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No. 8, 16 April 1981

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CHINA REPORT

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

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STRIVE TO DEVELOP INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION WITH READJUSTMENT AS THE CORE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 81 pp 2-4, 8

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, efforts have been made on the country's industrial and communications front to conscientiously study the documents of the central work conference, overcome the influence of "leftist" ideology and implement the policy of making further readjustment. Many localities have won initial success and the overall situation of production is good.

In the first quarter of 1981, China's industrial production showed a slight increase over the corresponding period of last year. In the field of communications and transportation, the first quarter plan for freight transport was fulfilled despite the rapid growth of passenger service. In terms of output value and speed, the growth of industrial production and transportation in the first quarter is not too substantial. However, one must bear in mind the following:

First, light industrial production has gone up by a large margin and the industrial structure is continuously being improved. Compared with the same period of last year, light industry as a whole has gone up by 9.9 percent and textile industry alone has gone up by more than 14 percent. Thus, light industry now surpasses heavy industry, accounting for 50.2 percent of the gross value of industrial output. Production of light industrial goods which are in urgent demand in the market, such as bicycles, sewing machines, wristwatches, television and radio sets and chemical fibers, has gone up by between 22 and 91 percent compared with the same period of last year. Because of the increases in the production of light industrial goods, we have been able to improve urban and rural market supplies and the situation of foreign trade and export, and to recover issued currency. The amount of currency issued in January this year was basically recovered in February. Never in the entire history of the People's Republic has so much currency been recovered in the first quarter.

Second, with the readjustment of the national economy and the reduction of capital construction projects, the demand for heavy industrial products serving capital construction purposes will greatly diminish. The heavy industrial sector, which is now undergoing readjustment and reorganization aimed at providing service for agriculture, light industry, the people's livelihood and the technical renovation

of existing enterprises, will face a fairly substantial production decline for a while. But in the meantime, people have come to believe that enterprises should organize production according to the needs of society and produce goods suited to popular tastes. Cases of blindly going after output value and of overstocking have also been reduced.

While affirming these achievements, it is necessary to point out that the economic results attained in industrial production and in communications and transportation in the first quarter are not as good as we expected them to be. There have been declines in certain sectors compared with the same period of last year. For example, profits turned over to the state have decreased, production costs have gone up, the number of enterprises running at a loss has increased and deficits have grown. There are many reasons for this, but chiefly it is due to the rise in the price of raw materials and the drop in the price of manufactured goods. Other factors include the conversion of a portion of an enterprise's profits into taxes (as charges for the use of fixed assets and circulating funds) and the collection of waste disposal fees and insurance premiums, which are new items of expenses. Waste resulting from poor management also adds to production costs and attention should be paid to solving this problem. In this year's economic readjustment, our goal is to strike a balance in finances and credits and to stabilize prices. To do this, we must broaden the sources of income while making an effort to reduce expenditure. Here, the key lies in increasing production, particularly the economic results of production. We must guard against this eventuality: If we slacken our organized leadership over production and just pay attention to reducing the scale of capital construction and spending, we might be able to keep expenses down. However, because we have not paid close attention to production, we would not be able to increase output and achieve the target for revenue. Thus, there would still be deficits.

The State Council recently issued a circular urging the staff and workers on the industrial and communications front to do their utmost to promote production and to hold meetings to devise measures for increasing production, practicing economy, increasing revenue and cutting expenditures. In light of the present conditions of production, attention should be paid to tackling the following questions:

First, to correctly understand and implement the policy of readjustment. At present, there are indeed some people who have a limited understanding of the policy of readjustment. They have slackened their efforts in production since the introduction of readjustment, thought that an adequate retreat meant slowing production and turned down tasks which could have been accomplished with some effort because high targets were criticized. As a result, some enterprises which did not have sufficient production tasks passively waited for their turn to be closed, suspended, merged or shifted; leading cadres of some units became dispirited and slackened their leadership; the attendance rate dropped at a number of factories and mines. This is an important reason for the production decline and poor economic results in certain branches of heavy industry. It should be pointed out that readjustment is a positive policy. The readjustment of the national economy involves cuts as well as boosts. Capital construction must be cut back, but industrial and agricultural production must be promoted. Readjusting industrial production does not simply mean stepping back and should

not be generalized as "closing, suspending, merging and shifting" operations. The principal aspects of readjustment are structural reform and economic integration.

At present, it is necessary first of all to make a success of the three structural reforms, that is, reforming the industrial structure, product structure and organizational structure. Reforming the industrial structure means expanding the scale of light industry, the scale of consumer goods production and those branches of heavy industry designed to provide light industry with equipment and raw materials and the scale of the repairing and service trades so as to bring long-term operations serving capital construction correspondingly closer to the aforementioned short-term operations. Reforming the product structure means strengthening product designing, trial-manufacturing, research and market forecasting, speeding up innovation, increasing varieties and striving to produce low-priced goods of fine quality which are suited to popular tastes and which involve advanced technology. Reforming the organizational structure means changing the organizational form of industrial management, breaking down the barriers between departments, trades and localities, organizing extensive coordination among specialized departments and fully tapping the production capacity of existing enterprises. In the course of reorganization, it is also necessary to establish different forms of economic integration step by step in order to achieve optimum economic results. These are not only the main points of industrial readjustment, they are also important measures for improving the present state of production and are long-term strategic tasks for the industrial and communications front.

Events in the first quarter show that the policy of readjustment is gradually being understood in various localities and departments and by cadres at various levels. Some are quicker to act than others and development is uneven. In places like Shanghai, Tianjin and Hubei where the policy of readjustment is better understood, implemented sooner and given attention, there is greater initiative in work and production has gone up. By combining production with readjustment, Siping Municipality has been able to steadily develop its production in the course of readjustment. By gearing itself to market needs and carrying out structural reform in five crucial aspects (that is, improving the quality of products; increasing the production of marketable goods suited to popular tastes; stressing the word trust and honoring contracts; lowering production costs so as to make small profits but quick returns; providing good technical services and supplying spare parts), the Tianjin municipal machinery industry company has been able to operate basically at full capacity when all other companies of the same trade are operating below capacity and are in deep trouble. Facts show that implementing the policy of readjustment and doing a good job of production serve the same goal and promote each other. The more efforts we put in readjustment, the better we can promote industrial production at the present stage.

In the course of industrial readjustment, it is necessary to overcome resistance from two sides. On the one hand, some heavy industrial enterprises which are turning out unsalable products refuse to let go and insist that the state purchase whatever they have produced, thinking that their status would be lowered if they were to shift to producing light industrial goods needed in the market.

On the other hand, some light industrial enterprises would rather seek financial assistance to expand their production capacities and set up their own systems rather than to forge ties of cooperation with existing heavy industrial enterprises. This is chiefly due to two reasons: First, because enterprises working in cooperation have to pay duplicate taxes, the cost of goods and spare parts they produce becomes higher. Second, because it is difficult to get things done when more than one department is in charge, an enterprise has to "change its affiliation" if it wants to shift to another line of production. It appears that if we want to increase the production of light and textile products with greater, faster, better and more economical results while overcoming the problem of heavy industrial enterprises operating below capacity, we must adopt corresponding measures aimed at reforming the organizational structure. For example, in mapping out plans for readjustment, it is necessary to permit an enterprise to belong to two or more departments and treat all parties in multitrade cooperation as equals. Many machinery and armament enterprises are technologically better equipped than most light industrial enterprises to produce durable consumer goods. In organizing integration in this field, it is all right not to change the subordinate relations. This will help eliminate barriers between departments and arouse the enthusiasm of all trades and professions. In forming ties of cooperation and organizing integration, it is not enough simply to rely on the voluntary efforts of enterprises. It is also necessary to step up administrative intervention and strike an overall balance. For a heavy industrial enterprise to shift to producing consumer goods, it must pay certain incidental expenses--at least it must acquire new equipment. Nonetheless, it is still far more economical than to start a new light industrial enterprise. The banks should accord top priority to loan applications for this purpose. In order to promote coordination and integration, financial departments should consider reducing the taxation links for products produced by joint efforts and for necessary accessories, such as introducing value-added tax. In short, in the process of grasping readjustment and promoting production, it is necessary to earnestly solve specific problems on the basis of investigation and study.

Second, to correctly handle the relationship between centralization and running enterprises with flexibility. Under the guidance of the policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have clearly defined the correct orientation regarding such matters as giving enterprises greater decisionmaking power, regulating the market and improving the system of rewards in line with the principle of to each according to his work and have found new approaches to running enterprises with flexibility and increased production in the past 2 years. In our present endeavor to carry out further readjustment, we must stress necessary centralization. However, as far as production in an enterprise and micro-economics are concerned, flexibility is still called for. The situation in the countryside has undergone a great change and agricultural production has gone up. This proves the might of the party's policies. Similarly, responsibility systems should also be adopted in industrial production so as to demonstrate the might of the party's policies and arouse the enthusiasm of all enterprises and their staffs and workers. In the past 2 years, we have achieved great successes in the experiment of giving enterprises greater decisionmaking power and brought profound changes to these enterprises. Since the interests of the state, the enterprises and the staffs and workers are combined, the internal motivating force of an enterprise is increased. We must conscientiously sum up experiences,

add to our achievements, overcome shortcomings and strengthen and improve our work. Enterprises which have not been given greater decisionmaking power on a trial basis should continue to practice the enterprise fund system or adopt different systems of profit sharing and responsibility for losses (losses in excess of budgeted deficit will not be subsidized and parts saved can be disposed of by the enterprises themselves).

A correctly enforced reward system can promote the improvement of enterprise management and arouse the working enthusiasm of staff and workers. We should continue to give rewards in the future. Last year, we carried things a bit too far. This produced two defects: First, many enterprises calculated the cost of production in the wrong way and issued bonuses and allowances under all sorts of pretexts. Second, egalitarianism was present in varying degrees. In particular, the practice of issuing year-end bonuses was abused and some enterprises even handed out rewards in kind. At present, we must continue to implement a reasonable reward system. This is a matter of widespread concern. Bonus payments must be commensurate with the business achievements of an enterprise and the contributions of individual workers. We must resolutely check the reckless issuance of bonuses and avoid egalitarianism. To this end, various localities and departments must work out the amounts of bonus payments according to the conditions and contributions of different enterprises. Do not wait until the end of the year to tell an enterprise how much in bonuses it can issue. It is best to sign contracts with enterprises so they will know "1 year in advance" the amount of verified bonus payments.

They may issue more bonuses if they have made profits above state quotas. In order to tide over the present economic difficulties, it is necessary for us to set a ceiling on bonus payments. Meanwhile, it must be pointed out that in enterprises which have been given greater decisionmaking power on a trial basis, funds earmarked for bonus payments but not yet used up are to be retained by these enterprises for their own use. In issuing bonuses, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of to each according to his work, maintain a tally of work points and base the reward system on personal responsibility, assessment and quota management systems. In the work of handing out rewards, it is necessary to conduct earnest and meticulous political and ideological work, educate the staff and workers to take the situation as a whole into consideration and combine immediate interests with long-term ones.

The consolidation of enterprises is the groundwork of industrial readjustment. For this reason, it must be grasped with unremitting efforts. Consolidating an enterprise means straightening out those aspects of management which would breed confusion in the hope of markedly raising its production and technical and managerial levels. To achieve this, it is necessary first of all to establish the authority of factory managers, establish the division of work between the party and the government, clearly define the duties of administrative offices, workshops, teams and groups and staff and workers, institute responsibility systems at each level and for each post, establish assessment and reward systems, strictly enforce labor discipline and put production in good order. Second, it is necessary to strengthen all basic work, amplify necessary rules and regulations and do a good job of calculation, statistics, keeping original records and fixing the number of staff members and work quotas.

Third, it is necessary to institute an all-round system of quality control, economic accounting and personnel training. If possible, all enterprises should carry out cost accounting at the factory, workshop and team levels, mobilize the masses to manage money matters as the masters of their own affairs, analyze economic activities and issue rewards accordingly. This is an important measure for increasing revenue, cutting expenditures, lowering production costs, making up deficits, increasing surpluses and insuring the fulfillment of the task of handing over revenue to the higher authorities. Industrial and communications enterprises throughout the country must unfold activities of "learning from Shanghai." They must proceed from actual conditions and master Shanghai's production techniques and management experiences in every possible way in order to change the face of local enterprises.

This year's tasks of industrial production and transportation are very arduous. Now that the first quarter is gone, the tasks left to be accomplished in the remaining part of the year are even more formidable. Opportunity knocks but once. We must act now, mobilize the masses, heighten our fighting spirit and unfold a vigorous mass campaign for increasing production, practicing economy, increasing revenue and cutting expenditures with readjustment as the core and increasing economic results as the goal. While paying close attention to readjustment, every possible effort should be made to increase industrial production and transport turnover.

CSO: 4004/120

IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE A DOWN-TO-EARTH SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 81 pp 5-8

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong said that people must be spirited. In particular, what kind of spirit do we need at present? We particularly need a down-to-earth spirit. We must suit our actions to our words and work hard and perseveringly. That is to say, we must always be true in word and resolute in deed, and conscientiously and earnestly do practical work, solve practical problems and achieve good results.

Working industriously and conscientiously for the people's revolutionary cause is one of our party's fine traditions. In the past, when we talked about the spirit of the "foolish old man who removed the mountains," we meant the down-to-earth spirit. At the closing speech of the Seventh CCP National Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong called on us to learn from the foolish old man who removed the mountains, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory. It was precisely because we carried forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains that we touched the heart of god--the masses. With the help of the broad masses of people in our fight, we eventually cleared away the three great mountains which weighed on the backs of the Chinese people, namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. When we entered the socialist period, Comrade Mao Zedong continued to advocate this spirit, calling for the "transformation of China with the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains." Despite the many setbacks and mistakes during the process of socialist construction and particularly the severe sabotage caused by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and company during the "Great Cultural Revolution," our socialist cause has made great progress. This is due to the efforts of the broad masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals (including the educated youth) and cadres. This shows that it is necessary to develop the spirit of working industriously and conscientiously in building socialism.

During the new period, our party's historic mission is to lead the whole Chinese people to build a modernized socialist power which has a high degree of democracy and civilization. In order to achieve this magnificent goal, we must adopt a Marxist line and a series of correct principles and policies. This is most important. We have been able to do this since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. This is because the line, principles and policies

formulated at this session have corrected the party's "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology, opened up a correct path for achieving socialist modernization in accordance with China's situation, and demonstrated a tremendous force in practice. At present, it is most essential that all of us, particularly party members and party cadres, work industriously and conscientiously. It is gratifying to see that the people's socialist enthusiasm, which was once trampled on by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," is gradually developing again and that men of action have emerged on various fronts. They are working industriously, studying arduously and making contributions to the mother country's socialist cause. However, in some localities and units, there is too little down-to-earth spirit and too much empty talk. The key to changing this situation lies in the leadership. Leading cadres at all levels must go into the midst of the common people, carry out investigations and studies, proceed from the actual conditions of various localities, adopt specific measures and methods for implementing the party's line, principles and policies and solve the problems one by one. They must, in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies, carry out propaganda among the masses, organize them, show concern for them, listen to their opinions and try every possible means to solve their practical problems in order to arouse their socialist enthusiasm as well as their sense of responsibility of being masters of the country. They must suit their actions to their words, think and act in one and the same way and set a good example for the people. As long as our party members and party cadres take the lead in working industriously and conscientiously, the people will willingly and gladly join in the fight, the party's line, principles and policies will be implemented by the entire Chinese people, and we will be able to achieve the magnificent goal of socialist modernization step by step.

People throughout the country hope to achieve socialist modernization. But what should we do in order to realize this hope? On what basis should this hope rest? The answer to these questions is always the same: It should rest on the basis of our own efforts. We should try to acquire foreign aid on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. However, we should not pin our hopes on foreign aid. If our comrades genuinely and urgently want to build a modernized power, they should be less boastful, do more ordinary practical work and cast aside all unrealistic illusions. Our Communist Party members and cadres, in particular, must do so. Socialist modernization is achieved through hard work and strenuous efforts. If we are unwilling to do hard work, we will be unable to achieve socialist modernization. Party members should not adopt bureaucratic ways of doing things such as standing above the masses, becoming divorced from the masses, evading problems and lacking a sense of responsibility; the superficial style of issuing orders and putting marks on documents without earnestly studying and solving problems; the bad practice of indulging in empty talk and refusing to do practical work; the onlooker attitude of sitting idly, finding faults and prating about major principles. This is because all the above-mentioned practices will not only hinder us from developing our down-to-earth spirit but will also dampen the people's socialist enthusiasm.

Perhaps people will ask: Can we achieve modernization this way? Our answer is affirmative and we have full confidence in this. Lenin said: "To achieve big things we must start with little things." "After the 'big things,' after the revolution which overthrew capitalist ownership and placed the proletariat in

power, the organization of economic life on the new basis could only start with little things." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 475) In the past, we started with little things and added up many small victories to a big one. After a protracted struggle, we went from weakness to strength and accomplished the "great cause" of founding new China. Today, we must also add up minor achievements into major ones, and develop and accomplish the "great cause" of socialist modernization through hard work of the whole party and the people. The story of the foolish old man who removed the mountains was commended because it expounded this principle. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can we not clear them away? Although a grain of sand and a piece of brick are insignificant, they can be accumulated and used for constructing tall buildings and large mansions. If we neglect the role played by a piece of brick and a piece of tile, and if we only indulge in sensational things, making all-out efforts and blindly seeking high speed, we will finally end up in failure. Marx said: "The strongest productive force is the revolutionary class itself." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 197) Under the guidance of the party's correct line, principles and policies, all people in China will work industriously and conscientiously. This is where we should pin our hopes when we are trying to achieve the cause of socialist modernization.

It is true that the socialist modernization which we are trying to achieve is a new cause in human history. There is no successful example for us to follow, but there are many difficulties. If we neglect them and treat them lightly, we will suffer great losses. However, in the face of difficulties, we should not be pessimistic and dispirited or lose confidence. We have met with countless difficulties during the revolutionary process in the past. Haven't we overcome them one by one? During the 10 years when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques were running amuck, a large number of difficulties were accumulated. But haven't they been overcome during the 4 years since the smashing of the "gang of four"? We need not be afraid of the difficulties which lie ahead of us. They are difficulties on our road of advance and they can be completely overcome. It is true that China's productivity level is still rather low, its material and technological foundation is still not sound enough and its experience is still inadequate. However, it is also true that we have established independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and national economic systems, we have a fairly sound material foundation and a contingent of technicians. Moreover, our current level is not lower than that of certain capitalist countries when they began to achieve modernization. If capitalist countries were able to embark on modernization when they were still not highly developed, why aren't we able to achieve modernization when our socialist country has reached a fairly high material and technological level?

It is true that we have met with setbacks and have made mistakes, including very serious ones, in our work. However, when we have summed up our experience in a Marxist, scientific way, these setbacks and mistakes in our course of exploring the socialist road may become precious wealth which will help us overcome difficulties and construct socialist modernization. We believe that mistakes and setbacks may make us wiser and help us work better. Thus, it is not necessary to be discouraged by our setbacks and mistakes. We cannot imagine that we will not meet any difficulties, setbacks or mistakes when trying to achieve such a

great cause as socialist modernization in a big country of 1 billion people, 80 percent of whom are peasants. On the contrary, we should feel really proud of being able to live in such a big country, of being able to advance by overcoming all dangers and difficulties on the road.

The down-to-earth spirit which we advocate is a spirit of seeking truth from facts. It includes revolutionary enthusiasm and a scientific attitude. Thus, this spirit is the opposite of the ideology of inertia. It is also different from recklessness which disregards actual conditions and violates the objective law. We have suffered a great deal from acting recklessly. Under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we overlooked the importance of material conditions, improperly exaggerated the role played by spirit, put forth slogans such as "you name it, we make it" and "so long as we make great endeavors, we will reap bumper harvests." We also imagined that we could achieve rapid development of the national economy just by arousing people's political enthusiasm. This departed from Marxist materialism and degenerated into "voluntarism." Consequently, the results were undesirable and the people's enthusiasm was dampened. We must learn a lesson from this. From now on, we must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and acting according to our capability. We should no longer indulge in "indigenous forward leaps" or "foreign forward leaps" regardless of the specific conditions. Nor should we be overanxious for quick results by resorting to fast, modern and impracticable methods which cost too much money and manpower. We should continue to break away from the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, uphold the principle of integrating theory with practice, try hard to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, master the dialectical materialist methods of thinking and working, try every possible means to acquire some knowledge of history, natural science and professional technology, pay attention to investigation and study, develop a democratic work style, consult the masses when matters arise and be able to think and work according to the objective law. The objective situation decides that we should work in one way instead of the other and that we should carry out one activity instead of the other. This is because only when we work within the limits permitted by the objective law can we do a good job. However, acting according to the objective law does not mean that we should be overcautious; by working according to our capability, we do not mean that we should refrain from doing things which are within our capability. We are opposed to "voluntarism." However, we absolutely do not mean to negate the role played by spirit under prescribed conditions. Nor do we mean that we can neglect the upsurge of political enthusiasm. In constructing socialist modernization, we must continue to develop the spirit of the revolutionary years. We must preserve the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same hard-working spirit as before. We should not be scared by difficulties. Instead, we should try every possible means to overcome them and win victories. In the year when he explained "man's dynamic role in war," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In seeking victory, those who direct a war cannot overstep the bounds imposed by the objective conditions; within these limitations, however, they can and must play a dynamic role in striving for victory. The stage of action for commanders in a war must be built upon objective possibilities, but on that stage they can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and color, power and grandeur." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 446) Leading the modernization program is similar to directing a war. We need to scientifically integrate the objective situation with the subjective capability and try our best to fully

develop man's conscious dynamic role within the limitations imposed by the objective conditions. We must try to explore the objective law of achieving socialist modernization in accordance with China's situations, so that we can adopt the correct ideology, views, plans and methods. This requires man's dynamic role. We must act, work and run various undertakings according to the objective law. This also requires man's dynamic role. If we understand, rely on and make use of the objective law of the Chinese socialist modernization while working for the interests of the Chinese people, we can give full play to man's conscious dynamic role. This conscious dynamic role is reflected by our down-to-earth spirit and by our party's line, principles and policies.

The down-to-earth spirit of being as good as one's word and of working hard and perseveringly is closely connected with our party's objective of wholeheartedly serving the people. In order to develop a down-to-earth spirit, we must correctly handle the relationship between the public and the private, between the people's interests and personal interests. If we pay too much attention to the interests of ourselves and our families, or even indulge in unsavory tendencies by taking advantage of our power and position, we will not have the time to think about and to struggle for modernization and will not be able to pool the masses' efforts in the direction of modernization. We are not opposed to the enjoyment of appropriate personal interests. The policy allows them and the law protects them. However, we must educate and guide every member of the society, particularly every party member and party cadre, to subject their own interests to the interests of the collective, the state and the people. If necessary, party members and revolutionary cadres must even sacrifice their own interests in order to safeguard the interests of the state and the people. In our country, the people are the masters. Every citizen should have a sense of responsibility of being the master of the country, and should make more contributions to the country through their practical actions and under the guidance of the four basic principles. Only when the country is prosperous and the collective is rich can personal interests be really safeguarded. Party members and revolutionary cadres should not just understand this principle and act according to it, but should also make this principle clear to the masses. In order to encourage and develop the down-to-earth spirit, we must overcome the egalitarian practice of getting the same reward regardless of performance, output and attendance. On the other hand, we should also boycott the influence of the hired hand mentality of "putting money first" and working according to pay. We must also fight against those who seek personal happiness at the expense of the interests of the majority. We have 38 million party members and 20 million cadres. They should all play an exemplary role, take the lead in fostering the down-to-earth spirit, talk less and little by little do more practical work, set strict demands on themselves, show love and concern to the masses, and give practical help to the masses in solving practical problems. Then, we will be able to advance the cause of socialist modernization and realize our great goal.

CSO: 4004/120

HOW TO APPROACH THE QUESTION OF CURTAILING CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 81 pp 9-13

[Article by Liu Lixin [0491 4409 2946] and Tian Chunsheng [3944 2797 3932]]

[Text] Curtailing capital construction is vital to further readjustment of the national economy. Following of the decision of the party Central Committee and the State Council, various regions and departments are examining their projects in a bid to curtail capital construction. The construction of a number of projects has been suspended or postponed and a number of other projects has been curtailed by decreasing their scale. On the other hand, the construction of those projects that are urgently needed by the state has been stepped up. Taken as a whole, the principle of economic readjustment is being implemented well, while the process of curtailing capital construction being carried out well. Yet, unanimity is needed with regard to some problems because only with unanimity will we be able to really curtail capital construction.

Is the Scale of Capital Construction for 1981 Too Drastic?

The planning for capital construction in 1981 has been reduced from the original 55 billion to 30 billion yuan and some comrades have regarded this curtailment as being too drastic. But in our opinion it is not drastic. The decision of the party Central Committee and the State Council to reduce capital construction in 1981 to 30 billion yuan is in line with the people's interest. The decision, which was made according to our ability and according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, shows that we have really emancipated our minds and freed ourselves from the shackles of "leftist" mistakes. An excessive scale of capital construction that resulted in serious disproportion has always been a serious problem in our economic work over recent years. In fact, the downfall of the "gang of four" should have been followed by readjustment in capital construction. But we underestimated the serious damage caused by the sabotage in economic work. In the 2 years following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we even put forth unrealistic slogans and goals, started some new projects and imported some items that were in fact unnecessary. As a result, the investment in capital construction in 1978 was 15.2 billion yuan higher than in 1977, aggravating the imbalance in the national economy.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Central Committee and the State Council decided to implement the principle of readjusting,

restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy and pointed out that readjusting is the core and the curtailment of capital construction is the key. This decision was the turning point in economic construction. But since we were not unanimous in our views, we have not been able to implement this principle well. Some projects that should be suspended have not been resolutely suspended, while localities and enterprises have blindly undertaken the construction of projects that are already in existence in other parts of the country. In 1979 and 1980, the investment that came directly from state budget was cut down, but the total capital construction was expanded. The investment in those projects that were completed in 1979 were 2.2 billion yuan higher than in 1978, while the figure for 1980 was 1.2 billion yuan higher than in 1979. Consequently, there appeared the abnormal situation in which capital construction was curtailed but technical measures were taken, financial allocation was reduced but bank loans were increased, domestic investment was cut down but foreign loans were increased. As a result, we failed to basically change the imbalance in the economy even after 2 years of readjustment. During those 2 years, we suffered deficits, the banks issued more currency and prices soared. How could such a situation occur? It is because some comrades did not really understand the significance of curtailing capital construction projects and, consequently, they were not able to resolutely implement the decision of the party Central Committee. If this situation continues, peasants and workers might again lose those benefits which they have received since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It is clear that curtailing capital construction is an important question that is closely related to the interest of the people throughout the country and, therefore, we must consider this question seriously.

It is a law of socialist construction that the size of capital construction must accord with the ability of the state. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out long ago: "The size of capital construction must accord with the state's financial and material resources, and whether it accords or not is the demarcation line for deciding whether the economy is stable. For such a big country as ours, with 600 million people, it is very important to have a stable economy. If the scale of capital construction exceeds the state's financial and material resources, chaos will appear, and if these two are in accord with each other the economy will be stable. Of course, it is not good to become conservative and obstruct the normal speed of construction. But overcoming conservatism is easier than overcoming rashness. This is because with more goods and materials it is easier to carry out more construction, but if we lack financial and material resources and carry out excessive construction it is not easy to reduce this construction and we will create great waste." In order to stabilize the whole situation and take the initiative it is imperative to reduce capital construction in 1981 to 30 billion yuan. An objective criterion for judging whether the reduction of capital construction is proper is whether the state's financial and material resources are able to meet the demands of the curtailed capital construction, whether financial revenue and expenditure are balanced, whether credit revenue and expenditure are balanced and whether prices are basically stable. The purpose of curtailing capital construction is to establish a firm base and make better progress. If we do not really understand the purpose of readjustment, we are not in a position to implement it well and we will also become more passive, because the capital construction might have to be curtailed again next year. Practice over the past 31 years has proved that leftist rashness will lead to

retrogressive readjustment, blind "mounting" in a big way will require "dis-mounting" in a big way and, with harshness we will accomplish nothing. We can no longer carry out our work in this manner.

Does Decreasing Yearly Investments Mean Curtailing Capital Construction?

Some comrades hold that since the state has curtailed the capital construction for 1981 to 30 billion yuan, the investments for construction projects must be equally shared and each investment must be proportionately reduced so that the yearly investments will be kept within the state plan. This is how these comrades regard such moves as curtailing capital construction. They hold that since it was not easy for them to get a project, it would be a "pity" to have their projects suspended and, consequently, they think it is better for them to continue their projects even with less investment. Thus, reasoning thus, some localities and departments have reduced their yearly investments for capital construction and included their capital construction planning in their yearly investments quotas that are decided by the state, but the projects that must be suspended are still included in their planning and the construction of such projects continues. This situation is not in line with the principle of readjustment.

It is correct to control yearly investments within the state plan, but it is wrong to continue projects that must be suspended or postponed. Outwardly it seems that the size of annual construction has been curtailed, but in fact the total size of capital construction remains unchanged. It is because when yearly investments are curtailed and the number of construction projects remains unchanged this means that the investment for each project is reduced, because each receives less in yearly investments and consequently each project receives less funding, materials and equipment. The result is that we will not be able to concentrate our strength and the projects that can be completed in 4 to 5 years will take 8 to 10 years before they are completed. By so doing we will not only be unable to achieve economic results in readjusting, the result of investments will also become worse. Statistics show that when the construction cycle of projects of the national economy is prolonged for 1 year, the losses for wages and management fees alone will amount to over 5 billion yuan. If calculated according to the investment level at that time, the present total capital construction now under construction with investments allocated from the state budget will take 6 to 7 years before it is completed even if there is not a single additional project. The fact is that it is impossible for us not to add any projects in 6 to 7 years. How can we achieve good investment results with such long construction cycles? Take the steel industry for example. Since the founding of new China, the state has invested a certain amount of capital in this industry. But there have been too many projects, and consequently each one only got a small slice of the total investment, which resulted in no project being adequately funded. As a result, the construction of many iron and steel plants remain uncompleted after 1 or more decades. An enormous amount of state investments has thus been bogged down in such projects. This is the result of dividing investments indiscriminately among too many projects.

The purpose of curtailing capital construction is to cut down the expenditures of financial and material resources so that the size of capital construction will

accord with the ability of the state. It is also to solve dislocations in proportions, readjust the production structure and the structure of products, and allocate certain financial and material resources to guarantee key projects, so that a number of these projects that are urgently needed in readjusting the national economy can soon be put into production and show immediate results for our investments. We can make gains only through doing this. Therefore, if the projects that should be curtailed or be carried out are not done so, the time needed for readjusting the national economy will no doubt be prolonged. Over the past few years, capital construction has exceeded the state's capability and there have been serious imbalances within capital construction itself. The construction of projects for the processing industry was too excessive while our traditional industry, raw materials industry and transportation were very weak, and this situation resulted in the idling of existing enterprises. If we continue to develop the processing industry and the projects that consume enormous energy and power, the results of investments will increasingly decrease and we will not be able to make progress in readjusting the national economy for a long time to come.

We must understand that once capital construction projects fail to start operation in due time, they will not only be unable to add products to society and play their proposed role in readjusting the proportion between production and consumption to the detriment of the proportionate development of the national economy, they will also be in danger of becoming outmoded. Today, science and technology are constantly developing, and 10 years of construction means that the existing advanced design for engineering, processing technology and products might become outdated or even uneconomical. If the construction of projects that have to be carried out continuously is carried out sporadically, then it will cause waste and the quality of projects cannot be guaranteed.

We will be able to reach the expected goal in readjusting the national economy only if we are resolute in suspending those projects that temporarily do not have the conditions for construction and production (including imported items financed by foreign loans), because by so doing we will be able to properly use our limited financial and material resources. Thus, the price for cutting back a number of projects is that we will have a bright future, that is, it will enhance the well-being of the people and stabilize the healthy development of the national economy. Why have we not been decisive in doing this? While investigating and defining the planning for capital construction, the departments concerned must also spare no efforts to stop the move toward reducing yearly investments but still maintaining the number of projects and the size of construction.

Will Not the Losses Be Too Big If We Curtail So Many Construction Projects?

Some comrades hold that since we have reduced so many construction projects, we will suffer serious economic losses. No doubt, by doing this we will suffer some economic losses. But the question is how to calculate this. According to past experience, we will suffer more losses if we continue with projects that should be suspended. Therefore, the sooner we suspend these projects the better. The experience of 1980 proves this point. The number of incompleting capital construction projects in that year was the biggest ever since the founding of new

China, and this year was characterized by bad investment results. Of the large and medium-sized projects that were completed and put into operation, only 46.9 percent were included in the original plan, and of those small, single projects that were completed and put into operation only 35.6 percent were included in the original plan. Compared with the previous year, the number of the large and medium-sized projects that were put into production dropped by 68 and that of the small, single projects dropped by 157. The rate of the large and medium-sized projects that were put into production dropped from 43 percent in the first 5-year plan to 6.2 percent, with an average construction cycle being as long as 16 years. Why were the results of the investments in capital construction so bad last year even though that year was characterized by an excellent political and economic situation? The investments were the highest in history, but proportionately the number of projects that were put into production was the lowest, and this was the result of too wide a capital construction front with too many projects which caused us to disperse our strength, culminating in a war of attrition. The projects that were not completed in 1980 were worth several hundred million yuan. These projects used enormous amounts of the means of production and subsistence and yet they were not able to provide products and accumulation to the state. On the contrary, they need management and maintenance and they consume social wealth which causes serious waste. Excessive capital construction projects caused a short supply of building materials and they were out of control insofar as their management was concerned. Negotiated prices of building materials such as steel, timber and cement were one to several times higher than those allocated by the state, resulting in high construction fees. Compared with a better previous level, the work that is done today with 2 yuan equals the work that was done before with 1 yuan. If we are not decisive in shortening the capital construction front but on the contrary continue with unrealistic projects, then the more we invest the greater our losses will be.

Of course, we will face many difficulties in curtailing capital construction. With such a great number of projects to be suspended and an enormous amount of equipment that has to be stored, a portion of the construction force will have to be idled and we will suffer economic losses. But in order to make the whole situation lively and to avoid even greater losses, we can only arrange capital construction in such a way that it is within the capacity of our present financial and material resources. After the investments are reduced, it is necessary for us to rely on party committees and the masses and concentrate our efforts on economic results, economic management, economic accounting, cutting down waste, shortening the construction periods and improving the quality of projects. In this way, the situation of the capital construction front will be gradually improved. If we can do a good job in this respect with the 30 billion yuan in investments in 1981, we will be able to do more work than that with the 40 billion yuan in investments in 1980.

The staff and workers that have been working in those projects that are now suspended or are to be constructed later, particularly the leading staff, must work to protect the projects and maintain the equipment and materials so as to protect the wealth of the state.

Since I Have Money, Can I Undertake More Capital Construction?

Some people have said that since the state finances are in the red it is correct to curtail capital construction but they added that since localities, departments and enterprises have surplus capital, they should be able to add construction projects instead of curtailing them. Such a view is one-sided. In readjusting the economy and curtailing capital construction, we must proceed from the whole situation as well as from the interest of the whole national economy. The part must be in correct proportional relationship with the whole. The surplus funds must be used in purchasing state bonds, and more local finance must be lent to the central government. Only when the central government and the localities are in unanimity and they are united in improving the whole situation, will the part have the necessary initiative and make progress. We must understand that we are carrying out a clear-headed and healthy readjustment. As long as we are able to resolutely implement the principle of readjustment, we will be able, from a long-term point of view, to promote the development of various regions and departments and promote the whole situation's harmonious and healthy development.

The decision to reduce capital construction for 1981 to 30 billion yuan was made by the state after it studied economic advantages and disadvantages and the overall balance. Work has been done to balance the proportions between capital construction and production and between capital construction and tapping potentials and reforming. Through such an arrangement, the dislocated national economy will gradually be brought into balance. If those who have money indiscriminately expand their construction, they will not only affect state planning but also the balance of the whole situation.

We must understand that in the past few years, the goods and materials that were needed in production, maintenance and replacement, and reform and consuming have been sieved off by the wide capital construction front and the enormous size of capital construction. Our national economy has had serious waste, characterized by high accumulation and high goals and low results and low consumption. Now we have decided not to continue down the old road. In the past, the orientation for investments and proportionate relations were not rational, and this situation was shown not only in the proportion of investments in the production between processed products and finished products and the proportionate relations between advanced departments and processing industry, between the "bones" and the "meat," but also in the proportionate relations between capital construction and production, maintenance, replacement and reform. Therefore, in readjusting the economy, we must readjust not only the proportionate relations within capital construction but also readjust and transform the past relations of paying attention to heavy industrial production and new construction and neglecting light industrial production and tapping potentials. At present, much remains to be done in renewing the equipment of enterprises and we have very heavy tasks in tapping potentials, renovating and transforming. In carrying out readjustment it is imperative to transfer financial and material power from capital construction so that industrial readjustment of the existing enterprises and the work of replacing, tapping potentials and transforming equipment can be guaranteed. This work is important during the readjustment period as well as for a certain period in the future in developing the economy. The surplus capital in localities, departments and enterprises

must be used for tapping the potentials of and transforming the existing enterprises so that they will be able to get quick returns and big income from less expenditure. On the other hand, in developing production they must not concentrate their efforts on carrying out capital construction and adding new projects because by doing so they will be consciously or unconsciously returning to the old road of big investments with bad results.

Should the Production of Equipment for Those Projects That Have Been Suspended or Postponed Be Continued?

Some people have suggested that since the curtailing of capital construction has caused losses, the enterprises that are producing equipment for the curtailed capital construction should not be stopped; otherwise we will suffer more losses. In our opinion, such a view is one-sided. If the production of such equipment is not suspended or postponed, it will not be possible for us to reach the goal of suspending and postponing capital construction, because in producing the equipment that is not in demand and is overstocked, we will be using materials, energy, transportation and the means of subsistence and we will also need financial support from the state. This would mean that the capital construction front would still have not been shortened. Furthermore, such products will end up by being stockpiled in warehouses, causing even greater losses.

An enormous amount of equipment has been stockpiled in capital construction departments, and the waste in circulation of industrial funds also has been very serious. In 1957, the enterprises under ownership by the whole people used 19.4 yuan in circulation funds for every 100 yuan in production value, and this figure increased to 36.9 yuan in 1976. Statistics show that since 1979, stocks of 16 kinds of major raw materials and mechanical and electrical products have increased 4-fold over the figure for 1964. At the same time, the national revenue only increased by 1.4-fold. If the pace of the circulation of industrial and commercial funds is able to return to the better level of the past, we will be able to transfer more than 10 billion yuan in funds to the state, making a great contribution in readjusting the national economy. If we do not take necessary measures now to curtail the stocks for capital construction and industrial and commercial circulation funds and on the contrary continue to increase the stocks of equipment and use circulation funds, we will undoubtedly fail in readjusting the economy.

We hold that we must not arrange the production of equipment for the capital construction projects that have been suspended or postponed but that priority must be given to using equipment that is stockpiled in warehouses and is needed by capital construction. The various mechanical and electrical products that are stored in warehouses amount to more than 60 billion yuan; some of these products have been damaged and we will suffer still greater losses if we do not use this equipment. The production of any equipment that is not in demand must be prohibited and no bank loans should be given.

In readjusting the economy this year, we must be resolute in carrying out those projects that are needed. The departments of light industry, textile, power, fuel, transportation and building materials must increase their production in a big way according to social needs and objective conditions. To support these

enterprises in carrying out their readjustment, tapping potentials and transformation so that they will be able to promote production, the departments of the machine-building industry and some departments of the military industry must, according to the need for readjusting the national economy, change their economic structure, products structure and organizational structure so that the production of consumer goods can be developed.

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WHY IS SHANDONG ABLE TO REAP A BUMPER HARVEST OF COTTON?

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[Report by Investigation Office of Shandong Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] Last year our province reaped an unprecedentedly bumper harvest of cotton. The gross output of raw cotton was 10.74 million dan, an increase of 2.2 times over that of 1979 and nearly double the 1970 production, which was historically the highest on record. The bumper harvest was reaped in all the 9 prefectures and 9 municipalities, 61 counties, 990 people's communes and 32,800 production brigades in the province, all of which had due authority to handle cotton as a market commodity. Even such localities as Liaocheng, Heze, Dezhou and Huimin, known for their poor economic conditions and for their traditionally low cotton output, reported production increases over those of 1979, the increases being 2 times, 3.8 times, 3.18 times and 1.74 times respectively. The number of counties producing over 200,000 dan of raw cotton each was increased from only 2 in 1979 to 24 in 1980. Twenty-six counties each produced on the average 100 jin of raw cotton per mu, while in the prefectures a number of people's communes claimed to have produced over 150 jin of raw cotton per mu and some production brigades likewise claimed to have produced over 200 jin of raw cotton per mu.

The bumper harvest of cotton has brought to the province many heartening changes, as follows:

First, it enables people to further liberate their thinking and break the myth that Shandong could never have a high yield of cotton. For many years cotton production in Shandong has been low and unstable. There were only 2 years, 1970 and 1973, when cotton production reached over 5 million dan each. Shandong's production was not only lower than the high-yield provinces and municipalities like Jiangsu, Hebei and Shanghai but also lower than the national average. The bumper harvest last year broadened the people's vision, enlivened their spirit, raised their confidence and make them know that an increase in cotton production in Shandong was entirely possible. If only we could carry out a sound policy, fully arouse enthusiasm for cotton production and do scientific farming, it would be entirely possible to raise cotton production in our province to a new level.

Second, it puts an end to our province being deficient in cotton, and this is a new contribution to the state. Before 1975, cotton production had been sufficient for the province. From 1976 to 1979, the textile industry in the province

increased its number of spindles while cotton production took a downturn and each year the province had to import from other provinces or from abroad over 1 million dan of cotton and chemical fibers. The bumper harvest last year abruptly changed this situation. Up to the middle 10-day period of February this year, the province has procured by direct purchase or through exchange with other commodities some 10.37 million dan of raw cotton. This quantity not only sufficed for the needs of the textile industry of the province but also yielded a balance of over 5 million dan for transfer to other provinces.

Third, it brings along a swift increase in the income of the collectives and the commune members. The prolonged state of poverty and backwardness in the four northwestern regions of the province has also begun to change. The gross receipts from cotton production in the whole province last year were roughly 2.4 billion yuan, an increase of 2.3 times over the preceding year. The average receipt per cotton-grower was 100 yuan. The collectively distributed per-capita income of all the commune members in the province increased from 81.5 yuan in the preceding year to 105 yuan last year. The increase was indivisible from the bumper harvest of the economic crops such as cotton and peanuts. In the four prefectures of Liaocheng, Heze, Dezhou and Huimin, the per-capita distribution in 1979 was only 50.9 yuan, which was 30.6 yuan lower than the average for the whole province. In 1980, the receipt from cotton in these four localities amounted to 1.71 billion yuan, which comprised 52.4 percent of the total receipts from agriculture. The per-capita distribution was 87.38 yuan, an increase of 36.48 yuan over that of 1979, or an increase of 71.7 percent. The largest increase was made in the Liaocheng area, where the per-capita distribution amounted to 126 yuan, an increase of 1.3 times over that of 1979. This raised the ranking of its commune members from the former 11th place to 4th place among 13 localities and municipalities of the province. As a result, these four areas were able to repay and liquidate in full the loans and deposits of the current year. In addition, old loans still outstanding amounting to 41.6 million yuan were repaid. The accumulation funds of the collectives amounted to 375 million yuan, an increase of 100 million yuan or more over that of 1979.

Correct Guidance and Thinking: Give Full Play to the Superiority of Cotton

Shandong is one of the major cotton-producing areas in the country. In the province, the principal producing areas are located in the flatlands in the northwest and in the Jiaolai flatland. The natural conditions, such as soil, temperature and sunshine, in these localities are all suitable for cotton plantation. Moreover, the people here have rich experience in cotton planting. As early as in the Ming and Qing dynasties, large tracts of land in many of the districts were devoted to cotton planting. Gaotang County in Liaocheng Prefecture and Xiajin County in Dezhou Prefecture were known as "gold Gaotang" and "silver Xiajin" because both had grown rich from cotton planting. From 1950 to 1958, cotton production in the province had been steadily increasing. In 1956, it reached 4,344,800 dan. Unfortunately, owing to the "leftist" errors, we did not carry out thoroughly the principle of "suiting production to local conditions" in planning the local distribution of industrial crops. As a result, between the years 1959 and 1964, cotton production fell sharply. The average yearly output for these years was only 1,722,700 dan, and in 1961 production dropped to as low as 613,600 dan. Fortunately between the years 1965 and 1975,

the average yearly production recovered to around 4,529,700 dan. In 1970, production went up to 5.46 million dan, but dropped again to a yearly average of 3.14 million dan between 1976 and 1979. In 1977, it dropped further to only 2.975 million dan.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the leadership cadres at various levels, closely following the party Central Committee's guideline and policies, earnestly summarized their past experience and lessons, rectified their "leftist" errors, and corrected their guidance and thinking. In implementing the spirit of the resolutions of the 3d Plenary Session, the CCP committee of Liaocheng and the local authorities there clearly pointed out: "Liaocheng Prefecture is an old cotton-producing area; hence the superior points of the locality must be brought into full play and all efforts must be concentrated on increasing cotton production. In agricultural production, we should adopt the following guideline: 'grasp grain and cotton simultaneously, but put the emphasis on cotton.'" This was followed by readjusting the internal structure of agriculture in the area. As a result, in 1979, a relatively bumper cotton crop was harvested and two shining models were ushered in. One showed the tremendous changes in 1 year's time in Linqing County through grasping cotton and the other was about how Gu Guantun people's commune of Donga County had become rich in the period of only 1 year by planting cotton. During that year, Linqing County's gross cotton output was 233,500 dan, from which the county realized 45.34 million yuan. The average distribution was 64 yuan per person, an increase of 22 yuan over the preceding year. As for Gu Guantun commune, its gross cotton output was 11,300 dan, which equaled the combined output for the preceding 7 years. The commune realized 2.3 million yuan, an average per-capita distribution of 130 yuan. In this way, the former situation of a prolonged period of low production and backwardness was changed completely. These facts not only startled the three counties of Yanggu, Guanxian and Liaocheng, which used to fare much better than Linqing in cotton production, but also made all the other counties realize that greatly promoting cotton production is the only way for cotton-producing areas to become affluent. They also realized that not to concentrate on grasping cotton would make the coffers of the collectives empty and the commune members poor, and there would be a shortage of funds for agriculture, a shortage of fertilizers, and eventually a failure to increase grain production.

In late 1979 and early 1980, the Shandong Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial government jointly called a provincial conference on cotton production. At the conference, the spirit and resolutions of the national work conference on cotton were transmitted to those present, the experience and lessons gained in cotton production in the province were summarized, and the experiences in attaining high cotton output were exchanged. The conference decided to adopt the guideline that "in the cotton areas promoting cotton production should be the primary task, that grain and cotton should be attended to simultaneously, and that cotton should be grasped to bring about the diversified development of grain, edible oils and other crops." The originally planned geographical distribution of the various kinds of agricultural crops was also readjusted. The planned area of cotton fields in the province was increased from 8 million mu to 9.3 million mu and was subsequently further enlarged to 11.05 million mu. The number of cotton-planting counties was condensed from 82 districts into 61 counties. Of the latter, 31 are key counties, each having 150,000 mu or more of cottonfields while

27 counties are located in the four regions in the northwestern part of the province. Herein, the aim of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government was to promote cotton production as an important measure to change the backward status of these four regions. They strengthened leadership work there, organized efforts from various sides and provided great help to cotton production in these regions. Last year these four regions were granted 387 million yuan in agricultural loans and 14.6 million yuan of funds for well-drilling. In addition, the supply of chemical fertilizers to these regions was increased by 22.8 percent over that of the preceding year, the supply of farm medicine was increased by 65.8 percent and the supply of sprayers was increased by 1.5 times. As a result of efforts by the people of the whole province, particularly through the diligence and hard toil of the broad masses of cadres and people in the cotton areas and the aid extended to the cotton areas by people in the grain-producing areas, the cotton-producing superiority of the province was brought into full play. With mountainous piles of cotton before them, the populace in the cotton areas were moved to say: "In the past, we were made to grasp grain one-sidedly, but the production of neither grain nor cotton was a success. This year, grain and cotton were grasped simultaneously, but with stress placed on cotton, and as a result grain and cotton helped each other progress and there is now hope for a prosperous life."

Solving the Problems of Cotton Price and of Edible Grain for Cotton Growers

In the last few years, cotton production did not do very well, principally because of the failure to solve two problems of policy. One concerned the low procurement price of cotton and the irrational exchange ratio between cotton and grain. In 1950, the exchange ratio between cotton and wheat was 1:8.17 (that is to say, 1 jin of raw cotton could be exchanged for 8.17 jin of wheat), and that between cotton and corn was 1:11.21. Subsequently, owing to the rise in grain price, the exchange ratio was lowered. In 1975, the exchange ratios between cotton and wheat and cotton and corn were respectively 1:6.83 and 1:9.7. The second reason was the low grain ration for cotton growers. For a production brigade with a per-capita output of 100 jin of cotton, each member could get only 360 jin of grain ration. Therefore, he had to buy grain from the market at a high price, since 1 jin of cotton could fetch 3.5 jin of wheat or 5 jin of cotton. In 1978, the province made the following stipulation: if the area of cotton-fields is 20 percent of the total cultivated area, for accounting units with an average contribution of 20 jin of raw cotton per person, the grain ration for each member will be 360 jin; if the area reaches 20 percent, but the contribution of raw cotton from the accounting units is less than 20 jin per person, the grain ration for each member will be 330 jin. To implement this stipulation, the province will have to provide subsidized grain amounting to 310 million jin, although subsequently only 140 million jin of grain was actually given out as subsidy. Because of the low price of cotton, the cotton growers had no assurance of obtaining the quantity of good grain needed. They felt that planting cotton was a losing proposition and began to call cotton not an industrial crop but a "political crop." Hence, whenever there was a call from the state to plant "patriotic cotton," the communes and production brigades would respond by planting "token cotton." The way they would fulfill their obligation was to report more planting than had actually been done, to use poor land in lieu of good land for cotton planting, not to use good fertilizer on the cottonfields and to send

fewer farmers to work in the cottonfields. The inevitable consequence was a further decrease in cotton output which in turn meant lesser receipts and further invoked the unwillingness of the communes and brigades to plant cotton. A vicious cycle was thus put in operation.

In order to heighten the enthusiasm of the communes and the production brigades for planting more cotton, in 1979 the state increased the procurement price of cotton by 15 percent, and granted an extra subsidy of 5 percent to prefectures in the northern part of the province. In 1980, the procurement price was again raised by 10 percent, with the additional provision that in the event of the procurement quota being exceeded, an extra price increase of 30 percent would be granted. In this way, the exchange ratios between cotton and wheat, between cotton and corn were respectively 1:8.26 and 1:11.79. With regard to the problem of grain ration, beginning from 1979 our province raised the grain procurement threshold from 33 jin to 360 jin and, in addition, adopted a measure that linked up cotton and grain in the cotton area. The measure provided for grain awards for cotton sales in excess of the procurement quota, as follows: in the case of the basic-level accounting units, where the average contribution worked out to be 10 jin per capita, each person was entitled to not less than 365 jin of grain ration and every jin of cotton sales over 10 jin would entitle the grower to 1.5 jin of additional grain ration. In the event that the average contribution of cotton per capita should exceed 20 jin, the guaranteed grain ration would be 380 jin and any excess of 1 jin of cotton would entitle the grower to 4 jin of additional grain ration or 2 jin of chemical fertilizers. In this way, foodgrain was fully assured for cotton growers. Last year, in their implementation of the cotton policy, the prefectures worked hard to fulfill all the promises made and, in addition, carried out an intensive program to propagate the cotton policy. They supplemented the propaganda materials with various illustrative charts showing the results upon fulfillment of the cotton production plan such as the contributions to the state, composition of the revenue receipts, income distribution among the commune members, grain rationing for the commune members, chemical fertilizer awards for excess cotton sales, and so on. Detailed figures were worked out for each and every production team and for each and every household. The commune members, after reading the materials and noting their implication, became all the more convinced and enthusiastic. Formerly they had thought that cotton planting was a losing proposition; now they realized that it was instead profitable. In the past, they planted so-called "token cotton." Now they want to plant "get-rich cotton." In former years they did not care to plant cotton; now they want to plant more cotton. Quite obviously, the price policy and the grain ration policy have played an important role in bringing the superior position of our province in cotton planting into full play and in reaping the bumper harvest eventually.

Implementing the "Joint Production Compensation Responsibility System" and Arousing the Enthusiasm of the Broad Masses of Cotton Growers

An important factor accounting for the bumper cotton harvest last year was the implementation of the production responsibility system, especially the "joint production compensation responsibility system," which carried out the principle of distribution according to work and served to arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cotton growers.

At present, the type of farming work done in cotton production in our country principally depends on manual operations, highly technical in character and making rather meticulous and strict requirements. Whether each step of control work has been done well has an important effect on the quantity of output. For this reason, compared with other crops, cotton urgently needs the setting up of a production responsibility system, for the purpose of bringing into full play the cotton growers' enthusiasm and initiative and raising their sense of responsibility. Unfortunately, in the past, in administering cotton production our province followed the same method as it did in administering grain production. We adhered to the method of recording labor points by means of "self-assessment and public discussion," which in effect was practicing egalitarianism and "eating out of one big pot," thus seriously dampening the enthusiasm of the cotton growers and preventing cotton production from rising for a prolonged period. In 1979, we implemented the two directives on agriculture issued by the central government. We gradually liberated ourselves from "leftist" thinking, put into practice contracts for jobs and production and enforced the responsibility system calling for compensation for joint production to the unit level. Last year the various localities summarized the experience gained and promoted the cotton production responsibility system much further ahead and by the end of the year over 118,000 cotton production teams were under the system of job and production contracts with compensation for joint production computed to the unit, or laborer, or household, as the basic level. This number of teams made up some 80 percent of the total number of cotton production teams. In addition, over 27,000 cotton-growing teams worked under the system of job contracting in part with fixed compensation. They made up 18 percent of the gross number of cotton-growing teams. Actual experience has shown that the various kinds of production responsibility system did achieve production increases in varying degrees, but in general it was found that joint production with compensation fared better than pure compensation alone without joint production, and that joint production with compensation computed to the worker level fared better than joint production with compensation computed only to the unit level. Also, fairly good results have been achieved in the case of certain poor and backward units practicing contracts for production or jobs by individual households. The method of joint production with compensation adopted by the majority of cotton-growing teams in the province embodied the feature of job contracting of a specialist nature. The major superior point of the production responsibility system is, just as the populace has in mind, "joint production is like joining the hearts together; it makes all the parties concerned rack their brains." It links together the fruits of labor of the cotton growers and the growers' self-interests and the principle of distribution according to work is better implemented. At the same time, the production enthusiasm on the part of the cotton growers can be aroused to the maximum degree. Labor productivity can be raised, production can be increased and the income of the peasants can likewise be increased.

Over 90 percent of the production teams in the Liaocheng Prefecture are known to have adopted the joint production compensation responsibility system. The Wangzhuang production brigade of Liangcun people's commune of Gaotang County is an outstanding example. This production brigade has 53 households, with a total of 225 people and 630 mu of cultivated land, over half of which consists of heavily alkaline land. In 1980, it adopted the production responsibility system

calling for "contract-labor, contract-production and compensation for joint production computed to the worker level," or also known as the "five fixes and one award" system. Under the system, work on 401 mu of cottonfields was contracted out to 85 farmers, who averaged 4.7 mu each. For each mu the following were fixed: raw cotton production quota, 40 jin; number of laborers, 40; seeds, 20 jin; approved chemical fertilizers, 40 jin and coarse manure, 100 points; and insect control fee, 5 yuan, with each person supplied with 1 sprayer. The awards were: in the event of excess production of raw cotton, on the first 1 to 40 excess jin, the grower kept 50 percent of the excess as award; from 41 jin onward the grower kept all as award. Additionally, there was a cash award of 0.3 yuan for each excess jin. That year, there was a big increase in cotton output. Total production was 67,800 jin, of which 67,369 jin were delivered to the state, averaging a per-capita contribution of 299 jin. On average, the members of the brigade received an income each of 582 yuan which was an increase of 3.8 times over that of the preceding year. On a household basis, 1 household received over 10,000 yuan, 2 households received over 8,000 yuan each, 4 households received over 5,000 yuan each, 14 households received over 3,000 yuan each and 19 households received over 1,000 yuan each. Commune member Wang Benyue had six persons in his household of whom two could perform labor. He contracted for 12 mu of cottonfields. His gross output was 3,240 jin of raw cotton and his income was 8,100 yuan.

The adoption of this production responsibility system in cotton production by the Heze Prefecture made it possible to fully tap the potentials of labor power, land, fertilizers and capital. In the past, the commune members had to listen to the orders of the cadre in charge who shouldered alone all the responsibility. Now, provided with decisionmaking power, the individuals arrange the work themselves and the responsibility is shared by all. Formerly, the commune members were late to work and their work efficiency was low; now, they go early to work, stop work late and work efficiency was greatly improved. Formerly, they did not till the land properly and were faulty on many counts. Now, all this has changed. What used to be barren land has now been opened up and put to full utilization. In the past, in planting cotton on the 700,000 mu of alkaline land, for many years less than 60 percent of the seedlings survived, but now the survival rate is over 80 percent. In the past, management in the fields was lousy but now management is carried out with meticulous care and both the quantity and quality of output are insured. Formerly, the commune members would not invest any of their own money in cotton planting and hesitated to use good fertilizer on the fields; but last year the commune members tried in every way to raise funds and subsequently managed to raise 20 million yuan. They bought 30,000 tons of chemical fertilizer. The Wanzhuang production team of the Wanzhuang production brigade of the Suji people's commune of Caoxian County planted 124 mu of cotton. Because the field management done by the team members was of top grade, a bumper harvest was reaped even during a year of severe drought. The gross output of cotton amounted to 28,726 jin, 4.7 times that in 1979. Delivered to the state was 28,446 jin, averaging 218.8 jin per capita. The total amount of awards received by the commune members was 36,532 yuan, averaging 281 yuan per person. Commune member Fan Guang's household received an award of 3,073 yuan.

Promoting Advanced Technology and Carrying Out Scientific Cotton Growing

In 1980, the leadership at various levels in our province attached comparatively more importance to the scientific planting of cotton. Studies in the science of cotton growing were greatly promoted. There was high enthusiasm for scientific methods and the use of scientific technology was widespread. This was another important reason for the big increase in cotton production.

First, an improved variety known as "Lu cotton No 1" came into wide use. The culturing of this new seed began in 1971 and was successfully completed in 1975. It received its name in 1976 and, beginning from 1977, was widely planted. It has the following characteristics: early maturity, high yield, closely knitted fibers and strong adaptability. In general, its yield was about 30 percent higher than that of variety "Daizi No 15" which used to occupy the top place in the province. By 1979, this new variety was planted in over 1.2 million mu of cottonfields throughout the province, and by 1980 some 8.68 million mu of cottonfields were planted with this variety. In all, over 9 million mu of cottonfields, or about 81.4 percent of all the cottonfields in the province, were planted with this special variety and other fine varieties. Thus, basically speaking, fine varieties were predominant in cotton planting in the province.

Second, the fundamental measures for achieving "a full stand of cotton shoots in one sowing" were carried out. The cottonfields in our province consist mostly of alkaline land. The temperature there being usually low in the spring, it is not easy to cultivate the cotton seedlings. Hence, to insure a high cotton yield, first of all we must achieve "a full stand of cotton shoots in one sowing." Effective measures were adopted in 1980 to this end. First attention was paid to the soil moisture content and to raising soil fertility. In winter 1979, throughout the province 4.84 million mu of land was irrigated to insure the desired moisture content. Bumper crop ditches were dug while some 332 million mu of alkaline ditches were converted. Phosphorate fertilizer was applied on 5.54 million mu of land and cake fertilizer was applied on 3 million mu of land. Second sowing and seedling were done at an appropriate time. In this choice of the sowing time, the condition of moisture in the soil was taken as the basis. Due reference was given to ground temperature while the targets were set as the "three seedlings," namely, a full stand of cotton shoots, a uniform stand of cotton shoots and storing sprouts. The objectives are to sow at an appropriate time and to shorten the sowing time, so that sowing can be basically completed by the end of April each year. Third, the quality and quantity of the seedling plants sown were improved, and selective and meticulous methods of sowing and caring for seedlings were widely adopted. In addition, in the four northwestern regions of the province and in Changwei Prefecture specially nurtured seedling plants raised in eastern bowls were transplanted to over 400,000 mu of cottonfields. As a result of the adoption of the above-mentioned measures, in the great proportion of cottonfields in the province, a full stand of cotton shoots was achieved in one sowing and strong sprouts grew early in the season.

Third, fertilizer application and watering were done in a scientific manner. In fertilizer application, Hualing [5363 6875] fertilizer was applied early and in heavy doses and this was supplemented by the addition of Gaiding [5556 7307] fertilizer. In watering, before and after the appearance of flower buds, water

was applied to the plant stem. In the drought season water was applied on the cotton boll, and after the beginning of autumn water was applied to prevent early withering of the plant. All this helped to increase the flower buds and protect the cotton bolls. They also helped to bring about the early maturity of the plants, preventing withering at an early date, increasing the weight of the cotton bolls and increasing the ginning outturn.

Fourth, comprehensive measures were taken to prevent insect pests. Pest control used to be a weak link in cotton production in our province in past years. Because pest control was not done on time and the method of control was not correct, the cotton plants grew in height but not in substance. This was followed by late maturity and low productivity. Last year, in addition to collecting intelligence and forecasting on pest movements and keeping in early readiness the required farm medicine and tools, all the prefectures carried out comprehensive pest preventive measures. Cotton aphid has been the principal pest damaging our cotton crops. This year it was chosen as the principal target for attack in pest-prevention measures. In addition to alternately applying agricultural chemicals and regularly spraying insecticides on plants, an advanced method was adopted according to which Furan powder No 3911 mixture and phosphate with longstanding effects were applied on plant stems. This effectively kept under control the cotton aphid pest. It gave effective protection to the cotton plants, effected savings in curative expenses, freed the majority of cottonfields from rolled and sick plant leaves, and insured the normal growth of cotton plants. In preventing the attack of bollworms, Wenshang County used moths to judge the time of the laying of worm eggs and did emergency spraying of insecticide at appropriate intervals, such as at the early stage of egg-laying, at the peak season of egg-laying and at the closing season. In so doing, the worms were destroyed before they were born and the number of cotton flower buds which withered and fell from the plant stems was drastically reduced. In turn, it insured the early maturity and high yield of the cotton crop. It was found that in the whole county the withering and falling off of cotton flower buds was reduced by 21.4 percent compared with the preceding year. The average number of cotton bolls per mu increased from 38,000 in the preceding year to over 48,000 this year. A few years ago Changwei Prefecture suffered heavily from the ravages of the disease known as the verticillium wilt of cotton and from the withering disease. In 1978, the affected areas reached over 800,000 mu and some 100,000 mu produced no cotton at all. Last year, in the same area a disease-resistant variety of cotton was planted on some 500,000 mu. This initially removed the passive state of a reduction in cotton production owing to the ravages of these two diseases.

Last year, another factor contributed to the bumper cotton crop in our province. Good climatic conditions, abundant sunshine, high temperature and the late arrival of the frost season all helped the growth of the cotton plants. Just as the masses said: The bumper harvest was owing to "a good policy, people's hard work, scientific farming and above all help from 'old father heaven'!"

The bumper harvest was a heartening event, but it also brought along a number of problems among which the principal one was that with the expansion of cottonfields, foodgrain became short in supply. Last year grain production in our province decreased by 1.76 billion jin and there emerged an imbalance in supply

and demand. The principal cause for this decrease in production was that natural disasters had disrupted summer grain. Although autumn grain managed to reach an unprecedentedly high level, the planting area had been reduced by over 3 million mu. Its increase, however, could not replace the decrease in summer grain. This meant that we must solve correctly the relationship between grain and cotton. The provincial CCP committee and the provincial government have decided that, commencing from 1981, the regulations of the State Council on the award of grain for cotton sales would be implemented, that is to say, cotton growers, upon fulfillment of the state procurement quota, would be entitled to the award of 2 jin of grain for every jin of cotton sold in excess of quota. At the same time, measures would be enforced to control the deficiency between purchases and sales of grain, and the implementation of the contractual responsibility system in grain transfer between the prefectures. According to these measures, the contractual responsibility system (meaning responsibility for a task until its completion) will be enforced in grain dealings between the province and the prefectures, between the prefectures and the counties, between the counties and the people's communes, and between the communes and production brigades and teams. The quantities of the inward and outward transfer of grain at these various levels would be determined and agreements would be signed which would hold for a period of 3 years. In this way, the cotton areas would be able to make overall arrangements between grain and cotton, and there would be no further contest for farmland between cotton and grain. This year, in regard to cotton production, our province will emphasize having a fixed and definite planting area and aim at increasing the per-unit area yield and striving for an even higher gross output.

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CLEAN UP 'LEFTIST' IDEAS, STRENGTHEN PARTY UNITY

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[Article by Commentator]

[Text] The thorough study of documents of the central work conference by the whole party has reached the stage of using the method of criticism and self-criticism, connecting the documents with the reality of different departments and different localities, cleaning up "leftist" ideas and further unifying the ideology of the whole party on the basis of the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Undoubtedly, cleaning up "leftist" ideas and summing up historical experience will raise the unity of the whole party to a new and higher level and insure the implementation of the policy of carrying out further economic readjustment and achieving a greater political stability so that the socialist modernization program can advance more vigorously.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has formulated a line entirely different from that during the period of the "Cultural Revolution" and a whole set of basic principles and basic policies entirely different from those during the period of the "Cultural Revolution." This has enabled the leadership of our party to follow once more the track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In terms of implementing the line, principles and policies formulated since the party's 3d Plenary Session, the overwhelming majority of party members and party cadres have shown that they warmly support the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session. They have united closely around the party Central Committee, gradually corrected "leftist" mistakes which have existed for a long time, and enthusiastically and actively done a lot of systematic work in bringing order out of chaos. In particular, they have persisted in doing arduous work in construction and reforms. It is precisely because of this that a favorable economic situation has come into being, and that our country has taken on a new political aspect of stability, unity and liveliness rarely seen since the founding of our country. It is obviously wrong to lack a clear understanding of this overall situation.

However, there is no need to mince words. There are still within our party factors of disunity of one kind or another. No matter how we view these factors within the party, they are very harmful. Whether they are problems handed down from the past, or attitudes toward the party's line, principles and policies at

present, they are mainly products of long-term influence of "leftist" ideas. If they are not earnestly solved and corrected, it will be impossible for us to unite more closely around the party Central Committee. It will be impossible for us to implement conscientiously the party's line, principles and policies and fulfill satisfactorily the present task of readjustment, and the smooth advancement of the whole modernization program will be hampered. It is also wrong not to have a clear understanding of this.

From the leadership's point of view, "leftist" ideas gradually developed in our party starting in the latter part of the 1950's. Guided by the "leftist" ideas, one political movement after another was launched.

The inner-party political life was abnormal, the system of democratic centralization was damaged and batch after batch of comrades were injured. During the period of the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of our party's mistakes, pushed the "leftist" rubbish to the extreme, suspected everything and overthrew everything. Consequently, large numbers of party members and party cadres were seriously attacked and persecuted. Even after the "gang of four" was smashed, because some "leftist" rubbish was mechanically copied in the guiding principle, some people were wrongly criticized and accused during the ferreting-out movement in some departments and in some places. This gave rise to an extremely complicated historical situation within our party, in which some comrades who had criticized and accused others in the beginning were criticized and accused afterward and some comrades who had been criticized and accused criticized others afterwards. For quite a long period, people criticized and accused each other. As a result, historical hang-ups existed among comrades and feelings of estrangement were aroused. These even became "old grudges." Because of influence of the aforesaid situation, the following problems remain in the leading groups of some localities and departments even now: Some comrades are on good terms openly but are not so in their hearts; some comrades get entangled on historical scores; some comrades are still engaged in factionalist activities. If these problems are not solved by cleaning up "leftist" ideas, it will be very difficult for us to unite as one and do our work properly with concerted efforts. At present, the outcome is a foregone conclusion and the party's line, principles and policies are already fixed. What is needed is to be of one heart and one mind with the party, have our feet planted on solid ground, pay less lipservice and do a good job on all fronts in a down-to-earth manner.

We must be aware that the "leftist" ideas are mistakes made by our party in the major aspects. They concern the overall situation and have lasted for a long period of time. They still have their influence and manifestations in the inner-party life today. Up till now, some party members and party cadres have not yet extricated themselves from the harness of the "whatevers" ideas. Their ideology is still in a rigid or semirigid state. Their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session is not deep and they do not exert themselves in implementing them. These comrades find old things congenial. They judge our party's line, principles and policies in the light of "leftist" ideas, view each of our party's major measures for reform and policy decisions for progress in the light of the "leftist" convention and observe things and decide what is right and what is wrong on the basis of

"leftist" standards. As a result, their ideology lags behind the development of the situation. There are also a few who take an attitude of feigned compliance and engage in doubledealing with regard to the party's line, principles and policies. Apparently, if such an ideological state is not changed by means of cleaning up "leftist" ideology, they cannot keep in step with others and cannot conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies.

We should also be aware of some erroneous tendencies of deviating from the four basic principles, which appear inside and outside the party, such as the surviving influence of feudalism; extreme individualism, anarchism and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization; the bourgeois ideas of taking profit as the sole motivating force, harming others to benefit oneself and the decadent idea of "taking money as a standard" for everything; loss of national confidence and national pride and the seeking out of foreign bourgeois ways of living and ideology; some vulgar inclinations in material life, and so on. They exist as a kind of social trend of thought or in connection with influences handed down from history, or in connection with bourgeois influence from the outside. Some tendencies have even existed in connection with illegal political activities and reactionary activities. We should never stop the struggle against these erroneous tendencies simply because we are cleaning up "leftist" ideas. If we leave them alone and let them spread and join forces, great damage will be done to the political situation of stability and unity.

We advocate ideological liberation, including the two aspects of cleaning up the "leftist" ideas and opposing these erroneous tendencies. Besides, these erroneous tendencies appear in varying degrees in the forms of punishing the "leftist" mistakes, and they grow more or less under the cover of "leftist" ideas. It goes without saying that pitting "leftist" ideas against other "leftist" ideas will not do and pitting "leftist" ideas against these erroneous tendencies also will not do. Only if we clean up the "leftist" ideas and on this basis reach a unity of the whole party's ideology can we effectively do the party's ideological and political work and stage a powerful struggle against all erroneous trends deviating from the four basic principles inside and outside the party.

Lenin said on one occasion, "To a real revolutionary, the greatest danger, perhaps it may even be the only danger, is to exaggerate the revolutionary character and forget the limits and conditions for using revolutionary methods appropriately and fruitfully." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 575) The mistakes made by us in "leftist" ideology have the characteristic of exaggerating the revolutionary aspect. This kind of mistake is of a protracted nature and of overall importance, and in addition, in a country with an endless sea of small-scale producers, it has deep social, historical and cognitive roots. For these reasons, the "leftist" rubbish has become a habitual force to us and has become the theoretical viewpoint and way of thinking to which we are accustomed. People are used to thinking that "left" is better than right, it is better to be "left" than right, and the more "left" one is the more revolutionary he is. This is because people have accepted some erroneous viewpoints such as: "left" is a matter of method but right is a matter of stand; "left" is dogmatism but right is revisionism; "left" is petit bourgeois ideology but right is bourgeois ideology; and so on and so forth. Therefore, much effort is needed to clean up "leftist" ideas. The party's historical experience has proved that only when an erroneous

tendency of overall importance is corrected can the party be truly united and unified and the revolutionary cause be victoriously developed. In the past, through the rectification campaign in Yanan, the mistakes of the "left" deviationist line were exposed and criticized, the level of Marxism-Leninism of the whole party was greatly raised, unity was unprecedentedly strengthened, and on this basis the great victory of the democratic revolution was achieved. If we accept this, then today, through cleaning up "leftist" ideas and correcting "leftist" mistakes, the ideological level of the whole party will undoubtedly be raised much more quickly, the unity of the whole party will be strengthened, and the socialist modernization program will score a greater victory in scope and in depth.

The aim of cleaning up the "leftist" ideas is to achieve a high degree of unity of all party members and party cadres on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and on the basis of the party's political line, ideological and organizational lines, and go all out on the march toward the bright future of socialist modernization. Marxists have all along reckoned that unity and unification of a proletarian political party is the party's life and that this kind of unity and unification must be based on a correct ideological and political line before they can have powerful vitality. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee corrected the "leftist" ideological mistakes existing for a long time in the party's leadership, opened up a road for the socialist modernization suitable to China's national conditions and formulated a correct ideological and political line for this road. It laid a solid foundation for uniting the whole party and then uniting the people of the whole country. So long as we follow the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session, further clean up the "leftist" ideas so that all party members and party cadres will unite more firmly and conscientiously round the party Central Committee, uphold the four basic principles, implement and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, safeguard the party's discipline and regulations, improve the party work style, strengthen and improve the party leadership, we shall certainly be able to create first within the whole party and then within the whole country a political situation with both democracy and centralization, with both freedom and discipline, with both personal ease of mind and liveliness and unified will, stability and unity. The party's unity is the core of the unity of all nationalities of the whole country. With the great unity of the party and the people, the whole party can be of one heart and the whole country can be of one mind. We can then act as one, work in concert with unified ideology and unified will, increase our confidence in the revolution, maintain the glorious tradition of hard struggle, develop the spirit of doing solid work, do a good job in every item of work in a down-to-earth way and build more smoothly our great motherland into a strong socialist country with a high degree of material civilization and a high degree of spiritual civilization.

In cleaning up the "leftist" ideas, we must take care not to direct the spearhead at the masses, at ordinary party members or at ordinary cadres. This is a very important political dividing line and a fundamental principle. The "leftist" ideas we are talking about mainly mean the guiding ideology of the leadership. In order to clean up these erroneous ideas, we must solve the problem of how to sum up the party's historical experience by the party's leading organs and leading cadres, that is, we must solve the problem of how to carry out the socialist economic, political and cultural construction and the party's construction under

new historical conditions and in accordance with China's national conditions. Among our party members and our party's cadres, the phenomenon of a certain ideological confusion, an anxious state of mind and listlessness actually exists. In order to solve this problem and to attain the goal of unifying ideology, keeping a calm, unruffled and cheerful mood, we can only proceed by cleaning up mistakes in the guiding ideology of leading organs and leading cadres. As to the masses, ordinary party members and ordinary cadres, especially party members and cadres working in basic-level units, we must pay attention to protecting their enthusiasm and must not dampen it. A man needs a certain spirit. Enthusiasm, the spirit of doing solid work and quietly immersing oneself in hard work, is a revolutionary spirit which we need to display if we wish to do a good job in anything. At present, it is particularly necessary to display this spirit in order to do a good job in the readjustment and to bolster production. This is the reason why we must arouse enthusiasm and must not slacken our efforts. The setbacks suffered in our work were not problems of the lower levels but rather problems of the leadership. This is similar to fighting a battle. If an unnecessary battle was fought or a battle was lost because of erroneous guiding ideology, but the fighters were very brave and were not afraid of sacrifice during the battle, then we must take care to protect the heroic spirit of the fighters and emphasize correcting the erroneous ideas of the commanders in summing up experiences and lessons. This is also true of different kinds of production and construction. Phenomena such as high quotas, arbitrary and impracticable directions, the tendency of boasting and exaggeration in production, duplication and arbitrariness and blindness in capital construction, reckless action and enormous waste in production and construction mostly result from the leadership not planning and assigning tasks according to reality. But at the same time the spirit, enthusiasm and willingness to work displayed by the masses and cadres is very valuable. When we talk about cleaning up the "leftist" ideas, we should not cast away this kind of revolutionary spirit, as if enthusiasm and willingness to work were wrong and people who were not doing solid work were correct. We must integrate cleaning up the "leftist" ideas with developing the revolutionary spirit during the Yanan period, the period of the war of liberation and the period shortly after the founding of China.

We must also make it clear that the nature of the problems which occurred under the guidance of the "leftist" ideas and which were handed down from history, the existing factors of disunity of one kind or another as well as the mistakes of one kind or another made by some comrades are all contradictions among the people. In resolving these contradictions, we should follow the party's fine traditions and new experience, take a correct attitude and use correct methods in order to unite the overwhelming majority of our comrades in our work.

We should have a materialist attitude. We must adhere to the viewpoint of historical materialism in dealing with problems handed down from history. In the past, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideas, some ideological hang-ups and historical problems occurred among comrades in political movements, especially during the "Cultural Revolution." But these occurred under special historical conditions in those days. Because we did not thoroughly clean up the "leftist" ideas in the past, feelings of estrangement among some comrades are not yet dispelled today, pernicious influences still exist, and these comrades cannot unite effectively on the basis of a correct line. We must make specific analysis

of these problems, strengthen ideological and political work and use the dredging method to solve them. We advocate uniting as one, looking forward and not entangling ourselves in old scores. We should distinguish right from wrong in guiding ideology, but we should not strive for personal superiority and should not over-stress affixing personal responsibility. We should also use the viewpoint of historical materialism in dealing with problems of having differences today in understanding the party's line, principles and policies. We are in a new historical period and the party's guiding ideology has undergone a fundamental change. The contents of this change are very profound and also very rich. Some comrades can catch up with this change while others lag behind; some comrades follow closely while others are slow to follow. This phenomenon is natural and conforms with laws. In the past, our party experienced several major historical changes, and this phenomenon occurred more than once. For instance, in the change from the second revolutionary civil war to the war of resistance against Japan, the Red Army was redesignated as the 8th Route Army and the broad masses of commanders and fighters had difficulty accepting it. The change we are now facing is much deeper and has a much broader scope than changes in the past. So it is quite understandable that some comrades fail to follow it or else they follow it very slowly. With patient and painstaking ideological and political work, we think most comrades can change their minds and catch up with the change.

We must stress dialectics. In "A Dialectical Approach to Inner-Party Unity," Comrade Mao Zedong stated that similar to handling other problems, we must use a dialectical approach to handle the problem of unity. That is to say, we must admit that to err is human, make analyses of those comrades who have made mistakes, and should not negate everything. We should criticize them and help them to correct their mistakes out of good will. In handling unity problems, we must be very careful and should not exaggerate the mistakes and incorrect ideas of comrades in the party. We should not lightly regard any mistakes as part of the line struggle and should not exaggerate any mistake. We should handle a mistake according to facts and according to its nature and seriousness so that the one who made it fully accepts the criticism, and other comrades may also be educated. We must abolish the methods of coming down with a big stick upon others, capitalizing on others' vulnerable points, sticking political labels on others and setting traps for others, because all these are also "leftist" mistakes. Experience has proved that they can only do harm to comrades and will give rise to no end of trouble for the future. They seem to be "revolutionary" but in reality they are actions for the revolution in an extremely irresponsible way. We wonder how many comrades have been harmed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with these methods. We should not use these extremely harmful methods again, nor should we take advantage of others' mistakes to give vent to personal spite, seeking personal vengeance or attacking and framing comrades. These are prohibited by the party discipline and the state law. In making revolution and carrying out construction, we should allow others to make mistakes and allow them to correct their mistakes. It is a good thing for others to correct their mistakes. After they have realized and corrected their mistakes, we should urge them to make amends for their faults by doing good deeds in practical work. Whenever they have made any contribution or behaved well, we should reward them or put them in important posts according to their merits. We should not discriminate against them, cold-shoulder them nor settle accounts. Those who have been transferred to work at the lower level can be transferred back if they have corrected their mistakes and those who have been assigned inappropriate work

can have new work assigned to them so that full play can be given to their strong points and they will be better able to make new contributions to the cause of the party and the people. In making revolution, it is always better to have more people and we should not act like a person in solitary splendor. Treating people who have made mistakes properly will be beneficial to the party's unity and can give play to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the majority of the people in forming an enormous and powerful revolutionary army marching victoriously onward.

We should practice criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are the best methods for resolving contradictions among the people and getting rid of some factors of disunity existing within the party, including correctly dealing with problems of some comrades who have made mistakes. That is to say, we should start from the desire for unity and through criticism and self-criticism arrive at a new unity on a new basis. We should gain a clear idea of the mistakes and should also unite with comrades. This is an important sign of our party's prosperity. Nevertheless, in the 10 calamitous years, this sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism was thoroughly destroyed. It was the outcome of our party's own mistakes on the one hand and of the damage done by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk on the other. Now we should take up this weapon again to straighten out the political life of the whole party, to correct all kinds of unhealthy trends and to increase our party's fighting power. It is of even greater significance at present to use this weapon to clean up the "leftist" ideas and to wipe out the dirt on our party's body and the dust on the party's guiding ideology. The party's leading cadres at all levels should take the lead in practicing properly criticism and self-criticism and restore criticism and self-criticism to normalcy in inner-party life. During criticism and self-criticism, we should adhere to the principles of "not blaming the speaker but being warned by his words," "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and curing the sickness to save the patient; present facts and reason things out; hold firmly to the truth and correct the mistakes. We should be fully aware that in the current cleaning up of the "leftist" ideas, we should adhere to the principle of cleaning up conscientiously and should not ask everybody to go through an ordeal and make a self-criticism, otherwise, we will be forming a movement. In order to clean up conscientiously, it is imperative to seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; to study the party's line, principles and policies; to raise the political and ideological level, and to raise the ability of distinguishing right from wrong, especially to raise the ability of distinguishing erroneous tendencies. On this basis, we should touch upon facts, sum up historical experiences, analyze and find out the origin of the "leftist" ideas, clarify their damage to the cause of the party and the people and find ways of avoiding committing the "leftist" mistakes again. Only in this way can we get rid of factors of disunity and attain the goal of strengthening the unity of the whole party.

In short, each of our party members and party cadres should have the broad-mindedness of the proletariat. We should clearly understand that we have all been working and living for a long time under the "leftist" guiding ideology. Among us there is only the difference of having more or fewer "leftist" ideas, of their influence being more or less serious and of awakening sooner or later. There is no such difference as having or not having "leftist" ideas. Cleaning up "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology of our party's leadership is the duty of each of our party members, proceeds from summing up the party's historical

lessons and is aimed at strengthening the party's unity. We communists should set the cause of the party and the people above everything else, take the situation as a whole into consideration, have the cardinal principles in mind, be strict with ourselves and broadminded toward others. We should put aside all personal feelings of gratitude or resentment. What Lu Xun said was correct: "Having survived various kinds of disasters, we smile away our old scores when we meet." Shouldn't we communists, who look upon the liberation of all mankind as our mission, have even greater tolerance and nobler style in treating comrades and in writing off all "old grudges" and "old scores"? It is not recommended for us to bear forever in mind personal feelings of gratitude or resentment, to haggle over personal gains and losses and to think that we have all along been correct, because this is not the Marxist-Leninist attitude. In handling mutual relationships among comrades within the party, among different departments, different localities and different units and among the party, the government, the army and the people, we should pay attention to unity, friendship and mutual cooperation. In a word, we should be on good terms among ourselves. This is the basic guarantee of the inevitable victory of our cause and it is also the basic starting point for doing our work well. We should never deviate from this in cleaning up the "leftist" ideas.

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FURTHER STRENGTHEN COOPERATION BETWEEN PARTY AND NONPARTY MEMBERS--A STUDY OF
COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S REPORT 'UNITE THE MASSES OF PEOPLE TO ADVANCE TOGETHER'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 81 pp 24-28, 13

[Article by Yu Gang [0060 0474]]

[Text]

I

In many places, the first volume of "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" deals concisely with the problem of cooperation between party members and nonparty people. Such places as, "A Letter of Comfort to Madame Zou Taofen, or Shen Cuizhen," "Show More Concern for Progressive Friends," "A Memorial Speech Dedicated to Li Gongpu and Wen Yiduo," and so forth were written in a simple style and are full of meaning. They fully reflected Comrade Zhou Enlai's lofty affection and deep concern for foreign friends and the way he bore the party's fundamental policy in mind. In particular the report, "Unite the Masses of People To Advance Together" gave concentrated expression to the great significance of cooperation between party members and nonparty people.

Democratic cooperation between party members and nonparty people is a fundamental policy of our party that has long existed. Back in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The communist principle calling for democratic cooperation with nonparty people is an established and unalterable one." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 767) "If the Communist Party members do not act in cooperation with cadres and people outside the party, the enemy surely cannot be defeated and the revolutionary goal surely cannot be attained." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 784) On the eve of national liberation, at the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our party's policy of always cooperating with democrats outside the party must be affirmed, as far as the thinking of the whole party and its work are concerned. We must treat the majority of democrats outside the party the same as our own cadres. We must sincerely and frankly discuss and solve with them those problems that must be discussed and solved and give them work, so that in their posts, they can exercise given authority and achieve something in their work." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 1375) The implementation of such a fundamental party policy played a prominent and positive role in seizing political power throughout the country, in the great cause of establishing the PRC and in scoring great achievements in our socialist revolution and construction efforts.

In the process of democratic cooperation between party members and those outside the party, we must pay attention to proceeding from actual realities. We must guard against not only any rightist trend toward excessive accommodation but also any leftist tendency toward closed-doorism. When great victory had been achieved in the people's war of liberation, some comrades developed a feeling of arrogance, rested on their laurels as heroes and tended to look down upon and even exclude those people outside the party. These comrades were unwilling to go near those outside the party. They hated seeing party members warmly receiving nonparty people. Some of them complained that the party's united front policy was rightist. Others even mocked the party's correct policy toward certain patriots who had left the enemy camp. The party Central Committee at that time again and again pointed out the need to conduct repeated education among party members, and underlined the great significance of uniting with those outside the party. It also pointed out that such closed-door tendencies as assuming the airs of a party member toward a nonparty person, showing off as a veteran revolutionary, or being unwilling or unskillful at cooperating with the masses outside the party and democrats would harm the people's cause. The report "Unite the Broad Masses of People To Advance Together" written by Comrade Zhou Enlai in April 1949 was an issue raised against precisely such a historical background--a problem that must be given attention and solved by the whole party.

Today, our people are facing a major and arduous historic task of further readjusting the economy and promoting the political situation of stability and unity. We must seriously study and understand this report by Comrade Zhou Enlai and the relevant literature, and strengthen in a down-to-earth manner cooperation between party members and nonparty people. This is of still greater realistic significance for realizing this historic task.

II

In the report, "Unite the Masses of People To Advance Together," Comrade Zhou Enlai stressed the manifestations of the "leftist" tendency in relations between the party and those outside the party and pointed out the serious harm of this tendency. He summed up the main manifestations of the "leftist" tendency as: either "showing discrimination" and "imposing restrictions," or fearing "trouble" and being fond of "dictating things."

"Showing discrimination" and "imposing restrictions" is a clear-cut expression of the idea of "excluding everyone not of the same family," or a sectarian sentiment. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that in their approach to party members and outsiders, some people felt reassured on learning that they were dealing with party members. When they found that they were dealing with nonparty outsiders they immediately showed discrimination. Deep down they felt that these outsiders were backward, troublesome and unreliable. This way of thinking affected the correct implementation of a series of policies and measures. Comrade Zhou Enlai warned: "It is very dangerous to create a gulf this way." He pointed out that the result of doing so would be that "a small number of people will draw a small circle with themselves confined to the circle." "Today, we are masters of the new China. We cannot in theory claim to be a regime of the masses of people led by the proletariat or a people's democratic state while in practice confining ourselves to a small circle--acting not like leaders but like isolationists who do not practice

what they preach." Comrade Zhou Enlai's remarks referred to things from the high plane of the leadership position of the proletariat, from the high plane of the nature of our regime and from the high plane of the need for a political party representing the fundamental interests of the masses of people to match words with deeds. The regime of the masses of people led by the proletariat is based on a most extensive alliance between party and nonparty people. If democratic cooperation between the party and nonparty people is thwarted and the support of the masses of nonparty people is lost, then everything about the leadership of the proletariat, about the realization of the fundamental tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship or the proletarian dictatorship and about unity among the greatest number of people will become empty talk! This warning or comment is thought-provoking.

How can we rid ourselves of the shackles of "showing discrimination" and "imposing restrictions" ideologically? Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "We must first draw the largest circle and unite hundreds of millions of people in coping with the most reactionary landlord class and bureaucrat bourgeois group, isolating them, fighting them and toppling them." The largest circle means that except for an extremely small number of most reactionary and most stubborn enemies, the people of all nationalities in the country must be united, so that they can stand on the same front. Here, a most fundamental fact to be mentioned is that the Communist Party members always represent only a small percentage of the total population of the country. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "So long as the party exists, those admitted to it are always in the minority, while those outside the party are always in the majority. Therefore, party members must always cooperate with people outside the party." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 767) This clearly shows that communists must strengthen cooperation with people outside the party. Only in this way can we most extensively unite the masses and triumphantly accomplish our common tasks.

The great significance of strengthening cooperation with people outside the party also lies in their political and academic positions and their historical and social effects and in their being representative of the masses of people that they contact and influence in various fields. They are representatives of different fields and are an indispensable bridge or link enabling the party to establish close ties with the masses in various fields. The party must win over and unite them and establish proper relations of cooperation with them. This will help to better win over and unite the masses of nonparty people to make joint efforts in properly carrying out revolution and construction. Citing an example, Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "We had a recent talk with a delegation of the Kuomintang. Some comrades said that it was a waste of effort to take so much trouble with these few persons of the Kuomintang delegation! Though it was just a few persons, they had behind them a group of people! Those persons of the army, government and party organs and the staff and teachers under their influence must number several millions. These, coupled with their wives and sons and daughters, represent quite a large number of people. As far as these people are concerned what they say counts much more than what we say." Shortly after national liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: Though Mr Fu Zuoyi was not a democrat, he actually represented a party. By taking proper care of him, we could bring under our influence a large number of original Kuomintang Party and government officials in Beijing, Suiyuan and other areas. Comrade Mao Zedong further drew

an analogy by saying that the democratic parties and democrats acted as "a political thermometer," as far as those people of the class or stratum contacted and influenced by them were concerned. With these representative nonparty outsiders cooperating in matters of publicity and implementation, our party's general and specific policies can play the role of "a notice to reassure the public." Times have changed. Given the development of the socialist revolution and construction efforts and the gradual change in the domestic class relations, these vivid analogies can take on a new meaning under new historical conditions. But the underlying principle never changes. By breaking through a small circle, we can form the largest possible circle. By forming a consolidated united front with representatives in various fields, we can expand our united front to the greatest limit and most fully arouse all positive factors that can be set in motion. This is a very important safeguard for our party's victory in revolution and construction.

During the period when Comrade Zhou Enlai was taking charge of the work of the Central Committee's southern bureau in the Kuomintang-occupied area and when he was having a hard time holding repeated talks with the Kuomintang, he put forward a suggestion among the work personnel under the leadership of the southern bureau. The suggestion called for "three diligences"--diligence in professional performance, in scholastic performance, and in making friends. At that time, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Dong Biwu, Ye Jianying, Wang Ruofei, Deng Yingchao, Wu Yuzhang and other comrades set personal examples in trying hard to maintain constant and extensive ties with democratic parties and people outside the party in various fields. By relying on the efforts of the whole party and closely combining such efforts with forces outside the party, they aroused the people in the Kuomintang-occupied area to launch a democratic movement against hunger, against dictatorship and against the civil war. Thus, they encouraged people of the third force to boycott the bogus national assembly and the bogus constitution, thoroughly isolating Chiang Kai-shek's struggle. They expanded the political influence of our party among people of various social strata in the Kuomintang-occupied areas. They strengthened the confidence of people in various circles that the people's liberation war would be crowned with victory. A solid foundation was laid for strengthening the people's democratic united front. Up to the time when negotiations were under way in Beijing and up to the eve of our army's crossing of the river, Comrade Zhou Enlai, while preparing for the takeover of major cities and the creation of a new order, still said in an appeal to people outside the party in various fields: "Regarding trained people, we can't have enough of them just among the Communist Party members. We must count on the cooperation of people in all fields." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 319) When the PRC was newly established, there were in the government administration council many department heads outside the party. When various departments were first set up, Comrade Zhou Enlai discussed separately with the department heads outside the party the major policies concerning the departments under their control. He also arranged for a deputy minister who was a party group secretary to join in discussions. By his own exemplary acts, Comrade Zhou Enlai personally stimulated cooperation between party members and nonparty people in government organs.

Being afraid of "trouble" and fond of "dictating things" is another marked manifestation of a closed-door "leftist" tendency. To seriously get rid of such a

defect, we must solve the problem of whether we should acquire the strong points of those outside the party and also the problem of how to correctly treat differing views.

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Everyone within the party has his strong points. We should learn from each other. Those outside the party also have many strong points. We should also learn from others." Whether or not we admit ideologically that those outside the party have many strong points worth emulation by us--this is a key problem in promoting proper cooperation between party members and non-party people. Some of our comrades invariably think that party members are always a cut above nonparty outsiders. This is an assessment incompatible with the facts. Our Communist Party occupies a leadership position among the people of the whole country, because our party has put forward a correct line and correct general and specific policies. We are the true representatives of the fundamental interests of the masses of people. We have led the masses of party members and cadres to faithfully and honestly serve the people. Our party has called on its own members to play an exemplary leading role among the masses of people and to live up to Comrade Zhou Enlai's demand that among the people we should be "strict with ourselves but lenient to others." The glorious title of a Communist Party member and the position of a ruling party occupied by the party after the national victory do not vest in any Communist Party member the privilege of being a cut above others. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Every party member must undergo a long period of training. Only after being tempered can one become steeled. One can't make it at one stroke. One must first stand a long test in regard to everyday life, ideological showing, and work style." He told us that we must recognize the strong points of those outside the party. Party members and nonparty people must learn from each other and make up for each other's weaknesses, so as to seek common progress. In fact, there are large numbers of specialists and scholars among the masses of nonparty people. They have special achievements in different intellectual fields and really know what's what and even know how to invent and create something new. There are many who were formerly industrialists and businessmen, scientific and technical personnel with a wealth of actual experience, or experts in enterprise management. Many holdovers from the old China have gone through the mill and have personal experiences in unique fields or cherished historical knowledge. Most of all these nonparty people have many domestic and international social connections. In these fields, they play a unique role that we communists cannot. We must fully realize that their strong points in these fields and the unique favorable factors attributed to them can, in the new historical period, play a many-sided positive role and make many new contributions in realizing such historical tasks as achieving socialist modernization, accomplishing the great cause of unifying the country and opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace. Numerous objective facts have provided eloquent proof. So long as we really admit and appreciate the strong points of those outside the party and wholeheartedly acquire them, we can emancipate our comrades from a situation in which they have confined themselves to a narrow circle, cut off from the world and stuck in a rut. Only in this way can we encourage everyone to talk freely, find full scope for everyone's abilities, enable the masses of nonparty people to get properly placed in jobs suited for them, and add strength to the socialist cause led by our party.

As to those people who are afraid of "trouble" in treating relations of cooperation between party and nonparty members, what they mean by "trouble" refers particularly to a situation in which people outside the party often raise many different problems or opinions from different angles. The handling of these calls for a great amount of effort and time when it comes to unifying thinking on policy to achieve unified action and strengthened cooperation. Humbly listening to differing views from people outside the party in various fields was originally our party's tradition and especially our party's weighty responsibility after its assumption of power. However, some comrades have regarded this as "a burden" or "something troublesome." Some other comrades are especially fond of "laying down the law" and "imposing a given view." They believe that "dictating things" saves trouble and that this is an exercise of power. These ways of thinking and approaches are very wrong. Comrade Zhou Enlai particularly stressed the need to correctly treat differing views and oppose dictating things. He said: "In order to seek truth, we must have debate and cannot dictate things. What do we mean by dictating things? It means that what one says is deemed right while what others say is considered wrong. Then is there any room left for debate? If your view is considered sacred and inviolable, who will debate with you?" He urged listening to differing views and unfolding discussion or debate, because "the clearer the truth is, the more it is debated." "Even if we have many correct views, we must still listen to other people's opinions. We must absorb what is good in others' views. Only in this way can we become more active ideologically. Dialectics calls for unity of contradictions. Only through debate can we find still more truths." The spirit of "humbly listening to differing views and openly exchanging views and holding consultations," as promoted by Comrade Zhou Enlai, is our party's fine tradition and should be solemnly and seriously developed.

We have in Comrade Zhou Enlai a model who lent an ear to nonparty people's views and was good at consulting and cooperating with them. When in charge of government and political consultation work, he always listened to differing views. He especially often eagerly solicited views from nonparty people like Huang Yanpei, Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Huang Shaohong, Zhang Naiqi and others who often advanced differing opinions. Not only on major national policies but on many important laws and decrees and other relevant policies, he always seriously consulted with nonparty people and accepted anything reasonable proposed by them. Even the change of a word was not taken lightly. He often said that in listening to the differing views of a minority, we must welcome and respect "all the difference that one, single word can make." In consulting and discussing with people outside the party, he was good at encouraging and guiding everyone to air views, to hold thorough consultations, to make a proper analysis, to accept what is correct, to convince those who are wrong, and to differentiate in knotty problems. His aim was to make every debate on principles as productive as possible. This often got the leadership involved in consultation. Not only was the enthusiasm of the masses of nonparty people greatly aroused but the nonparty people's political level was gradually raised to the level of the current party program. Not only was thinking on policy clarified but party leadership was realized. Thus, what seemed "troublesome" helped to save a lot of trouble. Today, a review of these exemplary deeds of Comrade Zhou Enlai is still very beneficial for us in upholding and improving party leadership and strengthening cooperation between party members and nonparty people.

III

On the historical road of further strengthening the relations of cooperation between party members and nonparty people, Communist Party members and nonparty people share the common task of continuously studying and striving for self-education and self-transformation. Only by consciously carrying out this task can we adopt ourselves to a ceaselessly changing objective situation. Comrade Zhou Enlai's call for "learning and undergoing transformation as we live" should always be cherished as the motto of our party members and the masses of nonparty friends. In the report, "Unite the Masses of People To Advance Together" made 30 years ago, Comrade Zhou Enlai encouraged us to cherish not only spirit but courage. Having spirit means that in our approach to all people within that largest circle, we must "vary our methods in winning over and educating them," based on the different classes and strata to which they belong. As for those counterrevolutionary forces outside the circle, we "cannot cherish any illusion," but we must also note that "many among them can still be transformed." We must "gradually transform them into new men." "We must have the spirit to subject them to transformation and to leadership." Having courage means that "in time of war, we should dare to keep in contact with others, convince others, learn from others and unite the broadest mass of people." Such spirit and courage advocated by Comrade Zhou Enlai gave expression to the basic Marxist idea that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat emancipate itself. This idea tells us that we must take such a broad-minded approach and arouse all positive factors, and turn negative factors into positive ones.

Today, 30 years later, our country has entered a new historical period, after overcoming a 10-year disaster and surviving a crisis, with order created out of chaos. The class relations of our country have undergone fundamental changes. The overwhelming majority of intellectuals, including old ones from the old society, have already become part of the working class. The capitalist class no longer exists. The overwhelming majority of people of this class have become self-supporting laborers. Our revolutionary and patriotic united front has developed into a broad political alliance between the whole body of socialist laborers and all patriots who support socialism and support the unification of the motherland. The workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals of all nationalities and all patriots who support socialism are masters of our socialist motherland. The relations of cooperation between party members and nonparty people on various fronts and in various departments have been built on a new and more solid foundation of a joint effort in building a powerful modern socialist country. Such a new relationship of cooperation is actually an alliance between the party and the nonparty group. In line with this new situation, we should also adopt an appropriate policy toward cooperation between party members and nonparty people. We must make a new fundamental appraisal of all nonparty people who cooperate with us. In making arrangements and using people, we must adopt new measures that really enable nonparty people to exercise their authority and to be responsible in given posts. We must further establish greater mutual understanding and trust between us. We must encourage nonparty people to play a positive role in managing national affairs, achieving the four modernizations and promoting the cause of unifying the motherland. We must be more bold in selecting outstanding talented nonparty people in various fields, and jointly create various favorable conditions to enable them to give full play to their wisdom and

talents. We must adopt practical measures and do everything in our power to help them to gradually solve various actual difficulties encountered in work and life. We must combine rectification of party style with a continuous and serious effort to overcome "leftist" closed-doorism, sectarian sentiments and the idea of "accepting only those of the same class" and to energetically eliminate the influence of "leftist" thinking.

In the new situation, we must further strengthen the alliance between party members and nonparty people and continue attaching primary importance to the strengthening of ideological and political work. We must closely combine ideological and political work with various actual tasks. We must attain the goal of uniting and relying on nonparty cadres and working people to join in strengthening ideological and political work. This is to insure the smooth progress of economic adjustment and stimulate the greater consolidation and development of the political situation of stability and unity. Thus, propaganda and education in upholding the four basic principles can be carried out more thoroughly among the people and fuller play can be given to developing socialist democracy and maintaining the socialist legal system. In doing work in all these respects, we must make a point of giving full play to the enthusiasm of nonparty people and enable everyone to regard the proper handling of ideological and political work as his own responsibility, and not just the responsibility of the party organization and party members. Only in this way can we enable ideological and political work to be launched on various fronts and in various posts in a more widespread and penetrating manner and to produce still better results.

Class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in our political life. But it must be soberly realized that class struggle still exists and has not died out. The remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" remain to be seriously tackled. Their poison in the ideological, political and organizational fields remains to be thoroughly eliminated. Counterrevolutionaries and various criminal elements who sabotage the socialist system remain active. Those bent on making trouble are still carrying out instigation and harassment. The remaining influence of feudalism and the bourgeois idea of being selfish and greedy for money still corrupt people's souls. Bourgeois liberalization, extreme individualism and anarchism are still growing among a number of people. There are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves involved here, but most are problems among the people. Therefore, our ideological and political work among the people must be considerably strengthened. We must further strengthen cooperation between party members and nonparty people, closely work with the forces of nonparty cadres and working personnel in fighting an extremely small number of enemies who harm the socialist cause and disrupt stability and unity. Concerning some erroneous ideas and words and deeds among the people, we should also unite nonparty forces to make a penetrating study, clarify conditions, make a concrete analysis, strictly distinguish between two different types of contradictions, and seek a solution through elaborate ideological and educational work by chiefly adopting the guideline of providing people with guidance and using the method of setting forth facts, reasoning things out and convincing people. Only in this way can we really attain the aim of uniting and relying on the broadest mass of comrades and friends. On the one hand, we can confine the real enemy to the smallest area and triumph over them. On the other, we can unite the broad masses of people in advancing together in a joint effort to achieve new victory in socialist modernization!

ADHERE TO THE ORIENTATION OF BEING BOTH RED AND EXPERT

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[Article by Miao Zuobin [5379 0155 2430]]

[Text] Adhering to the orientation of being both Red and expert and directing students to consciously study and temper themselves in accordance with the objectives of the training carried out by schools is an important subject our educational work must always pay attention to.

What are the objects of the training carried out by schools? Our educational policy explicitly states that we must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker who possesses both socialist consciousness and culture, a new socialist man who has both ability and political integrity and who is both Red and expert. These objectives are determined by the historical task confronting our country. The task for people of various nationalities in China at present and for a long time to come is to work with one heart and one mind, unite as one, go all out and struggle hard to build our country, which has a huge population and a poor foundation, into a modern and strong socialist country which has a high degree of democracy and civilization. We must enable every young student to fully understand this point, transform this historical task so as to serve as his aspiration, consciously associate his study activities closely with the destiny of the state, the future of the people and the cause of socialist modernization. We must lead every young student to fully take advantage of and treasure the study conditions created by the party and people, pay attention to the time factor, wholeheartedly devote himself to studying a specialty and improving his knowledge. He must genuinely master the skill of carrying out socialist modernization and establish the world outlook of working for the interests of the overwhelming majority of people of China and the world. He must conscientiously prepare himself properly in these two respects so that after leaving school he will be able to shoulder the heavy task entrusted him by history. To do this also means he must integrate being Red with being expert and adhere to the orientation of being both Red and expert.

As far as young students are concerned, they must strive to study well not only specialized courses, but they must also strive to study political courses well, arm themselves with a scientific world outlook and learn to apply materialist and dialectical viewpoints and methods in observing and handling problems in accordance with the requirements of being both Red and expert. Specialized

courses deal with science, and so do political courses. Political and theoretical courses on the basic principles of Marxism deal with the science of the laws of nature and social development, the science of revolution by the oppressed and exploited people, and the science of socialist and communist construction. This science is indispensable for people of all trades because it is an ideological weapon to guide them to understand and change the world and is the sole correct scientific system of ideology with which to understand and develop truth. Hence, it is an essential and prerequisite for the development of all knowledge. For some years in the past, political courses were reduced to something beyond recognition owing to the damage caused by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk. After restoring order out of chaos, political courses have been greatly improved in recent years. For various reasons, however, some people are still not interested in studying political theory. Some people have even said: Socialism and Marxism-Leninism are all empty and useless words. Many scientists in capitalist countries have not studied Marxism-Leninism at all, but yet they have scored brilliant achievements. Then, what is the use of being Red? This view is obviously wrong. Our young people are the future of the motherland and the successors to the cause of socialism. Their historical responsibility is to hand the revolutionary torch kindled by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries from one generation to another. Therefore, they must understand and firmly believe in the necessity and importance of the leadership of the Communist Party and the historical inevitability of the superiority of the socialist system and the sure realization of communist ideals. They must understand and uphold the people's democratic dictatorship or the state system of proletarian dictatorship as the only road for the transition from socialism to communism. They must understand and firmly believe that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are the scientific truth guiding our advance. In short, we must uphold the four basic principles and make them the objectives of our lives and the direction in which we should advance. Such a standpoint and understanding will not come about spontaneously. This can only be gradually acquired through the systematic study of basic Marxist theory. Unless one has such training and self-cultivation, one will certainly be shortsighted and narrowminded and will be unable to withstand various tests and setbacks. Even if one can acquire some professional knowledge, one will also be unable to consciously apply his knowledge and work in the interest of the people. Lacking a correct viewpoint to guide them in the complexity of life, some people cannot correctly handle the relationship between personal and public interests, between the collective and the individual and between life and study. Consequently, they have made mistakes or lost their bearings because of their inability to distinguish right from wrong. A handful of them have even become prisoners of erroneous viewpoints and taken the wrong road, causing harm not only to themselves but also to the people. There is no lack of such cases in actual life.

Many of the world famous scientists are not what people think them to be. It is not true that they show no concern for politics and society and only shut themselves up in their laboratories to engage in research, but just the opposite. Many great scientists have shown much concern for politics and society and are of noble character. Einstein criticized the people who advised him "to stick to his own field and leave politics to others" as a sign of "lacking a sense of responsibility." In addition to taking an active part in political affairs, Einstein repeatedly exhorted those young people who buried themselves in their diagrams and

equations never to forget to show concern for society and humanity and "to insure that the fruit of our scientific ideas will be a benefit and not a scourge to mankind." Therefore, he advocated that with regard to the education of an individual, apart from developing the talent that nature had given him, the individual should also strive to develop his sense of responsibility for all of mankind in order to replace society's esteem for power, gains and fame. Here, we must also mention that he showed special respect for the lofty character of Madame Curie. He said: "Even though this character only exists among a small portion of intellectuals in Europe, a relatively bright future lies ahead for Europe." We all know that Marie Curie together with her husband Pierre Curie, after arduous efforts, refined radium from the residue of tons of pitchblende and thus discovered this radioactive element. However, they did not apply for a patent on the discovery but offered it as a gift to mankind. Other people pitied Madame Curie for not applying for a patent, but she never regretted it. Her spirit of self-sacrifice for the development of science is indeed noble. If Madame Curie had not been a person with broadness of vision, would she have given her life for the well-being and happiness of mankind? If she had been a money worshipper, one who only "looked up to money," could radium have shed its light on the world and served mankind? As we are now living in a socialist society, shouldn't we draw lessons from them and unify specialized study with political orientation and scientific knowledge with moral character? Shouldn't we set higher demands on ourselves, make it our duty to strive for the complete liberation of mankind and take as our point of departure the aspirations of millions upon millions of people so that we may be worthy of the socialist era in which we live!

Studying political courses well in order to heighten awareness and to have a correct ideology is also needed to study specialized courses well. In doing any kind of work, we must have a correct stand, viewpoint and method, and Marxism has provided us with the best theoretical weapons in this respect. If we make a thorough analysis of the achievements of some noted scientists, we will discover that their scientific activities accord with the basic law of dialectical materialism. This is a little known fact. A person may have made some achievements in science, but because he lacks the correct ideological guidance, he cannot break away from outmoded conventions and score an even greater achievement. There are many people like that in the history of science. Regardless of whether a person succeeded or failed or dropped out halfway, the positive and negative aspects of his experiences show us the need for a correct ideological method to guide those engaged in science and specialization. Engels said: "A nation that wants to climb the pinnacles of science cannot possibly manage that without theoretical thought" and "it is precisely dialectics that constitutes the most important form of thinking for present-day natural science, for it alone offers the analogue for and thereby the method of explaining the evolutionary processes occurring in nature, interconnections in general, and transitions from one field of investigation to another." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 467, 466) We must bear in mind this teaching of Engels. Marxism-Leninism is not ineffective and dialectical materialism is not useless. They have only been wantonly distorted and vulgarized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their ilk. In addition, because our own level of Marxism-Leninism is not high, we are not good at applying them and do not know how to make use of them to correctly analyze and solve problems in actual life (including production practices, social practices and scientific practices). Therefore, we have made mistakes in socialist

revolution and construction and caused some people to lose sight of their function and power. As long as we will conscientiously study them, master their scientific system and spiritual essence, we will be able to turn Marxist-Leninist theory into a powerful material force. If we have this kind of understanding, we will feel that Marxist political courses are not a useless thing but something urgently needed by every young person for his own development. If the young person understands that this is an essential preparation for carrying out creative work in the future, he will conscientiously study them on his own initiative. Because he will know: "By following the path of Marxist theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following any other path we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 15, p 143) There are still some problems in our political course and we must still make improvements in many areas. This effort depends on school leadership, the departments concerned and the masses of teachers. All students should also show concern for and actively take part in this reform activity.

We have different appraisals of adhering to the orientation of combining ability with integrity and being both Red and expert and continuing to learn from Lei Feng as well as carrying out the three good--good in health, learning and work--activities in schools. There is a viewpoint which holds that the slogan "both Red and expert" is unscientific and inaccurate because the various aspects of moral character have been excluded and that this slogan is outdated and should be discarded. If that is the case, in what way is this slogan "both Red and expert" outdated and what are the aspects of moral character that should be excluded? Some people sum up moral character as having a positive outlook on life, devotion to work, boldness of vision, courage and resourcefulness, will-power and stamina and indomitable spirit. However, they make no mention of socialist consciousness. Is this correct? No, this is obviously incorrect. The contents of moral character differ vastly depending on the society and the class. The use of red to indicate moral character is not just a form of metaphor. It definitely has the color of the period and the class. Today, it is necessary to uphold the four basic principles. This is the core of socialist consciousness. Discussing moral character without mentioning socialist consciousness in a socialist era can only be described as the method of taking the "soul" out of a thing. Of course, this is not to say that the various aspects of an individual's moral character mentioned above are not necessary and not valuable. The crux of the question is that, in order to enable them to play a positive role, it is necessary to have a correct orientation. We cannot discuss individual moral character in an abstract way without considering certain historical conditions. Abstract individual character does not exist in real life as it is invariably connected with certain social phenomena. Under the circumstance in which socialism has become the cause that the whole Chinese nation is arduously working for, the cultivation and appraisal of any moral character cannot be separated from the four basic principles. If a person lacks lofty communist ideals and aspirations, shows indifference to the socialist cause and is skeptical about the four basic principles, pray, what is his specialized study actually for? How can we talk about his "dedication" and "enthusiasm"? In our country, can there be great enterprise and future for the individual separated from socialism? Can the various efforts and struggles for personal interests that deviate from socialism be described as "courage and resourcefulness" and "boldness of vision"? Can we

talk about willpower and indomitable spirit if we leave out socialist consciousness? Shouldn't we consider what road this kind of willpower and indomitable spirit will lead to and what the consequences to the individual and the state are? In urging people to study hard and become useful individuals, we have always related that to the great cause of socialism and communism and linked that up with the basic interests and aspirations of the masses. The willpower and indomitable spirit, courage and resourcefulness and boldness of vision and dedication and enthusiasm of the people are precisely cultivated in the developmental process of this great cause. Only if they are interrelated with this great cause that the millions of people are arduously working for can individual moral character really play a positive role, be of benefit to people and push forward the development of history.

There is another viewpoint that says the requirement for being both Red and expert obstructs the growth of talented people. Some people say that the development of the three good activities, all-round moral, intellectual and physical development and being both Red and expert is a general requirement, and people trained on this basis are of "average ability," whereas the training of "talented people" is a specific requirement, for it requires people to have outstanding creative ability in a certain field. Therefore, the emphasis on being Red and the advocacy of being good in health, learning and working will obstruct one from becoming expert and will be detrimental to the development of creative ability. We cannot agree with this viewpoint. How can the demand on a person to have a correct political orientation and fine moral character while studying a profession obstruct his specialized studies? Is it possible that only one with ability but no moral character and only with expertise but who is not Red can be called talented and become a "genius"? Naturally, this is not the case. By stressing the integration of being Red and expert and good in moral, intellectual and physical education, we only want people to be professionally good as well as politically and ideologically good. If a person is imbued with the noble ideal of working arduously for the cause of communism and the lofty spirit of dedicating his life for the welfare of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world, he will study fervently, throw himself zealously in the pursuit of knowledge, science and truth and work very hard to surmount difficulties. He will stubbornly and diligently work with a high degree of revolutionary enterprise and sense of responsibility, strive to increase his specialized knowledge and improve his understanding and abilities to serve the people. At the same time, he will take the demands of this era to encourage, goad and supervise himself to keep on making progress. Studying and mastering the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism will enable people to distinguish and resist the attack of all forms of idealism and metaphysics, correctly understand and recognize the ways of objective contradictions in things and solve them and eliminate complications in the process of exploring truth. At the same time, he will also understand the law governing social development, keep on correcting his own action and identifying it with the historical trend and the demands of the people, and thereby enable his own specialized knowledge to play a more active role. Moreover, studying and mastering specialized knowledge and improving vocational skill will not only enable him to have the conditions and abilities to better and more effectively transform reality, creatively fulfill the work he has undertaken and realize his revolutionary ideals, but it will also enable him to have a more thorough understanding of the objective law governing the development

of things and play a positive promotional role in shaping his dialectical materialist world outlook and scientific work attitude. From this we can see that the requirement for being "both Red and expert" is a unit in itself because they are interrelated and interdependent and each creates the condition for the other. As long as we observe the requirements of different specialized professions, correctly handle the relationship between being Red and expert and do not regard them as being the opposite of one another or substitute one for the other, being Red and expert not only will not obstruct one another but will also promote one another. The requirement for the masses of cadres and young people to be both Red and expert has been put forward by our party on the basis of the summing up of both the positive as well as negative aspects of experiences acquired from the growth of talented people. It reflects the law governing the development of things and will benefit and will not obstruct the growth of talented people.

Another point we must clear up here is that, in the past, it was not our adherence to the principle of being both Red and expert that affected the growth of talented people. There were many historical reasons for this. When we obviously should have promptly shifted the focus of work on economic construction and cultural construction, we however did just the opposite and put the emphasis on taking class struggle as the key link and launching big political movements. Consequently, many people wasted their best years without learning any useful skills, many people became rusty in their professions because they had no opportunity to use their skills and many people with specialized knowledge were even attacked and persecuted during these movements. When the historical task of socialist construction obviously required people to be both Red and expert and to have all-round moral, intellectual and physical development, we did just the opposite by setting up being Red against being expert. We used being Red to negate being expert, accused those who seriously studied specialized knowledge as taking the road to become bourgeois experts and criticized and attacked them. These "leftist" methods greatly obstructed the growth of talented people. We cannot attribute these mistakes to the principle of being both Red and expert and come to the conclusion that we must not adhere to this principle. On the contrary, we should draw a lesson from these mistakes, continue to eliminate various "leftist" ideas and ways of doing things and comprehensively implement this principle. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their ilk displayed a "highly proletarianized and highly revolutionized" banner. They regarded modern superstitious beliefs, boastings, lies and empty talks as being "Red" but called intellectuals the "stinking ninth category" and regarded them as the target of the dictatorship. They regarded all specialists and scholars with academic achievements as reactionary, regarded being Red as the synonym for bourgeoisie and revisionism and criticized it. This was a reactionary traducing of being both Red and expert in every sense. We must fully appraise the serious consequences caused by this kind of disruption and expose and criticize them in every way. We absolutely cannot allow this kind of disruption to be used as a pretext for opposing the revolutionary slogan of being both Red and expert. Even now, people are still confusing this set of things of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the correct advocations of our party and continuing to distort being both Red and expert. People cannot but suspect whether or not the so-called talented people can serve socialism in the final analysis. For example, there are people who say that being Red means being obedient. Because Lei Feng was obedient and did what he was told, therefore he

was not a talented person but a piece of timber. Although this belittling of Lei Feng will not tarnish his radiant spirit in any way, there is obviously a motive behind this kind of belittling. They are playing up ultraindividualism to replace the revolutionary slogan of integrating being Red with being expert.

There is another viewpoint that says that mankind's entire wealth of knowledge is not confined to just being Red and expert; that young people should be allowed and encouraged to develop fully in many ways so as to become a generation of "all colors" and this is the hallmark of civilization for today's young people. This is another pretext for opposing being Red and expert. The Red we are talking about mainly denotes revolutionary ideals, stands, principles and moral character. In this sense, the young people we cultivate should be Red successors, but should never be people of "many colors." Those who advocate "all colors" are advocating bourgeois liberalization in disguise. We definitely cannot allow ourselves to be swayed in any way by what other people are saying. The expert we always refer to is human thought and all kinds of scientific knowledge relating to the world of nature and society. In this sense, it can be generalized as mankind's entire wealth of knowledge. It goes without saying that young people can choose a suitable discipline based on their inclination and strong points and the requirements of the state. Every profession requires people and its own leading authority. Those who advocate "all colors" are saying that the requirement of being Red and expert is to cast everyone in the same mold, confine people's thinking and life within a narrow framework and restrict and fetter their individual development, assimilation of knowledge and diversification of talent. If this is not a misunderstanding it must be a kind of prejudice. In requiring our young people to be Red, we are only insisting that the young people of new China must possess the most fundamental of political and moral character. Is this not something we should do? Can this be considered as restricting their free development? We should see that the cause of socialism and communism is a magnificent undertaking of unprecedented arduousness and complexity in the history of mankind, and it has need of new people with all-round development, not just people with lofty sentiment and extensive knowledge, but also people with an inquisitive spirit and creativity who can carry forward the fine traditions of our predecessors. The ultimate goal of becoming both Red and expert is precisely to bring up this kind of new people. Only by becoming a communist can there be a genuine emancipation of individual character and all-round development including interest in life and love for special skills and specialized knowledge. Lenin said: "You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348) The various measures adopted by our party are precisely for encouraging and guiding the young people in this direction. In short, by emphasizing being both Red and expert with all-round moral, intellectual and physical development, we are not trying to limit each individual's strong points and characteristics in order to regard all those who engage in various fields of work as the same. Still less are we trying to make people's daily life monotonous and mechanical. On the contrary, under the prerequisite of maintaining the same major political orientation, we encourage each individual to study what he wants to specialize in and to further improve in his specialized fields, thereby creating a situation in which everyone is striving for the best. We have always advocated a rich and colorful, vivid and vigorous, civilized and healthy life. Only in this way will it be more advantageous to the various fronts and trades

to bring up more talented people and they will develop faster to fill our country with an array of talented people.

With these outstanding people as the backbone, we will be able to give an impetus to and lead the rest, improve the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and keep on raising our economic construction and cultural construction to a higher stage of development. The reason we disagree with the theory that advocates "all colors" is not only because it distorts the slogan of both Red and expert, but because we also do not believe that an individual character should be allowed to develop at will without some necessary guidance and standards. There are all kinds of individual characteristics in our world. What we advocate are those characteristics of having a sense of responsibility, of shouldering the heavy historical burden and of striving to make contributions to the socialist cause. As for those harmful and destructive individual characteristics such as individualism or selfishness, seeking only profit, benefiting oneself at public expense and "always looking up to money," the anarchism of defying organization and discipline, suspecting everything and toppling everyone, the decadent behavior of caring only about pleasure, indulging in creature comfort, detesting labor and even degenerating into committing crimes and bringing disgrace to the country, and the activities of those who have been contaminated by the poison of the "gang of four" and are fond of promoting "the four great freedoms," "staging rebellions," "usurping power" and clamoring for a "second revolution" to stir up trouble throughout the country, we not only should not allow them to develop, but we should also think of a way to transform them. Especially as there is still class struggle in the country and the international class struggle still exerts widespread influence, we absolutely cannot allow the decadent ideas of feudalism and capitalism to contaminate and corrupt the minds of our young people at will and ignore their becoming dirtied and spoiled. Otherwise, this will be detrimental to the healthy growth of the young people and harmful to the development and future of the state and nation. We are for the theory of uniting general character with individual character. We not only oppose paying attention only to general character and writing off individual character, but we also oppose all erroneous viewpoints and methods of stressing only individual character and negating general character.

There is a very popular slogan at present called "we should mold ourselves." What is meant by molding ourselves? Should we mold ourselves in accordance with the requirement of the era based on the expectations of the party and people? Or should we cast aside this basic prerequisite, set up other standards and follow our own inclinations in "molding ourselves"? As historical materialists, we uphold the former and oppose the latter. Only if history has need of such talented people can such talented people be produced. Talented people grow up and emerge on the basis of the task put forth by history and in the course of fulfilling the historical task. Separated from the realities of historical tasks, talented people are immaterial and their ability is also meaningless. Our educational policy and our slogan of both Red and expert are precisely a reflection of the requirement of the era and history. "Molding ourselves" means that we must, in the light of this requirement and our own characteristics, rely on collective assistance and individual effort, bring ourselves up to be people with ideals, ambition, knowledge and physical strength capable of shouldering this heavy historical task. When we say we must reach the standards of qualified

people, we mean precisely that. This is the only correct way to become a useful person. Naturally, educational departments in charge of organizing, leading, supervising and bringing up talented people must take into consideration the characteristics of everyone, be good at integrating individual characteristics with the requirements of the state, succeed in teaching students in accordance with their aptitude and provide plenty of space for the talented people to develop and grow. It is incorrect if we put one-sided emphasis on work requirement but ignore individual specialized knowledge. Similarly, if we only emphasize individual specialized knowledge but ignore work requirement and regard becoming a useful person merely as making a name for ourselves the center of everything, this will be a greater mistake.

The boundless ocean has plenty of room for the fish to swim and the sky has plenty of space for the bird to fly. The people of the motherland and socialism are the ocean and sky for the young people. Only by closely identifying themselves with the people of the motherland and with socialism can they freely fly and can they individually have bright futures. Some people have also verbally said that they must mold themselves according to the requirement of society, but in fact they have not taken the requirement of society as their point of departure for becoming a useful person but only as a condition they can take advantage of to make a name for themselves. When personal considerations are not in direct conflict with objective requirement, they are able to get along peacefully. However, the moment contradictions appear, they will cast aside the requirement of society and the needs of the state. There are also people who agitate everywhere that in order to become a useful person, one must "go for a branch of learning that receives little attention," "take chances" and "fully express oneself and avoid being overlooked," and "one must not be afraid to indulge in fantasy or entertain foolish ideas. It does not matter if one is wrong a thousand times, but to be correct once is enough. Even the greatest people are also only correct once or twice, and at most three times." They even say that bringing up people in accordance with the requirements of the state is like wanting women to practice the "three obediences and four virtues," and that is not scientific and must be opposed. Is it not very clear where this will lead the people? We believe that any young person with consciousness and foresight will have a clear understanding of the fame and gain motivated "secret of becoming a useful person," "ways of becoming a useful person" and "self-molding plans" which sharply manifested one-sided opportunism, currying for personal gain, trying to please people with claptrap and ignoring the collective interests of the state and people, and will reject them.

Being both Red and expert is the requirement of the era, the party, the people and the socialist cause. If we want to give a good account of ourselves in this great era, become useful persons in the four modernizations and develop our talents to the full, we must have a clear understanding of the orientation of advance and resolutely take the Red and expert road.

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ON FREEDOM

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[Article by Zhou Xiaming [0719 2450 6900]]

[Text] Everyone longs for freedom. Hungarian poet Petofi wrote a poem: "Life is certainly precious, yet love is even dearer. However, for the sake of freedom, both may be forsaken." This poem got around very fast and was very popular because it eulogized freedom. For the same reason, the slogan "freedom" also often enthralled people. It makes some people, especially young people, crave for absolute freedom. This shows that they do not understand what freedom is, and neither do they understand the relationship between freedom on the one hand and obligations, discipline and social responsibilities on the other. Is there any freedom in which there is no need to shoulder responsibility, restrain oneself, fulfill one's obligations as a citizen and observe public morality? The answer is no. This article will explain bourgeois freedom, socialist freedom and how to deal with freedom.

I

The word freedom is derived from the Latin word *libertas*. In ancient Rome, the original meaning of freedom was to be freed from shackles. In the history of mankind, the use of freedom as a revolutionary slogan was first put forward in the struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against feudalism. As we know, the basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution were to overthrow the feudal rule, seize political power and open the way for the development of capitalism. Using the slogan of freedom in its struggle to seize political power, the bourgeoisie at first demanded "individual liberation" and "freedom of trade." It was only later that they demanded political freedom. All this proceeded from the interests of the bourgeoisie, and the spearhead of their attack was directed at the feudal autocracy and special feudal privileges. Renowned bourgeois thinkers of the 17th and 18th centuries, including Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau, all wrote books to expound their theories. They exposed and criticized feudal autocracy, destroyed the outmoded concepts of the "divine right of kings" and the "sovereign is the state," emancipated people's minds and played a significant role in overthrowing the feudal system. We should say that, under the historical conditions at that time, the freedom slogan put forward by the bourgeoisie also reflected the demands of the broad masses of working people in opposing feudalism. Thus, the bourgeoisie was able to temporarily rally the broad masses and to win the

support of the working people to a certain extent. Therefore, we must affirm that the slogan of freedom played a progressive role in the course of the bourgeois revolution. However, after the bourgeoisie seized political power, freedom gradually became a hypocritical slogan aimed at covering up bourgeois dictatorship.

Countries under the capitalist system can only be under the bourgeois dictatorship. However, the bourgeois countries do not brazenly exercise dictatorship as it existed in countries under the slave and feudal systems. They often adopt a hypocritical form to cover up the true nature of the dictatorship exercised by their own class. The workers indeed enjoy personal freedom, and the capitalists do not dominate the workers as slave owners dominate their slaves or as feudalists dominate their serfs. However, since they live in poverty, the workers have no alternative but to work for the capitalists. Having bought the workers' productive forces, the capitalists are able to seize all the surplus value created by the workers' gratuitous labor. The workers, economically tied down by the invisible chain of hunger, are merely hired slaves. According to the so-called "freedom to contract," the workers seem to enjoy the freedom of whether to agree or disagree according to their own will. However, this is a freedom in form only. In practice, it merely guarantees that the capitalists enjoy the freedom to exploit the workers. Lenin once noted: "Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical--a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 630)

As we know, in any society, there is only specific freedom but no abstract freedom. Freedom is always conditional and limited. In this world, there is no absolute freedom which is not limited. As a matter of fact, even the renowned bourgeois thinkers in the past did not advocate absolute freedom. They put forward the view of restricting freedom by means of law. Locke noted: "Where there is no law, there is no freedom. This is because freedom implies that we are free from others' restriction and violence. Hence, where there is no law there cannot be this kind of freedom. However, freedom, as we have been told, is not the freedom that people can do whatever they like." ("Two Treatises on Government," Vol 2, p 36) Montesquieu also noted: "In a society where there is law, freedom only means: a person can do what he should do and will not be forced to do what he should not do." "Freedom is the right to do anything permitted by law. If a citizen can do what is prohibited by law, then he is no longer free. This is because all the other people will have the same right." ("The Spirit of the Law," Vol 1, p 154) These views and positions of the bourgeois thinkers are actually manifested in the constitutions and laws of all bourgeois countries. For example, it was stipulated in the 1789 declaration of the rights of man in France: "The freedom to transmit ideas and views is one of the most precious rights of man. Therefore, all citizens have the freedom of speech, writing and publication. However, under the conditions stipulated by law, they should bear responsibility for abusing this freedom." (article 11) While recognizing that "all men should have freedom of thought and freedom of publication," the resolution of the 1948 United Nations conference on the freedom of the press also noted: "The freedom of publication also has its relative obligations and responsibilities. Any violation must be subject to the punishment, sanction and restriction clearly

stipulated in the law." This clearly shows that in the countries of the bourgeoisie, the so-called absolute freedom, which is subject to no restrictions whatsoever, simply does not exist.

Despite the fact that we regard the difference between the capitalists' legal system and the feudalists' legal system as a form of progress in history, the freedom given much publicity in capitalist countries does not signify, as some people believe, that each person can speak whatever is on his mind or do whatever he wants. Marx once vividly noted how the bourgeois rulers made use of some clever methods, such as the "proviso" of the constitution itself, and restricted and even eliminated the freedom provided by the constitution in general terms. He wrote: "The inevitable general staff of the liberties of 1848--personal liberty, liberty of the press, of speech, of association, of assembly, of education and religion, etc.--received a constitutional uniform, which made them invulnerable. For each of these liberties is proclaimed as the absolute right of the French citizen, but always with the marginal note that it is unlimited so far as it is not limited by the 'equal rights of others and the public safety' or by 'laws' which are intended to mediate just this harmony of the individual liberties with one another and with the public safety." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 615) It can thus be seen that the kind of political freedom provided in the bourgeois constitution could only be something hypocritical for the working class and the laboring people.

People can also see that the freedom of citizens declared in the constitutions of the bourgeois countries are fragmentary and incomplete, even in form only. The constitutions in some bourgeois countries even outrightly deny freedom to their citizens or practically reduce such freedom to nil. Most of the constitutions of bourgeois countries have recognized the freedom of citizens simply in order to confuse people. At the same time, they also append conditions and limits of all descriptions to ruin such freedom completely. These limits generally fall into two categories. Limits of the first category are legislative limits. The so-called "natural rights of man" are advertised and solemn words are used to declare that the sovereign rights are in the hands of the people. However, at the same time, there are limits included in the law. As a matter of fact, the so-called statement that "there should be no limits unless by law" is simply synonymous with "limits by law." For example, there was in Britain the law of public order as early as 1936, which set out all sorts of limits on the time, place and conditions of parades and assembly. Another example is that, according to the provisions in the 1978 law governing assembly and parades in West Germany, a person who plans to hold any public assembly or parade in an open area should notify the government office in charge of the assembly or parade at least 48 hours before it is actually held. If the government office in charge thinks that the assembly or parade might endanger public safety or order, it may request that it be canceled, or that a certain charge be levied on it. The government office in charge may disband any assembly or parade for which prior notification is not given, or which does not conform with what is stated in the prior notification, or which is actually prohibited. Limits of the second category are judicial limits. For example, although it is clearly stipulated in the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of

the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," the federal Supreme Court has the power to impose limits on the clauses of the constitution through judicial precedence. According to the interpretations of the federal Supreme Court in setting judicial precedence: freedom of religion should not forbid Congress from enacting laws to limit certain conduct which tends to infringe on public policies or public morality; freedom of speech should be exercised on condition that it does not violate the provisions of other clauses in the constitution; no publication should maliciously slander the government or attempt to disrupt the functions of the present government; and any public assembly should be of a "peaceable" nature and should not impair public safety, sanitation and morality or the flow of traffic.

In Britain, people can deliver speeches freely in Hyde Park. However, are there really no limits at all? Yes, there are. For example, there are two slogans which should not be chanted. One is "Down with Her Majesty's government" and the other is "Long live violent revolution!" If you chant these slogans, you will be arrested and punished by plainclothes policemen. The world-famous master dramatist Charlie Chaplin suffered serious persecution because he mocked Hitler in the film "The Great Dictator." Black singer Paul Robeson also suffered persecution for singing progressive songs during his performances, and his records were once banned from circulation. What it boils down to is that there is no such thing as unrestricted absolute freedom in the bourgeois countries. Otherwise, the bourgeois rule could not be maintained even for a single day, and the capitalist society could not possibly survive.

II

Only socialist freedom built on the basis of public ownership of the means of production is freedom enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of the people. In the socialist society, since we have abolished the system of exploitation and oppression of man by man and realized public ownership of the means of production, the broad masses of people have become masters of the country and enjoy the freedom of managing the country's political, economic and social affairs. The citizens of our country enjoy more freedom than the people in capitalist countries. The extent of their freedom is manifested mainly in two aspects. One is the extensive number of subjects enjoying freedom. These include the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals as well as other laborers, patriots and so forth. The other is the extensive scope of the freedom enjoyed, which includes various political freedoms as well as the freedom of person, freedom of religious belief and so forth as provided by the constitution. Our country has also done everything possible to provide material guarantees for the citizens to exercise their rights as masters of their own affairs. On the basis of our development in production, we have gradually increased the remuneration for work, improved working conditions, strengthened labor protection and expanded our collective welfare programs to guarantee that the citizens enjoy and exercise according to law the political freedoms provided for in the constitution. With the development of our economic and cultural construction and other causes, this guarantee will be more and more complete. At the same time, the various political freedoms of citizens provided by the constitution of our country are not to be violated or contradicted by any law or decree. All acts infringing on the citizens' rights to enjoy and exercise their political freedoms according to law are illegal and should be duly punished according to the seriousness of the case.

As we all know, during the days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, the citizens' freedoms were seriously trampled on. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, with the continuous development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the socialist legal system, the kind of situation in which silence reigned and "ten thousand horses stood mute" during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck has been changed. The masses of people have emancipated their minds, spoken out freely and courageously, and made various criticisms and suggestions. As a result, the political life of our country is becoming increasingly sound. However, we should admit that because ours is a country with a history of feudal autocracy that lasted several thousand years and because the influence of "leftist" thinking still cannot be completely eliminated in a short period of time, even the freedoms provided for in the socialist legal system are sometimes violated. Therefore, we still have to make continuous efforts to effectively guarantee the citizens' freedoms and rights.

Of course, it is also undeniable that even in a socialist society, people's freedom is not absolute. It has to be limited by various conditions. However, the limitations and restrictions are precisely meant to guarantee the development and consolidation of socialism and to protect the socialist freedom of the masses of the people.

The concept of freedom is often exercised in two situations. One is the freedom discussed in philosophy. Here, freedom is the understanding and utilization of necessity, and freedom is limited by necessity. Only those things which comply with necessity enjoy freedom. Birds flying in the sky may be said to be very free, yet they are still subject to the limitations of wind, thunder, rain, snow and other climatic changes. People can now board a plane and fly in the sky and they can also be said to be free; yet they are still subject to the limitations of climate and other conditions. Even when mankind realizes the communist society, there will still never be absolute freedom subject to no limits at all. That is to say, when people understand objective laws and act according to them, they will enjoy freedom of action. Otherwise, people will feel a lack of freedom. In the struggle against nature, people will necessarily be subject to the limitations of natural laws and cannot do whatever they like. In the struggle in society, they will be subject to the limitations of social laws in the same manner and they also cannot do whatever they like. The other freedom is the one we usually talk about in political life. In our country, people, on the basis of their understanding of the objective laws of society and in order to manifest the will and interests of the masses of people, have made a variety of rules on the people's freedoms and rights—for example, the constitution, laws, decrees and so forth that have been enacted in our country. People of the whole country, including the leaders at all levels, must all strictly observe and firmly implement these rules. No one can be an exception or be given special treatment, no matter who he is. Otherwise, the situation would not be in keeping with the will of the masses of people, and the interests of the masses of people could not be guaranteed. Our people indeed enjoy extensive freedom. However, this does not mean that they have absolute freedom. Anyone who defines freedom as having one's own way, saying whatever one wants to say and acting in whatever way one chooses is deliberately misinterpreting freedom.

Freedom belongs to the realm of the superstructure and it serves the economic base. We should be able to see that freedom cannot depart from the limitations of the conditions of social material life. For example, in our country, there is the freedom of employment. After the smashing of the "gang of four," in the situation in which the national economy was in ruins and on the verge of complete collapse, the party and state exerted great efforts to actively solve the problem of labor employment. Over the past 2 years, they have made arrangements for the employment of 16 million people. However, can absolute freedom be achieved on this question? Not at all. At present, since we are carrying out a further readjustment in our national economy, it is impossible to make arrangements for the employment of young people all at once. The solution of problems such as this cannot be separated from the conditions of the social material life. Of course, in saying this, we are not making excuses for those bureaucrats who are in a position to solve those problems and yet fail to try to solve them. Our cadres, and especially the leading cadres, must overcome their bureaucratic work style. They must exert the greatest efforts to solve the problems existing among the masses and also give patient explanations regarding those problems that they are unable to solve. However, we must not say that there is no political freedom in our society simply because the problems are not solved for the moment. This is not correct.

Regarding socialist freedom, like anything else, we must see both its essential superiority to bourgeois freedom and also its imperfection. Of course, this imperfection is related to specific historical conditions. Without the development of a modern, socialist economy and without the elimination of feudalist and small-producer ideas, it is difficult to fully realize socialist freedom. Socialist freedom has a history of only a few decades in our country. Its perfection must undoubtedly be attained through a process of protracted and repeated practice; it cannot possibly be attained at one stroke. We must speed up the progress of socialist modernization and continuously develop our country's economic and cultural construction. We must also criticize the pernicious influence of feudalist ideas and the tendencies toward extreme liberalism and anarchism, and thereby continuously develop and perfect our socialist freedom.

III

Socialist freedom and bourgeois freedom are essentially different in nature. Socialist freedom is the freedom enjoyed by the great majority of the people and is never the freedom of a small number of people to exploit and oppress the majority of the people. Therefore, it must work for the interests of the great majority of the people and must be subordinate to the socialist legal system. Our socialist legal system must not only restrict all acts that trample on the people's democratic rights, but also restrict extreme liberalism and anarchism, and all those who reject centralization, unification, order and discipline as well as all those who abuse their democratic rights and demand absolute freedom. Without these necessary restrictions, there will be no socialist freedom and no freedom for the masses of people. Comrade Mao Zedong noted: "This freedom is freedom with leadership, and this democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 367)

In our socialist society, personal freedom and observance of the necessary discipline are fully compatible. Without the necessary discipline, no personal freedom can be guaranteed. Of course, because of the difference in the nature of the society, the nature of the discipline is also different. In a society in which the exploiting class occupies a dominant position, the discipline is one which forces the broad masses of working people to work for the exploiters, and it is, therefore, an instrument for upholding the interests of the exploiting class. It is a discipline of sticks and whips and is a negation of the freedom of the working people. Socialist discipline, on the other hand, is exactly the opposite. It is an instrument to safeguard the interests of the masses of people and a guarantee for the freedom of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is also conducive to consolidating and developing the relationship of mutual assistance and cooperation among the people. This is essential for collective production and collective life in the new society. Otherwise, our society would be thrown into chaos and freedom could not be guaranteed. Socialist discipline is the necessary means to attain freedom. To gain full freedom, it is essential to have strict discipline. Anyone who wants to enjoy his own personal freedom must respect the personal freedom of other people. Anyone who wants to enjoy the freedom of speech must also abide by the obligation not to slander others and not to spread rumors to confuse the public. Anyone who wants to enjoy the right to work must observe labor discipline. A citizen enjoying freedoms and rights must be one who is responsible to society and to others. Marx noted: "There are no rights without duties and no duties without rights." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 137) The unity of freedom and discipline is essentially the unity of rights and duties.

Anarchists in the past opposed authority and centralization and advocated absolute freedom. Proudhon noted, "Elimination of political parties, elimination of powers and absolute freedom for all men and all citizens--these three statements constitute our faithful political and social oath." (quoted in "Critique of Anarchism," Vol 2, p 14) Bakunin also noted: "It does not matter whether the authority bears the name of the church, monarchy, constitutional state, bourgeois republic or even revolutionary dictatorship. We have regarded all these as the inevitable roots of the exploiting and autocratic systems and are hostile to and oppose them." (quoted in "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 510) This fully exposes the reactionary nature of the anarchists in frenziedly opposing in actual practice the dictatorship of the proletariat under the excuse of opposing all state establishments. In his article "On Authority," Engels sternly refuted the fallacy of opposing authority and centralization. He pointed out: Authority and centralization are not established according to the subjective will but are the objective requirements of social development. If we reject authority and seek absolute freedom, we are actually rejecting the existence and development of human society as a whole, just as "wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself." To stress freedom without any restriction will inevitably lead to anarchism.

It merits attention that under the pretext of demanding "absolute freedom," some people are inciting anarchism, undermining production, work and social order, and adversely affecting stability and unity and the socialist modernization program. Among them, some do not understand what is meant by freedom, fail to see the difference between socialist freedom and bourgeois freedom and fail to make a

clear distinction between socialist freedom and anarchism. In dealing with these people, especially the young people among them, we must educate them on the four basic principles and on socialist democracy, freedom and the legal system. As for those who use "absolute freedom" as a pretext to mislead the public, create confusion and plot to make trouble, we must heighten our vigilance against them, seriously criticize and educate them and even wage a struggle against them if necessary.

A current significant task is that we must speed up the progress of institutionalizing and legalizing democracy, such as putting the relationships between freedom and discipline and between rights and duties into specific clauses and bringing them into the proper systems and laws. To specifically guarantee the people's democratic rights, we must institutionalize and legalize democracy. At the same time, the institutionalization and legalization of democracy will effectively promote the building of our legal system and gradually put our legal system on a sound basis. We believe that the stronger and more effective our country's system of people's democratic dictatorship is, the further our socialist modernization will develop. The scope of political freedoms enjoyed by the citizens of our country will definitely be further expanded and further guaranteed. We must uphold the four basic principles, and implement the significant principles of realizing further economic readjustment and achieving further political stability. We must resolutely struggle against all phenomena which impede, suppress and obstruct the citizens from enjoying and exercising their political freedoms according to law. At the same time, we must resolutely struggle against all tendencies which flaunt absolute freedom and undermine stability and unity and our socialist modernization program.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE ART OF VOCAL MUSIC

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[Article by Yu Yixuan [0827 1355 5503]]

[Text] A wholesome scene of the blossoming of a hundred flowers has emerged in the music circles of our country in the past few years. A considerable number of vocal concerts have been held as new talents have emerged. This is certainly encouraging. However, certain phenomena which merit attention have also emerged at the same time. There are some questions which are worth the consideration and attention of leaders at all levels in music circles and of professional musicians. I will discuss, rather superficially, my views on several questions on the art of singing which can serve as points of reference for the leaders and comrades concerned. I welcome criticism of my comments, particularly those which are incorrect.

It Is Necessary To Pay Attention to the Social Effects of Literature and Art

Literature and art (including music), as an expression of ideology, are bound to have certain social effects. No matter whether you recognize these effects or not, they exist objectively. Some effects are big while others are small. Some effects are good while others are bad. Some are direct and obvious, while some are unobtrusive and imperceptible. The famous black American singer Paul Robeson and the famous motion picture artist Charlie Chaplin were opposed by those in power in their countries. They were not able to reach a wider audience in their countries mainly because their singing and performances produced social effects which those in power found unacceptable. The works of Lu Xun in the 1930's in our country were revised and banned and an order was even issued for his arrest because his works, and his essays in particular, had the social effect of awakening the people, frightening the enemies and disturbing those in power. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: It is necessary to make literature and art "reflect the spiritual glow of our country and people. Literature and art act as a spiritual lamp which leads the over 900 million people to a higher spiritual realm, higher ideals, higher revolutionary qualities and style, and pushes our history forward." ("Talk at the Forum on Scriptwriting," February 1980) I think that a revolutionary singer should consciously make use of his art form to produce good and positive results for our people, our society and our times and should not just cater to some unhealthy or backward tastes or exert an unfavorable influence on his audience.

Since words with distinct meanings are written to a particular tune, the social effects of vocal music are more direct, clear-cut and intense than the effects of instrumental music. During the war against Japanese aggression, the "March of the Militia" by Nie Er, the "March for National Salvation" by Xing Hai, the "Broadsword March" by Mai Xin and so on, exerted a tremendous influence in mobilizing and motivating the people to save the country and resist Japanese aggression and in inciting the masses of people to bravely go to the frontline of the anti-imperialist and patriotic struggle! On the contrary, songs such as "Peach Blossom River," "Drizzle" and "Express Train" are like sugar-coated poison and will unobtrusively exert an evil influence on some weak-minded youths. The social effects of the two kinds of songs are diametrically different.

The effects of art vary. Art plays a role in educating and informing the people. It also plays an entertaining and aesthetic role, that is, there is "education in entertainment." I hope that singers will not neglect this point but will constantly bear in mind their social duties.

It Is Necessary To Uphold the Party's Policy on Literature and Art

We must uphold the party's policy on literature and art so that our songs will play a positive role in enriching the people's spiritual life, in cultivating noble sentiments, in shaping a fine moral style and in building a socialist spiritual culture.

Under the great orientation of the "two services" (service to the people and service to socialism), it is the consistent policy of our party to implement the "double hundred" principle (letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend). But it must be made clear that upholding the "double hundred" principle is not the goal. The policy is to support efforts to enrich the development of literature and art and to constantly raise the level of literature and art. This means that the "two services" alone is our goal. In order to implement the party's policy on literature and art, we should put the "two services" above everything and study how to realize and accomplish this goal. If we disregard the prerequisite of the "two services," there is no practical significance to the "double hundred" principle. This seems to be a well-worn argument and a universally known concept, but, in fact, differences in understanding the party's policy on literature and art are reflected in the different views on certain musical works, different assessments of "popular songs" which have become a fad for a time, different comments on certain styles of performance and different views on the organization of certain performances.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," the torrent of the liberation of literature and art will inevitably bring in some mud and sediment in the course of shattering the policies of autocracy and confinement. Contact with foreign cultures also causes certain dregs to "flow in." This is not at all strange. However, we should keep a clear head. We should be selective in learning from foreign cultures and art forms. We should accept only the good and essential elements and should reject the bad and harmful parts. We should not indiscriminately oppose and exclude everything, and neither should we accept everything without making a distinction between black and white. We should adopt this attitude toward the widely discussed "popular songs." A large portion of

the popular music in capitalist society is commercialized, befuddled and lewd music which, strictly speaking, cannot be called art. It is distinctly different from the progressive, healthy music which has artistic value in the capitalist society, and it is also basically different from our socialist music and culture. Certainly, there are also some fresh, healthy popular songs which are aesthetically significant for the masses of people. I have heard a live recording of the performance of a famous American singer. She sang with a clear and elaborate pronunciation of words. She had good vocal techniques, and the instrumental music of the small band that accompanied her was well done. The performance had the right kind of atmosphere and the audience was warm and courteous in their response. The singing performances in the nightclubs, dance halls and bars are another matter. We must resolutely reject this decadent, rotten, vulgar and corrupt trash. Under conditions where it is difficult to distinguish between the good and evil and between the beautiful and ugly in imported popular music, we should not reject all the relaxing and lively songs as low class and vulgar; neither should we publicize and popularize the low class and vulgar things as something relaxing and lively. Confusion of the dividing line between these two kinds will bring about extremely harmful consequences.

Then, should "popular songs" exist and develop in our country? I think that this is undoubtedly necessary. Ours is a great country with a population of 1 billion people. Owing to the differences in the people's cultural level, social experiences and personal likes and dislikes, their level and abilities in appreciating music vary. Precisely because of this, our party has put forth the correct principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" and has called on the literary and art circles to serve the people and socialism with their various artistic forms. In our country, there are many varieties of the art of vocal music. There are more than a hundred repertoires, each with their peculiar characteristics. There are rich and varied folksongs and various forms of musical art with strong local color. They all have a long history and have struck deep roots among the masses of people. In addition, similar to the art schools, there is the art of singing based on the Western style as well as the nationalized style of singing which has been integrated with the Western style. They have existed and prospered together for many years, and have won their own audiences and satisfied the people's varied needs with their individual artistic achievements. Now the variety of "popular songs" has been added. This has enriched the cultural life of the masses of people. I think that some of the "popular songs" have smooth tunes and easily comprehensible words. The style of singing is natural and the language is clear. This is the main reason why they are easily accepted and liked by the broad masses of people. Therefore, we should not adopt a simplistic negative attitude toward "popular songs" but make this variety develop healthily. "Popular songs" should have a positive and healthy content and a corresponding form of expression. This means that the creation and performance of the songs should also be positive and healthy. Seen from the conditions of the development of "popular songs" in our country in recent years, there are still some problems in creation, performance and accompaniment, and these should be overcome. For example, the words of some songs lack a positive and healthy content and there are tendencies toward depression and pessimism in the style of creation. Some tunes are frivolous and obscure. In the style of performance, some singers have a soft and affected voice and mannerisms. Their costumes and make-up are excessively resplendent and some of the accompaniment is

unrefined. In addition, some seemingly impressive propaganda articles have been recently published in the press. These have produced some unfavorable influences. I hope that the composers of songs and the singers can, on the basis of developing variety, strive to improve their artistic development and techniques, overcome and resist the influences of unhealthy elements in imported "popular music" and strive to make the variety of "popular songs" serve the people and socialism in a better way.

In recent years there has been a tendency to take the theatrical effects, namely, the applause, the number of encores and the sale of tickets at the box office, as the sole or main criterion for assessing artistic levels. This is very biased. Concrete analysis should be carried out on this question. Certainly, some singers have a very high level of performance and are welcomed and praised by audiences. Such responses should be acknowledged. However, the artistic level of some performances is not high and only caters to the vulgar tastes of some people. This will also win applause for a while. On the contrary, even though the level of some performances is not low and the sentiments are noble, people cannot totally understand or accept certain works because their ability to appreciate them is limited. This does not mean that their artistic level is low. I agree with Comrade Lu Qi's view that "warm applause certainly is an effect which we want. The basic question is to settle the relation between the popularization and improvement of the art of music in regard to its effects. Musical works are of different ideological and artistic levels, and the popularization and improvement as presented in concerts are also of both an ideological and artistic nature. The improvement of the level of artistic appreciation should also be one of the aims in our theatrical effects." ("Speech at the Third Congress of the Chinese Federation of Musicians," in PEOPLE'S MUSIC, No 1, 1980)

I also want to discuss some points concerning music reviews. Our press, radio and television departments and so on are all propaganda organizations of the party. They should, in accordance with the party's policy on literature and art, guide the literary and art workers constantly forward and enliven people's appreciation of healthy, beautiful and vigorous art. Literary and art criticism should be aimed at helping to develop literature and art and maintaining the unity of the people. There are two points in reviewing music which merit attention. The first one is that it should be appropriate and realistic. We should mainly concentrate on encouraging youths and, in addition, should enthusiastically help and train them, but our praise should not be exaggerated, and neither should we lavish undue praise. We should concretely analyze and realistically point out shortcomings, but we should not engage in nitpicking or harsh criticism in an effort for perfection. The second point is that we should pay attention to investigation and study and should be serious and responsible in reporting and should not speak thoughtlessly. Some time ago I read a certain newspaper article propagating the "acquisition of a skill without being taught." It totally negated the role of the teacher of a certain person and baldly said that this person had been incorrectly taught by his teacher. This does not conform to the facts. Other articles in the newspaper praised some young students who had not studied singing for a long time and some newly discovered singers as being perfect, as if there was no need to make much effort in giving a concert performance. This is not real support or love for the young singers. Our young singers should be vigilant toward such "praise and criticism" and resolutely reject them. I

sincerely hope that our newspapers will publish more professional, analytic and pertinent articles on music reviews in the future so as to promote the development of this musical undertaking.

Marx discussed this principle: People's artistic feeling is a thing which develops socially and historically. A starved person is not much different from the beast in the way he devours food. He cannot appreciate the beauty in anything. The jeweler can only see the value of jewels. This is the same with music. Music only exists for those who have an artistic feeling for music, while the best music has no meaning for unmusical ears. We live under the socialist system. Our music, just like other artistic forms, must start with cultivating artistic feelings, raising the aesthetic level and shaping communist sentiments and contributing to the development of a socialist spiritual civilization.

It Is Necessary To Reinforce Training in Basic Skills

Music is a highly technical art and achievements cannot be attained without arduous work. We can only attain artistic achievements through strenuous training, firmly acquiring basic skills and constantly absorbing and improving our skills over a long period of practice.

In the basic skills of vocal music, in addition to strict training in vocal techniques, practice singing, the ability to express emotion and the study of a certain number of songs, it is also necessary to take the requisite fundamental courses of sight-singing and aural skills, national music, music history, music theory and piano. The young singer must not be content with his preliminary achievements or regard singing as a very easy matter, but should have a firm and broad foundation. Only this is favorable for his future development.

The instrument in vocal singing is physiological--the human body. It is not an instrument manufactured in a factory. It cannot become a fine musical instrument without training. It must undergo strict orderly training for a certain period of time before it can attain the ability to perform repertoires of various styles, contents and forms. In addition to a fine and melodious voice, genuine and moving feelings and metaphorical and correct language, a very important requirement for good singing is the unrestrained use of vocal techniques. In a forceful song with a wide tonal range, long phrasing, intense feelings and great changes in tonal intensity and tonal color, if the singer lacks the ability to use his voice freely, he will not be able to perform a song as was intended. Even in singing a song with a narrow tonal range, short phrasing, fine content and a lively style, if a singer's voice has not been well trained, he cannot appropriately express the content of the original work. Undoubtedly, vocal technique is only one of the means of artistic expression, but it plays a unique role in the art of singing.

Therefore, training in the basic skills is very important to a professional singer and he must work to become the best. Some people have said that the ability to sing "three octaves" no longer is acceptable to today's audience, and by youths in particular. I think this assertion is incorrect. Does it mean that it is better to have fewer skills? The requirements are too low if we say that a

professional singer should be content with a good voice and the ability to sing a few popular songs.

A point in the Western style of singing which merits our study is its way of producing sound. After appropriate training for a certain period of time, a person's voice will become round, sonorous, clear, uniform and resonant and have a tonal range of more than "two octaves." The high tone is not an ear-piercing shriek and the low tone is not forcibly "squeezed" out, but they are freely "sung" through a good technical method based on good training. This type of voice is very expressive.

In vocal training, it is also necessary to study sheet music. Classical Chinese and foreign sheet music all have certain specifications (artistic handling of content, style, tempo, phrasing, sections, climax and so on). Only under the prerequisite of understanding and mastering the specifications of the piece can we develop our individual creativity and bring out our own characteristics in performance. We should not ignore the original specifications of the work in order to "create" at will.

With firm basic skills we can constantly widen the scope of our performances. This will meet the varied needs of the masses as well as improve our performance technique, and we can thus gradually form our own style of performing. Creativity is highly valued in art. An outstanding singer must have his unique singing style which distinguishes him from other people. We advocate that singers should learn from one another, but we do not advocate that they simply imitate others. We should, on the foundation of studying and learning from the artistic experiences of other people, integrate our own artistic practice and individual conditions and characteristics so as to create our own style.

I sang on many stages for more than 20 years and later I taught singing. I have been involved for 40 years in singing. When I look at the present and think of the past and compare the two, I find that the artistic undertaking of vocal music in our country has been greatly developed and that its level has been tremendously raised. However, we should not be content with the results already attained. For myself, I still need to continue to study, practice repeatedly, incorporate new techniques and further improve the quality of my teaching. "There is no end to art." Teaching is also an art and there is similarly no end to it. I hope that the various artistic schools and the artistic workers in vocal music in the literary and cultural bodies, no matter what style of singing they learn, can constantly exchange their experiences, learn from one another, overcome their weaknesses by acquiring others' strengths and together improve themselves.

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MIDDLE EAST OIL AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR IT

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[Article by Qian Jinxi [6929 0093 2497]]

[Text]

I

At present, the percentage composition of the world's consumption of primary energy resources is: oil, 54 percent; natural gas and coal, approximately 18 percent each; water power, solar energy and geothermal energy, total 7 percent; nuclear energy, 2.8 percent; and synthetic fuels, 0.2 percent. Oil and natural gas together account for over 70 percent. This shows the important place of oil in production and in the daily life in modern society.

However, the distribution of areas in the world that produce oil is very uneven, because aside from the influence of economic and technological factors, it is governed by the natural factors--natural oil deposits. According to the statistics of early 1980, the proven reserves in the Middle East, where the largest oil deposits in the world are located, amount to over 50 billion tons, which represents 57 percent of the world's total reserves, or 5 times the reserves in the USSR, 14 times those in the United States or 16 times those in Western Europe. In 1979, the Middle East produced 1.07 billion tons of crude oil, which amounted to 34 percent of the total world output; 1.8 times the output of the USSR; 2.5 times the output of the United States; or 9 times the output of Western Europe. In 1980, the war between Iran and Iraq broke out, economic recession in the West deteriorated, oil consumption decreased and the oil-producing countries cut their production to keep the price up. Because of such reasons, the Middle East oil-producing countries, except Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria, cut their output. In particular, Iran and Iraq drastically cut their output. The production of the whole Middle East dropped by 939 million tons. However, it still accounted for 31 percent of the world output. The Middle East continued to occupy first place in world oil production.

To assess the value of an oil-producing region, we must not only consider its output and value of its output, but must consider its economic conditions concerning the opening up of oilfields and its prospects.

With regard to the conditions of opening up oilfields in the Middle East, most of the oil deposit layers in the Middle East are near the ground surface. A well of

1,800 meters will produce oil. In the United States, oil wells must often be drilled to a depth of more than 3,000 meters. In the Soviet Union, the oil-bearing strata of the Siberian oilfields are often deeper than 2,000 or 3,000 meters.

A high proportion, namely over 95 percent, of the Middle East oil wells are gusher wells. In Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Kuwait, 100 percent are gushers. However, in the United States, only 7 percent of the oil wells are gushers. Most of the oil wells in the Soviet Union produce oil only if water is injected to force the oil out.

The average output of each oil well in the Middle East is the highest in the world. For example, in Saudi Arabia, the average annual output of each well is 638,000 tons. However, in the United States the figure is only 853 tons. The difference is immense. Thus, the annual output of Saudi Arabia, with only 725 wells, exceeds that of the United States, with 508,800 wells.

The future prospects of the opening up of Middle East oil greatly surpass those of other oil-producing regions such as the Soviet Union, the United States and Western Europe. First, the ratio of oil reserves to oil output for the Middle East is as high as 50 to 1, or even higher, exceeding the overall ratio of 28 to 1 for the world, and far exceeding the ratios of 15 to 1 for the Soviet Union and 9 to 1 for the United States. Second, the current new global trend in opening up oilfields is "to go from the land to the sea." In 1979, in the Middle East, approximately 230 million tons of oil was produced in offshore oilfields, accounting for over 40 percent of the world output of oil from the seas. However, the corresponding figure for the United States was only 58 million tons, and for the Soviet Union, merely 10.25 million tons. In the vast inland regions and adjacent seas of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Iraq, Oman and so on, there are a large number of unexplored oil and gas basins. The potentials are enormous. On the other hand, most of the oil-producing regions in the United States, the Soviet Union and Western Europe have been thoroughly prospected and future development is not very promising.

Moreover, in 1979, the oil-producing capacity of the Middle East was approximately 1.317 billion tons, amounting to 1.4 times the actual output in 1980. It is possible for the oil-producing countries to increase their output by multiples of 10 million tons to over 100 million tons if this is necessary economically.

The points discussed above show that the Middle East occupies a decisive position in global oil production. Therefore, any upheaval in the Middle East will tremendously affect the world economy and politics.

II

Since oil production began in Iran in 1912, the Western colonialists have controlled oil production in the Middle East. Early in the 20th century, Iran and Iraq were the principal oil-producing countries in the Middle East. First the British oil companies, and then secondarily the French ones, assumed ownership of their oilfields. From 1927 onward, American monopolist oil companies began to infiltrate the Middle East. They gained the rights to prospect and open up

oilfields in Iraq, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. However, before World War II broke out, the United States controlled merely 14 percent of the Middle East oil output, while Britain's share remained 80 percent.

During and after World War II, by virtue of its strength which expanded during the war, and taking advantage of the decline of Britain, France and so on, the United States quickened its aggrandizement in the Middle East and took over the superiority formerly enjoyed by Britain. In 1952, the United States controlled 63 percent of the Middle East oil output, while Britain's share (including the share of the Netherlands) was reduced to 30 percent. Early in the 1970's, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, Syria, Bahrain and Turkey all produced oil. The first 5 in this list were among the world's top 10 oil-producing countries. However, eight major foreign transnational oil companies controlled the bulk of oil production in the Middle East. They were Exxon, Standard Oil of Texas, Standard Oil of California, Gulf, Mobil, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell and the French petroleum company. All of them, except the last three, were American companies.

From the time oil production began until 1973, the Middle East had always been the base where the Western countries obtained cheap oil.

For example, early in the 1970's, the cost of producing a ton of crude oil was merely 1/20 of the cost in the United States, but the selling prices of oil from these two different sources were nearly the same. Therefore, frenzied exploration and expansion activities were launched in the Middle East and the crude oil output increased rapidly. In 1964, the Middle East became the world's top oil-producing center and the output subsequently grew year after year. The Western transnational oil companies could thus reap staggering profits. For example, in 1972, the cumulative investment of American companies in Middle East oil totaled \$1.8 billion, but the profits in that year amounted to \$2.4 billion. The profit rate was 13 times the domestic rate, or 10 times the average profit rate of overseas investment. From 1963 to 1973, the American transnational oil companies earned a total profit of \$16 billion from the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has also craved the rich oil resources in the Middle East. In 1956, taking advantage of the decline in British and French influence after the Suez Canal incident, the Soviet Union infiltrated the Middle East with "economic aid" and "military aid" as bait. The contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for the Middle East began. In the 1960's and the 1970's, national independence movements surged forward in the Middle East and the contradictions between various Middle East states and the American, British and other Western oil companies generally intensified. The United States got bogged down in the Indochina war, and Britain withdrew its troops from the area east of the Suez Canal in 1971. Taking advantage of this situation, the Soviet Union stepped up its economic, political and military infiltration into the Persian Gulf region and encroached on the Middle East oil.

III

The principal Middle East oil-producing countries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar are all OPEC members. In the 1970's,

the struggle of OPEC to regain and safeguard ownership rights over oil entered a new stage. Various Middle East oil-producing countries gained significant victories in matters relating to petroleum tax rates, participation in share ownership, nationalization, determining oil prices and so on. On 1 January 1974, the cost of a barrel of oil was raised from \$3.011 to \$11.651. Thus, the era of cheap oil ended and the era of high oil prices began.

In 1974 and 1975, an economic crisis occurred in the West. Afterward, the recovery was slow. The demand for oil decreased. The oil-producing countries in the Middle East and other regions cut their output to keep oil prices up and also adjusted the oil prices to an appropriate extent on their own initiative. At the end of 1978, the standard oil price was \$12.7 per barrel, a mere \$1 higher than in 1974. It was called a "period of recession for oil prices." However, in 1979, oil prices soared rapidly again, and by September 1980, the standard oil price in the Middle East and so on reached \$30 a barrel, and the spot market price was even as high as over \$40. In December, Saudi Arabia raised its oil price to \$32 a barrel, while the other petroleum-exporting countries could sell their oil at a maximum of \$36 or \$41 a barrel. Although oil prices have soared rapidly, the Western countries must still import large quantities of oil from the Middle East. This is directly related to the "regional pattern of oil trade" in the world today.

The "regional pattern of trade" in any commodity is directly subject to the relationship between regional production and consumption of that commodity. Oil is no exception. In the Middle East, oil output is for export. The annual volume of export is over 900 million tons, accounting for 60 percent of the total world export of petroleum. Conversely, although the United States is itself a major oil-producing country in the world, with an output of 420 million tons in 1979, its consumption amounted to a hefty 870 million tons.

There is a huge deficit in the balance between production and consumption. Part of the deficit is offset by liquefied gas and so on. Aside from this, over 300 million tons of crude are imported annually, 32 percent from the Middle East. Similarly, there is a 600 million ton deficit in the balance between production and consumption of crude in Western Europe, which relies on North Sea oil. Japan, with a negligible output of oil, must also rely on imports because its output falls short of consumption by 250 million tons. Western Europe and Japan obtain 63 percent and 75 percent respectively, of their total oil imports from the Middle East.

The Middle East oil-exporting countries have earned huge sums of U.S. dollars through the export of oil. For example, in 1979, the oil revenue of the 6 OPEC member countries mentioned above totaled \$134.5 billion. To develop their national economies, these countries must import large quantities of industrial equipment, commodities and services from the industrial countries in the West. This generates a reverse flow of oil dollars. Between 1974 and 1978 the rate of this reverse flow was as high as 75 percent. Since 1979, this flow has slackened, but it is still inevitable. This helps create a vast market for the manufacturing industries of the countries in the West. To take the United States as an example, in 1979, its trade with the Arab countries amounted to \$33 billion. The Middle East oil-producing countries also use their oil dollars to invest in

treasury bills or fixed assets in the United States, or save their oil dollars in American banks. The total sum is \$60 billion. This plays an important role in supporting the international status of the dollar and in reducing the pressure on the international payments of the United States.

Holding huge sums of oil dollars, the Middle East is highly capable of purchasing modern weapons. The United States, France, Italy, Britain and West Germany all sell arms to the Middle East. The United States is the largest seller. Between 1950 and 1978, its arms sales to the Middle East totaled \$40.9 billion, accounting for over half of the total value of its export of weapons. In 1979, the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan and stepped up its southward offensive. Some Middle East countries which felt threatened have purchased larger quantities of weapons from the United States.

The Western countries, headed by the United States, consider the Middle East an important base of oil supply as well as a vast market for commodities and arms sales. They take gains or losses of Middle East oil resources as a matter of "survival." At the same time, the national economies of various Middle East oil-producing countries also rely on the export of oil to earn funds for importing food and industrial products. Some 70 percent of Middle East oil is exported to the United States, Japan and Western Europe. Therefore, the Soviet attempts to control the Middle East and to sever the links between the Middle East oilfields and the markets in the West not only intensify its contention against the Western countries headed by the United States, but also intensify its contradictions with the Middle East oil-producing countries.

Considering the regional pattern of oil trade, in 1979 the Soviet Union produced 580 million tons of crude, consumed 420 million tons, and exported around 160 million tons. It has been one of the major oil-exporting countries in the world. However, since early in the 1970's, the ratio of the Soviet Union's oil reserves to its oil output has dropped continuously. The ratio was 28 to 1 in 1971, 22 to 1 in 1975, 18 to 1 in 1977 and even as low as 15 to 1 in 1979. Although the oil output increased to 600 million tons in 1980, as in the previous year, it did not reach the set output target. This reflects the inadequacy of the Soviet Union in geological reserves and in technological forces for opening up the reserves. Actually, the boom in oil production in the two major oil-producing regions of the Soviet Union, the Volga-Ural oil region and the west Siberian oil region, "has passed" or "is going to pass." The exploration of new oil-producing regions and large oilfields has been fruitless. Investment funds for opening up oilfields are insufficient. The technological forces and equipment are in short supply and backward.

The natural environment in the main oil-producing regions is poor. The oilfields are far from the principal oil-consuming regions (the Euro-Russian industrial regions). For these and other reasons, the Soviet Union's problems of oil production and supply will continue to be aggravated.

Exporting oil is an important means for the Soviet Union to make up foreign exchange deficits and maintain a stable equilibrium in its balance of payments. The export of oil accounts for approximately 40 percent of the Soviet Union's total foreign trade value, and can make up for 45 percent of the expenditure on

commodities imported from the West. Its oil exports to Eastern European Comecon countries (accounting for about 40 percent of the total volume of oil exports) also serve to curb their centrifugal tendencies. Therefore, even though the ratio between reserves and output is under strain, the Soviet Union cannot curtail its output of oil. Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union is eager to grab the rich oil and gas resources of the Middle East to solve its own problems.

In view of the dual benefits of strategic advantages and super profits, the Soviet Union has vigorously promoted its arms sales to the Middle East. From the latter part of the 1950's till now, such arms sales have totaled \$22.2 billion. It has become one of the largest suppliers of arms to the Middle East and earned huge sums of "oil dollars."

If the source of Middle East oil is throttled, then grave economic crises will occur in many Western countries. Western Europe and Japan will be particularly hard hit. Therefore, by closing in on the Middle East, the Soviet Union is not only striking at the United States, but is attempting to weaken the allies of the United States. In particular, in 1979 the Soviet Union exported 58.16 million tons of oil to Western Europe, which amounted to 36 percent of its total crude export volume, and thereby earned revenues of \$11.35 billion. In addition to earning these huge sums of foreign exchange, the Soviet Union has intended to use oil as a weapon to influence Western Europe. Nevertheless, Soviet oil accounted for only 9.7 percent of the total quantity of crude imported by Western Europe, and the power of this oil weapon is limited. If the Middle East is under Soviet control, then the Soviet Union can use the Middle East oil to control Western Europe, and the situation will then be very different. The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan since the end of 1979 has been an important step toward achieving this strategic goal.

IV

The Persian Gulf region is the focal point where Middle East oil reserves are located and where oil is produced and exported. The most important Middle East oil-producing countries, namely Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman and Qatar, are situated along the coast of the Gulf. The insular state of Bahrain also possesses oil refineries and oilfields. Therefore, this region is the focal point of the scramble for Middle East oil by the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Persian Gulf region is situated near where Europe, Asia and Africa meet. It is an important center of sea and land communications between East and West. It occupies an important strategic position. For many years, there have been national, religious and border conflicts among various countries in the Persian Gulf region. The eruption of any clash will usually affect the international oil supply and aggravate international tensions.

In the scramble for Persian Gulf oil, the Soviet Union has adopted a very aggressive posture, as markedly reflected in its relations with Iraq. Because Iraq is the third largest producer of oil in the Persian Gulf next to Saudi Arabia and Iran, and is situated at an important strategic position north of the Persian

Gulf, since the mid-1960's, the Soviet Union has infiltrated into the prospecting, development and processing of petroleum in Iraq under the disguise of "assisting the construction." For example, the North Rumaila oilfield is a major one in Iraq (with proven reserves of 1.37 billion tons). Initially, the Soviet Union "assisted in its construction." In 1972, it began regular production. The reported output in 1979 reached 42 million tons. The Soviet Union has also infiltrated the oil refinery and transport industries of Iraq through "assistance in construction" the Mosul oil refinery, the port of Al-Faw, the pipeline from North Rumaila to Al-Faw, the Baghdad-Basra pipeline and so on. Iraq has become the largest exporter of oil to the Soviet Union. At the end of 1978, it had exported a total of 45 million tons of oil to the Soviet Union.

The plunder by the Soviet Union, through trickery and by force, has harmed the development of Iraq's national economy and spurred Iraq's struggle against plunder. In 1974, Iraq abrogated the agreement signed in 1972 between the two countries, which provided for repaying the debts due to the "assistance in construction" in crude oil, and Iraq stipulated that the Soviet Union must purchase oil in cash at oil prices set by OPEC. Thus, the quantity of oil siphoned off from Iraq by the Soviet Union decreased from 11 million tons in 1973 to 3.88 million tons in 1974. Although the quantity increased later, it has not attained the 1973 figure. Iraq also resisted Soviet infiltration by expanding its trade with the West. It has adopted the policy of "diversification" in connection with technological aid and contracts involving services in opening up oilfields. Between 1976 and 1980, Iraq signed agreements with France, Japan, Italy, Brazil, India and Norway, and has allowed them to assist in opening up oilfields and gas fields, building refineries, petrochemical plants and natural gas-liquefying plants and so on. The "assistance in construction" offered by the Western countries has surpassed Soviet "assistance."

After relations between the United States and Iran deteriorated in 1979, the trade between the two countries was restricted and Iran experienced difficulties in importing equipment for opening up its gas and oil fields. It signed contracts with Japan, Kuwait and Britain for purchasing parts and components and securing technological aid. The Soviet Union took advantage of the vacuum left by the United States, supplied components and equipment for oil and gas production to the Iranian National Petroleum Company, and started talks on extending the trade in natural gas and on its pricing. However, Iran had always exported oil mainly to Western Europe, Japan and the United States. In 1979 and 1980, when it had decreased or stopped its exports to these three countries, it opened up new markets for its export, such as Yugoslavia, Turkey, India and so on. Thus, the Soviet Union did not succeed in drawing Iran to its side.

In September 1980, when the war between Iran and Iraq broke out, the oil wells, pipelines, oil refineries and ports for exporting oil of both countries were seriously damaged. During the first 3 months of the war, oil production and export nearly came to a halt for both countries. Their combined daily loss of oil revenue amounted to more than \$130 million. As of now, the war has raged for over half a year. In such a disruptive situation, people should pay more attention to the movements of the Soviet Union. Geographically, it neighbors the Middle East. If it takes military action, it will not face serious logistics problems of reinforcement and supply. After occupying Afghanistan, the Soviet

forces are only something over 400 kilometers from the oil-exporting ports of the Gulf. The Soviet Navy can also use the bases in South Yemen and Ethiopia to cut off the oil transportation route to the Strait of Hormuz. In addition, the Soviet Union has stationed massive forces at the Iranian borders and infiltrated KGB secret agents into Saudi Arabia and so on, waiting for opportunities to create disturbances.

In the strenuous scramble for Middle East oil by the Soviet Union and the United States, the question of the Strait of Hormuz must be viewed with special attention. This is because, aside from a small portion which is sent to the Mediterranean coast for export via the Suez Canal or oil pipelines, most of the Middle East oil (approximately 750 million tons annually) must be sent from the Persian Gulf to the Arabian Sea through the Strait of Hormuz, before it is transported westward to the United States or Europe and eastward to Japan. This strait is about 150 kilometers long and 48 kilometers wide at its narrowest point. Its depth varies from 71 meters to 219 meters. It is easily mined or blockaded and ships navigating in this strait are easily sunk. Therefore, with turbulence prevailing in the Gulf, the channel for the transportation of oil, the Strait of Hormuz, will inevitably be the most sensitive spot.

With the Soviet Union closing in, the United States strives to safeguard the supply from the oilfields of the Gulf region and the opening of the Strait of Hormuz to navigation. In the past, the United States took Iran as the strategic center in the Gulf region and believed that insuring the security of Iran was tantamount to maintaining a bulwark to curb Soviet aggrandizement. After diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran were severed in 1979, Iran could no longer play the role of a "bulwark," and its exports to the United States were decreased or even discontinued. The United States then had Saudi Arabia become the strategic center in the Gulf region. Saudi Arabia is reported to have purchased weapons valued at over \$25 billion, and American technical personnel are reported to be assisting in the training of Saudi Arabia's armed forces. In 1979, Saudi Arabia increased its export of crude oil to the United States to 67.20 million tons, amounting to approximately 20 percent of the total crude oil imports to the United States. The United States has also established military bases in British Diego Garcia, which lies south of the Persian Gulf, and has reached agreements with Oman, Kenya and Somalia over the right to use certain military equipment and bases. The American Navy is also patrolling the Indian Ocean to reinforce resistance to Soviet military power in this region.

The scramble of the Soviet Union and the United States for Middle East oil is closely related to the respective global strategies of the two superpowers. The scramble is in an important position to affect the overall situation. It has become a major "hot issue" in the current international situation. People throughout the world are paying close attention to the developments and changes in the situation of this region. People believe that the people of the Middle East, who are becoming increasingly awakened, and who want to safeguard their national independence and develop their national economies, will certainly strengthen their unity, intensify their struggles against hegemonism, resist the intervention of foreign influences, free themselves from the plunder and control of foreign forces, and make their own contribution to the peace and security of the whole world.

CSO: 4004/120

THE FIRST TIME MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT WAS MENTIONED WAS IN 1943

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 81 p 49

[Article by Chen Wenguan [7115 2429 3293]]

[Text] The article "Some Ways in Which Mao Zedong Thought Was Presented During the Past 40 Years" carried in RED FLAG No 2, 1981, said: "In his speech to the seventh national party congress in May 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was the first to put forth the concept of 'Mao Zedong Thought.'" In my opinion, this statement does not agree with historical facts. According to available materials, the concept of Mao Zedong Thought was mentioned in the year 1943, and it had already been used in some articles in magazines and newspapers before the seventh national party congress. Examples are as follows:

1. On 8 July 1943, following Comrade Liu Shaoqi's mention of the concepts of "Comrade Mao Zedong's Thought" and "Comrade Mao Zedong's system of thought" in the article "Purge Menshevist Ideology Within the Party," Comrade Wang Jiaxiang wrote an article which appeared in Yan'an's JIEFANG RIBAO entitled "The Chinese Communist Party and the Road of Liberation of the Chinese Nation" in which he clearly and explicitly discussed the concept of Mao Zedong Thought. He wrote:

"Mao Zedong Thought is China's Marxism-Leninism, China's bolshevism, and China's communism.

"Mao Zedong Thought and the Chinese Communist Party's correct road of national liberation grows, develops and matures through the struggle with enemies inside and outside the country, and at the same time through the struggle with the wrong thinking inside the Communist Party."

"Chinese communism, represented by Mao Zedong Thought, is based on the theories of Marxism-Leninism. It was formed after studying the reality of China, accumulating the Chinese communists' 22 years of practical experiences and going through tortuous struggles inside and outside the party.... It is creative Marxism-Leninism, it is the development of Marxism-Leninism in China, it is China's communism, China's bolshevism."

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang stressed: Mao Zedong Thought "is the outcome of combining Marxism-Leninism and the practical experiences of China's revolutionary movements"; "This theory is now continuing to develop"; and "This is the guarantee of the victory of Chinese national liberation and Chinese communism."

This article by Comrade Wang Jiaxiang made a proper evaluation of the formation, development and maturity of Mao Zedong Thought, and its historical position and functions in the Chinese Communist Party and China's revolution.

2. In May 1944, the "editor's note" of China's first "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," edited by Comrade Deng Ta and published under the auspices of the office of JIN-CHA-JI RIBAO [SHANXI-CHAHAR-HEBEI DAILY], also employed the concept of Mao Zedong Thought. It pointed out that the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong grows, develops and matures through struggles with various counter-revolutionary thinking from outside the party and struggles with various wrong thinking from inside the party. It is the fruit of the communal efforts of Comrade Mao Zedong in conjunction with the comrades around him. It also said, "Past experience of revolutionary struggles has provided us with a lesson, viz, all comrades of the party must thoroughly unite under the directions of Mao Zedong Thought in order to secure the victory of China's revolution."

The above material clearly states that the concept of Mao Zedong Thought was mentioned and used before the seventh national party congress. In published works, the first person to clearly define Mao Zedong Thought was Comrade Wang Jiaxiang in his article "The Chinese Communist Party and the Road of Liberation of the Chinese Nation."

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