability for various occupations and not according to our subjective surmise in violation of objective laws. Some years ago many localities one-sidedly emphasized "taking grain as the key link" and indiscriminately cultivated land for growing grain. This disrupted the ecological environment and aggravated water loss and soil erosion, with very serious results. For example, when some very windy and dusty grassland regions were brought under cultivation, animal husbandry there was disrupted, and farming also was not successful. In some regions, when the forests were cut down indiscriminately, water loss and soil erosion occurred, the local climate turned bad and it was difficult to develop agriculture. In addition, building terraced fields along steep loess slopes, blindly shaping meadows into square plots when leveling land, and so on were irrational measures.

To utilize soil resources rationally we must have the comprehensive viewpoint of developing farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery in an all-round way. We must not only consider achieving increased grain output, but also consider increasing the output of meat and fruit, improving the people's diet and raising their living standard. Otherwise, disregarding the overall situation and relying on a single kind of crop will often lead to undesirable results and waste.

Expanding the cultivated area is still an important question in developing agricultural production. However, in expanding the cultivated area we should give priority to opening up uncultivated land and should not change grassland and afforested land into cultivated land. Land which is uncultivated remains so mostly because its soil is not good. In bringing such land under cultivation we must perform a great deal of supplementary improvement work. If the conditions are not favorable enough, we must not cultivate such land hastily.

Second, we must improve low-yield soil. Approximately one-third of the cultivated land in the whole country gives us below-average yields per mu. There are many reasons for the low yield, but they can all be summarized in these two: first, the "disease" of impeding factors, and second, the inadequacy of fertilizers. The impeding factors affecting low-yield soil are caused by some particular aspects of the natural environment or improper management of cultivation. We must adopt various measures of improvement that suit different local conditions. When the impeding factors are eliminated, output can increase greatly. For example, in the past the soil which is permanently immersed in cold spring water, which is widely distributed in the valleys of the mountainous regions and the low-lying land of the hilly country of the southern provinces, could yield only one crop a year and a few baskets of grain per mu each year. After the adoption of such measures as opening ditches to drain the water, using more

fertilizers, cultivating the land when it is dry and drying the land in the sun, the physical and chemical characteristics of the soil improve, the fertility increases markedly and output increases several times. Moreover, the low yield of a large area of soil is due to the inadequacy of fertilizers. The average amount of chemical fertilizers applied to our country's farmland is merely 12 jin per mu (calculated on the basis of the nutrients). According to statistics compiled by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, in 1976 the average quantity of fertilizers applied to farmland was 24.5 jin in Western Europe, 57 jin in Japan and 101 jin in the Netherlands. In comparison our figure is very low. It should be pointed out in particular that the allocation and use of our small quantities of chemical fertilizers are very irrational. In some high-yield regions, chemical fertilizers are applied in excessive quantities, so that output does not increase and the environment is polluted. However, some farmland is not supplied with fertilizers throughout the year. If we apply our limited quantities of fertilizers on large stretches of soil which lack fertilizers, we can obtain better economic benefits than if we concentrate the fertilizers on small high-yield plots. If larger quantities of fertilizers are applied to our 500 million mu of low-yield farmland, and if such farmland is managed scientifically, it is possible to increase the per mu output by 200 jin. Thus, grain output can increase by 100 billion jin annually. This is a strategic measure.

Third, we must maintain and improve the fertility of soil. Soil resources are the common wealth of mankind and must be passed down from generation to generation. At an international conference on soil science the scientists said: "Aside from safeguarding peace, nothing is more important than safeguarding soil."

Soil may improve or deteriorate as a result of farming. To improve soil while we are farming, we must integrate exploitation with maintenance, so that soil becomes increasingly fertile in farming. Conversely, if we use soil without maintaining it, its fertility will decrease and it will degenerate. Thus, soil may deteriorate in farming.

The overall view is that the fertility of our country's soil must be improved urgently. The proportion of organic matter in the soil of the north China plains is generally less than 1 percent. In the Taihu Lake region, where the paddy soil contains a relatively higher proportion of organic matter, the figure is just 2.5 to 3.5 percent. The figure for the paddy soil in Japan is around 3 to 5 percent. The lack of organic matter not only affects the supply of nutrients to the crops but also causes the properties of soil to deteriorate. At present the countryside lacks fuel, and, consequently, straw is not returned to the fields. Only small quantities of green manure or barnyard manure are used to replenish the organic matter in the soil. Despite this, to gain an undeserved reputation for high grain output, some localities even displace the growing of green manure crops, which take up proportionately only a very small area, and use the land for growing cereal crops. This is very irrational. This method of farming actually represents a kind of plunder.

The cropping system is extremely closely related to the fertility of soil. A good cropping system is a means of improving soil fertility, provides opportunities for soil to be "rehabilitated," enables soil to maintain at all times

good physical and chemical properties and forms, and enables it to provide plants with favorable environmental conditions, so that plants can "have adequate nutrients and water and live comfortably." Various localities have abundant farming experiences in this respect. However, at present many localities are disregarding actual conditions and practicing a simplistic method of work. Some localities are one-sidedly emphasizing raising the multiple crop index, so that the burden on the soil is too heavy. These situations must be corrected in practice. Foreign countries have obtained good results in using the method of doing away with plowing or methods which require little plowing in sowing. In our experiments in southern Jiangsu, the yield is not lower than that obtained by conventional farming methods. Various localities may conduct such experimentation according to their actual conditions.

Fourth, we must establish a scientific manuring system. Many factors can contribute to raising the per unit area yield of crops, and rational manuring is one of the key factors. In some regions of our country the standard of scientific farming is very low. Soil properties are not considered in applying chemical fertilizers. Alkaline fertilizers are applied on soil which contains lime, and physiological acidic fertilizers are applied on acidic soil. This is extremely irrational. The departments which produce and market chemical fertilizers also very seldom consider the soil factor, and one example of this is the grave disproportion in the nutrient elements. Thus, in 1978 the proportion of nitrogen to phosphoric oxide to potassium oxide was 1:0.28:0.001, but the appropriate proportion is generally 1:0.7:0.2. Because of the disproportion, the effectiveness of fertilizers is inevitably seriously affected. According to relevant information, if nitrogenous fertilizers alone are applied on red soil which is seriously lacking in phosphorus, the rice yield will increase by only around 3 percent, and if phosphate fertilizers alone are applied, the yield will increase by around 19 percent. But if nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers are applied together, the yield can increase by around 45 percent. Numerous experiments have proved that the interaction of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium will markedly boost the yields on many kinds of soil. With the development of agricultural production and the continuous increases in output, the disproportion among the nutrient elements in soil will become increasingly common. Various localities must, on the basis of many scientific experiments, gradually establish various optimal proportions among nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium and other nutrient elements that are appropriate for different kinds of soil and different crops. They must formulate scientific manuring measures. Industrial departments must vigorously produce phosphate and potash fertilizers and quickly alter the disproportion in the supply of these two kinds of fertilizers. At present we do not produce any trace-element fertilizers. The production of such fertilizers should be put on the daily agenda as soon as possible. Another implication of scientific manuring is the combination of organic and inorganic fertilizers. In recent years both the quantity and quality of organic fertilizers have been declining. This is extremely unfavorable to maintaining the fertility of soil. In particular, with the application of large quantities of chemical fertilizers in the future, the need for organic fertilizers will increase markedly. Moreover, our research in the future should also include the processing and application of organic fertilizers by means of machinery and the synthesis of chemicals for improving soil.

III. Strengthen the Study of Soil Science

At present our country's standard in soil science is still far behind the advanced standard in the world. This is manifested in the fact that the study of basic theory is inadequate, the technological means are backward and our scientific and technological strength is inadequate, particularly at the basic level. To catch up with advanced world standards as soon as possible and to serve agricultural modernization, soil science should be strengthened in the ways described below.

1) The study of basic theory should be strengthened. The history of the development of soil science tells us that, when some progress or breakthrough is achieved in studying a certain major theoretical problem, agricultural production will be greatly promoted. Some 140 years ago the establishment of the theory about mineral nutrients for plants led to the development of the chemical fertilizer industry and enabled agricultural production to reach a new stage of development. The explanation of the role of nitrogen-fixing nodule bacteria promoted the opening up of the source of nitrogenous fertilizer. The principle of the adsorption property of soil colloid clearly explained the ability of soil to absorb and conserve fertilizers and provided a theoretical basis for cultivating fertility in soil. These have played epoch-making roles in agricultural production. Over the past century or so the development of research in soil science has been slow, and one main reason is that research on basic theory has met with very great difficulties and setbacks. The major theoretical problems currently confronting us are the essence of the fertility of soil and the classification of soil formation.

Fertility is the essence and the basis of soil, which is a productive force. However, our present knowledge of the fertility of soil still remains at the stage of general concepts and summing up the experiences of the masses. Many problems must be studied in greater depth: for example, the accumulation and regeneration of organic matter in soil, the characteristics of the composition of fertile soil, the laws of motion of water and nutrients in soil, the interactions and regulated control of the materials that constitute the basis of fertility, the ecological activity of micro-organisms in soil, and so on. We should organize in-depth studies of such branches of learning as soil physics, soil chemistry, soil physical chemistry, soil biology, and so on. Then we can determine the optimal targets for the fertility of various kinds of soil and work out measures for cultivating and regulating fertility.

The classification of the formation of soil is the central problem in soil science, the comprehensive indication of the standard of soil science studies and the basis of soil science studies. It is indispensable in correctly evaluating soil resources and opening up, exploiting and improving soil. However, for a long time there have been many controversies over classification, and it is very difficult to put forward a unified scheme of classification. This is not just a matter of contention among many schools but is a problem of the lack of a substantial foundation for scientific classification, of a unified principle of classification, as well as of an objective basis and a system of indexes for classification. Therefore, we must conduct a great number of in-depth studies of indexing and of the quantitative aspect of classification.

Moreover, we must study many theoretical problems concerning the application of fertilizers. At present the utilization rate of fertilizers in our country is very low, being, for example, only 20 to 25 percent for phosphate fertilizers and less than 50 percent for nitrogenous fertilizers. For a long time we have not obtained satisfactory results in improving the effectiveness of fertilizers by improving the methods of applying fertilizers and reforming our cropping system. Now we know that we can fully bring the role of fertilizers in promoting output into play only by understanding the physical, chemical and biological characteristics of soil, as well as the movements of applied nutrient elements in soil, and by discovering the key links which affect the effectiveness of fertilizers.

To strengthen the study of the basic theories of soil science, we must pay attention to developing frontier sciences. The frontier sciences, formed by the integration of various sciences, are often the growing points which may bring vitality to sciences which are relatively stagnant.

2) We should increase imports of new technology. It can be said that our knowledge of soil is still very limited. To achieve progress in studying the basic theories of soil science we must vigorously import new technology and use this means to integrate macrocosmic studies with microcosmic studies, so that we can understand in greater depth soil, soil processes and the essence of fertility. Other countries are already applying remote sensing, computers and isotope technology to the study of soil. However, most of the agencies for the study of soil in our country have little or no such technological equipment. It is proposed here that the departments concerned should actively import such technological equipment in a planned way on the basis of the existing conditions and foundation and should endeavor to enable the technological equipment of the principal units to approach the world standard by the mid-1980's.

3) We should strengthen the training of personnel. Soil science embodies rich elements, is concerned with many varieties of things and has many objects of service. The study of soil science is difficult and involves long cycles, and its personnel requirements are rather stringent. Examining the present standard of soil science and technology personnel, we find that the students trained in the institutes of agricultural studies since liberation are relatively weak in the basic knowledge of mathematics, physics and chemistry, and many of them are incompetent in research work concerning the basic theories of soil science. To alter this situation, the Soil Science Society of China has proposed to reform the present system of teaching and studying this subject as soon as possible and to set up institutes of agricultural sciences or to introduce specialties in soil studies in the comprehensive universities. This is very important to strengthening the basic education in soil science and training qualified personnel in this subject.

Soil science also has a high degree of applicability. There are many practical problems concerning soil and fertilizers in the forefront of agricultural production. These problems must be solved. The vast quantities of advanced experiences and fruits of scientific research must be popularized and exploited according to local conditions. However, there are very few science and technology personnel specialized in soil and fertilizers at the levels below the county level, so that it is difficult to carry out the tasks mentioned above. Various localities should restore intermediate special schools of agriculture as soon as possible and vigorously train personnel in agricultural science and technology at the basic levels.

INTERNATIONALISM OR HEGEMONISM?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 pp 44-48

[Article by Yang Hui [2799 6540] and Zhan Xihuang [6124 6932 3552]]

[Text] For years the Soviet leaders have been flaunting the banner of "socialism" and "internationalism" to hoodwink the world in order to conceal their aggression and expansion. They pass social imperialism off as socialism and hegemonism as internationalism. The Afghanistan incident has further revealed their hegemonist nature, making them even more isolated in the world. To extricate themselves from this predicament, the Soviet leaders have been shouting "internationalist" slogans with particular vigor these days. They keep clamoring that their "internationalism" is now "of special significance to the destiny of the world and the people of various countries," that the Soviet military forces now "assume greater external functions" and "greater internationalist obligations," that other member countries of the "community" as well as their parties should "identify themselves in thought and deed" with the Soviet Union, and so on. Therefore, we think that the task of continuously exposing the Soviet leaders for pushing a hegemonistic foreign policy under the signboard of "internationalism" is now "more important than ever."

The Soviet leaders always advertise that their foreign policy is founded on the basis of "being true to internationalism." What is their "internationalism" about? In their own wording, it means "protecting the socialist community," "opposing imperialism and colonialism" and "supporting national liberation movements." The following is an analysis of these three aspects:

"Protecting the socialist community" mainly involves the question of Soviet relations with the East European countries. Soviet leaders from Khrushchev to Brezhnev always boasted of Soviet relations with the East European countries as "a shining example of internationalism." What are the facts? They have stationed huge forces in some East European countries for a long period of time and placed the military forces of these countries under strict control through the Warsaw Treaty Organization and through bilateral treaties. They have acted like an overlord in other countries' territories. Through the "Comecon" and other bilateral channels, they have forcibly carried out "economic integration" and tried to turn other countries into their economic dependencies by controlling the economic lifelines of these countries--from the formulation and implementation of production plans and the utilization and exploitation of resources to foreign trade. They have styled themselves as the patriarch of the "community" and

lorded it over other countries. They have willfully issued orders, wantonly interfered in the internal and foreign affairs of other countries, forced others to "coordinate" with their policy of aggression and expansion and described this "coordination" as the "highest criterion of being true to internationalism." At their slightest displeasure, they hurl accusations and bring political, economic and even military pressure to bear on others. In short, they are capable of doing everything as long as they think it necessary. In 1968 they brazenly dispatched several hundred thousand troops in a surprise attack against Czechoslovakia and occupied that country. This was a glaring example. Afterward they even clamored that, should other member states of the "community" dare to defy their wishes, they would continue to resort to this kind of emergency measure to "fulfill their internationalist obligations." As proved by facts, "protecting the socialist community" is nothing but an excuse used by the Soviet leaders to control other countries and encroach upon their sovereignty and independence.

Engels pointed out: "National independence is the basis of all international cooperation." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 428) "An international union can only exist between nations. The existence of these nations and their self-determination and independence in the handling of internal affairs is embodied in the concept of internationalism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 84) Here Engels laid down for us this exceedingly important principle: The self-determination and independence of states and nations are the basis of internationalism. In other words, all acts of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and violating the sovereignty of other countries are contrary to proletarian internationalism.

Recently the Soviet leaders on the one hand unctuously declared that an internationalist union and the independence of various countries and parties were "not the least contradictory" and on the other hand repeatedly stressed that "we should not forget that independence is not part of a party's policy or part of a party's political and ideological viewpoint in class struggle," and that independence refers only to the "ways and means" of conducting interstate and interparty relations. Since independence is only a matter of "ways and means," it is not at all surprising for them to fundamentally negate the basic principle of internationalism and use all kinds of excuses to wantonly trample this principle underfoot. These arguments are imbued with the same spirit as the "theory of limited sovereignty" which they have peddled all along. Anyway, people will never forget this remark by the Soviet foreign minister: The sovereignty of a member state of the "community" is not "a kind of incomplete sovereignty." Brezhnev even declared, without mincing words, that the "community" is, "in principle," the same as "the integration of various Soviet republics to form a united Soviet Union" in the past. In the eyes of the Soviet leaders, other member states of the "community" are merely "additional republics" attached to the Soviet Union--they are simply not independent sovereign states. The Soviet leaders even fabricated this "theory": Today "patriotism has gone beyond state boundaries," and "the defense of the socialist motherland has gone beyond the bounds of just one country and assumed an international character." "The functions of the military defense of socialist countries are much wider than the mere protection of the interests of a single country." To put it more bluntly, under the signboard of "internationalism" and "defending socialism," the Soviet Union has the right to "go beyond state boundaries" to interfere in the internal

affairs of other countries, violate the sovereignty of other countries and occupy and trample upon any "fraternal country." Look to what an astounding extent the Soviet leaders have distorted, tampered with and betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

"Opposing imperialism and colonialism" is just a smokescreen put up by the Soviet leaders to cover up their quest for world hegemony. They themselves are imperialists bearing the signboard of "socialism," but they shout the slogan of "opposing imperialism and colonialism" more fiercely than anyone else. Is this not strange? Actually, there is nothing strange about this. The scramble for world hegemony is the characteristic of the imperialist era and is the substance of imperialist politics. The Soviet Union is an up-and-coming superpower. In order to redivide the world, it has no option but to wrest spheres of influence from the old-line imperialists. Although the overwhelming majority of countries in the Asian-African-Latin American region have freed themselves from colonial rule and won political independence, many of them are still influenced or controlled by the old-line imperialists to a greater or lesser extent and have strong desires to oppose imperialism and colonialism. Under such circumstances, it is obviously impossible for the Soviet Union to infiltrate these areas in the same way the old-line imperialists plundered the colonies. Therefore, they put up the slogan of "opposing imperialism and colonialism," decked themselves out as friends of the Asian-African-Latin American countries and peoples and did their utmost to infiltrate these areas in order to push out the influence of the old-line imperialists and take their place. For example, in the Middle and Near East they maintained a stalemate of "no war, no peace," imposed "treaties of friendship" on a number of countries, supplied huge quantities of arms and ammunition to both parties in confrontation and did their utmost to exploit the conflicts between various nations and countries in this region. Their aim was to thrust southward to the Persian Gulf, control the Indian Ocean, forcibly seize the strategic resources in this region and capture the strategic points in order to complete the strategic disposition of outflanking Europe and get ready to unleash a new world war. Is there the slightest trace of "opposition to imperialism and colonialism" in their deeds?

"Supporting national liberation movements" is actually a synonym for infiltration and expansion into Third World countries. The Soviet leaders seized every opportunity to carry out infiltration and expansion. They used "aid" as their bait. Politically, they imposed harsh terms on others to tie them hand and foot. Militarily, they engaged in arms deals and even took advantage of other people's precarious position to get what they wanted through blackmail. Economically, they practiced exchange at unequal value, plundered materials and resources and step by step controlled the vital economic departments of other countries in a vain attempt to force those countries which accepted their "aid" to obey submissively and do things at their beck and call. Taking advantage of the age-old contradictions and feelings of estrangement between certain countries, they sowed dissension and created conflicts in order to seek their own gains. Moreover, they praised some countries as "progressive" and branded some as "reactionary." One day they incited this country to fight against that country and the next day they incited that country to fight against a third country. In this way they seriously undermined the unity among the Third World countries and disintegrated the national liberation movements in various countries. They carried out

subversive activities everywhere, fostered proxies, overthrew the governments of other countries and set up puppet regimes in their place. They even tried to bring some countries into their sphere of influence and tie these countries closely to their chariot by signing "treaties of friendship" with them and by other means.

What merits attention is how the Soviet authorities completely defied the norms of international relations. Time and again they used Cuban mercenaries as tools of aggression and expansion and carried out armed intervention against a number of African countries. They incited the Vietnamese authorities to invade and occupy Kampuchea by force, to control Laos and to frantically push hegemonism in Southeast Asia. When their acts of aggression were vehemently condemned by the world public, the chief of staff of the Soviet Army still argued plausibly by claiming that "there is not a single Soviet soldier or troop" in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia and "there never was any." The Soviet Union "has never interfered in the internal affairs of any other country and will not do so now." Before long, however, the Soviet Union sent troops to invade and occupy Afghanistan, a nonaligned sovereign state.

The Afghanistan incident is the latest and most typical example of how the Soviet Union "fulfilled its internationalist obligations." It is an important indication that Soviet hegemonist aggression and expansion has reached a new stage of development. Under the "fraternal internationalist aim" of the Soviet Union, an independent sovereign state was ravaged by Soviet troops. More than 500,000 Afghan people were savagely slaughtered, and over 1 million refugees were forced to leave their homeland.

Recently a Soviet diplomat in an Asian country brazenly declared that in order to "fulfill its internationalist obligations" the Soviet Union "has already sent troops to more than 10 countries to assist them in combat." "As long as friends of the Soviet Union make the request, as did the Afghan Government, the Soviet Union is always willing to send troops to protect their sovereignty." These few words starkly revealed the wild ambitions of the Soviet Union to carry out aggression and expansion abroad and dominate the world.

The perverted acts of the Soviet leaders taught the vast numbers of Asian-African-Latin American countries and peoples a lesson by negative example and aroused the strong resistance of numerous countries and people. A few years ago the Egyptian Government abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship" and expelled all Soviet advisers. Later the governments of the Sudan, Somalia and other countries also expelled their Soviet advisers and experts and sent this "dependable natural ally"—the Soviet Union—packing. Today a war of national liberation against the Soviet aggressors is being unfolded across the length and breadth of Afghanistan. These few examples are a scathing satire on the so-called "internationalism" and cause of "supporting national liberation movements" of the Soviet leaders.

There is eloquent proof that the foreign policy of the Soviet leaders is hegemonism pure and simple. Hegemonism is diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is also incompatible with socialism.

As everyone knows, ever since the birth of Marxism, internationalism has been a fundamental principle followed by the world proletariat in forging militant unity and carrying out socialist revolutionary movements. More than a century ago the great revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels had already clearly explained this fundamental principle in the "Communist Manifesto." They also put forth the great call "Workers of the world, unite!" Later, in the era of imperialism, Lenin developed Marxism, enriched the content of proletarian internationalism and put forward the militant call "Workers and oppressed nations of the whole world, unite!" After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin clearly defined proletarian internationalism as the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the first socialist country. In the spirit of this principle, he immediately declared the abrogation of all unequal treaties signed between tsarist Russia and its neighboring countries and the abolition of all forms of enslavement imposed by tsarist Russia on its colonies and semicolonies. Even when the international imperialists started their armed intervention and the Soviet Government was in dire straits, Lenin still emphasized the need to proceed from the overall interests of the world proletariat and declared that the Soviet Government would support the proletarian revolutionary movements of all countries and the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations with all its manpower and material resources. Lenin constantly educated the whole party and the people of the whole country in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and repeatedly emphasized the need to resolutely oppose great-Russian nationalism and great-nation chauvinism. Lenin's theories and policies on proletarian internationalism are now badly adulterated by the Soviet Union.

After World War II the balance of the international class forces underwent a great change. The overall situation was not only different from the times of Marx and Lenin but was also markedly different from Lenin's days. As far as the socialist countries are concerned, the following new circumstances and new questions have obviously cropped up in the implementation of proletarian internationalist foreign policies:

First, since there is now more than one socialist country in the world, the question of the interrelationship of socialist countries has come to the fore. The relations between socialist countries should be a new type of international relationship such as never previously existed. It should be a relationship founded on the basis of complete equality, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, mutual support and close cooperation.

Second, there once existed in the world a Communist International which exercised centralized leadership of the communist parties of various countries. Later, due to changes in the situation and for other reasons, the centralized leadership of the Communist International became unnecessary and impossible. Thus, the Communist International was disbanded in 1943. Since then it has become a fundamental principle followed by all communist parties to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of their country's revolution and to solve their own questions of revolution independently. After the war, as the workers movements of capitalist countries flourished, the communist parties of various countries rapidly became stronger, and the situation of the international communist movement became more and more complicated. It became all the more important to adhere to this principle. Socialist countries should support

the proletarian revolutionary movements and workers movements of capitalist countries. The communist parties of various countries can only consult each other on questions of mutual concern as equals. No party should interfere in the internal affairs of another party or impose its will on others. Practice of the postwar international communist movement amply shows that it is very dangerous to let any international center issue orders.

Third, the liberation movement of the oppressed nations is rising to an unprecedented height, the system of imperialist colonialism is falling apart and many colonies and semicolonies have cast off the yoke of colonialism and founded their own independent national states. However, these countries are still confronted with the pressing tasks of defending their own sovereignty and independence, developing their national economies and striving for genuine independence in every respect. Socialist countries must actively support and help them in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and for national liberation. This kind of support and help should be given in the spirit of helping them achieve genuine and complete independence in political and economic affairs. It should not be taken as an opportunity to establish a new kind of dependence.

Judging from the foregoing new circumstances and new questions, upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is still an important question of principle which a socialist country must follow.

The foreign policy of a socialist country is determined by the nature of socialism and the social system. The socialist system is basically different from any social system based on exploitation. Under this system, the rule of the exploiting classes is overthrown, the phenomena of oppression and exploitation of man by man are eliminated and the working people have become masters of their own country. The fundamental interests of the working people of socialist countries are completely at one with those of the people of the world. The relationships among the socialist countries and the relationship between them and the proletarian revolutionary movements of capitalist countries and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations are ones of mutual support. Therefore, no socialist country is allowed to seek narrow gains for its own nation by infringing upon the interests of other nations and peoples, to oppress and plunder other nations and peoples by force or to carry out aggression and expansion and push any form of hegemonism.

As proved by numerous facts, the Soviet leaders have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and forsaken the principle of socialism. They styled themselves as "the sole orthodox" proponents of Marxism-Leninism, boasted that the Soviet experience is "unique" and "of universal significance" and advertised their "practical socialism" as the best pattern in the world. They ordered all countries and parties to follow their example. They branded any country or party that deviated from their orbit as "opposing Marxism-Leninism" and as "bourgeois nationalists" and brought pressure, even military suppression, to bear on them. Inheriting the tsarist traditions of great-Russian chauvinism and expansionism, they persistently pursued hegemonism, aggression and expansion, carried out infiltration everywhere and even resorted to force to invade, occupy and trample upon other countries and nations.

Lenin said: "If the proletariat allows 'its' own nation to engage in a little violence against other nations, it will cease to be a socialist proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 684) There is not an iota of socialism in the deeds of the Soviet leaders. They have fundamentally undermined the prestige of socialism and become the most reactionary forces working to discredit socialism. They glibly talked about proletarian internationalism while actually pursuing reactionary bourgeois nationalism and hegemonism. They glibly talked about socialism while actually practicing out-and-out imperialism. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proved by its own actions that it is no longer a socialist country but is now a social imperialist country.

CSO: 4004

MARX AND ENGELS DETESTED PEOPLE WHO PRAISED THEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 80 p 49

[Article by Qi Hua [0796 5478]]

[Text] Marx and Engels, the founders of Marxism, always detested the personality cult and opposed all words and deeds of flattery because of their belief in the basic principle that the masses are the creators of history.

Marx' friend Kugelmann once saw in the supplement of FUTURE NEWS No 18 a speech by German bourgeois democrat Jacoby. The main content of the speech was copied from Marx, but he never cited Marx. Thus, Kugelmann wrote to Jacoby: "Why did you only cite Aristotle, Joseph de Maistre, Owen, Friedrich von Gentz and John Stuart Mill...but not mention the name of the scholar Karl Marx? Compared with Karl Marx, the above people, aside from Aristotle, were so insignificant. Yet you did not mention this thinker who has been justly called the genius of the 19th century; you did not 'carry on' his ideas, but, on the contrary...his epochmaking works such as the 'The Communist Manifesto' and 'Das Kapital' provided your exposition with extremely important materials." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 32, p 781, Note No 395) Later Kugelmann sent Marx a copy of this letter criticizing Jacoby. Marx was very displeased after reading the letter. He said in his reply to Kugelmann: "I basically agree with your views in your correspondence with Jacoby, but activities which overly eulogize me are distasteful. Everything has its limit." (Ibid., p 638) Marx also rejected the idea of writing his autobiography. In his reply to Kugelmann's letter persuading him to write an autobiography, he said: "My opinion is to firmly reject such a suggestion. I now sincerely ask you to totally forget about this kind of joke!... I believe that this sort of thing does more harm than good. It also harms the moral character of the man of science. For instance, the publishers of Meyer's Encyclopedia have written to ask my permission to write my biography. I not only did not allow them to do so but did not even answer their letter." (Ibid., p 561)

Engels did not want socialists in various countries to celebrate his birthday. He said: "I have always disliked such occasions." So many times "I have successfully evaded them. I hope to be able to do so even in the future." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 38, p 231) On 28 November 1891 the chorus of the German Workers Communist Educational Association in London was preparing to celebrate Engels' 71st birthday. Engels immediately wrote a letter to stop them. He said: "Both Marx and I have always opposed any public celebration held for any individual, except when such an activity could achieve very important goals.

We are particularly against holding celebrations for us during our lifetime." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 309) At Engels' insistence, the birthday celebration did not go forward. Engels was very pleased. Engels also did not want others to call him teacher. In May 1894, when Plekhanov first wrote to Engels, he called Engels teacher. In his reply, Engels pointed out: "First, please do not call me 'teacher.' My name is Engels." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 238) Engels could not stand senseless flattery. According to the memoirs of Nicholas Russanov (a Russian socialist at that time), in the spring of 1892, when he went to London to see Engels, to express his high regards he said: "Mr Engels, please allow me, a Russian socialist, to praise you from the bottom of my heart. You are a faithful friend of the great Marx. Even now you are the spiritual leader of international socialism." "Seeing you, it is as though Marx were still alive. You are the reincarnation of Marx." Engels laughed and stopped him with a wave of his hand: "Oh... Oh... Oh... young comrade!... That is enough. Why do we have to engage in mutual flattery among socialists? Can we not be more casual?" ("Memories of Marx and Engels," People's Publishing House, 1957, p 373)

Marx and Engels' glorious practice of setting an example and opposing the personality cult was both a forceful rejection of historical idealism and a fine example for the international communist movement. For more than a century their words and actions have been praised far and wide. They are indeed good examples for proletarian revolutionaries the world over to emulate.

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