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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 7, 1 April 1981



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CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 7, 1 April 1981

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

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THE WHOLE PARTY AND THE WHOLE SOCIETY MUST SHOW CONCERN FOR THE GROWTH OF  
YOUNGSTERS AND CHILDREN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 pp 2-5

[Article by Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522]]

[Text] Editor's note: The Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee held a meeting on 2 February 1981 to discuss women's work and called on the Women's Federation to concentrate on the work of bringing up, training and educating the more than 300 million children and youngsters. On 3 March, the All-China Women's Federation convened a report meeting to commemorate the International Working Women's Day. Comrade Song Renqiong gave a speech at that meeting. His speech will greatly help us to understand and implement the suggestions made by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee on women's work. In this issue, we are publishing the speech given by Comrade Song Renqiong.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, China is achieving greater and greater successes in socialist construction under the guidance of the Marxist line formulated by our party. The lively political situation of stability and unity has been further developed, and socialist democracy and law have been further strengthened and perfected. There has been a great development in agricultural production, and the rural economy is very active. Grain output last year was the second highest since the founding of the People's Republic, cotton output was the highest on record since the founding of the People's Republic and diversified economy developed very fast. Because of the implementation of the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, the orientation and development of the internal structure of industry have become rational and harmonious. The rate of growth of light industry has greatly exceeded that of heavy industry, marketable products have increased, product quality has improved and economic results have risen. The active market and brisk buying and selling have increased people's income and improved their lives.

The prestige of the party and government has kept on improving among the people and unity among people of various nationalities has been further strengthened. Facts have proved that the new line, policies and principles implemented by our

party since the 3d Plenary Session are totally correct and effective in practice, and they are supported by the broadest masses of people and women.

The great achievements obtained on various fronts are the fruit of the painstaking labor of the masses of women. Women are a powerful main force on the agricultural front. The masses of women commune members and educated youths are industrious and hardworking, and they have made important contributions to the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery and to the building of the new socialist countryside. Women comrades on various fronts of industry and communications, finance and trade, science and technology, culture and education, public health and sports, service trades and neighborhood work, have diligently studied science and technology and exerted themselves in increasing production and practicing economy. They have created enormous material and spiritual wealth for the state and played an important role in socialist construction. Women fighters of the PLA, women militia members and women judiciary personnel have all made new achievements at their respective posts in defending the motherland, safeguarding social order and strengthening socialist law.

For the sake of setting our socialist modernization on the track of harmonious, steady and healthy development and eliminating potential dangers, the CCP Central Committee has decided on an important policy of further carrying out economic readjustment and achieving further political stability. This is the only correct policy for our economy and politics at present. The implementation of this policy is an important task set before the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country. Women of various nationalities must, together with people throughout the country, closely unite round the CCP Central Committee and make determined efforts for further making a success of readjusting the national economy, realizing stability and unity and building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Women on various fronts must heighten their sense of responsibility of being their own masters, display a high degree of enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, endeavor to increase production and do a good job at their specific tasks. They must study politics, culture, science and technology and improve their political and ideological levels and their ability to carry out the four modernizations. They must carefully bring up, train and educate the youngsters and children and make due contributions to the bringing up of a new generation. In the new historical period, the tasks shouldered by Chinese women are heavy as well as glorious. We earnestly hope that the masses of women fighting on the various fronts will heighten their revolutionary spirit, go all out, bravely shoulder the heavy load and vie with each other to be models in creating material civilization and spiritual civilization and in training and educating youngsters and children.

In the recent discussion of women's work, the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee proposed that the Women's Federation concentrate on the work of bringing up, training and educating the more than 300 million children and youngsters. It also called on the Women's Federation to grasp these six links in their work:

- 1) Help the masses to build happy homes and correctly handle marriage problems.
- 2) Make a success of family planning.
- 3) Actively solve such problems as

nurseries, kindergartens, children's theaters, toys, picture books, reading materials, recreation centers and hospitals needed by youngsters and children. All organs must especially set aside time for use of their auditoriums in the service of youngsters and children and must not charge any fee or must charge only a token fee for their use. 4) Help each and every family to strengthen education of their children. They must show concern for and train personnel for children and youth work. 5) Strengthen education for unemployed young women. 6) Study and properly solve the problem of labor insurance and welfare for women workers and commune members. All these six links must be properly solved, but they must grasp the focal point of the work.

The whole party and the whole society must pay attention to and show concern for the healthy development of youngsters and children. Youngsters and children are valuable assets of society. They are the future and the hope of our country and people and the successors to the cause of communism. Today's youngsters and children are the reserve force of the four modernizations, and in 10 to 20 years, they will be the main force and the assault force in the four modernizations. From them will develop tens of thousands of experts. Therefore, the proper education and upbringing of youngsters and children are not only a matter of concern to countless families and homes and millions of parents, but more importantly, this also has a bearing on whether or not there will be successors to the cause pioneered by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and whether or not the ambitious goal of the four modernizations can be realized. This is an important matter concerning whether or not our country and people can become prosperous and flourishing. In short, this is a strategic task that has an important bearing on the destiny and future of our country.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the diligent efforts and careful upbringing of women workers, teachers, CYL cadres, Young Pioneer political instructors, nurses, child-care workers and parents as well as literary and art workers, medical workers and physical training workers interested in youth and children work, a gratifying change has taken place in the thinking, moral character and spiritual feature of the youngsters and children in China. They love the motherland and the people, love study, work and science, safeguard the people's interests, observe discipline and mind their manners. They are growing up healthy and strong. In participating in the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities jointly advocated by nine units including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the CYL Central Committee and the All-China Women's Federation, our youngsters and children will certainly grow up even more healthily.

However, we also cannot close our eyes to the disaster caused by the 10 years of turmoil and the unhealthy tendencies in the social atmosphere. They have quite an effect on the immature minds of some of the youngsters and children. After the adoption of the open door policy, some negative things have also been introduced. Moribund bourgeois ideas and way of life are producing an adverse effect on some of these innocent and uncultured youngsters and children. Furthermore, we have still been unable to catch up with the work of bringing up youngsters and children in many ways. All these are detrimental to the healthy growth of youngsters and children, and some of the youngsters have even taken the wrong road. These occurrences are very disturbing. Therefore, we must at present stress the importance and urgency of bringing up youngsters and children, energetically

appeal to and mobilize the whole party and the whole society to show concern for the growth of youngsters and children and bring up a generation of new people imbued with communist ideals, good in morality and learning and sound in body, who are determined to make contributions to the people, to the motherland and to mankind, so that the next generation will be wiser and more capable than our present generation and will be able to shoulder the historical mission of carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. Only if we succeed in fulfilling this historical task can we consider ourselves to have fulfilled our historical duty.

To build a lofty tower, one must begin by laying a solid foundation. To bring up a generation of new people, we must proceed with the bringing up of youngsters and children. For the sake of enabling the children to obtain all-round moral, intellectual and physical development, we must expend a bit more energy. The expending of more manpower and financial and material resources is extremely necessary and worthwhile. Although our country is still having some financial difficulties at present, as long as we tighten up a bit in other directions, we are fully capable of eking out some financial and material resources. We hope that all areas, departments and trades will actively solve such problems as nurseries, kindergartens, children's theaters, toys, picture books, reading materials, recreational centers, hospitals and clothing needed by the youngsters and children. We must show concern for and strengthen the building of a contingent of workers who deal with youngsters and children. We must strengthen their training, help them to raise their political and ideological levels and vocational ability, and solve some of the actual difficulties in their work and their lives. Production and commercial departments must produce more articles that are cheap and attractive and will contribute to the physical and mental well-being of youngsters and children. Cultural and publishing departments must create more products of an outstanding quality suitable for children. Neighborhood offices and residents' committees must also look upon the bringing up and education of youngsters and children as an important task and conscientiously make a success of it.

The All-China Women's Federation and its affiliated branches at various levels have the unshirkable duty of making a success of the work of taking care of youngsters and children and guaranteeing their healthy growth. This is also an important task for women in general. To make a success of this work, we must closely integrate school education with family education and social education, and none of these should be neglected. Nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools are important centers for the training of children. We hope that all teachers and child-care workers will actively and creatively carry out their work and use their wisdom and strength to properly bring up and educate children. The family is an important place for training and bringing up children. Parents are the first teachers of children. Their words and actions play an important role in the development of their offspring. At present, more and more families are only having one child. Therefore, we must pay even more attention to family education. We hope that parents will have a correct attitude and use correct methods and set an example by their own actions so that each child will be able to cultivate good moral character and habits at an early age. Society is a big classroom for educating children and it constantly exerts a subtle and imperceptible influence on children. We hope that all sectors of society will pay attention to the healthy growth of children.



To realize the great historical task of the party in the new period, we must build a powerful contingent of cadres in the prime of life with specialized knowledge and ability who will adhere to the socialist road. Moreover, women cadres will be an important component of this contingent. Under the concern and training of the party, their ranks have continued to grow. At present, we have over 4.7 million women cadres in the whole country, and they account for 26 percent of the total number of cadres. This is 13 times the figure of 1951. This contingent of women cadres is an important force in the four modernizations. They are a force to be reckoned with on various fronts. At present, what we must pay attention to is the smaller ratio of women cadres in leading bodies at various levels. In general, they account for only from 3 to 6 percent of the total number of leadership cadres. Among the existing women leadership cadres, there are more old comrades and relatively few middle-aged and young comrades. This requires us to energetically cultivate and train women cadres and boldly promote outstanding middle-aged and young women cadres to the leading bodies of departments at various levels. Party committees at various levels must pay full attention to this matter and do it properly.

At present, we should take advantage of the readjustment of the national economy to conscientiously carry out the work of training cadres including women cadres. If this is properly carried out, we not only will be able to guarantee the success of economic readjustment and political stability, but we will also be able to properly prepare conditions for the future development of cadres. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many districts and departments have attached great importance to the training of cadres and also produced notable results. According to incomplete statistics, a total of 2.72 million cadres, including a number of women cadres, have been trained in rotation throughout the country in the last 2 years. In the future, apart from continuing to carry out training based on the unified plan for cadre training, we must also adopt various means of training women cadres based on their special needs.

While training women cadres, we must at the same time actively promote outstanding middle-aged and young women cadres to the leading bodies of departments at various levels and gradually change the condition of only a few women cadres being in the leading bodies. This is an attainable demand. We have at present more than 4.7 million women cadres and many of them are middle-aged and young comrades. Most of them have been through some actual tempering and they possess certain political levels, cultural knowledge and work experiences. We should broaden our vision and look for qualified people from various departments and trades. After observation, we should boldly promote those who are really outstanding. We should also see that the women cadres are a powerful reserve force. We can select some of them to work at the basic level, and after necessary actual tempering, promote those who are outstanding to shoulder certain leadership work.

We must maintain standards and pay attention to methods in promoting outstanding women cadres. We must use three standards to judge whether or not a woman cadre is outstanding. We must see whether or not she adheres to the socialist road and whether or not she resolutely implements the line, policies and principles of the party; whether or not she has specialized knowledge and organizational and leadership ability; whether or not she is in the prime of life and can handle strenuous tasks. We not only cannot lower the standards for women cadres, but we also

cannot make excessive demands on them. We cannot regard their physiological characteristics and their need to do housework as shortcomings and discriminate against them. We must resolutely overcome the erroneous idea of regarding men as superior to women. We must fully follow the mass line, extensively listen to views from all sides and obtain an all-round picture of the past performances of cadres. We must deal correctly with those comrades who have made mistakes and pay attention to the voiced opinions of cadres. We must uphold the principled party character and oppose unhealthy tendencies.

Today, during the period of building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, Chinese women, who account for half of the population, are playing an increasingly important role as a mighty revolutionary force. Comrades of the whole party must show concern for and pay attention to women's work. Some of the comrades hold that women's work is the affair of women's federations. This kind of thinking is incorrect. Women's work is an indispensable part of the whole revolutionary cause and an important work of the party. Like other work, it is very difficult to make a success of women's work if there is no strong party leadership. Party committees at all levels must further strengthen leadership over women's work, hold regular discussions and studies and provide concrete guidance. I hope that governments at all levels, all fronts, departments and basic-level units will show concern for and support women's work, so that a new course can be initiated in women's work.

Chinese working women are an outstanding contingent with a glorious revolutionary tradition. Whether during the war years or the period of construction, they have always enthusiastically contributed all their energy and worked hard and conscientiously without complaint for the cause of the party and the cause of women's liberation under the leadership of the party, and have done a great deal of useful work. In the protracted struggle of over half a century, inspiring heroic personalities have emerged in large numbers to become pioneers and leaders of the women's movement. Their outstanding contributions to the women's movement in China will go down in history and will be held in esteem by the people. Comrades engaged in women's work today must carry forward the glorious tradition of their predecessors and make new contributions to the cause of women in the new period. Women's work carries heavy responsibilities in the new period and much can be accomplished. The load shouldered by working women is not light but heavy. The demand of the party is not low but high. The party and the people have placed great hope on working women. We hope that every working woman, and particularly leadership cadres of the Women's Federation at various levels, particularly will be inspired, enthusiastic and will study diligently and work hard. They must resolutely and unswervingly uphold the four basic principles, continue to raise their political levels and vocational levels, maintain close ties with the masses of women, conscientiously improve their work method and work style and strive to raise the standard of women's work to a new level. We earnestly believe that with the concern and support shown by party organizations at various levels and by the whole society, the women of China will certainly be able to write a new chapter in the women's movement of this great era with their own exemplary actions and new contributions.

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## BLAZE A NEW PATH OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE COURSE OF READJUSTMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 pp 6-8, 13

[Article by Commentator]

[Text]

### I

At present, we are in the process of further readjusting the economy. The main object of this readjustment is to cut back on capital construction investment, cut down on spending, basically balance revenue and expenditure, stabilize the economy, further readjust the economic structure and increase economic results by stabilizing the economy. Therefore, economic readjustment cannot be simply perceived as cutting back on capital construction. Basically speaking, readjustment means we must comprehensively readjust the economic structure. Not only must there be a readjustment of agriculture, light and heavy industry, but there must also be an internal readjustment of heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, trades and enterprises including a readjustment of the product structure. By carrying out this readjustment, we can rationally organize the industries and promote the reorganization and integration of enterprises so that we will have a more rational economic structure, change the long-existing condition of poor results and great waste in our economy and blaze a new path in economic development.

For a long time, we have taken the road of putting capital construction above production, the road to high accumulation and low efficiency. We are fond of going in for capital construction in a big way and concentrating an enormous amount of money for the building of new plants, particularly heavy industrial plants which require huge investment and long construction time. Initial planning for many of the capital construction projects is badly done and the various projects cannot be linked together. We have also gone in for a large number of projects which lack the necessary conditions for construction and for processing plants which are already in excessive supply. Consequently, they take up a good deal of financial and material resources and require a long period to build. They cannot be immediately turned into productive units, or when completed, still cannot start normal production. Moreover, we have usually not maximized our efforts to properly manage the existing enterprises. We have neither paid attention to replacing their equipment and transforming their technology nor to changing their products and improving their quality. This has caused them to always remain in the backward condition of high consumption and low efficiency without any change

in product quality, performance, specification, design and variety. At the same time, because we only seek output value in production and ignore market demand, production and marketing has become dislocated. This has resulted in a great deal of overstocking. This irrational condition in production and management has put a greater strain on the supply of fuel, power and raw materials and has impelled us to again increase the scale of capital construction, and particularly the scale of construction in heavy industry. This road is maintained by reducing the people's consumption and keeping up an excessively high accumulation rate. Outwardly, the speed of production growth is not slow, but economic results are very poor and people do not get much material benefit. In the future, we must not take this old road again. We should look for a new path and should not rely on more capital construction and more new plants that will only greatly increase the consumption of energy and raw materials. We should mainly rely on bringing the role of existing enterprises into play, carrying out rational technological reform, improving quality and raising efficiency to increase social production. China has a huge population and a poor foundation. Only by taking this path can we successfully handle the relations between accumulation and consumption and between developing construction in production and improving people's livelihood, basically solve financial and economic difficulties and obtain steady economic growth.

In this readjustment, it is not only necessary but also possible to blaze a new path of economic development that will not require much investment but will produce better results. In the last 30 years, we have built several hundred thousand enterprises and industrial and communications departments resulting in 500 billion yuan in fixed assets, 300 billion yuan in working capital and 800 billion yuan in total assets. This is not a small setup. The problem is poor results, great waste and the production capacity still not being fully brought into play. The only way to solve this problem is to carry out readjustment and reform. Readjustment and reform will enable the economic structure to become progressively more rational and enable the economic results in the various sectors to greatly increase. At present, the 800 billion yuan in assets will play a very important role. In a certain sense, investment is a thing of the past. Henceforth, efforts will be pinpointed on producing results. In particular, the recent central work conference symbolizes that our CCP Central Committee has made a complete break with the "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology of economic work. This is our important political and ideological prerequisite for seeking a new path. It may be said that our present readjustment is in the nature of breaking away from the old road and starting out on a new path.

Therefore, in a more positive and deeper sense, our economic readjustment is not only for the sake of overcoming existing difficulties and eliminating potential dangers, but we must also, by means of this readjustment, correct the guiding ideology of our economic work so that our economic construction will really proceed from actual conditions in China, keep within our capability, develop in an orderly manner, pay attention to actual results and blaze a new path of steady development on the basis of increasing economic results.

## II

At present, the irrational economic structure of our country is conspicuously manifested by the serious proportionate imbalance in agriculture, light and heavy

industry. Certain departments of heavy industry are comparatively cumbersome, agriculture and light industry are inclined to wither and such departments as energy, communications, construction, commerce and service trades are relatively backward. The basic problems are: The production of the means of production cannot keep up with the production of the means of consumption. The production of the means of consumption is seriously falling behind. More and more intermediate products are produced and less and less end products can be supplied for consumption. This has greatly restricted improving the livelihood of the people. Our present financial difficulty is the concentrated reflection of the irrational economic structure and poor economic results. Although it is extremely necessary to cut down on spending and stabilize the economy in order to solve the financial problem, we cannot simply rely on cutting down expenditures. The basic way out is still to develop production, readjust the economic structure and increase economic results. Therefore, in carrying out this readjustment, we must readjust the industrial structure, that is all industries, energetically develop light and textile industries and increase the production of consumer goods; reorganize the production of all departments of heavy industry based on the needs of the production of consumer goods; change the former condition of paying too much attention to heavy industry and too little attention to light industry and readjust the economic structure of China from a heavy structure to the more rational light structure. This is not only a basic way to overcome the present difficulty and reverse the passive situation in the economy, but this is also the basic condition that will enable the whole national economy to obtain healthy planned and proportionate development.

Developing the production of consumer goods has a bearing on the overall situation. Light and textile industries are principal production departments for producing the means of consumption and their products occupy a very important position in consumption and foreign trade. Compared with principal departments of heavy industry producing the means of production, they are characterized by small investment, quick returns, high accumulation and more foreign exchange earnings. Most of them are also labor intensive industries, they consume less energy and can accommodate more social labor. We must take advantage of the readjustment and make use of the existing industrial base to carry out the production of consumer goods. This is an important measure for satisfying market demand, withdrawing currency from circulation and increasing financial income as well as an important content of the readjustment and the reorganization of the economic structure. Under the condition of the cutting back on capital construction, the effort to balance financial income and expenditure and to lessen the rather tense energy situation, the carrying out of the production of consumer goods is also a rather crucial matter that will enable the national economy to maintain a regular rate of growth and invigorate the economy.

Carrying out readjustment centered on developing the production of consumer goods does not mean that we must not develop heavy industry, but that we must have a definite purpose in developing heavy industry and not just for the sake of developing heavy industry. The ultimate aim of producing the means of production is invariably for the sake of producing the means of consumption to satisfy the needs of the people. We must proceed from the development of consumer goods for daily use (including cultural, educational and sanitary articles) to carry out the readjustment and transformation of the economic structure. We must change

the condition of the one-sided development of heavy industry divorced from light industry and agriculture, shift the attention paid by heavy industry to capital construction and its own development to the track of supporting the production of consumer goods for daily use and transform the structure of heavy industry itself according to these needs. In this way, we will make heavy industry production more rational and more in keeping with the needs of society and enable the development of heavy industry to be established on a solid foundation.

In the past, we regarded the methods adopted by the Soviet Union during the Stalin era, when it was under imperialist encirclement, as the universal law. We proceeded from heavy industry in arranging social production, one-sidedly put the emphasis on giving priority to the growth of the means of production and neglected the production of consumer goods. Moreover, in producing the means of production, we again paid attention to producing for the sake of producing and neglected placing it in the service of the production of the means of consumption. In our fondness for capital construction and new plants, we resorted to building up industry at the expense of agriculture and forced out light industry in order to protect heavy industry. Consequently, this resulted in a serious proportionate imbalance in agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, shortages of consumer goods, slow improvement in the livelihood of the people and the lowering of economic efficiency. This runs counter to the law of socialist economy and is also not suited to China's national conditions. In the future, we must change all these regardless of whether it was dictated in the guiding ideology or the result of actual work. In arranging social production, we must proceed from the people's consumption needs and must first do a good job of arranging the production of the means of consumption. Then, based on the needs of the development of the means of consumption and the possible supply of the means of consumption, to arrange for the production of the means of production and the production of other departments concerned, so that the development of the whole national economy will be centered on the goal of socialist production, and that is, satisfying the needs in the material and cultural life of the people.

### III

In the readjustment, an important matter is the reorganization and integration of existing industrial enterprises. When developing industries in the past, we have mainly relied on the construction of new plants. In the future, we must mainly rely on tapping potentials, making innovations and carrying out transformation. The production capacity of our existing enterprises has never been fully brought into play. The main reason for this is because of the irrational structure which has resulted in duplicate construction and duplicate production and the division of departments and areas. To take advantage of the favorable opportunity resulting from the readjustment, we must carry out an all-round reorganization of our industries according to the principle of specialized cooperation and economic rationality. We must smash the restrictions caused by the proprietary orientation of the areas and departments, overcome departmentalism, develop all types of economic integration and rationally organize and integrate the many separately managed "big and complete" and "small and complete" enterprises. This is an important way of giving full play to the potentials of existing industrial enterprises in China, realizing increased production, practicing economy and speeding up industrial development.

The reorganization and integration of existing industries and enterprises are not only acts of readjustment but also ones of reform. Readjustment means to readjust the economic structure and reform means to reform the economic system. Naturally, to really bring the role of reform into play there must be a rational structure. Therefore, readjustment is inseparable from reform. In the period of readjustment, generally speaking, reform must be subordinated to readjustment and must benefit readjustment. Those aspects of reform in which the necessary conditions are not prevalent during the period of readjustment or are in contradiction to the present readjustment, such as the reform of the whole price system, must be appropriately slowed down and postponed. Those that are closely related to and cannot be separated from readjustment and are conducive to readjustment, such as the reorganization of industries and the integration of enterprises, must be actively carried out together with the readjustment. Otherwise, readjusting the structure cannot be successfully carried out. At present, we must concentrate on products suitable for the market, highlight the grasping of brand name products in the cities and light and textile industries, smash the blockade between areas and departments and, with the whole country in mind, proceed with solving the question of the reorganization of industries and readjustment of enterprises in various trades and key cities.

We not only must establish specialization and integration on the basis of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, but we must also promote them from top to bottom and adopt whatever necessary economic and administrative measures. If we do not adopt the policy of promoting them from top to bottom but allow them to develop freely, integration cannot be achieved. At present, the relations of direct subordination in some of our districts, departments and areas are obstructing the economic readjustment. Many of the factories without work to do are willing to accept readjustment, but the administrative departments at the top are barring the way. In the future, we must follow this procedure: First, we must put forward the plan for readjustment. Second, we must hold a debate on the feasibility of the plan. We must place all the cards, the different views, on the table, debate them over and over again, assimilate those that are good and arrive at a rational plan. Third, after the plan has been determined, as long as it is economically feasible from the overall point of view, we may use administrative measures to make the decision and implement it. To make a good job of readjustment, we must first have a rational plan. Furthermore, we must also use administrative measures. Judging from the present, readjustment cannot be properly carried out without administrative measures. Naturally, when using administrative measures, we must in principle take into consideration the interests of all sectors. Otherwise, this plan will not have popular support. Isn't this emphasis on administrative measures contradictory to reform, or does it mean that we are no longer carrying out reform but are returning once more to the former method of rigidly controlling enterprises? No, it is just the opposite. The orientation of our reform is to strengthen planned guidance and necessary administrative intervention in economic work and in the field of microeconomics and combine them with fully arousing the enthusiasm of basic-level units engaged in production and activating microeconomics. The important problem facing economic readjustment and reform at present is precisely to study how to give play to the role of regulation by planning mechanism in the field of microeconomics. On this matter, we cannot copy the pattern of other countries but must sum up our experiences in construction over the last 30 years. At the same time, we must draw on the

experiences of foreign countries in our exploration to find a path suitable to our national conditions.

In short, the readjustment of the economic structure has a bearing on the reorganization of the whole industry. The purpose of reorganization is to benefit the development of socialized mass production so as to speed up the socialist modernization of our national economy. If this is properly handled, we will be able to give full play to the benefit of the 800 billion yuan of assets in our industrial and communications systems. If we become separated from the basis of readjustment and the reorganization, we probably will be acting blindly either in technical transformation or in renewal of equipment, and there will still be duplicate construction. We must combine rational organization with technical progress. This is the only way to increase economic results.

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ON REFORMING THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES AT GRASSROOTS LEVEL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 pp 9-13

[Article by Zhou Chuandian [0719 0278 0368]]

[Text] Editor's note: We are now implementing the principle of further readjusting the economy. How to carry out trial-point reform of the enterprise management system is a very important issue. In this article, Comrade Zhou Chuandian not only introduces specialized responsibility systems for production technology from abroad but also sums up the experiences of the enterprise management system in our country during and after the First 5-Year Plan. We hope that this article will draw the attention of leading comrades in enterprises and responsible comrades in leading economic departments.

Brief Introduction to Specialized Responsibility Systems for Production Technology From Abroad

In the past few years I have gone to the United States of America, Japan and West European countries, where I visited about 40 plants at the grassroots level, had talks with plant directors and studied their management systems.

Factory directors and workshop directors in these countries are engineers with university education, practical experience and a certain level of technology and management capability. I met with dozens of factory directors and, according to my study, they are generally much stronger than us in technical knowledge and management capability. The management of these factories is also much more advanced than ours, but not all of them have advanced equipment. For example, there is a titanium-smelting factory that is using a vertical furnace made during World War II, and such furnaces are characterized by low production, high cost and serious pollution. We also used such furnaces in the 1950's, but in the later period of the 1960's we dismantled them and transformed them into steam furnaces. Another titanium-rolling factory is using a heat-rolling mill that was introduced in 1931. When I was in this factory, I saw two workers pulling a blank back and forth with big pincers in order to roll the material. Such processing technology is still in use in our local small steel plants but is rarely used in large enterprises. Why are such plants with backward processing

technology and equipment in other countries able to produce good-quality products? I think one reason is that they have good management. The Chinese people are not stupid. Some of our plant directors match their foreign counterparts in technology and management experience. Some of our plants also have advanced equipment. Why can the others manage their plants well while we cannot? I think one of the most important reasons is that our plants do not have specialized responsibility systems for production technology.

All industrial enterprises at grassroots level in these countries have specialized responsibility systems for production technology. Specialization means that only one person is responsible for the management of a production sector and responsibility means that this person is totally responsible for the units under his management. Since the basic task of this person is to be responsible for production technology activities, I call such a management system a "specialized responsibility system for production technology." The number of workers in plants at grassroots level in the United States and European countries is generally limited to from several tens to several hundreds. Plants with over 1,000 workers are regarded as large ones. These countries strictly implement the specialized responsibility system for production technology, with only one person being assigned to a leading job and that person has no assistant. Such a practice has become an organizational principle for the management system of industrial enterprises at grassroots level. A steel complex in West Germany, the Krupp Group, is composed of a sintering plant, an iron plant, a steel plant and a steel-rolling plant, and there is only one director for each plant. The iron plant has three furnaces, and each of them is under the management of an engineer equivalent to a furnace foreman in our country. In addition to these three engineers, there is another engineer who is assigned as director of the plant and who will take the job of one of the other three engineers when he goes on leave. For each furnace there are three furnace teams that work in shifts. Each team has a leader, and most of them are workers with technical school-level education and their job is to instruct the furnacemen. Plant director, furnace foremen, team leaders and workers all are parts of a direct leadership structure. There is a leading person in each position, and each leading person is under the leadership of the person immediately above his position. No leading person is in a position to supersede or instruct other staff members. Thus, with clear-cut responsibility, the work is carried out in an orderly manner.

These grassroots enterprises have a simple management structure, all staff are familiar with technical matters and their work efficiency is so high that we can only admire it. They work 8 hours a day; they are all busy and yet they work in an orderly manner. They finish a day's work according to a daily quota. They usually hold meetings for half an hour to an hour, and they start and end their meetings in good time with a decision made. All decisions are implemented quickly. A decision of the integrated company is soon passed on to and completely implemented by the workers, who finish their task in good time. The Japanese and German peoples are known for their discipline. American people are comparatively careless and sloppy, so why can they implement resolutions so quickly? I asked a Chinese-American who is working for a U.S. company about this, and he said that a company's production and technical management is responsible for a dozen plant directors and each director is responsible for several workshop directors; each workshop director is responsible for several foremen and each foreman is

responsible for several workers. In the upper echelons directives are not superseded; in the lower echelons, only one man's directives are heard. Promotion and firing of staff is generally decided by the direct leader. Those who are responsible for each level have the right to dismiss their subordinates when they find they are not qualified or are not working hard. This is another reason for their high work efficiency.

#### Practice in Our Country's First 5-Year Plan

In fact, during the First 5-Year Plan we also implemented a specialized responsibility system for production and technology. Of course, we implemented this system according to our specific conditions. We even did better in carrying out ideological and political work among workers and in combining this work with production. Here I will simply recall the situation in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company. From 1952 to 1958 I was deputy director and acting director of the company's iron plant. What was the level of our management personnel at that time? Take myself for example. I was a graduate of a university's metallurgical department, and I understood some knowledge, from exploiting ore to smelting and rolling steel and from nonferrous metals to various iron and steel products. I came to the Anshan Iron and Steel Company in 1949, and for the first time in my life I saw blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces. I served as apprentice technician for 6 months and as furnace foreman for 2 years before I was promoted to deputy director of the plant. My technical level was very limited, and my experience in production management was even more limited. When I was working as team leader and foreman, the technological requirement was basically in line with my technological level. The technological equipment of the company, which had then just been taken over from the Japanese, was much more backward than those of the United States, European countries and the Soviet Union. Of the 9 blast furnaces in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, 6 had been built in the 1940's and had been dismantled and taken away by the Soviet Union. The other 3 furnaces had been built in the 1930's and had a capacity of over 600 cubic meters. At present, all the blast furnaces in our medium-sized iron and steel plants are more advanced than the furnaces of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company at that time, and the technological level and management experience of our engineers who are responsible for production today are also much higher than mine was then.

Reconstruction of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company began in 1953 with equipment and technology imported from the Soviet Union. The United States of America had then already replaced Britain and Germany as the country with the most advanced steel industry in the West. Compared with the United States, the Soviet Union lagged behind in smelting, rolling and processing technology. In general, the technology we imported at that time was advanced. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company made progress in many aspects in the following 5 years. After 1958, the economic standard of our steel technology reached the level of the Soviet Union in many respects and even surpassed it in some respects. The United States, on the other hand, fell behind us in a number of smelting levels.

Why could our country, with virtually no foundation for a steel industry, enter the ranks of the world's advanced countries in many aspects in a matter of less than a decade? Why were we able to develop our steel industry stably, rapidly and smoothly without making serious mistakes? I have been pondering these questions recently and the following are my preliminary views.

First, the party had high prestige, the people were enthusiastic and the party did not directly interfere with production technology.

At that time, the people were quick to respond to any call by the party. The masses really felt that the party knew what they had in mind and, therefore, they loyally followed the party. The party's leading cadres and members set an example for them and were willing to discuss matters with them. The party and the masses worked with one will. Party committees did not directly interfere with production technology, which was handled by plant directors. No doubt there were different views and contradictions between administrative leading cadres and the masses in daily work, but when the workers had grievances, they were willing to air them to party committees, which were ready to support them and resolve their just grievances. The masses were united around the party, and they trusted and were grateful to the party. They worked hard in building socialism even though their life was difficult. My impression of an old worker in the plant is still fresh today. He lived miles away from the plant, and had to get up very early in the morning and when he returned home after work it was already dark, yet he was always punctual no matter what the weather. A furnace team leader would bring along only a simple box meal of sorghum rice and salted vegetables during his night shift, and yet when he worked he was full of vigor and enthusiasm. Everybody wanted to restore production, and everybody demanded only enough to wear and eat and never asked for more. Following the rehabilitation and development of production, the salaries of the masses of workers and the staff increased so that their living standard constantly rose and consequently we all worked with more vigor.

Second, plant directors had the right and responsibility to implement economic management and specialized responsibility systems for production technology.

The iron plant of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company was then staffed with over 2,000 workers and was accounting for more than half of the national production. Organizationally, its administrative system followed the Soviet pattern, with a management system of three levels and one head. The three levels were plant, workshop and section, and the head was one plant director, work team leaders and foremen. All those at the head were authorized to manage various sections of production technology.

I was deputy director of the plant in the first 3 years of the First 5-Year Plan and assisted the director. I was assigned various tasks under the leadership of the director, and all the tasks were decided by him independently according to his needs. At one time, I was responsible for production and at another time for capital construction. I was also assigned some experimental and research work. The director then went abroad, and I became solely responsible for the production and technology of the whole plant. Not long ago I met a comrade who told me that the plant now has 10 party secretaries and plant directors. They claim that they are very busy and that two of them have become ill from overwork. I said that during the First 5-Year Plan there was only one party secretary and two directors and later I was the only director. Our work at that time was also very busy but not as busy as it is said to be today. At that time we were not only able to go to work and return home on time, but also had time to study politics and technology. I also told this comrade of my views about management efficiency in

other countries. We agreed on two things. One is that the management system implemented during the First 5-Year Plan improved work efficiency and stepped up the development of production. The other one is that, under our present system, simple things become complicated and cause a series of problems. It is time now to sum up experiences in this respect. I remember that work at that time was done in an orderly manner. On the first day of each month I would report the production situation of the previous month to the members of the three teams and assign the work for the next month. The opinions of the masses during discussions were compiled by the trade union and were later discussed at meetings held by the party committee in order to assess whether the opinions were acceptable. I myself and the departmental staff also attended such meetings. Every week I spent half a day in attending meetings on production and the other half a day on reporting the work of the week to the party committee meeting. Measures were then taken to implement the decisions of the committee. The party committee did not interfere with production and technical work. Every day I was responsible for organizing departmental staff and assistants in discussing and solving various problems in the plant. Usually I spent 2 hours a day inspecting work and listening to reports. Of course I was busy with directing production but this was carried out smoothly. No doubt, today's plants have more tasks than those during the First 5-Year Plan. In addition to production, technological and economic work, a plant has a lot of other work. A plant is, in fact, a small society that takes care of the basic necessities of life, birth, old age, sickness and death. In order to meet the needs in realizing modernization, it is necessary to gradually implement the principle of coordination between specialized departments, socialize logistics work and lessen the burdens of enterprises. Before the socialization of logistics work is attained, joint companies and other companies must shoulder social service work so that the plants at grassroots level can concentrate on production. It is better for disorder to occur at the higher level than at the grassroots level. I think the production, technology and economy of enterprises must be put under the centralized leadership of the specialized responsibility system and not under diversified leadership. Plant directors must have the authority and responsibility commensurate with their posts, and a big effort must be made to eliminate the phenomenon of no one being responsible.

Third, there is the authoritativeness of technology.

The management of production has certain regulations and technological operations are constantly changing. Therefore, it will not do if authoritativeness is lacking in technology, particularly with regard to major decisions and important technological measures. Otherwise, our work will become disorderly. Why was it possible during the First 5-Year Plan to absorb and digest advanced technology more smoothly, to make constant progress and to solve various problems quickly? The main reason was technological authoritativeness, i.e., doing a good job in technology and preventing people from working in contravention of objective laws. This authority was exercised by experts. Some experts were qualified at a certain level, while others did not know enough and had even less skill. Our party, on the other hand, helped them to establish their authority, and people who did not implement their suggestions had to make self-criticisms or were even punished. Our production and construction at that time advanced along the path of scientific laws. Departments, companies and plants all had their own experts, and this situation was an important condition for normal production and construction and an

important reason for the high level of development of our production and technology at that time.

#### Some Views on Reforming Our Present Management System for Industrial Enterprises at Grassroots Level

Our present management system for enterprises at grassroots level has been changing since the late 1950's. Following the criticism of the "system of one-man leadership" at that time, the responsibility system of the plant director under the leadership of the party committee was introduced. This system was a responsibility system for the division of labor, and yet there was no clear-cut division of labor between the party and administration. The factory director was responsible for administrative work, and the party committee secretary was also responsible for some administrative work. The secretary was the "team leader" of the committee and also the "team leader" of administration. Even though the secretary was not totally responsible for production, his main job was to organize and lead leading comrades from the party and administration in discussing important matters and in dividing work. The specialized responsibility system was consequently replaced by multiple leadership. In the following years during political movements, a number of qualified technicians who made achievements and old cadres who liked to make improvements and who loved science were criticized, and this was followed by the abnormal situation in which university students were inferior to technical secondary school students and these students in turn were inferior to middle school students. Many cases in which science and technology were not guaranteed and scientific laws were violated constantly occurred. Often the factory director was labeled a representative of conservatism. All matters, important or not, were discussed at party committee meetings and nothing could be implemented before it had been approved by the committee and passed down to lower levels in the name of the committee itself. The party committee directly interfered with production, technology and administrative work and consequently was bogged down in routine work. As a result, party ideological and political work was weakened. In particular, the party committee set itself in opposition to the masses, and this led to the close relations between the two sides drifting apart. It was also inevitable that in daily production and administrative work there often appeared contradictions between the administrative leadership at various levels and the masses. But during the First 5-Year Plan period, the party committee did not interfere in directing production and administrative work. The workers who met with the bureaucratic administrative leadership were willing to report to the committee and ask for its help. They regarded the party committee as their close friend. But now everything has to be decided by the party committee and it has thus become one side of a contradiction itself. Relations between the committee and the masses became tense which affected the prestige of the party and the enthusiasm of the masses.

Under the present management system, a plant has several party committee secretaries and several directors. They all have a final say that comes to no effect and each is in a management position and yet without responsibility, because when important events occur it is the party committee that makes collective decisions. In addition, each of these leading cadres is responsible for each section, only to divide an integral production entity into several parts that condition each other. Many responsible persons result in many different views that need endless meetings

to solve. Many matters are discussed and many resolutions are made but few are implemented. Consequently, normal work is affected or even has to be delayed which results in serious consequences. Foreigners would say that our work efficiency is low, coupled with a bureaucratic style of work and we also feel it is a serious problem. In my opinion, there is no way of solving this problem without reforming the present management system.

When Marx was talking about the leadership system of big industries, he cited a band as an example. He said that an orchestra can play good music only if there is just one conductor. A modern plant has complicated technology, and a plant with several hundreds or a thousand workers often produces a variety of products. Therefore, the workers must coordinate and carry out their production in unison. If there are many leading cadres, some of them of course understand technology but others undoubtedly understand only a little or even do not understand technology at all, while people in various positions must obey the leadership from different angles. How can we manage our plants well with such practice?

The present management system has been in effect for more than 2 decades, and it differs substantially from that of the First 5-Year Plan period. Reform of the present management system involves many aspects; it is complicated and difficult work and must be carried out conscientiously. Therefore, I suggest that a specialized responsibility system for production, technology and economy be implemented on a trial-point basis in selected plants at grassroots level. But this system should not be a simple repetition of the system that was implemented during the First 5-Year Plan period; it should be combined with reality and more advanced. But the conditions are not ripe at present for trial-point reform of the management system of joint companies and principal plants.

We must first of all sum up the experience and lessons in implementing the specialized responsibility system during the First 5-Year Plan. In my opinion, positive experience predominated, particularly that of the party committee being able to concentrate its efforts on carrying out ideological and political work and solving the contradictions among the people in the plant in order to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. In addition, there were people responsible for economic work and for the establishment of a good system of instruction in production technology so as to increase production and work efficiency. But, at the same time, we had only recently entered the city and we had never before managed the production of big-scale industry and consequently there were a number of shortcomings and problems in our work. Therefore, in trial-point implementation of the system we must promote advantages and overcome shortcomings, so that we will be able not only to establish a strict specialized responsibility system for production, technology and economy, but also to improve and strengthen party leadership so that our plants will have higher production efficiency and a higher political standard.

Second, we must elect those with strong party discipline, professional knowledge and organizational ability and who are able to maintain close contact with the masses as plant directors and leaders of workshops and sections. We must also create conditions for them to carry out their production technology work. In selecting such cadres, leading members at various levels may elect candidates

from those below their own positions. The present double management system for cadres who are responsible for either business or people merits study.

Third, in trial-point implementation of the specialized responsibility system for production, technology and economy it is necessary to implement the system of wages according to positions, and it can also be implemented in plants where conditions are not ripe, but in such plants subsidies must be given.

Fourth, when the system is being implemented, the cadres and workers who are transferred down must be organized and given training and education. Social services, including technical service and service for people's life, must be done well in enterprises at the grassroots level. We would rather turn a joint company into a big society than turn a plant into a small society.

Fifth, it is a tremendous transformation to change the plant director responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee into a specialized responsibility system for production, technology and economy and whether we are able to accommodate such a change depends on whether we can elect good party committee secretaries. We must elect the secretaries from among those who have acquired a certain Marxist level and some knowledge of production technology and who are able to keep in close contact with the masses. Once a secretary is able to get himself off administrative work, he must concentrate his efforts in carrying out meticulous ideological and political work. We must also gradually establish a complete system that accords with the production in big industry, promotes the development of production technology and that is advantageous to displaying democracy in the management of enterprises and enabling party committees to display their supervisory role still better.

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## SHOULDER THE IMPORTANT HISTORIC POSITION

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[Article by Le Weishi [2867 0787 1395]]

[Text] China's great socialist cause has met with setbacks, hazards and difficulties. Now, it has turned to the correct path again. The magnificent goal of building a modern socialist power which has a high degree of democracy and civilization is arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of millions of people. The glorious traditions of the Chinese nation, namely, boldness, hard work and plain living, are developing under new historical conditions. The whole party and all nationalities throughout the country will surely be able to shoulder the important historic mission entrusted by the new epoch.

At historic turning points when people are recalling the past and probing into the future, various views will emerge. In order to achieve ideological unanimity, we have to undergo a process. Even though the majority of the people are full of confidence and advancing boldly, others are confused and hesitant, skeptical about the superiority of socialism, puzzled by the setbacks and mistakes which have occurred in the course of socialist construction, and uncertain about future prospects. In order to make concerted efforts to build a socialist power, it is necessary to thoroughly discuss these fundamental issues.

Socialism is a scientific ideological system as well as an advanced social system. This social system is an inevitable outcome of historical development. Being the direct opposite of the old system, it is the negation of the latter. Thus, it will inevitably throw off the basic evils of the old system, inherit all useful things of the past and demonstrate incomparable superiority over the old system. The founder of Marxism proved this theory with strong scientific evidence. However, the bourgeois politicians and theorists have repeatedly made vain attempts to refute it. Socialism is not only radiating with brilliance in theory, it is also flourishing in practice and is demonstrating strong vitality. The earth-shaking changes over the past 31 years in new China constitute forceful evidence. Under the socialist system, the working people who lived like beasts of burden for generations have stood up and become masters of their own fate. Private ownership has been replaced by public ownership; the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class; the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work has been basically practiced, and the history of exploitation of man by man has basically ended. On the foundation of "poverty and blankness" left

over by old China, an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial system and a national economic system have been established. Old cultural and educational establishments have undergone necessary reform whereas science, education, culture, the press, publishing, public health and physical culture, which should serve the people, have made remarkable developments. We have overcome foreign aggressive forces which attempted to isolate and blockade us, interfere in our affairs and stir up troubles. The independence of our country has been strengthened. All people are clear about these achievements. However, as time passes and as people have seen too much of these achievements, they are no longer aware of them. This is like "staying in a room full of fragrant orchids, one ceases to smell the fragrance." When we mention these basic facts, some young people think that we are merely "boasting" and prating about "major principles." Some older comrades also feel that these are platitudes. However, these involve the major issue of how should we understand the nature of the socialist system. If we abandon these "major principles," we will inevitably make ideological mistakes.

People have raised the following question: China's economy has been developing so slowly, how can we say that socialism is superior? It is right to judge the superiority of a social system by its economic development. However, it would not be correct to draw the conclusion from this that the socialist system is not superior. The key to understanding this question is making a comprehensive analysis of the past 31 years. As everyone knows, before 1957, our socialist system was in an elementary stage. However, at that time, the scale of our economic construction and the speed of production development were quite amazing. From 1952 to 1957, the average annual increase of the total industrial and agricultural values was 10.9 percent, that of industry was 18 percent and that of agriculture was 4.5 percent. During this period, the actual wage increase of the staff and workers in enterprises under the ownership of the whole people was 30.7 percent, and the increase of peasants' income was 27.9 percent. Weren't these vivid demonstrations of the superiority of socialism? However, since then, our erroneous leftist guiding ideology together with the sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques disrupted and slowed down our economic development and even brought the whole national economy to the brink of collapse. How should we treat this fact, then? Is this the fault of socialism itself? No. To be fair, we should say that this is a grave consequence caused by damage done to the socialist system. On the whole, economic development over the past 31 years has not been fast and it has not achieved what it should have. This is because the superiority of socialism was only given full play for a short period of time and it was hindered over a long period of time. Both positive and negative experiences have shown that as long as we conscientiously uphold the socialist system instead of running counter to it, we will be able to promote the rapid development of the national economy.

Some people like to compare China with certain capitalist countries. They tend to exaggerate the high levels of production and livelihood in these countries and stress the poverty of China. As a result, they doubt the superiority of socialism. We admit that our present economy is backward and we do not oppose making comparisons. However, we do not agree with the isolated and static approach to making comparisons. All countries have their own histories and backgrounds. When capitalism was developed to a considerable extent in certain countries, our country was still in a stagnant situation of feudal society. When capitalism

entered the stage of imperialism, China was reduced to the status of a semi-feudal and semicolonial society. At that time, the standard of living of the Chinese people was, as Engels pointed out, "the lowest in the world." ("Marx and Engels on China," p 144) China became a socialist state when capitalism here was not, and could not have been, fully developed. We could not wait for the full development of capitalism before we began to carry out socialist revolution and construction. Capitalism in some countries already had a history of several centuries when new China was founded. The production levels and standards of living of these countries at that time were already higher than those of our country at present. After liberation, we eliminated the social roots of poverty and backwardness and tried to rapidly develop social productivity. However, it is obviously unrealistic to accomplish within 30 years what other countries accomplished in several centuries. We must also understand that the high degree of development of capitalist economy has been brought about by the blood, sweat and sufferings of the working people in capitalist countries as well as their colonies. Behind this economic prosperity, there are intrinsic and unconquerable contradictions. Such contradictions have become and will continue to become a barrier in the development of productivity. From the viewpoint of development, capitalism has poor prospects while socialism is full of vitality. It will take us quite a long time to catch up with the level of economic development in capitalist countries. However, as Lenin said: "Capitalism can and will be utterly vanquished because socialism can create a new and much higher labor productivity." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 388)

If the socialist system is superior to all old systems and if its victory is an irresistible objective inevitability, why have there been so many setbacks and mistakes in the course of socialist construction? We must analyze this question from two angles--the subjective and the objective aspects. The socialist cause is a new cause in mankind's history. It is also an unprecedentedly arduous cause. Up to now, no country in the world has yet to accomplish this cause. None has achieved the socialist "idealist state" which could serve as a guide for us to follow. Socialism is still in the process of developing by practice. It requires us to carry out study and exploration with utmost perseverance for a considerably long period of time to come. One hundred and thirty years ago, Marx said: "Proletarian revolutions, like those of the 19th century, usually criticize themselves, pause in their own course and review their apparently accomplished tasks in order to begin them afresh. They deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and impropriety of their first attempts. They seem to throw down their adversary only in order that the latter may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them. They repeatedly retreat from the indefinitely magnificent goal, until they have created a situation in which they cannot retreat any further. Then, life itself will cry out: Here is Rhodes, leap here! Here is the rose, here dance!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 607) Here, Marx portrayed a picture of the hardships and setbacks which the proletarian revolutions in European capitalist countries underwent. While constructing socialism in such a poor and backward country like ours, we will naturally meet with even more difficulties. Moreover, setbacks and mistakes will inevitably occur.

Practice over the 30-odd years tells us that it is by no means easy to make clear all the basic principles regarding the construction of socialism. It is even more

difficult to correctly apply them in practice. When we review what we have done in the past with a higher level of understanding, we often feel that some of our mistakes have been ridiculous and that we have been childish. However, it is difficult to avoid them. For example, production relations must be commensurate with the level of productivity. This is a general concept of Marxism. However, we have long been laying undue emphasis on the constant reform of production relations and have neglected the continuous promotion of the level of productivity. Take another example, the production aim of socialism is to meet the people's material and cultural needs. This should not be a problem. However, over quite a long period of time, we have indulged in high accumulation and have neglected the people's livelihood needs. Take another example, during the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, the steelmaking campaign was unfolded and the slogan of "launching satellites" was put forth. From the current point of view, they ran counter to science. However, they were accepted by the majority of people and put into practice. Similar examples have shown us that in order to acquire a correct understanding, we must go through repeated processes of practice-knowledge-practice-knowledge instead of one single process. In acquiring a correct understanding, the subjective thinking usually does not conform with objective facts. This is due to the limitations of people's understanding, the complications of objective situations and the tortuosity of the process of cognition. This is also the epistemological root of people's mistakes. If we are not clear about this point and deny the aspect of inevitability of making mistakes, we will not be in keeping with material dialectics.

Of course, we must by no means try to excuse ourselves saying that it is inevitable to make mistakes and denying the possibility of avoiding mistakes. In fact, some of our mistakes could have been avoided. We did not manage to avoid them because we were under the guidance of "leftist" ideology. Under such guidance, it was impossible for us to correctly sum up experience and correct our mistakes. Now, we emphasize the emancipation of the mind, persist in seeking truth from facts, try to further understand the tenacity of the "leftist" ideology and energetically try to eliminate its influence. We do this because we want to make fewer mistakes and avoid major ones, so that the socialist cause can progress smoothly.

Engels said: "There is no historical catastrophe that is not remedied by historical progress." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 149) This is a law of history. Historical catastrophes will not automatically change into historical progress but will change through people's subjective efforts. Our country has just undergone a great catastrophe and it is now making a new start amid difficulties. We are confronted with important tasks: On the one hand, we have to solve many problems left over from history. On the other hand, we have to open up a path for building a Chinese-style socialist power. What must we do in order to accomplish this task? We must not remain passive and wait. If we stand by with folded arms and refuse to work in a down-to-earth manner, the difficulties will not automatically disappear and the wealth will not fall from the skies. Nor must we grumble. When we make mistakes in our work, the masses may complain. This is understandable. However, it is not a positive approach in solving problems. It can only sap people's morale and discourage them. Nor must we depend on foreign aid. It is necessary to seek the economic cooperation of all friendly countries, to learn from foreign experiences of management and to import some advanced foreign technology and equipment. However, we cannot imagine a large

country like ours importing modernization from foreign countries. Much less can we imagine that we could live on charity. In order to overcome the existing difficulties, to change China from a poor country to a prosperous one and to achieve our great goal, we must depend on the party's correct leadership and the unity of the broad masses of people, arouse their revolutionary and indomitable fighting will and carry forth the pioneering spirit of hard work and plain living.

As a Chinese proverb goes, "every man shares in the responsibility for the fate of his country." This reflects the high degree of patriotic enthusiasm displayed by the Chinese people in history. However, in the old society, the working people were in the position of the oppressed and the exploited. It was not possible for them to freely assume responsibilities in society. It is only after the working people became the masters of the country as they are today that they began to work for society. We must cherish this and enhance our sense of responsibility of being the masters of our country. This sense of responsibility refers to initiative, creativity and the spirit of self-sacrifice. Lei Feng, the great communist fighter, is an example of one who possessed a strong sense of responsibility of being one of the masters of the country. What is heartening is that such a sense of responsibility, which was vilified and suppressed when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, is again blossoming in radiant splendor as it is displayed by millions upon millions of people. This is an important reflection of the style and features of the socialist epoch. Compared with this, those who are preoccupied with their individual economic gains and losses and who refuse, in both words and deeds, to make efforts on their own initiative in building socialism, are not in harmony with the spirit of this epoch. In our society, the fundamental interests of the state, the collective and the individual are identical. Producers give their products to society and get them back in terms of money and material objects after some social deductions have been made. Even the social deductions directly and indirectly benefit the producers. The more producers contribute to society, the more they get back from it. Only in this way can members of society live an increasingly rich material life. If we seek personal gains by infringing upon the interests of the state and the collective, we may gain some temporary profits. However, in the long run, the temporary profits will not be able to make up for the losses which our fundamental interests have suffered. We must take a broad and long-term view. Party members and cadres must play the vanguard exemplary role, unite with and influence the masses, consciously place the interests of the state and the collective above everything else and make utmost efforts for the prosperity of the country.

China's current situation is the best since the 1960's. It has provided the most favorable conditions for the Chinese people to display their wisdom and talents. The most essential reflection of our excellent situation is the correctness of the line adopted by the party Central Committee. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session, the line and policies adopted by our party Central Committee have been basically different from those formulated during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and have not been completely identical with those adopted before the "Great Cultural Revolution." The main difference is that we have corrected our "leftist" mistakes. The central work conference held recently shows that our party has completely done away with the "leftist" guiding ideology. It requires great efforts to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology in various fronts and various spheres. However, we have

found the root cause of our setbacks and disasters. This is a marvelous thing. It shows that our party, a serious Marxist political party, has a strong sense of responsibility and can correct its own mistakes. Our socialist system is capable of regulating itself. It can resolve all sorts of contradictions which have emerged on the road of advance. Practice over the past few years verifies that by conscientiously implementing the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session and by upholding the four basic principles, we can, politically, maintain stability and unity and promote the progress of democratization. Economically, we can work according to the objective laws and the actual conditions of our country, rapidly develop productivity and gradually improve the people's livelihood. Ideologically, we can suit our subjective thinking better with the objective facts and continue to heighten our cognitive ability. Of course, we do not mean that our party's current line and policies are perfect. They should continue to be enriched, improved and developed. However, relatively speaking, they are closest to the objective truth and are the fundamental guarantee of our new victories on the way to building a modern socialist power. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Society's wealth is created by workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Provided they take their destiny into their own hands, provided they have a Marxist-Leninist line and energetically tackle problems instead of evading them, they can overcome any difficulty on earth." History has proved, and will continue to prove, that this is a great truth.

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## ON THE LEI FENG SPIRIT

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[Article by Wang Jue [3769 6030]]

[Text] A vigorous mass campaign to learn from Lei Feng, establish a new work style and develop socialist spiritual civilization is on the upsurge throughout the country. What attitude should our comrades and the youths in particular adopt toward this campaign? Should they plunge into it or just stand by with folded arms and make indiscreet remarks? In order to adopt a correct attitude, it is necessary to clarify some points about the Lei Feng spirit.

First, How Did the Lei Feng Spirit Come Into Being?

A few people say, "The Lei Feng spirit is a product of the personality cult." Is this view correct? In our opinion, this view does not tally with reality and is a distortion of the Lei Feng spirit.

Lei Feng was a representative of outstanding youths educated and brought up by the party during the 1950's and the early 1960's. Born to a poor peasant family, he suffered hardships in the old society and felt the warmth of the new society. All his life he truly and wholeheartedly received education from the party and did whatever the party told him to do. He once served as a peasant and a worker and eventually joined the Liberation Army as a fighter. He diligently studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, equipped his mind with the proletarian scientific world outlook, and consciously linked his fate with the future of the motherland and the cause of emancipating mankind. He dedicated his all, including his life, to the people. At his ordinary post, he displayed a noble spirit and demonstrated a lofty moral character. He was worthy of the name of a great proletarian fighter. He had the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the party and socialism, the spirit of working selflessly for the public and putting public interest above his personal interest, the spirit of working hard and matching his words with his deeds, the spirit of readily helping others and wholeheartedly serving the people, and the spirit of dashing ahead bravely regardless of his own safety. In short, he had the communist spirit. This was the basic characteristic and general nature of the Lei Feng spirit, which was highly evaluated by the CCP Central Committee and unanimously praised by the people. The Lei Feng spirit spread widely during the 1960's, playing a remarkable role and exerting a profound influence on our country's socialist cause. These were irrefutable facts.

It was by no means fortuitous that the Lei Feng spirit found expression in Comrade Lei Feng, a young fighter, during the 1950's and 1960's. This spirit was a product of the conditions at that time and could not be created willfully by anyone. What were the conditions at that time? 1) In China, following the complete victory of the new democratic revolution, the ownership of the means of production went through a socialist transformation and the socialist public ownership was established and gradually consolidated. This kind of socialist relations of production demanded that ideology and the superstructure, including thinking, moral concepts, mental outlook and social practice, be suited to it and serve it. Precisely in the course of transformation in this kind of relations of production, a new type of relationship between man and man and a new social outlook completely different from those of the past emerged all over China. 2) With the development of socialist revolution and construction, the party's ideological and political work was carried out steadily. People took a great interest in studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought ascended to the ruling position and became the guiding thought for the people of the whole country. The proletarian ideas and morals contrary to the feudal and capitalist ideas and morals were accepted by more and more people and taken by them as their ethics. 3) The traditions and style of the old Red Army and the old 8th Route Army, which had played a major role during the new democratic revolution, that is, the revolutionary spirit prevalent during the Yan'an period and the liberation war period, were further carried forward during the initial period after the founding of new China. The people of new China, including the broad masses of young people, personally felt the tremendous strength of this traditional revolutionary spirit. They vigorously inherited and carried forward this spirit. These were the conditions and the environment in which Comrade Lei Feng lived and worked. These conditions were combined with his subjective efforts, giving birth to the Lei Feng spirit, which is resplendent with communist thinking. The Lei Feng spirit took roots in the soil of the socialist relations of production. It was a fruit of the education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought conducted by the party during the 1950's. It showed that the younger generation in new China had inherited and carried forward the party's revolutionary traditions.

While not agreeing that the Lei Feng spirit is a product of the personality cult, we do not mean that there was no sign of the personality cult during the years when the Lei Feng spirit came into being. Neither do we mean that Lei Feng was a "superman" who was not restricted by the limitations of the times to which even the most outstanding personages at that time were invariably subjected. We only mean that the personality cult at that time was far less common in practice and far less influential on people's thinking and behavior than it was during the decade of upheavals. That is to say, the personality cult did not play a dominating role in Lei Feng. Characterized by "lying prostrate at the feet of the sacred images of some privileged personages," the personality cult is derived from historical idealism and is an idea of the exploiting class. It can only ossify thinking and cause blindness and stupidity. Its prevalence is integrated with putting an end to man's conscious dynamic role and stifling the communist spirit, whereas the Lei Feng spirit embodies the highly conscious dynamic role and the noble communist ethics and takes the proletarian ideological system, including historical materialism, as its origin. How can it be irrationally linked with the personality cult, which stems from the thinking of the exploiting class?



Doubtless, Comrade Lei Feng, like other communist fighters, had the greatest esteem for the proletarian revolutionary teachers like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong and deeply believed in the communist doctrines created and developed by them. However, this esteem and this belief have nothing in common with the personality cult. The distinction is that one is conscious and the other is blind. From Lei Feng's words and deeds, it can be seen that he never forgot that he was "an honorable communist and a master of his country" and, with the sense of responsibility as a communist and a master of his country, he eagerly studied the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong. He took Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as his "food, weapon and compass" and studied it in order to find the truth and the key to solving problems and to grasping the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. After a process of practice and diligent study, he understood the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and believed that it was the truth for emancipating mankind, thus heightening his respect for the revolutionary teachers and leaders, establishing his firm faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and confirming his confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party. This respect and this faith arising from the bottom of his heart were different in principle from the personality cult. We oppose the personality cult now and will do so in the future. However, in no way should respect for the revolutionary teachers, faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and confidence in the party's leadership be mixed up with the personality cult. It is very wrong to say that Comrade Mao Zedong no longer deserves our respect and that Mao Zedong Thought, and even the entire Marxist-Leninist ideological system, no longer merits our faith because Mao Zedong made mistakes during his later years. Proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation represented by Comrade Mao Zedong deserve our respect, and the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought, which combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese revolution and which has been proved correct in practice, deserve our faith. Showing no respect for the revolutionary teachers and no faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and regarding such respect and faith as fetishes reflect an anarchist trend of thought. Starting from the point of negating the respect for revolutionary teachers and the faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, this trend of thought will invariably slip onto the sidetrack of bourgeois liberalism. We should be highly vigilant against this.

Second, Why Is It Necessary To Advocate the Lei Feng Spirit in Realizing the Modernizations?

The reason it is necessary to advocate the Lei Feng spirit in realizing the modernizations is quite simple. Nevertheless, some people hold different views. Some of them say that "the Lei Feng spirit is outdated" while others hold that "the Lei Feng spirit transcends historical periods." These two views are diametrically opposed to each other, but they come to the same conclusion, that is, the present task is to realize the modernizations and the Lei Feng spirit is not needed. Certainly, we do not agree with these views.

The Lei Feng spirit is needed in realizing the modernizations. This is primarily determined by the nature of the modernizations. Our modernizations are different in nature from those in Western countries. That is to say, our modernizations are to be realized on the basis of the accomplished public ownership of the means of production and under the guidance of the four basic principles and, therefore, are

socialist modernizations. The basic task of our modernizations is to build a highly developed material civilization as well as a highly developed spiritual civilization. This means that on the one hand we must strive to create conditions for improving our working tools and for making greater scientific and technological achievements, to develop all undertakings concerning the national economy, to create more and more material wealth to meet the people's livelihood needs, and to lay a strong material foundation for building a socialist society today and for moving toward a communist society in the future. On the other hand, we must strive to develop national education, to promote scientific and cultural undertakings, to advocate the communist thinking, ideal, faith, ethics and discipline, the revolutionary stand and principles, the comradely relations between man and man, etc., to build socialist spiritual civilization and suit it to the socialist material civilization, and to create spiritual conditions for moving into the socialist society in the future. The purpose of socialist modernizations is neither to build a material civilization at the expense of spiritual civilization nor to popularize education and spread scientific and cultural knowledge at the expense of communist thinking and ethics. A society which only has material civilization and lacks spiritual civilization is bound to decline, just like a society which carries out production exclusively for the sake of production. The Lei Feng spirit is a concrete expression of the socialist spiritual civilization. Advocating and popularizing this spirit, bringing up a new generation of socialist-minded people and initiating new socialist customs are important elements in building a socialist spiritual civilization and realizing the socialist modernizations. How can we say that the Lei Feng spirit is not needed in realizing the modernizations?

Emulating the Lei Feng spirit and building a socialist spiritual civilization are important conditions for achieving a socialist material civilization. Material civilization and spiritual civilization are not separated from each other. Social being determines social consciousness, matter determines spirit, and consciousness and spirit react on being and matter. This process was formerly explained in simple language by Comrade Mao Zedong: "Matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter." Therefore, the nature and level of the spiritual civilization in a society are determined by and serve the form of material civilization and the level of development of material civilization in this society. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the "theory that consciousness is all-powerful" was criticized and importance was attached to the development of material civilization. This criticism was correct. We will continue to criticize this theory because it negates the decisive role played by matter and regards consciousness as primary. This theory has led to many "leftist" policies in economic construction and hindered material production. However, we should not say that "consciousness is useless" and ignore the role played by spiritual civilization when we criticize the "theory that consciousness is all-powerful." Socialist spiritual civilization not only plays a role in protecting and developing the socialist relations of production and other parts of the superstructure and in promoting the development of material production, but also can directly affect and boost people's enthusiasm in production and convert it into productive force. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, man must have some spirit. Whether one is in good mental condition and whether one has the patriotic, collectivist and communist spirit will affect one's performance in the course of material production. One who has the Lei Feng spirit will surely delight in

working for the collective and creating greater material wealth for the state. He will surely make strenuous efforts to study the revolutionary theories, to learn scientific, cultural and technical knowledge, to prove himself both Red and expert, and to continuously improve his skills of working for the people and raise his labor efficiency. He will not squander public money and harm the people's material interests for his own good. Instead, at a crucial moment and when necessary, he will protect the people's lives and property even if he has to sacrifice himself. He will resolutely resist and struggle against the unlawful deeds of harming other people and public interest to benefit himself and the unhealthy tendencies of adopting the bureaucratic work style, seeking privileges and getting in through the back door. Vigorously promoting the Lei Feng spirit will invariably lead to great improvements in the party's work style and in the general mood of society and boost political stability and unity in society. The Lei Feng spirit is a tremendous spiritual force which, through social practice, can be converted into a huge material force.

To sum up, the views that the Lei Feng spirit is no longer suitable to the needs of the modernizations today and that the Lei Feng spirit "is outdated" or "transcends historical periods" are completely untenable.

We do not deny that, compared with the conditions during the 1960's, the times, the actual situation and the principles, policies and measures adopted have changed in many ways, but their fundamental and essential aspects remain the same today. At present, as during the 1960's, we are still in the period of socialist construction, are still following the socialist road and are engaged in socialist construction. So, how can the Lei Feng spirit, which shone with splendor during the 1960's, be described as "outdated" during the 1980's? The activities of emulating Lei Feng have been interrupted, not because the Lei Feng spirit has lost its vitality but because there have been political upheavals for a long time. During the years of political upheavals, the socialist spiritual civilization was damaged, the party's work style was unhealthy, people were demoralized, and there were abnormalities in the relations between the party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses and between man and man. For this reason, people said that "Uncle Lei Feng has disappeared." Does this not show that the Lei Feng spirit is not outdated but deserves very much to be advocated continuously?

We do not deny that events transcending historical periods did occur in our work. These events were the premature implementation of policies during the socialist period which should not have been carried out until the communist period, and the unreasonable bringing up of work which should have been done only in the future, such as "effecting the transition to communism," "cutting the capitalist tail," "discontinuing commodity production," and so forth. But emulating the Lei Feng spirit and carrying out education in communist ethics were a far cry from such events. This education does not hinder implementation of the policies and principles during the socialist period. On the contrary, only through this education will it be possible to correctly implement these policies and principles. At present, some people say that working according to the economic laws and practicing the socialist principles of distribution according to work and the policy of rewards mean doing everything for money. They think of money at every turn. They do the amount of work proportionate to their pay, trying to square accounts in every detail. Does this situation not show that it is necessary to advocate

the Lei Feng spirit and carry out communist education? Since the day it was founded, our Communist Party has shouldered the task of carrying out this education, thereby arousing the proletariat and the masses of people to fulfill the tasks for every historical period. Our party acted in this way during the period of the new democratic revolution. Commended by the party, the brilliant images of communist fighters like Norman Bethune, Zhang Side and Liu Hulan, by demonstrating their utter devotion to others without any thought of self, their spirit of working entirely in the interests of the people, their spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, their revolutionary heroism and their spirit of surmounting hardships to win victory, inspired tens of thousands of fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people to advance in waves and sacrifice themselves for the new democratic revolution and for the future of the socialist revolution. Even at present, these brilliant images are still inspiring large groups of noble-minded people to fight to accomplish the task of realizing the socialist modernizations and strive for the bright prospects of communism. Why is it that the communist spirit, which was advocated during the period of democratic revolution, should not be advocated during the socialist period, the initial period of communism? Why is it that the communist spirit, once it is advocated, is regarded as "transcending historical periods"? It is true that the socialist society and the communist society cover two different historical periods and should not be mixed up with each other. However, these two periods are not separated and different from each other. At the least they have several common aspects, as follows: The first aspect is the ideological system. They take communist thinking as their guide, although the role of this guide may vary in these periods. The second aspect is the ownership. They practice public ownership although it may vary in scale. The third aspect is the policy of distribution. They adopt two different policies. One upholds distribution according to work and the other advocates distribution according to need. But they impose the same demand on work, that is, they adopt the policy of from each according to his ability. The fourth aspect is the relationship between man and man. They advocate comradely relations of equality and mutual assistance, although these relations may be realized in varying degrees. In the final analysis, these similarities are determined by the level of development of productive forces and by the progress and results of the abolition of classes. The socialist society is still in the process of abolishing classes because its productive forces have not yet developed to a very high level. The communist society is a society with highly developed productive forces and without classes. These conditions show that, compared with the period of the democratic revolution, the socialist period is closer to and has more similarities with the communist period, so that there are better conditions for carrying out communist education and it is more necessary to do so during the socialist period. Through the activities of emulating the Lei Feng spirit and building a socialist spiritual civilization, we should strive to raise people's communist consciousness to resist the influence and inroads of the feudalist and bourgeois ideas and other nonproletarian ideas. Only by doing so will we have a reliable guarantee for our modernizations and be able to attain our goal.

Third, Is Advocating the Lei Feng Spirit in Step With Advocating Emancipation of the Mind?

Is there any contradiction between advocating the Lei Feng spirit and advocating emancipation of the mind? This question is on people's minds all the time. Some

people say: Lei Feng is like a block of wood. What he did can be done by a robot. These disparaging remarks mean that Lei Feng was a simpleton who had no character, did not think independently, could be cut into any shape like a block of wood, and worked like a robot according to instructions, so that the Lei Feng spirit should not be advocated lest it hinder emancipation of the mind. This is a very shallow and frivolous view.

One basic distinction between a man and a thing is that a man can think. One distinction between communists and ordinary people is that the former have mastered the scientific world outlook which enables them to think correctly, and are therefore the most distinguished talents in human history. Lei Feng was one of these talents. He was neither a great revolutionary and theorist nor a great scientist and artist but an ordinary young fighter. He never did anything which shook the world. He achieved extraordinary successes at an ordinary post. During his short life, he made huge contributions to the people and the society. His contributions were as valuable as those made by revolutionaries, theorists, scientists and artists and even outshone those made by many personages of great renown. His contribution found expression in fostering a new generation of socialist-minded people, building a socialist spiritual civilization, setting an example to be emulated and pointing out the direction in which to make effort. He was great because he never bragged about his achievement but regarded himself as a drop in the ocean, an ordinary man and a cog in the wheel of revolution. Like all communist fighters, he had high consciousness: he linked his ordinary work with the interests of the people, the destiny of the motherland and the highest ideal of the human race, and he consciously integrated his words and deeds with this objective; he consciously spoke, acted and handled his daily life and work according to the communist thinking and ethics. He had the feelings of a revolutionary: he was as warm as spring to his comrades and as cold as winter to enemies; he performed good deeds for the people all his life and not just on one or two occasions, and this is what ordinary people can hardly achieve. Lei Feng had a high sense of discipline; he likened the party to his mother, faithfully carried out the party's instructions, accepted all assignments given him by the party, loved and was devoted to his work, and strove to do his work with remarkable results. Comrade Mao Zedong said when he praised the Norman Bethune spirit: "A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people." Lei Feng was such a man. How do people who disparage Lei Feng as "a block of wood" and "a robot" approach ordinariness and greatness? Should they not think seriously about this question?

Perhaps, some people will say that it is of course incorrect to describe Lei Feng as a simpleton but it is sensible to say that emulating Lei Feng is not necessarily conducive to emancipation of the mind. They are entirely wrong. What is meant by emancipation of the mind? By emancipating the mind, we mean suiting thinking to reality and the subjective to the objective, that is, seeking truth from facts. We advocate this kind of emancipation of the mind now and will continue to do so in the future, because objective things always continue to develop and man's understanding should not always remain at the same level. It is definitely undesirable to ossify thinking, to stick to conventions, to regard books as the only authority and to advocate dogmatism. This undesirable practice must be corrected. In no way should the emulation of the Lei Feng spirit be conducted

at the expense of emancipation of the mind and should the effort to wipe out "leftist" influence be relaxed. Instead, emulation of the Lei Feng spirit should be integrated with emancipation of the mind and the effort to wipe out "leftist" influence. However, advocating emancipation of the mind does not mean doing away with the four basic principles but means carrying out these principles better. The practice of setting the emancipation of the mind against the implementation of the four basic principles is also definitely undesirable and must be corrected. In emulating the Lei Feng spirit, it is necessary to integrate emancipation of the mind with implementation of the four basic principles, to integrate the sense of responsibility for the party with the sense of responsibility for the people, and to integrate thinking and action with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's line and general and specific policies. Lei Feng acted in this way relatively well during his time. Whatever the subjective intention, the remarks disparaging Lei Feng can only produce the objective effect of misleading the public, confusing people's thinking and encouraging the attempt to break away from the four basic principles.

In daily life, "independent thinking," "free thinking" and "development of individual character" are always restricted by certain social relations and the social consciousness suited to these relations. The bourgeoisie interprets them in terms of absolutes although they are not absolute. No matter how "independently" and "freely" they might think, people of this class are inevitably tied by an invisible rope, that is, "doing everything for oneself" and "doing everything for money," so that some of them will do any evil thing for money. No matter how much one's "individual character" has been "emancipated" and "developed" and no matter what difference there is between one man and another, people of a given class cannot leap out of the framework of interests of their class, unless they betray their own class. When crying for "emancipation of individual character" and "free development," even the early bourgeois thinkers who had contributed to the progress of human society only called for developing the freedom of the capitalists to exploit the laborers. In contrast, the communists, who are outstanding representatives of the proletariat, are able to shake off the fetters of the concept of private ownership and the enslavement of money and to think and act according to the law of development indicated by the scientific truth, so that they excel the bourgeoisie and its thinkers in thinking independently, in winning freedom to think, and in emancipating and developing individual character. This was true of Lei Feng. He harmoniously integrated independent thinking with his effort to seek truth, apply it in practice and defend it. Through independent and free thinking and serious study, he accepted and firmly believed in the scientific truth of Marxism. For this reason, he understood the real meaning of life, resolutely cast off the mental shackles left behind by the old society, extricated himself from the trammels of the concept of private ownership, the biased worldly views and the philistine philosophy, and regarded serving the people and striving for communism all his life as his greatest happiness. Consequently, his individual character developed beyond the reach of ordinary people. In him we can see how the estranged nature of man's freedom can return to its original purity. We can say without exaggeration that when the overwhelming majority of men have cultivated their moral character and established their world outlook and can handle their work and treat other people as Lei Feng did, the time for the nature of man's freedom to return to its original purity will not be far away.

Of course, we do not mean that Lei Feng was a "perfect man," a "superman" or a man free from any defect. It is also untrue to say either that he was correct at all times, in all places and in doing everything and that each of his words was true and resplendent, or that he could shake off the fetters expressed by the limitations of the times in which he lived. However, this does not blur the splendor of the Lei Feng spirit. Conforming to the communist spirit, the Lei Feng spirit certainly has furnished useful things for us in emancipating our minds today. Doubtlessly, in emulating the Lei Feng spirit today, we should not mechanically follow his example but must bear the actual conditions in mind, so that we can carry out study at a new level under new historical conditions.

#### Fourth, Does Emulating the Lei Feng Spirit Mean "Suffering a Loss"?

In daily life not many people doubt and resent advocating the Lei Feng spirit, but many just look on unconcerned. They are puzzled by an ideological problem, that is, they fear that emulating the Lei Feng spirit means "suffering a loss." We should analyze this problem.

In conformity with the communist spirit, the Lei Feng spirit is opposed to extreme individualist, anarchical and bourgeois liberal ideas. It demands that when handling the relations between the state, the collective and the individual, one should attach greater importance to public interest than to personal interest, put other people's interest ahead of one's own and, when necessary, sacrifice one's personal interest for the sake of the interests of the collective and the people. In this sense, personal interest does "suffer a loss." However, one should "suffer" this "loss" and a communist or revolutionary cadre should all the more take the lead in "suffering" this "loss." Otherwise, why should he enter the party and serve as a cadre? Does he do so for personal interest and not for the interest of the people and the benefit of others? In this regard, if our party members and cadres do not "suffer a loss," the people and others will "suffer a loss." As a matter of fact, this is not an absolute "loss." For instance, if everyone in a unit wants to take advantage of others and refuses to "suffer a loss," carry a heavy load and go ahead of others, then this unit definitely cannot be run well and eventually everybody will "suffer a loss." On the other hand, if everyone in this unit emulates Lei Feng and works with a fine style, thereby cultivating the practice of not hesitating to "suffer a loss" in the interest of the collective, then this unit can be run much more smoothly. When a collective makes profits, an individual will also make profits. This is what is meant by the saying "when a river rises, its tributaries will be full." This applies to a production team, a factory and even the state. Therefore, in this sense, while advocating the Lei Feng spirit, we should promote and popularize the spirit of working for the people and voluntarily "suffering a loss" in the interest of others, so that all comrades inside and outside the party and all the people will have regard for mutual assistance and friendship and have a noble moral character. By that time, no one will have a "loss" to "suffer." Of course, it is not easy to attain this goal. It will take a very long period of time and require all sorts of conditions. Yet, since we are aiming at this goal and have gone a certain distance, we should not give up halfway and wait but should continue to march forward.

At present, the general mood of society is not as good as before. One who works for the good of others and works with a fine style as Lei Feng did might be treated with disdain and taken as an object of satire and irony. Some people say: "Emulating Lei Feng is a losing proposition and a thankless task. Why should we do it?" This worry about "a losing proposition and a thankless task" is understandable, but this skeptical attitude is undesirable. It is precisely because the general mood of society is not good at present that the people miss "Uncle Lei Feng" and want us to vigorously advocate and carry forward the Lei Feng spirit. If everyone adopts a skeptical attitude, where can we find an "Uncle Lei Feng" and when will we be able to improve the general mood of society? What good can we obtain if the general mood of society cannot be improved? Those who make sarcastic comments about Lei Feng show a mental deficiency, that is, they lack the Lei Feng spirit. We should not detest and reject them. Instead, we should treat them with the warmth of springtime as Lei Feng treated other comrades, and help them discard their biased worldly views and rank among those who emulate Lei Feng. Leaders should encourage and support all words and deeds favorable to the emulation of Lei Feng and criticize and educate those who speak and act against the emulation of Lei Feng. All comrades who are determined to popularize the Lei Feng spirit should show no fear of the "losing proposition and thankless task," should not waver and step back in the face of comments and sarcasm, but should press forward with indomitable will. If all people work concertedly, it will definitely be possible to achieve good results.

To create the general mood of fearing no "loss" and emulating the Lei Feng spirit, we should be the first to act and the leaders should also start acting like this. The party members, the CYL members and the leading cadres in particular should take the lead in emulating and carrying forward the spirit of not fearing the "losing proposition." The party's work style has not been basically improved because there are more comrades who take advantage of others and seek private interests. We must strive to improve the party's work style. When the party's work style is good, people will follow our example. With the party members taking the lead, the CYL members acting as vanguards and the leading cadres playing an exemplary role, people of all walks of life and all mass organizations, including workers, peasants, PLA fighters, intellectuals, youths and children, will conscientiously emulate the Lei Feng spirit. Then the Lei Feng spirit will surely be carried forward to a great extent and the general mood of society will definitely be improved to a high degree.

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## WHY DO WE SAY THAT MARXISM IS A UNIVERSALLY APPLICABLE TRUTH?

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[Article by Shao Tiezhen [6730 6993 4176] and Guo Dehong [6753 1795 1347]]

[Text]

### I

Marxism is a universally applicable truth. This scientific theme was formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong during the democratic revolutionary period.

Marxism is the product of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. Indeed, it was no easy task for the Chinese people to reach the Marxist path. They went through countless hardships and trod a difficult road and had many setbacks. Chinese progressives such as Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, Yan Fu, Sun Yat-sen and others turned to the West and made persistent efforts in search of the truth in order to save our country and our people. However, the dream of some Chinese to learn from the West was shattered by the aggressions of the imperialists. Harsh facts taught us that the road of the bourgeois republic could not be for China. It was only after the October Revolution, with the propagation initiated by Chinese progressives like Li Dazhao and others, that the Chinese people were able to accept Marxism as the truth and realized that the Chinese revolution had to be conducted under the guidance of Marxism and had to take the road of the proletarian revolution.

Upon its introduction into China, Marxism was attacked and vilified by all sorts of enemies who opposed Marxism. At the end of the May 4th movement, Hu Shi and Zhang Dingsun, among others, preached bourgeois revisionism and guild socialism, maintaining that Marxism did not suit the national conditions of China. During the first revolutionary civil war and the war to resist Japanese aggression, reactionary scholars of the Kuomintang shouted curses and clamored for the communists to "abandon" Marxism. The Chinese Trotskyists also played a supporting role, preaching defeatism and liquidationism, and urging that the proletariat should let the capitalists lead the Chinese revolution. While at the same time, some Chinese communists regarded Marxism not as the guide for their actions, but as dogma, and were content with a merely superficial study of Marxism. Because of this situation, in 1938 Comrade Mao Zedong called upon the masses of Chinese communists and cadres to study vigorously the method and viewpoints of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in order to be able to better understand problems and work out solutions for them. At the same time, he pointed out explicitly: "The

principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are universally applicable." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 498-499) This not only further strengthened the belief in Marxism held by the broad masses of people and cadres, but also vigorously refuted the enemies of Marxism.

On the eve of nationwide liberation, with the victory of the people's revolutionary war already in hand on the whole, the political representative figures of the national bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie still had doubts about the victorious future of the people's revolution. Holding that neither did the Kuomintang have the ability to run the country well nor did the Communist Party have the means of leading China, they preached a middle course and attempted to take a "third road." In order to make clear what road China should take, in his essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" Comrade Mao Zedong made an all-round analysis of the experiences of China's revolution. In this essay, he once again pointed out indisputably: "With the discovery of the universally applicable truth of Marxism, China has taken on a new look." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1407) And he solemnly declared that after the victory of the revolution, China would transform itself and would follow the Marxist path and would set up a democratic people's dictatorship. After the founding of the republic, China formally declared Marxism to be its guiding ideological principle, a principle which would guarantee our advance in the correct direction along the socialist road.

As the historical experiences of the past 60 years have indicated, as far as China is concerned Marxism is perfectly applicable. It has not only guided the Chinese people in extreme hardships and difficulties, ending the political and economic system of semifeudalism and semicolonialism, but has also guided them in accomplishing the socialist revolution and completing various phases of socialist construction. Indeed, in the process of guiding the Chinese revolution and construction, our party has committed many mistakes and met with many setbacks. Nevertheless, this was not because of Marxism. Rather, it was because we failed to study Marxism well and failed to apply it well. In other words, it was because of our failure to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the actual conditions in China. Our party committed grave mistakes because we did not study well and we did not correctly apply Marxism. Nonetheless, our party has corrected its own mistakes after restudying Marxism, summing up past experiences and learning lessons from the mistakes. During the 10 years of turmoil and the resulting damage to our socialist construction, and despite the wanton distortion and lying about Marxism by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who took advantage of the mistakes committed by our party, the vast majority of our party members and cadres and the masses withstood stern tests and reaffirmed their faith in Marxism, and their will to realize the lofty ideal of communism did not falter. Having been educated by the positive and negative experiences of the 10 years of turmoil, those who maintained their belief in Marxism stand more firm and resolute today, and those who were deceived by sham Marxism are now beginning to see the light. Even among those who did not endorse the Marxist viewpoint, many now affirm the truth of Marxism. All these facts indicate that Marxism is very viable. To the Chinese people, it is just like clothing and food, which can not be dispensed with for even a single second.

## II

By "universal application," Comrade Mao Zedong was saying that the fundamental principle of Marxism is of general significance and can be adapted to any country or nation. This parallels in meaning what Engels said about historical materialism, which is applicable in analyzing and understanding "any social or international relation, any religious or legal institution, or any theoretical proposition, that appears in history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 117) It frequently happened that, in order to explain a profound principle in simple terms, the classical Marxist writers used analogous and figurative expressions in their writings. Regarding these expressions, we should grasp their essence just as we do in dealing with Marxism itself, and we should not rigidly cling to the literal meaning of each word. For instance, Marx once said: "Revolution is the locomotive of history." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 99) Should we take this to mean that Marx meant that once revolution takes place in a country, the development of production can be dispensed with and the country will continue to advance? Let us take another example. Lenin once said: "The reason why the doctrine of Marx is omnipotent is that it is the embodiment of truth." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 441) Should we take this to mean that Marxism can cure a disease, or drive an automobile or even fly an airplane? Still another example: We advocate the development of the spirit of "utmost devotion to others without any consideration for oneself." Should we take this to mean that we might as well forego the meals we eat and the clothing we wear? As long as we take the writings of Mao Zedong seriously, make an earnest analysis of each article and remember the historical background of each of his assertions, it will not be difficult for us to attain a correct understanding of the meaning of the phrase that Marxism is a universally applicable truth.

What do we mean, then, when we say that Marxism is a universally applicable truth?

First, Marxism provides the proletariat and the revolutionary people with a scientific world outlook and the methodology for understanding the world and transforming it. Lenin made the following statement in discussing Marxism: "It is very comprehensive and strictly logical. It provides people with an integrated world outlook, which tolerates no superstitions of any kind, no reactionary force whatsoever, or the apologies for the oppression imposed by the capitalists." "It provides mankind, the working class in particular, with a great instrument of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, pp 441, 443) Dialectical materialism is exactly that "instrument of knowledge." It reveals the general laws governing human society, nature and man's thought processes, and it embodies the sole scientific world outlook and methodology for the proletariat and the revolutionary people. This scientific world outlook is not only the instrument by which the people of a country can view their own country, but also an instrument which can be used by peoples of all countries because it is universally applicable. Before the emergence of Marxism, for a long time human thinking was dominated by idealism and metaphysics. Regarding the question as to why a certain social system had prevailed in a country in one epoch and was only replaced by another system in another epoch, many people at that time invariably maintained that this was decided by a small elite group, the heroes and those with exceptional

abilities. In our country, this phenomenon was the so-called theory of the "benevolent monarch and virtuous prime minister" that prevailed for a long time. We call this viewpoint historical idealism. By modern times, in spite of the fact that idealism and religious superstition had been hard hit owing to the rise of methodological materialism and the development of science and technology, people's outlook on history was still confined by the belief that history is created by heroes and was still limited to observing the motivation of the thought processes that underlie historical development without searching for the cause of this motivation and the objective law of historical development. Marxism is committed to the concept that all history is the history of the production of material goods and the history of the producers of material goods. Throughout history the transformation of all social systems have taken place because of internal contradictions within the production of material goods, namely, the nonconformity of production relations to the productive forces, and the nonconformity of the superstructure to the development of the economic foundation. In class societies, such transformation is directly propelled by class contradictions. In this case, people's confused and arbitrary interpretations of social history have been replaced by a very complete scientific outlook. The development of history is no longer considered to be mixed and disorderly, but proceeds according to objective law. This scientific principle, which the CCP uses as a guide in formulating plans for the development, probing and analyzing the problems that our country faces. By using this principle, we won the people's democratic revolution, and under the guidance of this principle we will build a powerful socialist country while maintaining the special features of China.

Second, Marxism has shown the oppressed and exploited people the correct way to attain liberation. Lenin once said: The great contribution made by Marx and Engels lies in "the scientific analysis which they used to prove the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the transition to communism, free of exploitation of man by man." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 147) He went on to say: The principle of Marxism "will lend a helping hand to enable the proletariat, who are fighting for the eradication of the wage slavery system, to have a clearer vision of the purpose of their struggle, to forge ahead more resolutely in a fixed direction, to win and to consolidate the victory in a more dependable way." (Ibid., p 455) For several thousands of years, the working people, who suffered untold misery, did not know why they had to suffer and how to extricate themselves from their sufferings and disasters. In our country, many people attributed this to the will of the "divine," one's "fate" and so on, thinking that life and death, wealth and poverty, distinction and lowliness, blessings and misfortune are "predestined" by fate and are "endowed by heaven." Some intellectuals of the early 20th century did not believe in "destiny"; they attributed the backwardness and the aggressive subjection of their country mainly to the retardation of culture and education and to the underdevelopment of industry: hence, the basis for their proposal of "national salvation through education" and "national salvation through industry." However, neither their theories nor their schemes touched the essence of the social system and, therefore, did not provide the people with any guidance in regard to the eventual elimination of their misfortune of being oppressed and exploited. In the viewpoint of Marxism, the existence of the sinful exploitation system was the source of distress and misfortune suffered by the broad masses of people and of the poverty and

backwardness of old China. For this reason, the only way for the working people to become the masters of their own fate and to gain complete liberation was to overthrow the rule of the reactionary class and wipe out the capitalist class and abolish the exploitation system. It was this direction shown by Marxism which our party took as their guide in leading the Chinese people to overthrow the three big mountains, viz., imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, that weighed down on the backs of the people, to achieve the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, handicrafts, commerce and industry, and to put to an end the exploitation system which lasted several thousands of years on the vast land of China, and to set up the socialist public ownership system.

In our view, the two factors mentioned above may be considered the most fundamental components of Marxism. It is quite evident that without the guidance of the scientific world outlook and methodology and without the complete elimination of the exploiting class and the exploitation system, there is no possibility for all those who are oppressed and exploited to achieve liberation and to insure their continued existence. Consequently, the overall significance of the Marxist world outlook and methodology and the way to complete liberation which it shows to the working people is self-evident.

The four basic principles put forward by the party Central Committee is the product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is the summarization of the experiences of the long revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, free from any narrow views and undue emphasis. Aside from the general guidance of the Marxist principle mentioned above (the general significance of Mao Zedong Thought will be expounded in another article), the three other basic principles doubtless are of general guidance too. A proletarian revolution, taking place in any country and occurring at any time, might differ in its specific task, its course, and its form, but there are some aspects which are identical and shared by all, namely, it must persist in the leadership of the communist party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the taking of the socialist road.

Take the doctrine of the proletarian party for example, can it be true that the application of this doctrine is only good for certain countries and not good for others, or good only in times of revolution and unsuitable in times of construction? Obviously, this is not so. The founder of Marxism at the very beginning of the creation of his own theory stated clearly the position and function of the proletarian party in connection with revolution: "In order to enable the proletariat to grow strong enough at the critical moment to gain victory," it is necessary "to organize a party which is different from all its counterparts, a special party which is the opposite of other parties and is a conscientious party." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 469) Only in this way can the proletariat and the masses be united, educated and organized, the effects on the revolutionary ranks by tradition and evil ways of the exploiting class be resisted and overcome, and the successful seizing of political power be guaranteed. This is not to be violated by the proletarian revolution in any country. After the seizure of political power, the leadership of the communist party is to be strengthened and not weakened in the least. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin once said: "All political and economic tasks in respect to state power are carried out under the leadership of the awakened

vanguard of the working class--the communist party." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 160) It is precisely for this reason that of the four basic principles to which we adhere, we emphasize the importance of the leadership of the Communist Party first and foremost. This is the key factor which will decide whether the four modernizations can be realized as well as the pivot on which hinges the success or failure of the current economic readjustment. The purpose of improving the leadership of our party is to strengthen its leadership. It is a gross error to deny the leadership of our party in the political life of our country on the pretext of improving it.

Let us take another example. Is it not true that the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship is of general significance? Evidently, it is. Marxism has maintained, as always, that after the proletariat of a country seizes political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is quite indispensable for a considerably long period of time. The reason is that during this period it is the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat to take up the responsibility of suppressing the destruction and resistance of hostile domestic forces and of guarding against the aggression of imperialists so that the interests of the people can be protected, the leadership of the proletariat can be retained, the alliance of the workers and peasants can be consolidated and the successful undertaking of the socialist revolution and construction can be guaranteed, so that material as well as spiritual preparations can be made for the elimination of classes and the transition to communism. Despite the variations in form, the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries remains the same. It is democracy encompassing the vast majority and dictatorship exercised by the majority over a handful of hostile elements. The people's democratic dictatorship in practice in our country is essentially also the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the integration of democracy among the people with dictatorship over the counterrevolutionaries. Now the target of attack of the dictatorship are those forces that resist and undermine stability and unity, the remnant forces of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and various criminal offenders. As historical experiences prove, for every socialist country, where there is a weakening or abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there will be the loss of revolutionary achievements and the resurgence of the defeated hostile forces and consequently a retrogression in the nature of the state. Therefore, in order to insure the successful advance of the construction of the four modernizations, we must strengthen the state apparatus of the people's democratic dictatorship.

Consequently, it can be said that steadfast adherence to the four basic principles demonstrates the universal truth of Marxism as well. If one's will vacillates in respect to the four basic principles, it also means vacillation on one's fundamental position toward Marxism, and if such a situation is left unchecked, the consequences will be the slipping into bourgeois liberalism, the result of which would be harmful to the future of our party and the people as well as to the future of our country and nation. Some people only believe in Marxism in the abstract. As soon as they come in contact with the party's leadership, the people's democratic dictatorship and the taking of the socialist road, they deny Marxism. Obviously, this is not a true acceptance of Marxism. Some people talk glibly about building socialism, but they do not accept the leadership of the Communist Party and they do not want the people's democratic dictatorship.

Obviously, this too is not Marxist socialism. Some publicly slander the four basic principles. This means that they have an ax to grind, and to a certain extent it is a manifestation of class struggle in a segment of the population. With regard to these anti-Marxist views, we should criticize them justly, forcefully and convincingly instead of letting them go unchecked. Only in this way can we be guided by the universal truth of Marxism and forever forge ahead on the new Long March.

### III

When we say that Marxism is a universally applicable truth, we do not mean that to copy mechanically the conclusions already provided by Marxism will solve all problems, nor do we mean that Marxism is the standard for testing the correctness of people's understanding. It was Engels who once said that our doctrine is not dogma but the guide for our action. Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong more than once emphasized that what Marxism offers us is its principle for general guidance, and it is necessary to practice it according to the actual conditions of the various countries and regions in order to give full play to its power. To analyze conditions is the essence and soul of Marxism.

Lenin said many times that truth has to be concrete and truth in the abstract does not exist. Beyond any doubt, this is true. Then, is Comrade Mao Zedong's assertion in regard to the universal application of Marxism in contradiction with Lenin's viewpoint? Our answer is that the two are in agreement. Whenever Lenin discussed this problem, the situations concerned could be grouped into two categories. One category comprised those which were criticized by Lenin for deviating from actual problems, for engaging in empty talk about general and abstract principles, and for using general and abstract principles to cover up mistakes, as in the case of Martov and Plekhanov and others. The other category comprised those who needed to make a concrete analysis in regard to the problem under discussion. In both cases, what Lenin emphasized in his discussions can be reduced to one point, namely, "Every specific historical situation is to be analyzed concretely." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 857) For instance, when he said that the Bolshevik party should not formulate its policies on the grounds of the support it gave to the constitutional democratic party or according to the principles of the Duma controlled by that party, he saw that some people would raise the question whether this would imply the denial of the support given by the proletarian party to the bourgeois democratic groups. Lenin retorted: "Just one moment, gentlemen. First of all we want to remind you that the problem we are facing is not the support in its generality and abstraction in regard to the bourgeois democratic groups in general, but the concrete problem regarding the support given to the constitutional democratic party and to the Duma controlled by that party. We do not deny the general principle, but we do require special analysis of the conditions under which the general principle is put into use. Truth in the abstract does not exist and truth invariably is a fact." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 10, pp 200-201) In another place, his intent was made even more explicit. He said: "Truth in the abstract will simply become empty talk if it is not analyzed when used." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 82)

However, while Lenin emphasized the concreteness of truth, he did not deny the generality of truth. On the contrary, he repeatedly emphasized the generality of the truth of Marxism. His explanation for this can be found throughout his writings. For instance, in his statement quoted above, "we do not deny the general principle," is a clear demonstration. In criticizing the "left-wing" infantile disorder of the communist movement, he indicated clearly the existence of "universal truth." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 45) Concerning Marxism, he said many times: "Marxism is the principle of the proletarian liberation movement." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 198) At the beginning of the 20th century, the empirical criticism advocated by (Bogedannofu) [3134 2706 0030 6179 1133] and (Bazhalofu) [1572 2089 5012 1133] was prevalent for a while. They shouted in public that the dialectics of Marxism was merely "mysticism" and that the views of Engels were "outdated," showing it was Lenin who held high the great banner of Marxism, refuted thoroughly this philosophical revisionism, and bravely guarded the universal truth of Marxism. He clearly pointed out: "As we advance along the road provided by the Marxist principle, we will approach closer and closer to the objective truth (though never quite reaching it). However, if we take any other road, we will succeed in arriving at confusion and falsehood." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 143)

Marxism is general as well as specific. It is general, because it reveals the supreme general law of human society and nature. It is specific, because it is the conclusion derived scientifically from innumerable facts. For this reason, when we use Marxism in its capacity as the universal truth, it must be closely integrated with the actual situation in question. For instance, in order to enable the proletariat to become the ruling class, it is necessary to smash the capitalist state apparatus and to eliminate capitalists. This is a universal truth of Marxism. As to the specific way of smashing the state apparatus in a particular country, whether it is violent or nonviolent and the specific manner in which capitalists are eliminated, it is up to the particular state to adopt its own general and specific policies in the light of its actual conditions. This is the specific truth of Marxism. Just as Lenin once said, Marxism "provides only the guiding principle in general, the application of which will differ in England in comparison with France, and will be different again in France in comparison with Germany, and different in Germany in comparison with Russia, when we deal with its specific application." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 203) Invariably, the specific truth of Marxism is present in association with the universal truth of Marxism, and the latter finds its expression through the former. Specific truth in separation from universal truth, or universal truth divorced from specific truth do not exist in actual life. The relations of generality and specificity inherent in the truth of Marxism are those of the absolute and the relative, and those of generality and particularity. These relations constitute the very core of material dialectics. When we say that Marxism is a universality, and when we say that the general principle of Marxism must be combined with the concrete practice of the revolution in various countries, we are putting the emphasis on its specificity. Nothing should be done to deny the universal applicability of the truth of Marxism because of the fact that the truth of Marxism is specific. To separate the dialectical relations of the generality and specificity of truth, in terms of methodology, is an expression of metaphysics. As a result of the emergence of such methodology in the formulation and execution of the guidelines and various general and specific policies



of the party, "leftist" and rightist mistakes will be committed and this will harm the revolution.

With the advance of time and the vicissitudes of developing trends, and with the constant emergence of new situations and problems in the practice of socialism, doubtlessly the principle of Marxism will undergo constant development, and certain particular conclusions of Marxism will be altered. To deny this means one is not truly a Marxist. In the last several decades, the practice of socialism in a number of countries have gone beyond the contemplation of the classical Marxist writers regarding socialism, and has kept on developing and pushing forward. Our country has also been searching for a socialist road which is compatible with China's national conditions. However, no matter what enormous change has taken place, it is a certainty that in socialist societies the public ownership of the means of production must be set up, the principle of distribution according to work must be put into practice, the planning of the national economy must be implemented and so on. These universal principles of Marxism will never become dated.

For a long time, as a result of the distortion and lying about Marxism and the personality cult pushed by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques as well as the many mistakes committed by our party, some of which were very grave ones, considerable damage has been done to the people and some of them now have doubts about Marxism. A very small number of them take advantage of this opportunity to stir up trouble in an attempt to deny the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the face of such a situation, we should, on the one hand, continue to emancipate our minds, bring order out of chaos, eradicate the pernicious influence of sham Marxism, and eliminate the influence of the personality cult; on the other hand, we should vigorously propagandize the basic principles of Marxism, strengthen people's conviction toward Marxism, and inspire people's confidence in making progress. We should have the conviction that as long as we persist in Marxism and in improving the integration of Marxism with the actual conditions of our country, it is a certainty that the modern socialist construction of our country will be realized. No doubt we are confronting many difficulties. However, the more the difficulties, the more we should persist in Marxism, and the more we should be of one heart and of one mind and carry on our arduous struggle. Only in this way can we achieve victory in our socialist construction and be prepared to greet the future.

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## IS THERE ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF SPEECH?

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[Article by Ye Zi [5509 1311]]

[Text] Freedom of speech is a basic citizens' right stipulated in the PRC Constitution and is not to be violated. However, freedom of speech does not mean a person can say what he wants to say in whatever way he pleases regardless of the interests of the country and the people. It has its legal limits and exists within certain bounds. Recently, some people who had found justification in the bourgeois ideological arsenal frantically preached the so-called absolute freedom of speech and independence of the media with no restrictions whatsoever. As they saw it, there is absolute freedom of speech in the capitalist societies and we should measure up to them. What is freedom of speech after all? Is there absolute freedom of speech in this world? In comparison with the capitalist countries, is there more freedom of speech under the socialist system, or less? How can freedom of speech be realized? What do the advocates of absolute freedom of speech want? Unless these questions are clearly straightened out, it will be impossible for us to correctly develop and strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system, or to see through the demagogy and fraud spread by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos on the question of freedom of speech.

### Absolute Freedom of Speech Never Existed

Freedom of speech refers to people's right to freely express their understanding of the surrounding world. In a class society, freedom of speech has always been concrete and relative and has its class nature. It is not something abstract, absolute and above class distinctions. However, some people are now preaching absolute freedom of speech, stating that "if we are restricted from saying what we want to say, this means despotism." This is indeed a terrible accusation. People may ask: Does absolute freedom of speech, that with no restrictions whatsoever, actually exist? In our socialist society, freedom of speech has certain restrictions, but these restrictions merely and can only have the protection of people's interests as their starting point. It has absolutely nothing to do with despotism. Amazingly, it is those people who are cut off from objective reality, who are indifferent to social effects and who constantly preach absolute freedom of speech that give themselves the freedom to say things in contravention of the people's interests while denying others the freedom of action to defend the people's interests. Once they are criticized or offended in any way, they fly

into a rage and yell: This is "despotism"! "Freedom is suppressed!" This attitude reminds us of despots and tyrants. To put it bluntly, the political ideal of these people is nothing short of bourgeois democracy. But even in that sense there is no "land" of absolute freedom of speech as they have surmised.

It is true that all bourgeois constitutions include a clause on freedom of speech, but they all have one prerequisite, and that is to defend the ruling position of the capitalists. In his book "The Law and the Constitution," the British jurist William Ivory Jennings clearly pointed out: "Provided that the statutes concerning national betrayal, instigation of riots, libel, obscenity, blasphemy, forgery, divulgence of state secrets and so on are not violated, people can say what they want to say." The "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens" promulgated during the French Revolution also stipulated: "The free conveyance of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of mankind. Therefore, every citizen enjoys the freedom of speech, of writing and of publication. However, under the provisions of the law, he will be held responsible for any abuse of this freedom." In other words, you will be sued if you violate the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie while exercising your freedom of speech. The bourgeois thinker Bertrand Russell even said: "Anyone who refuses to submit to the will of the public will be forced to submit by the whole community. This precisely means that people would force him to be free." ("On Social Contracts," p 29) Here, "the will of the public" actually means the will of the bourgeoisie. It can thus be seen that even in capitalist countries which flaunt the banner of "absolute freedom," the freedom of speech is not absolute. As Marx pointed out: "The inevitable general staff of the liberties of 1848, namely personal liberty, liberty of the press, of speech, of association, of assembly, of education and religion, and so on, received a constitutional uniform, which made them invulnerable. For each of these freedoms is proclaimed as the absolute right of the French citizens, but always with the marginal note that it is unlimited to the extent that it is not limited by the 'equal rights of others and the public safety' or by 'laws.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 615)

Some people cited the publication of "Das Kapital" in capitalist countries as an example to show that the media is independent and that speech is absolutely free in these countries. This is a very superficial view. It is true that the bourgeoisie permits the publication of certain Marxist works. There are many reasons for this, but primarily it is the result of a careful weighing of political pros and cons. We must understand that every freedom permitted by the bourgeois law ultimately serves one goal--the development of capital. The bourgeoisie permits the publication of a Marxist work like "Das Kapital" not because it wants to disseminate and publicize it but because it wants to criticize, distort and suppress it. Every time a Marxist work comes off the press, over 100 anti-Marxist writings are publicized to hound it. In the past decade, scholars and reformists in some capitalist countries started a so-called "study 'Das Kapital' fever" and "Marxism fever" in academic journals and university campuses. This could not be helped because it was the product of political and economic crises and showed the failure of capitalist ruling groups to keep things under control. To say nothing of how these scholars and reformists understood the meaning of Marxism, under such circumstances, the bourgeois ruling groups would invariably try to stop this fever from spreading. As long as these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie and their publication organs are in the hands of the capitalists

and capitalist groups, your freedom of speech will be stripped once it exceeds the given limits and threatens the fundamental rule of the bourgeoisie. It is another story altogether when some proletarian revolutionaries published "Das Kapital," either openly or underground, in spite of restrictions and suppression by the bourgeoisie. It had nothing in common with the bourgeois freedom of speech. That is why we say that the so-called freedom of speech in a capitalist society means no more than the freedom to publicize bourgeois ideology, the freedom for the rich to buy over and bribe the press and the freedom for the rich to tell lies in the press in order to poison the people. To the laboring masses, it means nothing more than words on paper.

Epistemologically speaking, it is also impossible for freedom of speech to be absolute. Freedom of speech is commensurate with the degree of man's understanding of the objective world and the level of the development of productivity. Language is the garment of thoughts. The degree of man's freedom of speech coincides with the degree of his understanding. In the process of obtaining the means of subsistence, people do not work alone. They enter into definite social relations. Thus, a person's freedom of speech is invariably restricted by people's social relations. People living in a given time cannot exhaust the limits of truth. For this reason, they can only approach but cannot attain absolute freedom of speech. In this sense, freedom of speech is relative and conditional. Similarly, there is also no absolute freedom of the press and of publication, for they are invariably restricted by given social relations. Some people hold that there are always two meanings to freedom. The first implies breaking away from outside compulsion; the second is philosophical, meaning "the knowledge of necessity." According to these people, freedom of speech refers to the former, not the latter. If it is the latter, then freedom of speech would mean speaking according to a certain necessity--only the right things and no mistakes. This argument simply cannot stand up under scrutiny. It is true that freedom requires our breaking away from outside compulsion. This is necessary in order to better explore the internal laws of nature, society and thinking, understand the necessity of the objective world and push society forward. This also holds true for freedom of speech. We must not arbitrarily specify what people can or cannot say, still less can we demand correctness in everything a person says. We should permit people to make mistakes in their speeches because this is inevitable in the process of exploring the objective laws. However, mistakes should be the precursor of what is correct. Through discussions, debates, criticism and self-criticism, we will ultimately arrive at a unified and correct viewpoint. We should not set the two meanings of freedom against each other, still less negate the Marxist tenet which says that "freedom means the knowledge of necessity," nor should we relinquish the fundamental principle, which says that freedom of speech must coincide with the interests of the people and the state, on the pretext of breaking away from outside compulsion.

#### Freedom of Speech Can Only Be Realized by Observing Law

We are against absolute freedom of speech and independence of public opinion not because we want to narrow the scope of freedom of speech, or to "restrict" it, as some people say. On the contrary, what we want is to better exercise our right to freedom of speech and truly implement the policy of "opening wide." The reason is that freedom of speech can only be realized by adhering to the socialist

legal system. Just imagine what a state it would turn out to be if there were no restrictions and standards and each could rave and act as he pleased regardless of the interests of the people and the state. Can we envisage granting the counterrevolutionaries in our country the right to freedom of action (including freedom of speech)? Restriction and freedom are actually two opposite aspects. However, opposites have their unity and the right kind of restriction is the prerequisite of freedom. While stipulating such basic citizens' rights as freedom of speech, the constitution of the People's Republic also clearly provides: "The state prohibits any person from using any means whatsoever to... injure the public interest." Citizens must "observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets." "The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities." In other words, people's freedom of speech will be protected by law only if it is exercised within the provisions of law. Any person who makes counterrevolutionary utterances, vilifies and opposes the four basic principles and endangers the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system under the pretext of freedom of speech will be in violation of the law and will be handled accordingly. Moreover, the freedom and rights enjoyed by any individual cannot be separated from the obligations he shoulders as a citizen. Our constitution stipulates that citizens have the obligation to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system, safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, defend the motherland and so on. Any person who "freely" abandons these obligations would be stripping away his own right to enjoy these freedoms. Marx once said: "There are no rights without obligations, nor obligations without rights." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 16) Therefore, restrictions and obligations are dependent on freedom and vice versa. Such restrictions and obligations are the necessary guarantee of the interests of the broad masses, including their freedom of speech.

Some people may ask: If freedom of speech in a capitalist society is restricted by capitalist law and freedom of speech in a socialist society is restricted by socialist law just as you said, wouldn't it be one and the same thing? No. Capitalist law represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, serves a small number of capitalists and runs counter to the will of the broad masses. Isn't it clear what freedom of speech is like under the restriction of such a legal system? Ours is a state under the people's democratic dictatorship. Our legal system, disciplinary and moral standards and so on reflect the objective laws governing social life and coincide with the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people. How can we mention freedom of speech under the restriction of such a legal system and bourgeois freedom of speech in the same breath? We must recognize that our freedom of speech is founded on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production. Because the laborers and the means of production are integrated rather than separated as they were in the past, because labor has been correspondingly emancipated and because the people have become the masters, the freedom of speech enjoyed by the broad masses of our people is unmatched by countries under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Of course we cannot deny that our present level of social productivity is still relatively low and there are still many shortcomings in our political and economic management systems. In particular, the damage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have adversely affected people's freedom of speech for a fairly long

period of time. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has mobilized a tremendous force to set things straight in the political, economic, ideological and other fields. Our party has also introduced thoroughgoing reforms, redressed cases of people unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced, and restored and strengthened socialist democracy and the legal system, thus enabling the people to enjoy their rightful freedom of speech. This is there for all to see. Any unprejudiced person would agree that the days since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee have given them the greatest pride and elation in more than 20 years of political life. Naturally this does not mean that the shortcomings in our political and economic management systems have been taken care of and unsavory practices inside our party have been completely overcome. It also does not mean that obstacles to the free exercise of people's freedom of speech have ceased to exist in certain localities and units. What we mean is that such tremendous changes should be recognized.

Some people worry that if freedom of speech must be realized by observing the legal provisions, people would be prevented from emancipating their minds and striving to become more resourceful. They wonder if this would affect people's drive to study new circumstances, probe into new questions and develop work in a creative way. These misgivings are unnecessary. The position of our people as masters is determined by the nature of our country. In particular, our party and government are now working to strengthen and reform the socialist democratic system and effectively guarantee the people's constitutional right to freedom of speech. The contending of a hundred schools in science, the blooming of a hundred flowers in art, democratic discussions in political life and so on all show that the people are actually enjoying freedom of speech. More important still, the people can air their views on state affairs, criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of the governments and functionaries at various levels and put forward positive opinions and suggestions concerning the party's line, general and specific policies, plans and programs in various ways and through various channels. A person is free to express any opinion (including erroneous ones) and will be protected by law as long as he stands on the side of the people and safeguards the constitution and the law. For example, the constitution stipulates that every citizen has the obligation to safeguard and uphold the four basic principles. Thus, no one is allowed to air antiparty and antisocialist views. However, this does not mean that people are forbidden to put forward new and useful opinions concerning the specific content of the four basic principles on the basis of new materials furnished by reality. Actually, the specific content of the four basic principles must develop with the development of practice; otherwise, these principles cannot serve the socialist economic base well. Our party leadership must be improved in the new historical period; the functions and powers of the people's democratic dictatorship must be ameliorated under the new situation; socialism must in the course of practice explore and break the ground for a socialist path suited to China's national conditions; Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought must be replenished with new theories derived from new practice and pushed forward because it has only opened the road to understanding truth and is not the conclusion of truth. However, this is essentially different from the vicious defamation of the four basic principles made by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos. It is precisely for this reason that our party favors and encourages the people to make fruitful explorations and creations in various fields of philosophy

and social sciences. In history, new and original ideas were usually not accepted by the majority at the beginning and could only expand their domain through twists and turns in struggle. In the socialist society, the circumstances confronting correct opinions are very much different from what they were in the old society. However, there are still cases in which correct opinions are regarded as poisonous weeds rather than as fragrant flowers. Although this is not the result of deliberate subjugation and is only due to poor discernment, it will obstruct the dissemination of correct opinions. Therefore, our party advocates free exchange of views on theoretical questions and is against hasty conclusions. Our party also demands that we firmly implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." However, we must take care not to misinterpret this as a call for the abolition of the four basic principles, the abolition of party leadership and criticism and self-criticism in particular. Otherwise, we would confuse the proletarian policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" with bourgeois liberalization. Only by upholding the four basic principles can people's freedom of speech be guaranteed. And only thus can the majority more readily accept new ideas and avoid ideological confusion.

In the final analysis, freedom of speech is supported by the masses because it contributes to the development of social productivity and the emancipation of mankind. Lenin once said: "For every revolution, socialist or democratic, freedom is a very, very important slogan. But our program says that if freedom runs counter to the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capital, it is a deception." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 315) This principle is by no means outmoded. Today, any freedom (including freedom of speech) which runs counter to the four basic principles and the need to achieve the four modernizations invariably goes against the interests of the people. Some people may ask: Does this mean fettering the mind again? No. This would only undermine stability and unity, obstruct the smooth progress of economic readjustment and present an obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations. It is inconceivable how people could explore the laws of the objective world when they are trammled and confined. Facts have proven and will continue to prove that freedom of speech is an important prerequisite for social development. In history, the bourgeoisie fought for freedom of speech to free itself from feudal oppression while the proletariat fought for freedom of speech to free itself from capitalist oppression. In our socialist country, it is precisely because the working people have cast off all exploitative systems that they have won their freedom of speech, and it is under the protection of the socialist law that the broad masses of the people can fully exercise their right to freedom of speech.

#### The Political Motive Behind the Advocation of Absolute Freedom of Speech

Freedom of speech permitted and guaranteed by our law is very extensive and real. Today, when every one of our citizens has personal ease of mind, and a lively political situation is taking shape and developing, no person who cherishes socialism and closely links his labor, study and work with the future of the country, the destiny of the nation and the great cause of the four modernizations will feel that his freedom of speech is trammled. What then are those advocates of absolute freedom of speech and independence of the media after? Some may be young and ignorant, but there is no doubt that a small handful of these persons

have ulterior motives in mind. At present, socialist economic and political systems have been established in our country. Although the exploiting class has ceased to exist as a class, unreformed exploiting class elements are still around. Although class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction of the Chinese society, it is actually still in existence. This is particularly true at a time when we are being increasingly exposed to the influence of bourgeois ideas with the increase in international exchanges. This is the social basis of the present political phenomenon in which some people are trumpeting about independence of the media and freedom of speech. We must admit that the overwhelming majority of those who advocate or chime in with this slogan are having trouble with their understanding and are mechanically applying bourgeois politics and ideology to the socialist society. To solve this problem, it is necessary to strengthen political and ideological work. However, we also cannot deny that these people who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos are shouting themselves hoarse precisely because they want to break away from party leadership and mold our party and state in the image of the bourgeoisie. They are now coaxing, fooling, poisoning and inciting a small number of naive and inexperienced youth to achieve this sinister political objective. We must sternly criticize and wage a struggle against their antiparty and antisocialist utterances and must not let this small flock of black sheep upset our alignment.

With their own personal experience in the past 50 years and more, the Chinese people have confirmed two points of truth. One is that without the Communist Party there can be no new China; the other is that only socialism can save China. If someone disagrees with this, we must patiently persuade and educate him. We do not make people "ideological criminals." Neither do we talk about the "crime of making unspoken criticism." However, we will not let anyone who spreads counter-revolutionary opinions go unopposed and unpunished. This does not mean that we are taking general ideological problems as targets of punishment as some people feared. Counterrevolutionary opinions are defined according to the criminal law and are a legal concept with specific content. It is true that it is deeds rather than words that are punishable by law. However, our notion of counterrevolutionary opinions is no longer just some kind of ideas. They have gone beyond the scope of subjective thinking and have become actual deeds. As the French bourgeois thinker Montesquieu once said: "When a person goes to a public place to incite people to rebel, he is committing a grave crime because by then his words have united with his deeds and become a part of such deeds. People are punished not for their words but for the deeds they commit. They just use these words in doing such deeds." ("Spirit of Laws," Vol 1, p 198) What Montesquieu meant by criminal acts is essentially different from our notion of criminal acts. However, his exposition on the relationship between words and deeds is correct. Obviously not all erroneous words can be defined as "counterrevolutionary opinions." We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of opinions.

We hold that while we must seriously deal with those people who oppose the four basic principles, we should use positive guidance and patient persuasion. As we said before, the overwhelming majority of these people are merely having problems of understanding and are just naive and ignorant. Therefore, in the actual handling of cases, we should take into account the seriousness of the offenses and deal with different people in different ways. We should do our best to educate and save those who can be educated and saved. Toward those who deliberately



carried out counterrevolutionary agitation, established ties, held clandestine meetings, engaged in illegal publication and plotted to create disturbances, we must mete out punishment according to the relevant provisions of our criminal law.

Although slogans like absolute freedom of speech and independence of public opinion lack tenable justifications, their deceptiveness and harm cannot be underestimated. We must lay bare their disguise. At the same time, we must also see that our country has a long history of feudalism and does not have much of a democratic tradition. Up to now, there are still some places where the socialist democratic system is not quite perfect, where the democratic work style is lacking and where the people's freedom of speech is stifled. Therefore, our task of reforming and strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system remains very heavy. We must guard against the encroachment of people's legitimate right to freedom of speech under whatever pretext. We must continue to fight on the two fronts in order to enable China's political democratization to develop in a sound way and in the correct direction and hasten the realization of our socialist modernization program.

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## THE POSITION AND ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN REPRODUCTION IN SOCIETY

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[Article by Luo Jinbai [5012 0513 2672]]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the importance of science and education has slowly been dawning on the whole party and the people throughout the country. After the criticism of the "gang of four" and the discussion in academic circles, we arrived at the conclusion that both science and education are productive forces. How can the role of these productive forces be brought into play? What position do they occupy in the national economy? How ought they to be coordinated and developed with the production of goods and materials? It is still essential to investigate these questions from the angle of social reproduction.

In the past, our theory of reproduction only dealt with goods and materials production in general. Science and education were regarded as nonproductive fields. The labor of the working personnel in these departments was regarded as nonproductive labor that did not create value. This contradicts the conclusion that science and education are productive forces. These problems must be studied and looked into under the guidance of the basic principles of Marxism according to the current new situation and new problems.

### Some New Circumstances That Merit Attention

To probe into these problems, let us first study some aspects of the new situation that deserve attention.

Over the past few decades, along with the scientific and technological development and the improvement of the level of production, and the increased socialization of production and consumption, great changes have taken place in the production structure and employment structure of the developed capitalist countries. Beginning in the 1920's, the productive forces shifted from agriculture to nonagricultural departments such as industry. After World War II, the productive forces shifted again from material production departments such as industry to production departments with service trades as the key link. In the economic statistics of the West, to reflect these changes, according to the historical order of the development of production, the production departments are very often divided into:

Primary production: with agriculture as the key link, including forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and so on;

Secondary production: with manufacturing industry as the key link, including mining, construction industry and so on;

Tertiary production: with service trades as the key link, including public utility services such as transportation, communications, electricity, gas, water supply and storage; services concerning circulation such as commercial and financial insurance; intellectual services such as research, education, news, broadcasting and television; and services for personal consumption such as entertainment, catering and tourism.

By looking at the statistical materials concerned, it is obvious that the tertiary production of the developed capitalist countries developed rapidly after World War II. Its proportion of the employed population and of the national total output value has become greater and greater, gradually equalling and surpassing the total sum of the primary and secondary production. This phenomenon emerged first in the United States, then in Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Belgium and New Zealand, and it seems to develop continuously. For instance, in 1975, the tertiary production of the United States accounted for 68.4 percent of the total employed population and that of Japan, 52 percent. In 1977, the tertiary production of the United States accounted for 63.9 percent of the total national output value and that of Japan, 58.1 percent. According to estimates by French economists, of every seven persons who left agriculture, five persons changed over to service trades. Every extra person employed in the industrial departments needs the added service of three to five persons in tertiary production. Recently, of the newly employed people in France, three-fourths are in tertiary production.

What is even more worthy of attention is that in the tertiary production of these countries, there is generally more rapid development of science, education, culture, hygiene, finance, insurance and market information. Though both the amount of employment and output value of the other departments has increased, little change has taken place in the ratio between them. For instance, in employment, insurance, banking and finance made up from 2.1 percent in 1960 to 4.9 percent in 1975 and in employment, professional and research service (including accounting, education, law, health services, religion, and research on and exploitation of working personnel) constituted 6.9 percent in 1950, subsequently rising to 15.7 percent, increasing at the fastest rate.

#### Scientific Education Has Become a Fast-Developing Production Undertaking

In these countries, science has indeed become a production undertaking. Before the 20th century, scientific and technical inventions and creations were no more than the personal cause of skillful craftsmen and professors. Since Edison set up industrial laboratories, scientific and technical inventions and creations have become a socialized industry coordinated by large numbers of scientists, engineers and skilled workers. It is no exaggeration for later generations to call the laboratories of Edison "inventing factories" and call the later various large-scale institutions of scientific research "scientific industry." By the end of

the 1920's, the United States had 300 industrial research institutions with annual expenses of \$200 million for research. By 1974, the number of industrial research institutions reached 4,834 with annual expenses of \$26 billion for research. The level of average per-capita investment of the equipment of research institutions has neared that of investment in the production departments of the processing industry.

Owing to the development of science and technology, some knowledge-intensive newly rising industries have been taking shape, which use less materials, consume less energy but with high additional value. For instance, the material used by the memory banks of electronic computers is cheaper than that of the same weight of iron, but after being processed, its selling price is as much as that of the same weight of platinum. Along with the development of the technology of large-scale integrated circuits and electronic computers, the price of electronic computer hardware is decreasing, while the typical intellectual production expenses of software is increasing constantly, even to the extent of surpassing the value of hardware. Take a further example. Recently, the annual output value created by applying accelerators to industry and health services reached \$19.3 billion. The total output value of the production and service by the application of accelerators is equal to about 100 times the total sales amount of the accelerators themselves, accounting for 1 percent of the GNP.

Scientific and technological development demands an increasingly high level of science and culture on the part of the laborers. It is hard to engage in modernized production without having an educational level equal to that of a high school. This state of affairs facilitates the popularization of education. According to Japan's statistics for 1977, of the Japanese school-age children, 99.9 percent received the 9-year mandatory education, and 94 percent entered various kinds of high schools and 38 percent went on to universities or professional colleges. At present, education has become a large-scale industry. Take the United States for example. It has a population of 205 million, nearly 60 million of whom are students and 3 million of whom are teachers, with an average of 1 in every 3 citizens being directly connected with education. According to some American futurologists, by the next century, education will become the primary industry and about half of the labor force will be employed in educational posts. This appraisal might not necessarily be entirely correct, but it is beyond doubt that, along with the development of science and technology as well as production, education will develop at a greater speed.

At present, education is regarded as an important intellectual investment. Its growth rate has exceeded that of investment in other fields. In 1962, the Japanese Ministry of Education made an analysis and comparison of the growth of the national income, labor force and the investment in kind from 1905 to 1960, which showed that in that period the labor force increased by only 0.7 times and the capital in kind increased by only 4.27 times, but the national income increased by 9 times. According to the "white paper on education" put out by the Ministry of Education, this disparity shows that the capital poured into education during the 55 years increased by 21.8 times. According to the American educational economist Schultz, from 1900 to 1956, the American investment channeled into education increased by nearly 8.5 percent while the amount of investment of traditional capital increased by about 4.5 times. He says:

"The capital of manpower and its growth rate are the key to the mystery of economic development." In order to meet the needs of economic development and international competition, over the past few decades, most of the governments in the West paid attention to increasing the educational expenditure of the institutions of higher learning. From 1960 to 1975, the educational expenditure of French institutions of higher learning increased by 3 times; that of the United States and Britain, 4 times; that of West Germany, 6 times, and that of Japan, 10 times. In order to solve the problem of the knowledge acquired in school by the workers and staff becoming outdated (that is, so-called intangible spoilage of knowledge), many countries in the West have paid attention to developing adult education and attached greater importance to in-service training. According to H. F. (Clark), these expenditures are nearly equal to those of regular education.

Science and education are advancing at such a high speed because they can fundamentally help push forward the overall development of the productive forces. According to statistics, from 1900 to 1910 of the industrial labor productivity of the developed capitalist countries, 5 to 10 percent depended on science. By the 1970's, the economic growth of these countries attributable to scientific and technological progress amounted to 50 to 70 percent. According to the report of the American economist Dennison, in 1962 nearly half of the American production growth over the preceding 50 years was the result of factors outside the increase of actual capital and working hours. According to his calculation, from 1927 to 1957, of the average increase of the American national income, 23 percent was obtained by the increased skill of the laborers and 20 percent was the direct result of scientific and technological transformation. From these facts we can see the position and role of scientific education in reproduction in modern society.

In the Marxist Theory of Reproduction, the Important Role of the Production of Intellectual Forms Must Be Fully Appraised

The rapid development of scientific education in the developed countries and the obviously increasing importance of science, education, culture and medical health work in socialist construction pose the problem for Marxist theoretical research of how to look upon the production of intellectual forms.

In "Das Kapital," Marx divided social material production into two big categories--the production of the means of production and that of the means of consumption--pointing out that an exchange can be made between them and that to achieve a balance in the exchange of products in material formation and value formation is the basic condition for accomplishing social reproduction. Proceeding from this basic condition, by analyzing simple reproduction and enlarged reproduction, the production of social capital and the process of circulation, Marx brought to light a series of laws governing capitalist society. The Marxist theory of reproduction is the simplest and most fundamental summarization of the process of social production. It analyzes not only the basis of reproduction under capitalist society but the basis of reproduction under all societies. In studying the socialist economy, differentiating between the two big categories has always been the theoretical basis for studying reproduction, and the practice of socialist economic construction has completely proved the importance of this differentiation.

In his theory of reproduction, Marx did not specifically analyze the production of intellectual forms such as science, education and culture, and the labor of health protection which serves the production and protection of the productive forces by relying on medical knowledge, did not specifically calculate the value created by such labor and did not specifically study the mutually existing and mutually restricting relations between such labor and the two big categories of material production. This is because under the prevailing conditions of the technical level of production and the living standards of the laborers at that time, compared with the labor related directly to the production of the means of production, such labor was very little, and thus "no thought was given to them." When he wrote "Das Kapital," Marx put stress on analyzing how the surplus value created by the workers could be exploited and turned into capital as well as the unavoidable process of economic crises. Under these circumstances, it was permissible to abandon and not take into account the productive labor of such intellectual forms as science, education, culture and hygiene, which were small in quantity. This abstraction is a completely scientific abstraction. But even in these circumstances, Marx still pointed out that in principle such labor should be included in the value of the labor force and be turned into commodity value. In "the theory of surplus value," he pointed out:

"The whole 'commodity' sphere can be divided into two big parts: first, labor capacity; second, commodities unlike labor capacity itself. Some services are to train and sustain labor capacity and help turn labor capacity into formation and so on, in brief, to help the specialization of labor capacity or keep it going. For instance, the service of a school teacher (so long as he is 'productively necessary' or useful), the service of a doctor (so long as he can protect health and sustain all sources of value, that is, labor capacity itself)...must be included in the production and reproduction expenses of labor capacity. But as Adam Smith knew, the proportion of 'educational' expense in the production expenses of the broad masses of workers is not worth mentioning. Under any circumstances, the service of doctors belongs to nonproductive expenses in production. It can be included in repairment expenses of labor capacity." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part 1, p 159)

As for the labor of the cultural workers, in the same book Marx said: "To the audience, the actors and actresses are artists but to their own owners of enterprises, they are productive workers. Compared with the whole of production, the performances of capitalist production in this field are not worth mentioning. Thus it is entirely permissible not to give a thought to them." (Ibid., p 443)

Marx always fully affirmed the role of science in modernized production. He pointed out that the important difference between capitalist mass production and handicraft industrial production was that "the whole production process of the former is not subjugated to the direct skills of the laborers but subjugated to the application of science to technology." "Science is also included in the productive forces." ("A Critique of Political Economics," Book 3, pp 349-350) He held that various machines, locomotives, railways, telegraph, automatic cotton-spinning machines and so on "are all materialized intelligence." They show that "the social productive forces have been produced to so great an extent as to act not only as intellectual forms but as direct organs of social practice and as direct organs of the process of actual life." (Ibid., p 368) As everybody knows,

science, the productive forces of "intellectual forms" can be turned into direct productive forces by means of technology and education and into "organs of social practice." On the one hand, through technical revolution and technical transformation and the increase of the scope of resource utilization (including energy), science creates new machines with higher efficiency, new materials and new technology, hence raising the productive forces in the biggest way. On the other hand, the laborers are required through education to master science and technology, raise the skills of labor and the quality of the labor force, perfect the division and cooperation of work and improve management skills so as to create ever higher labor productivity. In short, by means of technology and education, science can increase the subjects of labor, transform tools of production, and improve the quality of the labor force and management skills with the result that it turns itself into direct productive forces. In the time of Marx, the scale of scientific research and the level of socialization were small. The newly rising industries started by science and technology had not emerged, scientific and technical education was not popular and the systems of patent rights and bonuses were not perfected. Therefore, no specific analysis was made on the problem of how the value created by science and technology was to be transferred. But this does not mean that scientific labor must not participate in creating value and must not be considered productive labor. On the contrary, Marx once pointed out: "The esteem accorded to the product of mental labor--science--is always much lower than its value." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 377)

What is meant by productive labor is, as Marx has always emphasized, "to engage in productive labor. Now, it is not necessary to do it oneself; it is enough to be an organ in the whole body of workers and accomplish a certain dependent task within the whole body." Marx pointed out profoundly that, with the development of socialized production, "the concept of productive labor and those who perform it, that is, productive workers, will naturally widen." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 556)

At present, the labor of scientific and educational departments differs greatly from that in the time of Marx. It is no longer "not worth mentioning" but has become an indispensable and proportionally increasing part of the total labor of society. Therefore, it is very necessary now to widen the concept of productive labor, as Marx pointed out. It must be acknowledged that the production of such intellectual forms as science, education, culture and hygiene is necessary social production. The labor of the working personnel in these departments is productive labor. As the labor directly engaged in material production, their labor is part of the total labor of the society and also creates value. Furthermore, this labor force "requires more educational expenditure" and to produce it "needs more working hours." Thus, the labor of intellectual forms "can be materialized into more value from the same length of hours." (Ibid., p 223) Of course, while widening the concept of productive labor, we should not "open the door wide" to decadent capitalist behavior in the disguise of productive labor, as Marx warned against.

Because of a great amount of the labor force shifting to departments of non-material production and particularly to the improvement of the position of reproduction of the intellectual forms of production such as science and education in the whole society, in the Marxist theory of reproduction, it seems necessary to enlarge the differentiation between the categories of production. In

bourgeois economic theory and statistics, besides the traditional departments of material production, a tertiary production undertaking with service trades as its key link was added. This production undertaking is in fact a hodge-podge embracing not only material production but spiritual production and not only production but circulation and service. But its appearance really shows the objective need for enlarging the traditional category of production in order to represent the development of science and technology and represent the important position of the production and service departments of intellectual forms. In the Marxist theory of reproduction, besides the present two big categories of production, a third category with intellectual forms of production and service as the key link can be considered for addition. Viewed from the viewpoint of science and technology, all production is nothing other than the production of material, energy and information. Though the so-called tertiary production undertaking embraces numerous and varied departments, it mainly means the various departments of production and service of energy and information (knowledge is a kind of information). The increasing importance of the position of energy and information in modern production is causing the tertiary production undertaking to develop at high speed. Owing to the extreme importance of energy and information in modern production, two newly added categories can be considered: one is the third category of energy and service such as power, gas, communications and transportation. The other is the fourth category of information production and service such as science, education, culture, hygiene, finance, market information, the press, broadcasting, television and communications. According to individual cases, commerce, tourism, catering trades and various repair services can be included in the aforesaid fourth category. In short, this is a problem demanding research as a special topic. A large amount of qualitative and quantitative analysis and study should be carried out on the problems of how to calculate the value created by the labor of the intellectual production departments such as science and education and how they should realize exchanges and a balance between nonmaterial production and material production departments by means of wages, royalties on books, patent rights and bonuses.

#### The Special Role of Scientific Education in Our Socialist Construction

We have discussed above generally the position and role of scientific education in socialist reproduction. But scientific education has a special role for the Chinese people, who are building their country into a powerful socialist country by means of the four modernizations.

The aim of socialist production is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people. We want to build not only a socialist material civilization but also a socialist spiritual civilization. A socialist spiritual civilization includes well-developed education, thriving science, literature and art as well as hygiene. Along with this, to help the people to foster communist ethics, ideals and a scientific world outlook and to observe laws and discipline, we cannot deviate from the assiduous labor of the educational and scientific working personnel and the role of education and propaganda of the press, publication, broadcasting, television and various performances of exemplary art. Therefore, in a socialist society, greater importance than in capitalist society should be attached to the undertakings of science, education, literature and art as well as hygiene, which should be developed at a greater speed.



Some comrades hold: We cannot surpass the historical stages of the development of the economically developed countries. We should not develop scientific education before agriculture and light industry are flourishing. The development of scientific education cannot deviate from the actual conditions supplied by material production and should not advance blindly in disregard of national strength. But since scientific education itself is a productive force which propels the advance of the whole of production, while attaching greater importance to the development of industrial and agricultural production, we should attach equal importance to the development of scientific education. This will not hamper the development of industrial and agricultural material production but on the contrary will help accelerate their development in a better way. By attaching greater importance to education and science, Japan and West Germany were able to rapidly extricate themselves from postwar difficulties and speed up their economic development. This has convincingly proved the aforesaid point. During the economic readjustment, the party Central Committee has decided to constantly develop with all its might the undertakings of education, science, literature and art as well as hygiene. Considering the important role of these departments and the situation in the past in which some departments concerned did not pay adequate attention to them with the latter having a lot of outstanding bills, the party thus adopted this correct decision.

China is a country with a vast territory, abundant resources and a huge population. It has rich natural resources and manpower resources for developing production. Owing to its huge population, according to the average per-capita amount of land and natural resources, many items are not up to world standards. Therefore, how to bring the strong points of a huge population into play and effectively and economically utilize the limited natural resources has become an important strategic problem. This requires that we attach greater importance to manpower investment, and by strengthening the work in education, science, literature and art as well as hygiene, improve the people's intelligence and physical strength, vigorously develop labor-intensive and knowledge-intensive industries and by profoundly processing the limited natural resources, create more additional value. After the readjustment of the national economy and along with the development of industrial and agricultural production, the cause of our education, science, literature and art as well as hygiene will certainly develop with big strides. A large number of well trained educated youths can be absorbed constantly and assigned jobs in these departments. By summarizing experience, domestically and abroad, we can surely find a road more suited to our conditions and abilities and suited to the realization of modernization of the goal of socialist construction. Our nation will revive and carry forward the glorious historical tradition and will be built into a socialist country with both a high material civilization and a high spiritual civilization.

We have spoken out about what we have gained in our study. If there are any improper remarks, we would like to have your suggestions and criticisms.

CSO: 4004/119

## IS LENIN'S THESIS OF MORIBUND IMPERIALISM OUTMODED?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 pp 41-46

[Article by Chou Qihua [0092 0769 5478]]

[Text] This year on 22 April is the 111th anniversary of Lenin's birth. In commemorating the anniversary of Lenin's birth, I feel that to make an earnest study of, have a profound knowledge of, and be resolutely determined to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism is still a serious and important task confronting us today.

Leninism is Marxism of the period of imperialism and the revolution of the proletariat. Lenin's theories on imperialism served as the powerful ideological weapons of the international proletariat in prosecuting their triumphant proletarian revolution and struggle against imperialism. Lenin's glorious treatise "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism," released in 1917, is now 64 years old. During this period, imperialism has suffered vast changes both economically and politically. It is true that we must liberate our minds and proceed from reality to study new conditions and answer and solve new problems. But this does not mean that we can leave aside Lenin's theory on capitalism. On the contrary, actual practice has proved that Lenin's basic theory on capitalism is not outmoded. From beginning to end it still constitutes the basic theoretical ground for our study of imperialism.

Here I wish to discuss the question of whether Lenin's theory that imperialism is moribund capitalism still holds true under current capitalist conditions. The reason for bringing up this question is that recently a certain view has appeared, viz., that while much time has elapsed since Lenin's statement "imperialism is moribund capitalism," the capitalist system is still alive. Moreover, after World War II, except in certain undeveloped nations where revolution has been successful, in the developed capitalist nations no proletarian revolution has erupted. Hence, the emergence of the view that imperialism is not moribund capitalism and that it is struggling "but not dead." In my opinion, Lenin's thesis of moribund imperialism is not outmoded. The principal reasons are as follows:

(1) It is necessary to correctly understand the contents of Lenin's theory of moribund imperialism.

First of all, when Lenin called imperialism moribund capitalism, he did not mean that imperialism would perish immediately. In his analysis of imperialism's place

in history, he pointed out: "It becomes evident that private economic and private property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which must inevitably decay if its removal is artificially delayed, a shell which may remain in a state of decay for a fairly long period (if, at the worst, the case of the opportunist abscess is protracted) but which will be inevitably removed." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 844) Here Lenin clearly pointed out: Imperialism will continue to survive for a fairly long period. I believe that the correct meaning of the statement "imperialism is moribund capitalism" is that imperialism is on the road to death and is going downhill. Capitalism is a ponderous world structure. Because, during the period of imperialism, economic and political developments in the capitalist nations varied from each other, socialist revolution could not erupt or be triumphant simultaneously in all nations. This determined that this world structure of imperialism would perish only in portions and one at a time, and that all the parts could not perish at the same time. For the whole structure to perish will require a fairly long period of time. Only a little over 60 years have passed since Lenin put forward this thesis of imperialism being moribund capitalism. This is a relatively short period in the history of mankind. Judging from the trend of developments, imperialism might continue to survive for a fairly long period of time. Even so, the correctness of Lenin's thesis cannot be refuted.

Second, Lenin's thesis has time and again been proved by actual practice as the truth. The success of the Russian socialist revolution in October 1917 and the success of socialist revolutions in a number of states after World War II have amply proved the following: In reality, part of the imperialist structure has already perished. Naturally, the progress of events does not take a straight line but zigzags. The appearance of social imperialism in the Soviet Union is an illustration. But the law of history is irresistible. From now on, many more countries will break away from the capitalist structure and join the socialist structure and socialism will surely replace capitalism on a worldwide scale.

Third, whether imperialism is moribund capitalism cannot be judged by whether revolution has broken out and achieved success first in the developed capitalist states. Because of the application of the law of uneven development in capitalist economies and politics during the period of imperialism, the imperialist structure was broken at its weak links. As a result of the combined operations of the various kinds of basic contradictions in the capitalist world, Russia first of all became one of these weak links, following which China and other undeveloped states also became weak links. The successes of the revolutions in these countries were a severe blow to the imperialist structure. They illustrated the moribund state of imperialism.

Finally, that imperialism is moribund capitalism implies that, owing to the various forms of contradictions in the capitalist world becoming daily more intensified, advantageous conditions have been created for revolution by the proletariat. That does not necessarily mean that imperialism will of its own accord simply die out. The elimination of the imperialist system, besides requiring objective conditions, also depends upon the subjective efforts of the proletariat and their political party. If the objective conditions for revolution are ready but the subjective conditions are lacking, then the rule of imperialism over a country still cannot be overthrown.

(2) In order to look into the problem of the moribund status of imperialism, we must examine the development of the various kinds of basic contradictions in the capitalist world. Certain comrades are of the opinion that currently the various kinds of contradictions in the capitalist world are not sharp enough. In reality, this is merely looking at the surface of the problem, since essentially the various kinds of basic contradictions are all fairly intensified.

First, let us turn to the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within imperialist states.

After World War II, on the basis of the further increase in the productive forces of society, the sphere of the livelihood materials required by labor power for reproduction was widened. For a certain period, the economic growth of the developed capitalist states accelerated, stepping up its demand for labor power and to a certain extent improving the conditions for those with labor power for sale. With the working class further growing in force, their struggles were accelerated. This compelled the bourgeoisie to increase appropriately the workers' wages and to adopt various measures of reform to protect their exploitation system. At the same time, the developed capitalist states had earned huge excess profits from the developing states, which made it possible for monopoly capital to make use of a portion of these excess profits to improve the treatment accorded to workers in their own states. All the above helped to increase the real wages of workers in the developed capitalist states. But because the innate nature of capital is that it seeks more and more surplus value, and particularly because of there being no change in the innate nature of monopoly-capital's seeking high monopoly profits, the capitalists' exploitation of the workers was intensified and the proportion of the real wages of the workers in the national income, which they themselves had helped to create, declined. For example, the exploitation rate in American manufacturing industries rose from 146 percent in 1947 to 263 percent in 1975; of the total value created by the workers the amount seized by the capitalists rose from 60 percent in 1974 to 72 percent in 1975. The pretax profits of the American manufacturing industries amounted to \$12.9 billion in 1950, but went up to \$64.5 billion in 1976, or about 5 times that in 1950. On the other hand, the relative weight occupied by workers' wages in the national income was 50 percent in 1947 but went down to 41.8 percent in 1973. It might thus be seen that, simultaneously with the improvement in the workers' standard of living, the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie was intensified, the gulf separating them was widened and, relatively speaking, the working class became more impoverished. There was other evidence of the schism between these two classes in capitalist society. First of all, the distribution of the wealth of society became increasingly more unequal. Since the end of the 1960's, each year in the United States some 25 million people struggled below the poverty line, an eighth of the entire population. In 1970, the wealthiest families, about 5 percent of the population, accounted for over 40 percent of the entire wealth of society, whereas the 50 percent of families in the lower bracket of society shared only 3 percent of the entire society's wealth. Moreover, from the standpoint of the distribution of national income, the 20 percent of people in the upper bracket accounted for 46 percent of the total national income, whereas the 20 percent in the lower bracket accounted for only 3.2 percent.

Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the so-called rise in the real standard of living of workers came about as a result of the combined effect of a number of conditions and was not a lasting phenomenon. During a period of serious economic crisis, or a period of economic stagnation and depression, or a period of currency inflation and a rapid rise in commodity prices, the real standard of living of the extensive working class will go down because of the stagnation and decline of production and the increase in nominal wages failing to keep pace with the rise in commodity prices. For example, in the United States, the real wages of production workers in private nonagricultural departments declined for 3 years--1973, 1974 and 1975--in succession. In 1975, the decline was 7 percent compared with that of 1973 and the wages reverted to the 1965 level. There was a further decline between 1979 and 1980. In the period of economic crisis and stagnation, the number of unemployed greatly increased. The unemployment rate in the United States in the 1950's and the 1960's was 4.5 percent and 4.8 percent respectively, but by 1975 it had risen steeply to 8.5 percent and stayed at 7.7 percent and 7 percent respectively in 1976 and 1977. The total number of unemployed people usually was over 7 million, which, plus the number of semi-unemployed, made a total of over 10 million people. This large increase in the number of unemployed lowered the material standard of living of the entire working class. At the same time, in order to protect and insure the interests of monopoly-capital, the bourgeois government resorted to various measures (such as freezing wages and reducing expenditures for social welfare) to step up their attack on the working class. In this way, the material standard of living of the working class further deteriorated.

On the one hand, the bourgeoisie wanted to maintain and strengthen its exploitation of the working class. On the other hand, the working class, which had now become more powerful than before, was reluctant to yield or to give up the fruits which it had attained after so many years' struggles. In this way, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was intensified. Strikes erupted in rapid succession. In the 1960's the average number of strikes in the United States was 4,000 a year, while in the 1970's it was upward of 5,000. Since the state and monopoly-capital were closely linked, the struggles carried out by the working class to improve their own living frequently were not merely economic struggles against individual capitalists but were actually political struggles at times which might be somewhat docile. However, generally speaking, they tended to be intense.

Second, the contradictions between the imperialist nations and the developing nations.

After World War II, the national liberation movement gathered momentum in an unprecedented manner. Colonies and subordinate countries became independent one after another. But their economic backwardness, caused by prolonged subjection to imperialist aggression, could not be removed simply because of their having gained political independence. As for the imperialist nations, they employed, on the one hand, various means to preserve their special privileges in their former colonies and subordinate states and utilized, on the other hand, their superiority in economic technology, and through the channels of international trade and exportation of capital intensified their exploitation of the developing countries.

With respect to international trade, the developing countries were in an extremely disadvantageous position. This was owing to two causes. One was that the labor productivity of developed capitalist countries was much higher than that of the developing countries. The commodities they produced (mainly industrial manufactured goods) had a domestic value lower than the international average value, whereas the commodities produced by the developing countries had a domestic value higher than the international average value. Even though in international trade both categories of commodities were exchanged in accordance with the average international value, a portion of the value would by means of this trade be transferred from the developing countries to the developed countries. The second cause was that international monopoly capital had, by means of its monopoly over certain commodities in the international market, engendered an international monopoly price. This price was made up of two components. One was the monopoly high price of the industrial products manufactured by the developed countries and the other was the monopoly low price of the primary products turned out by the developing countries. The monopoly capitalists sold their own manufactured products at the monopoly high price and by means of the monopoly low price procured the raw materials they required. In this way they reaped huge monopoly profits. Because of these two causes, trade conditions became steadily worse for the developing countries. According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, taking the price index for 1963 as the base 100, the price index of primary products dropped from 115 in 1952 to 112 in 1971, whereas the price index for industrial manufactured goods rose from 95 in 1952 to 124 in 1971. Owing to the deterioration of trade, over the 20 years from 1951 to 1971, the losses incurred by the developing countries amounted to \$122.3 billion.

Additional to exploitation by means of exporting commodities as mentioned above, the imperialist countries resorted to another measure to exploit the developing countries, viz., capital export. The export of capital for production is a measure which can bring an extremely high profit ratio and high profits. For example, in 1970 the investments of the United States in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America produced a profit of 21 percent, whereas the profit from domestic investments was only 9 percent. The profits from direct investments of the United States in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America rose from \$1.13 billion in 1950 to \$8.46 billion in 1977. Capital export in the form of loans to the developing countries imposed on the latter a heavy burden of indebtedness and interest payments. The foreign loans of the developing countries were found to have doubled every 5 years. In the early 1970's, foreign loans made up 18 percent of the gross value of the national product of the developing countries. According to statistics compiled by the International Development Bank, between the years 1972 to 1977 the developing countries paid to the developed countries over \$47 billion in repayment of their foreign loans and other state-guaranteed indebtedness.

As a result of this double exploitation in the form of commodity export and capital export, the disparity in the economic status between the developing countries and the developed countries steadily widened. Between the years 1960 to 1972, using 1962 prices as the basis for calculation, the gross value of domestic production per capita among the developed capitalist countries increased an average of \$880, whereas for the developing countries the increase was only \$52.

In 1976, the GNP of the United States averaged \$7,890 per capita, whereas for 34 low-income developing countries the per-capita average was only \$150, or 1/52d of the former. This growing disparity in the wealth of these two categories of countries further sharpened their contradictions. At present, the developing countries have initiated the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. This is one indication of the growing intensification of the contradictions.

Third, contradictions between the imperialist countries.

After World War II, American imperialism took advantage of the windfall of wealth which had befallen it during the war to become the overlord or paramount of the capitalist world. However, beginning from the 1950's, Western Europe and Japan gradually made an economic recovery and developments were not so favorable for the United States. These unfavorable developments were further aggravated by the 1960's and the 1970's. The proportion occupied by the United States in the value of the world's GNP dropped from 36.3 percent in 1955 to 23.7 percent in 1977, whereas the proportion occupied by the nine nations of the European Economic Community rose from 17.6 percent in 1955 to 19.8 percent in 1977 and that of Japan rose from 2.2 percent in 1955 to 8.7 percent in 1977. On the side of exports, the proportion occupied by the United States in the world's gross volume of exports dropped from 18.3 percent in 1950 to 12.1 percent in 1978, whereas West Germany's share rose from 3.6 percent in 1950 to 12 percent in 1978 and Japan's share rose from 1.5 percent in 1950 to 8.3 percent in 1978. As for the proportion occupied by private direct investments abroad out of the world's total volume, the proportion of the United States dropped from 55.1 percent in 1960 to 46.6 percent in 1978, whereas the share occupied by Western Europe rose from 37.1 percent to 41.8 percent in these years respectively.

The growth and the changes in the economic strength of the imperialist countries naturally intensified their contradictions. For example, the struggles between the United States, Western Europe and Japan for the sales markets of commodities (such as motor vehicles, iron and steel, computers, and so on), for material resources, particularly vital material resources, and for investment markets (including both the developing countries and developed countries) were extremely severe. In particular, it must be pointed out that, under national monopoly capitalism, owing to the countries' and private monopolies' capitalists closely combining to export commodities and capital abroad, the struggle in the world for sales markets, for areas producing raw materials and for investment markets by monopoly capital has been directly exhibited in the struggle between the imperialist countries themselves or in the struggle between groups or syndicates within the imperialist countries. Under certain historical conditions, some sort of agreement might have been reached between them, but this could only be temporary and in reality the struggle between them for the highest profits could not be resolved. It must further be pointed out: the appearance of Soviet social imperialism and its participation in the struggle has further complicated the contradictions between the imperialist countries.

In the course of their development, these three basic contradictions of the capitalist world might at times appear to have been somewhat mitigated but in the long run their intensification is unavoidable. Naturally, this will weaken

the imperialist structure and enable the objective conditions for proletarian revolution to ripen. The downfall and passing of imperialism will thus be hastened.

(3) The transition of general monopoly capitalism to state monopoly capitalism indicates that capitalism is drawing near its end.

Lenin pointed out: "State monopoly capitalism provides the best material preparation for socialism. It is the door to socialism, a step on the ladder of history. The next step is socialism and there is no other step in between." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 164) In order to understand the profound meaning of Lenin's thesis, we must study the course of development in the socialization of the capital relations within the production pattern of capitalism. We must not think that, after the formation of capitalist production relations, there is no development or further change inside the pattern of capitalist production. As a matter of fact, inside the pattern of capitalist production, capitalist production relations are continually being discarded and are continually being socialized. This is because the social productive forces which serve as the most active and most revolutionary factor in the pattern of production are continually developing and the degree of the socialization of production is continually being heightened. Hence, it comes into intense conflict with the narrow production relationships arising from the capitalist system of ownership of the means of production. This conflict compels capital relations to constantly be discarded or become socialized. Naturally, this takes place under the premise that there is no change in the capitalist system of ownership of the means of production and its purpose is that capital relations might permit the social productive forces to have definite grounds for development. The socialization of capital relations goes through the following course of development:

In the initial stage of the development of capitalism, capitalist enterprises are the property of individual capitalists, there being no stock companies in existence. Stock companies come into being following the socialization of production when for technical and economic reasons there emerges a rational demand for enlarging the scope of production and it is difficult for one single entrepreneur to open and operate a plant. Marx said: "Capital built on the basis of the social production pattern and on the premise of the social concentration of the means of production and labor power directly assumes here the form of social capital (that is, the direct combination of capital of private individuals) and stands in opposition to private capital. Its enterprises are seen as social enterprises and stand in opposition to private enterprises. This illustrates the discarding of capital as private property within the capitalist production pattern." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 493) These words explain the socialization of capital relations, though still within their own sphere, and does not represent the refutation of these relations. It denotes the first change in capitalist production relations.

The next change which follows is from nonmonopoly-social capital to monopoly-social capital. According to Lenin's analysis, free competition leads to concentration of production. When concentration of production reaches a certain stage there arise monopoly-organizations. According to him, monopoly-organizations are a kind of social enterprise with a higher degree of



socialization than nonmonopoly stock companies, and reflect a higher degree of socialization of capital relations. Engels said: "Monopoly organizations represent the second square or third square of stock companies." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, pp 494-495) The fact that the production of a department has developed from free competition among many stock companies to the stage of being controlled by a minority of monopoly organizations is obviously an enormous leap in the socialization of capitalist production relations. Lenin clearly pointed out: "Monopoly is the transition from the capitalist system to a high socioeconomic order." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 840) This is to say, the appearance of monopoly organizations further socializes capitalist relations and thereby provides solid material grounds for the proletariat, by means of socialist revolution, to seize hold of the means of production owned by the capitalists and to bring into being the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production.

The third stage is the appearance of state monopoly capitalism. Under the condition of monopoly capitalism, in the conflict between a higher degree of the socialization of production and the monopoly capitalist ownership of the means of production, the basic contradictions of capitalism are continually intensified. As a result, the degree of socialization of capital relations is pushed forward and monopoly social capital evolves from a lower form to a higher form, namely, state monopoly capital. State monopoly capitalism represents the highest form in the socialization of the internal capital relations of the capitalist production pattern. In other words, state monopoly capitalism reaches the highest point in the socialization of capital relations which the capitalist class can make within all possible limits. In the subsequent development, state monopoly capitalism might be found in a new form but it is state monopoly capitalism just the same. But the socialization of capital relations is not without limit. To proceed further from state monopoly capitalism will bring about the refutation of the capitalist production pattern itself and capitalist production relations will be replaced by socialist production relations. For this reason Lenin pointed to state monopoly capitalism as the door to socialism.

That state monopoly capitalism is the "door" to socialism illustrates that the socialization of production has reached such a stage of development that it no longer fits into the shell of the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production. It also illustrates that the material foundation for socialism has been fully laid and that everything is waiting for the proletariat to take it over by means of revolution and struggle and effect the transition to a socialist economy. That does not mean that without going through the stage of revolution and struggle by the proletariat, state monopoly capitalism can self-consciously and in a peaceful manner enter into socialism and that the reforming measures of bourgeois countries can take the place of revolution and struggle by the proletariat. Without the revolution and struggle of the proletariat, there can be no transition from capitalism to socialism.

CSO: 4004/119

READER'S LETTER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 p 46

[Letter from reader Jin Zhiguo [6855 1807 0948] of the Ma'anshan Iron and Steel Institute, dated 13 March 1981]

[Text] Dear comrade editor:

In lines 10 and 11 on page 19 of this year's No 1 issue of your magazine, it was stated that the national income was the same as the net income. The article concerned said: "...exceeds the national income, that is after deducting the materials consumed in production from the social production (including the means of production and the means of livelihood)." I think this point is incorrect. Net income is not tantamount to national income, which is the value created by various sectors of material production in society in a certain period of time (usually a year). If we deduct the allowance for the consumption of the means of production (c) from gross social production (which can be represented by c plus v plus m), then the net output available for social distribution and redistribution (v plus m) is the national income. National income is the net output or income arising from the net output. What is net income? If it refers to the net income which arises from the centralization of a socialist state, then it is that part of the national income (or net output) created by the state-run economic units and the collective-run enterprises which is handed over to the state in the form of profits and taxes during the primary distribution of the socialist national income. That is, it is a part of the quantity m. In addition, it also includes the enterprises' funds, the productive workers' personal income and so on. Thus, whether net income refers to the state's net income or the net income which is retained by the enterprises and which remains at their disposal, it can only be part of the quantity m and cannot be the national income.

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## KINDLE THE FLAMES OF HOPE IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEARTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 81 pp 47-48

[Article by Chen Guangzhong [7115 0342 1813], director of the film "Don't Waste Your Youth"]

[Text] After seeing the documentary film "Don't Waste Your Youth," audiences were greatly aroused, particularly the youths in the audiences. This exceeded our expectations. Many comrades asked: How did you achieve such a success? In fact it cannot be considered a success. If there is one experience for me to pass on in discussing the process of directing and producing this film, it is that we should have a firm faith in and ardent love for youths.

The party Central Committee has put forth the task of building our country into a powerful, modern, highly democratic and civilized socialist country. This great task will eventually fall on the shoulders of today's youths. The youths are the successors to the revolution and are the future of the motherland. The party has always paid attention to the healthy growth of youths and placed its hopes on them. The depth of the sufferings of youths in the 10 chaotic years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was "unprecedented." In making this film about young people we got to know them: some are high spirited and full of vigor and are very active; some are demoralized, and are wasting time by just fooling around. How should we look upon the youths of this generation? I have read a verse written by a youth: "O, our motherland, I am merely a teardrop shining in your eyes!" Here is an expression of the hidden ardent love for the motherland, reflecting feelings awakened after undergoing untold sufferings. This proves: Our youths are not in the least a "wounded generation" which gives up after one setback or a "lost generation," but on the contrary they are a generation which thinks deeply and a promising, hard-working generation. We must see to it that our socialist system emerges from the womb of the old society. The "black sheep," the historical remnants, are still around. But we must understand that the main body of youths is good. We must understand them, love them even more and grasp their hands firmly. In fact, the broad masses of youth passionately love the motherland and ardently believe in ideals. Their souls are shining with the brilliance of the true, the good and the beautiful. When we were conducting interviews in Shanghai, we came to understand in detail the worries, longings and pursuits of youths. At first they were wavering and then pondering, but they are now advancing bravely. As filmmakers how could we turn a blind eye to the contradictions, spirit and tasks of the times? How could we turn a deaf ear to the strong voice and ardent

expectations of the broad masses of youths? Filmmakers should have strong feelings and a clear-cut understanding of what the people are concerned about and should portray life with deep feelings. We think that if we do not mirror the beauty in the hearts of youths, we will not be able to conscientiously say that we have reflected the times. Proceeding from our true love for the youths and a sense of duty to our times, we, the production unit, shot the film "Don't Waste Your Youth."

The name of the film represents the film's concept: Don't let time pass you by. Though it presents a serious question to the broad masses of youths, it causes every one of us to ponder this question. This film does not consider anything as set in concrete but tries hard to give a vivid philosophical image. We should like to ask: If a man, a nation or a country is downhearted and idling away time, what is the use of talking about vigorous development and being powerful? The essence of not wasting your youth is the spirit of forging ahead courageously through an understanding of the urgency of the times. The young people in the film do not sigh endlessly over yesterday's wounds, but have seized the time to ponder and struggle to make contributions to the socialist four modernizations. Is this not the style and features of the new generation that the party and the people expect? The spirit of forging ahead courageously, as shown by the young people in the film, is an inspiration to all of us.

Like other works of art, documentary films are a reflection of life but are not a simple reproduction of life. In plunging into the thick of life, it is necessary to select, prune, refine and summarize the abundant literary raw materials. Documentary films should have an artistic concept and reflect strong emotions. Supported by the CYL, the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and other units, in conducting interviews and working out the plot of this film, we read reports on several hundred meritorious deeds by youths, and, from among several scores of young people, eventually we chose 10-odd persons who were shown in this film. The process of selecting literary raw materials is the process of deepening the theme of a film. To avoid appearing to be preaching, we tried hard to make the content and form of the film "Don't Waste Your Youth" such that they would appeal to youths. Taking the form of confidential heart-to-heart talks, we had informal discussions on youthfulness and searched and studied the meaning of life to find the answer to the question as to why some youths are wasting their young lives. There was some dredging, some fervor but no chiding in it. There are no arrogant words in the film. What we did was to reveal the true feelings, hear the truth spoken, present the facts and shoot scenes of youths working, studying, and falling in love, and of course, the unavoidable weak points and shortcomings... of Shanghai's youths strictly according to the facts, so that the youths who see this film will form their own conclusions and absorb what they need from it. The strength formed in this way is deep and sustained.

The youth chosen and shown in this film are "common people" who work quietly at ordinary posts. According to the old rules, the subjects could not be related to major events or to the activities of important figures. The problems revealed in the film "Don't Waste Your Youth" are of enormous significance, so we chose to "make an issue" of these "nobodies" who are our ordinary garment workers, handy-men, animal keepers, handicapped youths awaiting employment, young scientific and technical personnel, as well as problem youths. Though the deeds of these

ordinary youths "are not all heroic and moving, they are still not unimportant," that is, their deeds are part of the efforts to realize the four modernizations. Being ordinary, trivial and not earthshaking, their deeds as presented in the film will touch the hearts of the young spectators, concern them, be closely bound up with them and inspire them to forge ahead. We found and eloquently presented the beauty of the souls of youths who are moving forward full of vigor. We have shown life realistically--not whitewashing or distorting it--letting people see that life is not a bed of roses. Though there are thistles and thorns, all in all, life is beautiful and the sun shines brightly.

The times are calling for fine and competent people, and so is the party. Yet it is not easy for youths to break new "ground" and it is not easy to arouse youths who have become too oriented toward conspicuous consumption. I remember a verse from Dante which Marx quoted in the preface to "Das Kapital": Go your way and let the people speak their own minds! The road to literary creation is definitely not the road of bourgeois individualism but the road of revolutionary realism, the socialist road on which the party leads us to forge ahead. In this film we selectively presented those youths who are unknown to the public and who are not "lofty and perfect." This of course gives rise to criticism from those who attach one-sided importance to qualifications and seniority. We showed those youths who came to the fore out of adverse circumstances. It is hard to avoid misunderstanding and criticism from a very few comrades. Why must you show those youths who are immature politically and are engrossed in minor reform and innovation? We would like to ask in reply: Why shouldn't we show them? Why mustn't we find, support and encourage those ordinary youths who are shining examples, who dare to carry out reform and to defy hardships and who are growing up under the leadership of the party? The obstacles we encountered while conducting these interviews caused us to deepen the theme and led to the steadily enriching of our original concept. We believe that only when films touch on social drawbacks which are not conducive to stability and unity, the development of society and the growth of youths in a serious and well-intentioned manner, can they reflect what the people love and adequately meet the needs of the times. This film has put forth the question but does not give a dogmatic answer, leaving it for the viewers to ponder over. In so doing, we strive to create an artistic style in which we are of one heart with youths and share the same responses with them.

Practice has shown: The sense of the times is the soul of documentary films; the fervent life is the source and truthfulness of the life of documentary films; pooling people's wisdom and efforts is the guarantee of film quality. "Don't Waste Your Youth" is the crystallization of the sweat and wisdom of all the comrades in the production unit. The cameramen in particular put in a lot of hard work to improve the content and to maintain the integrity of the concept and the overall artistic presentation. Every scene of the film with its exciting details was an effort of creative labor which is the whole artistic concept and design, the grasping and deepening of the theme, the artistic choice in depicting the theme, thus arriving at an image which is accurate, striking and vivid. We set out to let every scene of the film realistically and artistically show the beauty of youths of life and the very souls of youths.

From the viewpoint of a director, there are defects when depicting the width and depth of a subject or in depicting a particular theme. Nevertheless, I feel assured of one thing, that is, the party has given us courage to search and study and to shoot a film showing the essence of youths and enhancing the morale of youths.

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THE PHENOMENON OF SCIENTISTS HOLDING TOO MANY POSTS CONCURRENTLY SHOULD BE CHANGED

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[Article by Ren Xinfu [0060 0342 6678]]

[Text] Last year the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences carried out an investigation in 10 research institutes under its leadership on the situation in which scientists are holding too many posts concurrently. Among the 205 scientists, there were 67 scientists who held more than 5 posts concurrently, accounting for nearly 32.7 percent; among the 67 scientists in the capacity of presidents and vice presidents, there were 16 who held more than 10 posts concurrently, constituting 51.6 percent. There exist similar cases in other scientific research institutes. The concurrent holding of too many posts by one person causes these scientists to spend most of their time in attending meetings and social functions, which results in their not concentrating on scientific and research work.

It must be pointed out that the reasoning behind the practice which has led to scientists holding too many posts concurrently was basically good. By doing this, the leading comrades hoped to give fuller play to the scientists and pay homage to the latter as well, and did not at all mean to divert their time and energy. But where should the role of scientists find expression in the main? How can the role of scientists be brought into full play? Some units and comrades seem to have no clear idea about this. It is well known that the roles of scientists can be summarized as follows: First, they can make achievements, that is, make progress and breakthroughs in scientific research. Second, they can turn out fine and competent people, that is, find, train and promote fine and competent people, and continuously expand the ranks of scientific researchers. Third, they can act as advisers, that is, help the leading bodies to work out plans, to coordinate and to make decisions. Only when the scientists have ample time can they concentrate on their work and apply themselves to scientific research and can they make achievements. Otherwise, handicapped from all directions and with their attention distracted, the scientists will make little achievements or even accomplish nothing. Our scientists are small in number. Allowing them to concentrate their main energy and attention on developing the socialist scientific and technological cause and give full play to their professional knowledge or skills is conducive not only to the four modernizations drive but to raising the levels of the various sciences. Since the speed of development of modern science and technology and the resulting achievements are becoming faster and faster, even

well-known scientists should constantly study to keep abreast, digest and timely grasp the latest developments and achievements in science and technology, and thus be able to blaze new trails. To accomplish this, we should create the necessary conditions for scientists so that they can have plenty of time to carry out their study and research. If we attach no importance to the characteristics of the scientists and scientific labor, regard them as perfect men or versatile men, give one-sided stress to good reputation at the expense of results and obstinately ask them to hold, though they show great reluctance, the leading posts which are not within their expertise, the result might be contrary to our wishes. So it is very necessary to "employ people in accordance with their abilities" and "know them well so as to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities." Using those men who do not have the required knowledge and abilities, while ignoring their strengths and weaknesses will only serve to create great personal problems for the scientists and waste much intellectual wealth.

It is not only necessary but also practicable to change the phenomenon in which scientists hold too many posts concurrently. First, proceeding from the overall situation of developing the scientific cause, leading cadres at all levels should not arrange jobs for scientists at the posts where they can hardly give full scope to their specialties. Scientists should be allowed to resign from those posts that they feel they are unqualified to serve. Second, the scientists themselves can make explanations to the parties concerned and politely refuse any appointment or invitation. At the same time, we should gradually foster a general mood in society in which people strive not to make a reputation but in order to do more solid work. Comrades on all fronts are encouraged to do their own jobs well and they should not waste others' precious time for no good reason. Particularly, they should provide scientists with better conditions so that scientists can concentrate their time and energy on making greater contributions to the development of our scientific cause.

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