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No. 9, 1 May 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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A PROBING DISCUSSION OF THE PARTY'S POSITION AND ROLE IN NATIONAL LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 81 pp 2-9

[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] The fact that the Chinese Communist Party, as a Marxist party, changed from an oppressed, slaughtered and suppressed party into a ruling party of the whole nation was a basic change of its position. However, over a long period of time in the past, we failed to have a complete and profound understanding of such a basic change, the party's position and role in national life after this basic change in particular. In some areas, departments and units, the party's organizations took on everything and the party's leaders became direct administrators of national life, thus actually weakening the party leadership. A handful of party members abused their functions and powers entrusted by the party and nation to seek private interests of a few individuals and small coteries and became the rulers who placed themselves above the masses. Such a practice greatly injured the party's image among the masses. At present we are faced with the arduous task of making further economic readjustments and achieving political stability. In order to bring into full play the positive factors in all fields and unite the people of all nationalities throughout the nation to do a good job in developing the four modernizations program, we must uphold and improve the party's leadership over national life. Therefore, it is necessary for us once again to reaffirm the party's position and role in national life.

I

Over the past 30 years, our party suffered setbacks, in both understanding and practice, in grasping the party's position and role in national life after the basic change of its position.

On the eve of nationwide liberation, the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee particularly exhorted the whole party to avoid the growth of arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living as a result of victory. It demanded that comrades of the whole party continue to preserve the style of modesty, prudence and hard struggle.

In March 1951, at the first national conference of organizational work, the party emphasized that the qualifications for party membership should be raised. The

eight requirements for party membership were thus drawn up to counter the wrongdoing of some party organizations in lowering the qualifications for party membership, which led to a certain degree of organizational and ideological impurity in the party. After that, the party Central Committee time and again issued instructions, calling for strengthening discipline inspection work for party organizations at all levels, the work of party schools and educational work for cadres at their posts. It also called for carrying out a systematic communist education and education on the party's basic knowledge for party members and resolutely fighting against party members' various nonproletarian ideologies and their offenses against law and discipline.

During that period, it was proper to say that our party had soberly realized the fact that the party's leading position was liable to taint our comrades with bureaucracy and special privilege mentality, corrupt party members' minds, qualities and work style, thereby leading to the danger of weakening the party's leadership. However, due to the restrictions of the historical conditions at that time, many of our comrades were not yet able to profoundly grasp the way of making our party's leadership system suit the changes of our party's position, that it had become a political party which led our country. While adopting specific measures to exercise the party's leadership, party organizations in many areas and departments improperly monopolized the powers of managing national life. If we say that under the special conditions of the initial period of the founding of our country, such a practice still played a positive role in concentrating the forces from various quarters, establishing a new country based on the people's democratic dictatorship (the proletarian dictatorship), promptly restoring the national economy and carrying out struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces, the disadvantages of such a leadership system would inevitably manifest themselves after national life had been gradually brought back to normal.

On 16 September 1956, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered a "report on the amendments of the party constitution" at the eighth national congress of the party and on 26 June 1957, Comrade Zhou Enlai made a report on the government work at the fourth session of the First NPC. In their reports, they both seriously criticized the party's organizations in certain departments and localities which monopolized administrative work or directly interfered in certain specific vocational work without consulting any administrative departments. The "general program" of the party constitution adopted by the "eighth national congress" explicitly stipulated: "The Chinese Communist Party puts into practice all that it advocates through the activity of its organizations and members among the masses and through the conscientious efforts made by the people under its guidance.... It is the duty of the party leadership to insure that in the endless repetition of this process of 'coming from the masses and going back to the masses' the level of understanding of party members and the masses of the people is continually raised and the cause of the party and the people is constantly advanced." It was a pity that we failed to pay necessary attention to these correct opinions and decisions. As a result, they were not properly upheld and implemented in our practice.

On the contrary, due to the negative influence of the political movements repeatedly carried out over a long period of time, including the expansion of the

struggle against decentralism, localism and the "assertion of independence from the party," a number of comrades who advocated that under the precondition of upholding the unified leadership of the party, the state organs, economic organizations and mass organizations should have their own relatively independent working system and certain authority in their work were wrongly criticized and accused of "asserting independence," "establishing an independent kingdom" and "standing up to the party" and so forth. The work relations between the party, state organs, economic organizations and mass bodies were entirely confused. During the "Cultural Revolution," this confusion was aggravated. The fact that large and small "revolutionary committees" were set up under the pretext of "reestablishing the Red state power" was a striking example. In so doing, the party leadership and the administrative and vocational work were directly merged into a single whole.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the nationwide discussion on the criterion for truth have once again restored the party's dialectical-materialist ideological line and greatly widened people's vision. From the 30 years of practice since our party took the helm of the state, people have begun to ponder the following questions--why have bureaucracy and the desire for special privileges continued to grow after we have time and again stressed the need to maintain our party's advanced nature under the condition of taking the helm of the state? Aside from the influence of the nonproletarian ideas of all descriptions and party members' own problems in theoretical training, ideological quality and work style, is there any even more profound problem in the leadership system for such a phenomenon to emerge? People have more and more clearly realized that the problem in the leadership system plays an even more basic and important role in maintaining our party's progressive nature as the vanguard of the working class under the condition of taking the helm of the state. It is exactly for this reason that the party Central Committee has put forward the issues of reforming the leadership system of the party and the state. To carry out such reform is the key in firmly strengthening and improving the party's leadership over national life.

II

The Communist Party is the leader in socialist national life. This is a fundamental principle we must uphold. Some people thought that the leadership of the party was not the leadership of the working class. Under this pretext, they opposed the leadership of the party. There was no reason for them to do so.

Marxism always holds: As the representative of advanced productive forces, the working class is most thoroughly revolutionary and strict in strengthening the sense of organization and discipline. Only the working class is able to accept the great historical responsibility of burying all exploiting systems, replacing capitalism with socialism, finally achieving the goal of eliminating classes and realizing communism, and emancipating its own class as well as all mankind. However, the historical missions of the working class cannot be accomplished by relying on its spontaneous efforts because the working class will not be able at any time to completely attain the level of being highly conscious and organized. The accomplishment of such historical missions is precisely determined by the degree of consciousness and organization of the working class. To unswervingly

educate the working class in Marxism so that the entire working class or its majority will be able to attain the advanced level of being highly conscious and organized, it is necessary for the advanced elements of the working class to organize their political groups or organizations which are the central force, organizers and vanguard of the working class. This political group or organization is the Communist Party. The leadership of the working class can be exercised only through the leadership of its own vanguard--the Communist Party. Under the socialist system, the working class, as a leading class, can manifest its role of leadership in various forms. However, the main and concentrated form of manifestation is the leadership of the party. All this is very elementary knowledge. However, owing to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 chaotic years, some people, some young people in particular, have become indifferent to politics and slackened their efforts to study revolutionary theories. Therefore, it is not strange at all that they have a wrong understanding. A tiny number of elements who are anxious to stir up trouble have tried to set the leadership of the working class against the leadership of the party through changing the class nature of our party in order to achieve their objective of shaking off and abolishing the leadership of the party. This is an act vying with the party for leadership, which deserves our close attention.

In China's contemporary history, there have emerged many political parties and organizations. Some of them claimed to be the "natural representatives of the people." Which of these can match the Chinese Communist Party? Which has truly represented the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of people, united the people of all nationalities and all walks of life around itself; given full play to their enthusiasm, creativeness, talents and wisdom; and won, through extremely arduous, protracted struggles, the tremendous victories in the new democratic revolution on this badly injured land of ours? Which one of these parties can match the Chinese Communist Party? Which has led the people of all nationalities throughout the country to triumphantly carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction and to preliminarily set up an independent industrial system and a national economic system, and to lay a sound material foundation for all-round development of socialist modernization in a country like ours with a vast territory, a large population and a complicated situation and in the state of "poverty and blankness"? No, there was no such party. "Without the Communist Party, there will be no new China." This is an answer given by history.

It is true that our party has made mistakes and suffered setbacks of one kind or another, including such a serious mistake as the Great Cultural Revolution. We have also found among our ranks such careerists, conspirators and counterrevolutionary cliques as Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which have caused extremely serious disruptions in our party. However, to judge the class nature of a political party we should stick to the following viewpoints: The first is the historical viewpoint. We must judge our party from the viewpoint of the whole process of historical development, but not confine our judgment to a short period or a single incident in our party's life. The second is the overall viewpoint. We must judge our party as a whole, but not confine our judgment to its individual organization or the words and deeds of its individual members. The third viewpoint is that we must see through the appearance of things to get at

the essence. We must judge its political stand, line, guiding principles and policies. We should particularly judge whose interests it has represented. So long as we do so, it is not difficult for us to find out that our party deserves to be called a genuine political party of the working class. Our party has the ability to rely on its close ties with those of the same class and all laboring people to overcome and correct the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Our party has the ability to rely on its own strength to liquidate careerists, conspirators and the degenerates who have sneaked into or newly emerged in our party. Our party's line, principles and policies intrinsically embody the fundamental interests of the working class and all laboring people. All schemes that vainly attempt to carry out instigations and deceptions by misrepresenting the proletarian nature of our party in the hope of breaking away from or doing away with the party's leadership will end in failure.

III

We have to be clear about one question. That is, as the leader in the national life, does the party need to exercise direct control over the nation's life in the economic, political, cultural, social and other fields?

The principal part of our country's socialist system is the public ownership of socialism (including ownership by the whole people and collective ownership). This system itself requires that our party exercise a planned and overall control over all national life, the development of the whole national economy and society as well as the establishment of material and spiritual civilization. Lenin spoke about the need for the party to master the skill of administering the nation upon the conclusion of the October Revolution. He said: "The important thing for us is to widely absorb all laborers into the administration of the state. This is a very arduous task. Socialism cannot be realized by just a few people, a single party. It can be realized only when hundreds of millions of people have themselves mastered the skills in achieving it." ("Lenin: Collected Works," Vol 27, p 123)

What Lenin meant was that the party should rely on all laborers to administer the state. It is thus clear that the party's responsibility for leadership over the nation's life in the economic, political, cultural, social and other fields should never have meant direct control. But for a long time many of our comrades have had one-sided notions of how the governing party should "govern" and how the party leadership should be exercised in national life. They hold that since our party is "governing" the nation, it should exercise direct intervention and control and that since our party is a "leader," all affairs in all organs, departments and bodies must be centrally controlled by the party committees at all levels. Party committees must have the final say in everything. They wrongly think that it is right and proper for the party to do so! Otherwise, how should the party "govern" and "lead"? As a result, the supplies, production and sales of a factory as well as the planting, management and harvesting activities of a production team are all run by the party organization. The party is thus turned from the leader into the direct administrator. The consequences are that these wrongdoings have hindered the relatively independent work of the state organs, economic organizations and mass bodies, with the result that the masses cannot effectively exercise their rights as masters of the house and they have also

adversely affected work efficiency in the party and government organs and become an important factor in the growth of bureaucratism. Furthermore, because of its involvement to an unlimited extent in specific daily routines, the party is unable to concentrate its energy to study and hold its line, principles and policies, to successfully carry out building its organization, ideology and work style, and to strengthen its education for and supervision over party members. This also weakens the party's fighting power and harms the ties between the party and the masses. The reason that our party made the call after the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee for efforts to begin reforming the party and the state leadership systems was precisely for the purpose of correcting the problem of turning the party's leadership into direct control.

To uphold the principle that the party is the leader, but not a direct administrator in national life, we should affirm the party's leading responsibility in the nation's economic, political, cultural and social life. Just as Lenin stated, the party can and must only exercise an "overall leadership" over these fields. As we have already said, this "overall leadership" is political leadership. Its essence consists of guiding and firmly holding the orientation for the development of national life by means of the party's line, principles and policies and so on; insuring the leadership position of the working class; and at the same time insuring the rights of the whole body of laboring people in managing state, economic and social affairs. Under socialist conditions, the laboring people are the masters of their own country and it is their fundamental right to administer the state and economic and social affairs. In all its activities, the party should see to it that the broad masses of people can fully enjoy their rights of being the masters of their own country and that through the basic political system of the state, the legal systems of socialist democracy and socialism, mass bodies (trade unions, poor peasants' associations, student unions, women's organizations and various cultural, scientific and social organizations), administrative committees in grassroots units and staff members' congresses as well as other appropriate organs, they can participate extensively in the management of the nation's economic, political and cultural affairs, and social life. It is easy to see that having the party monopolize everything and turning party leadership into direct control of national life--with the result that the laboring people cannot normally exercise their fundamental rights to manage state, economic and social affairs--is incompatible with the party's nature and with its position as the leader of national life. It must therefore be changed.

To uphold the principle that our party is the leader but not a direct administrator of national life, we should affirm that the party should not replace the functions of the state organs, economic organizations and mass bodies. The party and organs of state power, administrative and judicial organs, various economic organizations and mass bodies are like the component parts of a big machine. Each and every component part, and even a single screw, has its own functions and role as well as its own definite duties and division of labor. When the dividing line in the division of labor is thrown into confusion, national life will no longer proceed in an orderly way. There is no doubt that the party's leading organs should analyze, study and discuss important problems arising in every sphere of national life so that they have their own views and decisions. All fronts, all departments and all units must accept the party's centralized and

unified leadership. Without this centralized and unified leadership, each front, each department and each unit will go its own way and confusion is bound to occur. As a result, the revolutionary cause of the proletariat may be ruined. On the other hand, the party's leadership must be based on the relatively independent work of various organs, departments, organizations and bodies in national life. The party's leadership over these organs, departments, organizations and bodies in national life does not simply mean issuing administrative orders, nor does it mean monopolizing everything in these units. It means that the party must, through propaganda and organizational work and through the exemplary role of the party organizations and party members in these units in implementing the party's decisions, make an effort to make the party's line, principles and policies acceptable to the broad masses of people so that they will become a guide for their actions. The party committees should not intervene in the specific administrative operations of these units as they please and these units' responsible personnel should be elected or appointed according to their respective administrative channels and should not be appointed directly by the party committees. Party members, as working personnel of state organs and members of economic organizations and mass bodies, should observe in an exemplary way the state systems and decrees as well as working discipline and regulations of various units. They are not allowed to have any sense of superiority of placing themselves above the masses. At any time, the activities of the party should be in accord with the constitution and laws of our country, but not go beyond or violate them.

To uphold the principle that the party is the leader and not the direct administrator of national life, we must make sure that the party first properly administers its own affairs. Over a long period of time, the leadership of the party was weakened and the building of the party itself slackened because of the mistake of not distinguishing between the functions of the party and that of the government in many areas and units. The sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" nearly ruined our party. Today more than half of our party members were admitted into the party during the Cultural Revolution. Since these members did not receive systematic education on the party's basic knowledge, principles and discipline, the phenomena of ideological, organizational and stylistic impurities can be found in our party. A tiny number of our party members implemented the party's resolutions in a perfunctory way and were very keen on pursuing unhealthy tendencies. They interpreted the party's discipline in their own way and were indifferent to the acts of harming the party's cause. Today some people still assume a doubledealing attitude of feigning compliance with the party's lines, principles and policies adopted after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Some people have gone so far as to even add fuel to society's erroneous ideas of opposing the four basic principles. Such a situation is diametrically incompatible with the party's status of being the leader of national life. Therefore, to strengthen the party's leadership, the question of building the party itself is an urgent question that we cannot afford to neglect. At present we must emphasize doing a good job in educating party members and cadres. We must foster a strict organizational life in the party, carry out criticism and self-criticism and implement the new "party constitution" (amended draft) and "Some Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" to strengthen our party ideologically, organizationally and stylistically so that the excellent tradition and work style of our party will be further

promoted. We must educate all party members on the need to firmly carry out the party's resolutions, obey the party's disciplinary regulations, carry forward the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and being responsible to the people, and guide their actions with communist ideology and communist ethics so that they can really give play to their vanguard role. All acts of violating party regulations and state law, all unhealthy tendencies and all words and deeds of opposing the four basic principles must be solemnly criticized, or even struggled against, by adhering to principles. Only by doing this can we make our party really capable of discharging its responsibilities as the leader of national life.

IV

We must soberly realize that our party, after it has assumed power, must not command the people and must not turn itself into the ruler or the ruling class, like that of the old society. This is a cardinal question which concerns our party's life or death.

Under socialist conditions, the party is the leader but not the ruler of our national life. The relations between the party and the people are as close as flesh and blood and inseparable as fish and water. These are not the relations between rulers and the ruled nor are they characterized by class oppression. However, some people went so far as to take advantage of our party's leading position to acquire personal power and influence and regard the masses in their own regions and units as "subjects" under their rule. In the areas and units under their control, they threw their weight about, lorded it over others, indulged in arbitrary decisions and peremptory actions and suppressed democracy under the banner of "leading everything." A handful of people even abused their power, jobbed for selfish ends, violated laws and discipline and became corrupt and degenerate. In so doing, they turned themselves from leaders into rulers. These activities are not allowed by the party's discipline.

The relations between the party and the people are the essence and foundation of realizing the party's leadership. Representing the proletariat and the broad masses of people, the party leads our national life. Taking the relations between the party's leaders and the masses as those between "public servants" and "masters" is actually tantamount to regarding their relations as those between the rulers and the ruled. This view completely runs counter to the nature of the relations between the party and the people. The party's correct line, principles and policies do not come from the minds of any "genius," but stem from the practice of the broad masses of people. Only by pooling the wisdom of the broad masses of people and reflecting their wishes and representing their interests can the party's line, principles and policies be in accord with the reality of the revolution and construction. Only thus can the party exercise its correct leadership. Furthermore, only through the practice of the broad masses of people can the party's line, principles and policies be incessantly improved and replenished. In other words, only through the practice of hundreds of millions of people can the party's leadership be exercised and realized.

Of course, strengthening the party's relations with the masses does not at all mean having blind faith in the spontaneity of the masses. Our party is a political

party of the working class. This symbolizes our party's advanced nature and spirit. To maintain the party's advanced nature and spirit, we must never forget at any time the differences between the vanguard and the masses which rally around it. It is the task of our party to raise the level of the broad masses of people to that of the vanguard through the methods of democracy, education and persuasion. However, in practical life, the advanced nature and spirit of our party are embodied in its line, principles and policies. The party's line, principles and policies are formulated by the party's leading organs by pooling the will, wishes and demands of the masses in light of the practical development of revolution and construction. Therefore, due to the incessant development of practice and the unavoidable mistakes of the leaders' subjective thinking, the party's line, principles and policies are not always in accord with objective reality. They should be revised and replenished in accordance with the development of practice and the opinions of the broad masses of people. It is completely normal for us to do so. The purpose of doing so is to make the party's line, principles and policies reflect the party's advanced nature and spirit more effectively so that the interests and wishes of the broad masses of people will be fully represented and realized. As a vanguard of the working class, the party should stand on a higher plane and see farther ahead than the masses and be well versed in the whole process, conditions and direction of realizing the historical mission of the working class. It should be good at leading the masses to go beyond the bounds of their immediate and partial interests and strive for their long-term and overall interests. Only thus can the party's leadership conform with the basic requirements of its advanced nature and spirit. Our party's leaders should never pander to the incorrect opinions of a tiny number of people and tail behind the spontaneous tendencies of the masses and downgrade its advanced level as the vanguard to that of the masses. The key to strengthening the relations between the party and the people lies in proceeding from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people, paying attention to and emphasizing the practice of arousing the masses' consciousness and paying attention to and emphasizing the practice of relying on the high level of consciousness and initiative of the masses to realize the party's leadership.

To maintain the close relations between the party and the people, we should affirm that our party, as the vanguard of the working class, does not have its own special interests. The reason why the Communist Party can become the vanguard of the working class is mainly because of the fact that it takes the fundamental interests of the working class and the whole laboring masses as its own highest interests and regards the practice of serving the people wholeheartedly as its own code of action. The party should stand with the masses, support and guide them to be the masters of their own affairs. Such a practice should be constantly systemized and legalized. Our present efforts to establish and improve the system of people's congresses and staff members' (or commune members') congresses at all levels, enlarge the scope of direct general elections and promulgate relevant laws and decrees are for the purpose of legally and systematically insuring the people's rights to directly administer state, economic and social affairs. In the process of democratizing the entire national life, the party should insure that the masses of people are able to supervise the party's organizations and leaders at all levels through various forms and means such as discussions, proposals, criticism, exposure, appeal and audience with the higher authorities and so forth. The party should also insure that the masses of people

are able to supervise the state organs and their working members through various forms and means such as criticism, inquiries, inspection, accusation, appeal, election, impeachment, recall and so forth.

To maintain the close relations between the party and the people, we should affirm that the party has no right to impose its own will on the masses. Of course, according to our constitution, it is the duty of the masses of people to support the party leadership. However, this does not mean that the masses of people must obey the commands of the party. There is no doubt that the party's resolutions and instructions have binding force on party members and party organizations. Each and every party member and the party organization should implement the party's resolutions and instructions without preconditions and abide by the party's organizational principle: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire party is subordinate to the Central Committee. However, we should on no account use the party's resolutions and instructions to command the masses and force them to accept the party's propositions. Our party's organizations at all levels should concentrate on grasping well the party's line, principles and policies, using well the party's cadres and educating well their own members, so that all party members and party cadres will observe party discipline and state laws in an exemplary way, energetically correct unhealthy tendencies and, by their own exemplary and leading actions, influence, educate and unite the masses and win the masses' trust and support.

To maintain the close relations between the party and the people, we must affirm that the major forum of the party's work among the masses of the people is ideological and political work. Strengthening the party's ideological and political work among the masses of people is also at present the most important link in improving the party's leadership in national life. To put it briefly, the so-called ideological and political work is to carry out our work for the people and masses and ideologically and politically rally the broad masses of people around the party. The substance of ideological and political work is wide-ranging. Now and for some time to come, generally speaking, it is mainly to conduct education on upholding the four basic principles extensively and profoundly. Each and every party organization and party member in various fields should, first of all, strengthen their ties with the masses. They should, through various kinds of social activities, get close to and contact the masses, listen to their views, accept their supervision and be concerned about their weal and woe. Under the supervision and with the help of the masses, we should extensively rectify the party's style, correct the mistake of breaking away from the masses and of being indifferent to their weal and woe. We should truly identify ourselves with the masses. Furthermore, each and every party organization and party member should assume the responsibility of making known to the masses the party's policies completely and exactly as they are. We must also truly and constantly tell the masses the conditions of our country, our present situation, talks, difficulties, policies and measures. We should guide the masses so that they can master the party's policies in practice and turn them into conscious action. Apart from that, each and every party organization and party member should set an example by their own conduct in building the socialist spiritual civilization and the socialist material civilization simultaneously. Under the guidance of a correct political orientation, they should take as the

pillar of our country's spiritual civilization and establish among the masses, the youth in particular, the spirit of revolution and doing a solid job, the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, the spirit of selflessness and putting others before oneself, the spirit of observing discipline and self-sacrifice, the spirit of maintaining revolutionary optimism and surmounting every difficulty in the struggle for victory, the spirit of solidarity and fraternal love and mutual cooperation among the peoples of various nationalities as well as the spirit of preserving our national pride, confidence and patriotism. Proceeding from education in promoting the "five stresses" and "four beauties," we should enable the broad masses of people, and youth in particular, to incessantly progress in their mental attitude and march toward the goal of communist ideals, faith, ideology, morality, discipline and revolutionary stand and principle as well as the establishment of comradely relations between people. In the meantime, each and every party organization and party member should unite with and rely on the masses to carry our unswerving struggle against all erroneous tendencies of shaking, weakening and breaking away from the party leadership. Working hand in hand with the masses, we should carry out a protracted struggle to resist and overcome the remnant influence of feudalism, the decadent bourgeois ideas of harming others to benefit oneself, putting profit-making first and "basing everything on money" and the tendencies of worshiping capitalism and favoring bourgeois liberalization, anarchism as well as ultra-individualism. Finally, each and every party organization and party member should lead the masses in an exemplary way to promote the progress of our country's democratization. We must incessantly enhance the masses' status and sense of responsibility of being the masters of their own country. We must learn to use the weapons of the people's democracy and people's legal system to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship of our country. On the one hand, we should rely on and arouse the masses to correctly solve the contradictions among the people and give full play to people's initiative, enthusiasm and creativity for socialist construction. On the other hand, we should rely on and arouse the masses to consolidate and develop the political situation of unity and stability and resolutely strike relentless blows at various hostile forces as well as various criminal activities. While carrying out this kind of ideological and political work, we should stick to the mass viewpoints and mass line. We should proceed from reality, seek truth from facts and adopt the method of democracy, persuasion and education to carry out our work vividly, profoundly and thoroughly in light of the masses' practical work and life as well as thinking. We must also avoid repeating the mistakes of formalism characterized by "falsehoods, exaggeration and empty talk" and wielding big sticks and sticking political labels on people at random. Our comrades must understand the extreme importance and seriousness of this ideological and political work, draw a very clear distinction between it and the way things were done during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution and thoroughly overcome the "leftist" ideological mistakes. Otherwise, we cannot possibly strengthen the party's leadership in national life, nor can we possibly achieve the magnificent goal of socialist modernization.

Recently the party Central Committee called for us to promote and carry forward the Yanan spirit, the spirit of the early postliberation days and the spirit of overcoming difficulties in the early 1960's. In those times, although we were faced with hard conditions and arduous tasks, the whole party united as one and the people were energetic and were working with one heart and mind. The

difficulties were promptly overcome. What did we rely on? Our magic weapons were the party sharing weal and woe with the masses of the people, the exemplary and leading role of party members, and thorough and painstaking ideological and political work. In the present new historical period, we should still rely on these three weapons. We should build closer relations between the party and the people and rely on the masses' trust and support to accomplish various strategic tasks of building our material and spiritual civilization.

In a word, a ruling party's position and role in national life is an important problem closely connected with the destiny and future of the party and socialism. Under the socialist system, the Communist Party is the leader of national life. However, it is neither a direct administrator nor a ruler. Any idea or action of casting doubt upon and shaking the party leadership is wrong. Any idea or action of changing the party's position in national life is also harmful. Only by correctly promoting the ruling party's leading role in the socialist national life can our socialist cause and country be full of promise.

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 60TH FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 81 pp 10-15

[Article by Constatin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] The Romanian people will celebrate the 60th founding anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party on 8 May. The Romanian Communist Party is the revolutionary standard bearer of the Romanian people in opposing suppression and exploitation and in striving for social and national justice. It is the loyal representative of the highest national interest of the Romanian people, and the people's leader, and has undergone repeated tests in accomplishing the patriotic socialist revolutionary cause.

The Romanian Communist Party was founded on 8 May 1921. It was the crucial moment in the Romanian revolutionary democratic movement. The communists carried forward and developed to a further extent the Romanian people's ideals of carrying the fine traditions of the workers' movement and the socialist movement.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the Romanian working class displayed their strength in their social life. They had already previously organized their strength, established their own professional organizations and trade unions and organized strikes and political demonstrations. The Romanian Social Democratic Workers' Party (later called the Socialist Party), which was based on the ideology of scientific socialism, was founded in 1893. Its main program was to struggle for the establishment of scientific socialism in Romania. Later, the Socialist Party was reorganized and eventually changed its name to the Romanian Communist Party on 8 May 1921 after complicated stages of development of the workers' movement and the socialist movement. This incident was of great historical significance in the life of our country's working class and our people.

Since the day of its founding, the Romanian Communist Party made clear that it was a revolutionary political force unswervingly armed with scientific socialism, dialectical materialism, and the world and social outlook of historical materialism, and was a loyal fighter who would defend and promote the interests of the working class and all our people and fight for liberty, independence and prosperity for our country. It has consistently fought in the frontline, opposed the policies adopted by the ruling class which would turn our country into a subordinate of the imperial powers and opposed turning our country into a fascist

country or a satellite of Germany under Hitler. In a difficult situation dominated by fascist military dictatorship (our country was at that time occupied by Nazi Germany), the Romanian Communist Party led a national antifascist and anti-Hitler movement of resistance.

The national and social liberation revolution against imperialism and fascism which took place on 23 August 1944 propelled Romania a step further into a new stage, paved the way for the Romanian people to accomplish their ideals and desires of justice and freedom and also paved the way for Romania to strive for national independence and sovereignty and to become a free and respectable world nation.

As the leading political force of the whole of society, the Romanian Communist Party has undergone repeated tests in its struggle for political power; for establishing the people's democratic system and for abolishing the system in which some people are exploited by others; in the struggle for achieving industrialization and socialist cooperation in agriculture; in the struggle for building a modern economy, solving national problems and improving life and civilization and in the struggle for enhancing socialist awareness and creating new people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, has emphatically pointed out: "Real life shows that our Communist Party, from the day it was born, has been the most loyal representative of the interests of the working class and the laboring masses, regardless of their nationalities, in the urban and rural areas. It has long been working hard with an unswerving belief in bringing about freedom and prosperity for the people. The party's policies and the people's progressive desires have merged into one and directly reflect the objective demands for social development in our country and for Romania's material and spiritual improvement. For this very reason, and since the Romanian Communist Party has done a lot of political and organizational work for socialist construction, all our people have in fact acknowledged that the Romanian Communist Party is the leading political force of the whole society." (Nicolae Ceausescu: "Romania Advances on the Path of Construction and Comprehensive Development of a Socialist Society," Vol 5, Bucharest, Political Publication House, 1971 edition, p 902)

In assuming the position of leader of society, the Romanian Communist Party is acting in accordance with the truth that building a socialist society is a spontaneous movement of the masses for understanding the needs for development of history, and is also the consequence of understanding and making use of the laws governing development of society and giving serious consideration to the people's historical traditions and the state's specific situation.

Thanks to the strenuous efforts of the working class, peasants, intellectuals and laboring masses of various nationalities under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, our country has scored remarkable achievements in developing and modernizing our social material and technological base, in harmoniously developing the country's productive force, in greatly increasing the country's wealth and improving the people's welfare as well as in carrying out profound reforms in the whole of society. These achievements have helped our motherland go through a very significant stage in which we were able to practically construct

and comprehensively develop a socialist society and push our country forward toward communism.

The Romanian Communist Party is the political force which has carried out reforms on a socialist basis in Romanian society and has incessantly pushed society forward on the path of advancement and civilization. Its roles have become more distinctive since the Ninth Romanian Communist Party Congress (held in 1965). Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been leading our party and country since then. He has stressed an unswerving principle that it is necessary to encourage the emergence of new things, incessantly develop socialist democracy and strengthen ties with the masses, attract the masses to participate more in various discussions and boldly abandon all subjective practices that are separated from the masses. He has stressed the spirit of incessant advance in the course of building a new social system. He has greatly encouraged the people to display their creativeness and ability in the struggle to score better results in various fields of socialist construction. At the same time, he has also greatly speeded up the formulation of both foreign and domestic policies which proceed from the general laws governing social development and from the country's specific situation. As a result of this, profound analyses of the actual situation have been carried out, outdated things have been eliminated, new measures have been formulated and various aspects of social life have been improved. Thus, our country has greatly developed, and work and life in the country has been progressing steadily, leading to great changes in their nature. Simultaneously, the period between 1965 and 1981 has been acknowledged as the period of socialist construction and the most fruitful period in the entire history of Romania.

Over the past 15 years, total industrial output has increased by more than 400 percent and total agricultural output by nearly 100 percent. The total industrial production value in 1965 was accomplished within 69 days in 1980. By now, about 7,000 major production projects have been put into operation; about 83 percent of the fixed assets of existing industrial enterprises at the beginning of this year were put into operation in the period from 1966 to 1980.

The following figures fully prove the achievements of the Romanian Communist Party in improving the living standard of the people by adopting the policy of continuing to develop the national economy. Compared with the figures for 1950, the actual remunerations for functionaries have risen by 3 times, the income which the residents have obtained from social consumption funds has increased by almost 20 times, about 5.2 million people have been placed in employment, the supply of sugar has increased by 3 times, that of meat by 2.7 times and that of vegetables by more than 100 percent, calculated on the basis of per capita consumption level, and more than 15 million citizens, or about two-thirds of the country's population, are living in houses built in the past 3 decades.

While celebrating the 60th founding anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party, the people of the whole country are closely rallying around the party and its General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and devoting themselves to the cause of fulfilling the various requirements laid down in the program of constructing and comprehensively developing a socialist society and propelling Romania toward communism, and the various resolutions adopted by the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Considering that our country has taken action in very extensive fields in the past 10 years to insure its effective development, the leadership of our party and our state have decided to consolidate this accomplishment and to continuously make efforts to create conditions for realizing the party's program. The main points are: to strengthen the development of the national economy; to make better use of the country's material resources and manpower on the basis of implementing the various principles concerning the new financial system, and the workers' self-management and accounting; and to increase economic results and profit rate.

Our people can see tomorrow's image of Romania. By the end of the current 5-year plan, Romania will be fairly well developed economically and will gain new developments in science, education, culture and welfare for its laboring masses.

These tremendous and complicated tasks make it necessary for the party to continuously strengthen its leadership in society. The party holds that its leadership can be exercised through the united action of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people engaged in other fields throughout the country and by joining all creative efforts and using them to accelerate the development of history.

Organic relations have developed, based on this ideology, between giving play to party leadership and profoundly developing democracy, which are simultaneously two indispensable areas of concern in the process of safeguarding the masses' interests in social life. The party emerged from the masses and aims at serving the people's interest. When the party and the society began to combine as one, it was very obvious that the strengthening of party leadership did not restrict democracy, but on the contrary, was absolutely essential for developing democracy and was the fundamental guarantee for the broad masses' participation in the management of the society. This was because the Communist Party stated that it was the unswerving promoter of the principle of democracy in all basic level organizations in our socialist society.

Socialist democracy and the united front is a broadly representative political body. It rallies the masses around the party and facilitates the implementation of the socialist and communist construction programs.

In order to enable the masses to systematically take part in the discussions on the party's resolutions and the country's laws and regulations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and other leaders of the party and the country have carried out inspections of work and met the laboring people at all levels. In addition to this, they have also systematically organized representative meetings and congresses in all departments, reflecting the characteristics of our party work style.

There is ample guarantee for the Romanian Communist Party to achieve the bold targets for formulating long-term planning in various sectors of Romanian society. The guarantee is that the Romanian Communist Party members and the laboring people unanimously support the party's policies and enthusiastically participate in the organization and management of society and production. In order to create and support, practically and ideologically, the situation of rallying around the party, it is of utmost importance to strengthen modern economic democracy and social democracy and maintain a firm structure and the social political system,

to insure that all the laboring people and our citizens can actively and efficiently participate in our country's democratic management through electing representatives and, mainly, in the form of direct elections.

The working people's congresses and people's committees of all economic and social organizations, and people's congresses in the form of "democratic forum" have played very important roles in this respect. We have already set up people's committee congresses, congresses of agricultural units and of all peasants, and congresses of the socialist, cultural and educational units. By doing this, we have enabled the laboring people at all levels to participate in political, economic and social life in a unified mode at an unprecedented high level. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the plenary session of the Romanian Communist Party Committee held in March: "We always proceed in our work from the fact that socialism is a spontaneous cause of the people. Therefore, we must insure that the people spontaneously create their own history in the ways that they think are appropriate."

The achievements in historical development over the past 60 years have adequately proven the correctness of the policies of the Romanian Communist Party. The party's policy is first to find solutions to the specific problems existing in social organization and management through employing scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism--which are most applicable everywhere--in creating social and historical conditions for Romania, and by carrying out profound analyses of the new phenomena and new situations cropping up in the revolutionary progress of the society, to contribute its own efforts in developing and enriching theory and actual practice in socialist construction. These achievements also prove at the same time that the Romanian Communist Party is a strong seedling cultivated by the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals, the party only works for the freedom, prosperity and happiness of the people, and for no other purpose; and its policies are identical with the fundamental interests and desires of all our people.

The Romanian Communist Party, which has over 3 million members, is a gigantic political force. It can mobilize the enthusiasm of all the basic-level organizations in our society and insure that it can apply the most appropriate methods to solve new problems cropping up in the course of historical development, which is unprecedentedly rich, new and complicated.

Since we have persistently paid attention to strengthening the party's sense of revolution and class nature, and to enlarging the worker core, more than 94,000 workers were admitted as members in 1980, thus raising the proportion of workers inside the party to nearly 55 percent.

The role of the party organizations in the rural areas and in the agricultural units has also been incessantly strengthened. In light of this, the party organizations have admitted new members among the peasants of the cooperatives and peasants in areas where cooperatives have not been set up and admitted workers of the state agricultural enterprises and agricultural mechanization stations in order to boost the party's strength. The proportion of peasants inside the party now exceeds 16 percent.

As the intellectuals incessantly fulfill the economic, scientific and technological and cultural tasks assigned to the units and research organs in which they belong--we can see this point in the party's resolutions--there is a growing number of people who wish to join the Communist Party. Some 21,000 intellectuals, personnel of the organs and professional cadres were admitted into the party in 1980, and these people now comprise more than 21 percent of the total number of members.

Women party members now comprise 28.71 percent of the total number. This clearly shows that women are playing more important roles in the state's economic, political, social and cultural life.

About 70 percent of the total number of newly admitted members last year were members of the Communist Youth League. Thus, the efforts of the experienced and mature Communist Party members and the young, energetic and enthusiastic members can be harmoniously coordinated.

At present, Communist Party members account for 19.7 percent of the total number of adults and 29.5 percent of employed people. Nearly three-quarters of the total number of party members are engaged in material production; about 40 percent are engaged in industrial production, construction and transportation work; and about 23 percent are engaged in agricultural production. We have a powerful team of Communist Party members in the basic industrial departments: Communist Party members account for about 47 percent of the total number of workers in the extraction industry departments, more than 40 percent of the total number of workers in the metallurgical industrial departments, and nearly 54 percent of the total number of workers engaged in electricity and thermal electricity projects. All this amply shows that the party possesses a great organizational strength, great influence and high prestige among the laboring masses of people of all nationalities at all levels, and also that all the people fully support the Romanian Communist Party's foreign and domestic policies and that the whole country rallies around the party with rocklike unity.

In 1980, the party carried out renewal of the membership cards in accordance with a resolution adopted at the plenary session of the Central Committee held in March 1979. This was a very important political affair. It provided the party with a chance to thoroughly and comprehensively analyze the activities and viewpoints of all party members.

Members of the Central Committee analyzed the results of this movement at a Central Committee plenary session held on 25 March 1981. The session commended our party organizations at all levels for their work in support of this movement. They held that the task of renewing party membership cards had been successfully and promptly accomplished. It has facilitated the consolidation of the party politically and organizationally, helped the party to play more prominent leading roles in various sectors of socialist construction and enabled the whole party to further rally around the Central Committee and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party.

One of the distinctive characteristics of Romanian Communist Party activities is that we pay attention to the actual situation inside the country and the

international situation when we carry out activities. We also apply our national characteristics to the revolutionary principles of dialectical materialism, historical materialism and scientific socialism (our theoretical basis and guidelines for our actions). It is in accordance with this spirit that our party has formulated the program of constructing and comprehensively developing a socialist society and pushing Romania toward communism. We also consider this as the fundamental charter of the party's ideology, theory and practice. The program of the Romanian Communist Party makes clear the party's stand on major issues of social development and international life. Simultaneously, it has laid a long-term principled base for the party to formulate foreign and domestic policies, and for developing the new social economy and launching social and spiritual construction activities. The program has also explicitly stipulated the base for and greatly enriched the content of all political and educational activities, and has provided a consistent and politically stable line for persistently launching these activities in order to cultivate and enhance the people's social awareness.

Our party attaches great importance to observing the principles and criteria for Communist Party members' work and life stipulated in the law on criteria for morality and justice which was adopted at the 11th party congress, and observes the principles and criterion of socialist morality and justice. This is because our party believes that they are constituent parts of the Romanian Communist Party's program and the guiding principles of the political, business and daily activities of the Communist Party members, CYL members and all our people.

The Romanian Communist Party's foreign and domestic policies are established on a programmatic ideology; and in accordance with this ideology, dialectical unity closely exists between domestic and international factors, between domestic and international interests and obligations and between patriotism and internationalism--which are all indispensable areas in the course of revolution.

One of the fundamental orientations of our foreign policy is to strengthen friendship, cooperation and unity among socialist countries. Simultaneously, our party and socialist Romania must also promote friendship and cooperation with developing countries and nonaligned countries and speed up cooperation with all foreign nations.

As far as Romania's foreign policy is concerned, we persistently advocate the principles of respecting national independence and the sovereignty and equality of rights of states, uphold the principle of not interfering in internal policies, the principle of mutual benefits and the principle of abandoning weapons and military threats against others, as well as the principle of allowing people to choose the form of social and political systems of their own countries without foreign interference.

The Romanian Communist Party is an active force in the international communist movement and workers' movement. It has fine traditions of revolutionary struggle, extensive cooperation with communist parties of various countries concerning development in various respects, and frequent meetings and exchange of ideas with the leaders of these parties. At the same time, it pays attention to strengthening unity in the international communist movement and the workers' movement, and

establishing a new-style, more perfect and voluntary unity so that the principles of rights and equality, mutual respect and self-government will be firmly enforced in relations between the communist parties of various countries, and so that communist parties of various countries will be entitled to firmly uphold, in accordance with their specific historical conditions, their own political line and principles for achieving their own revolutionary strategy and policies.

The Romanian and Chinese peoples are united by traditional unity and friendship established in the struggles against suppression and foreign rule and the struggles for revolutionary reform in society. When the Chinese people stood up to struggle against feudal power and foreign imperialist rule, the workers' movement and the democratic movement of the Romanian people supported the Chinese people's just cause and resolutely exposed the reactionary nature of the imperialist powers in fighting colonialist wars for the sake of conquering China.

The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Chinese working class, the numerous battles fought by the Chinese people against foreign aggressors and against counterrevolutionary forces inside the country and the grand revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party all gained the sympathy of the Romanian laboring people. The Romanian Communist Party and working class held that the Chinese Communist Party was the most advanced revolutionary force in China and was the organizer and leader of the Chinese people in their struggle for national and social liberation. It was stated in a booklet edited by the Romanian Communist Party in May 1934 that: "If there had not been a militant Communist Party which had undergone repeated tests, the Chinese revolution and the Red Army would have failed. The Chinese Communist Party is the sole force which can organize and lead the laboring masses to victory in the revolutionary struggle." (see Vol 373 in the 10th storeroom of the Romanian Communist Party central archives) A certain number of Romanian people voluntarily participated in the Chinese war of resistance against Japan from 1939 to 1945 in the course of the movement waged by the Romanian advanced forces to materially and morally support the Chinese people's revolutionary forces.

In the years since socialist revolution was victorious, friendship and cooperation have been greatly developed between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China.

The good relations between our parties, our countries and our peoples have paved the way for greater cooperation between Romania and China. This kind of cooperation is conducive to the speeding up of development of both countries and the rapid advancement of the socialist construction cause of Romania and the People's Republic of China.

Meetings between the highest leaders of our parties and countries are a major factor in the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China. The talks and the documents signed are of great significance and represent a crucial era in the history of friendship between Romania and China. They contribute to the revolutionary unity between our two parties and have far-reaching significance in the efforts of our countries and peoples to safeguard peace and the socialist cause and in the struggle for healthy development of the international situation.

As far as some fundamental issues are concerned, such as current international policy, the communist movement and workers' movement and the world revolutionary struggle, the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party have always cooperated. They strive to reflect the people's ideals of freedom and independence, oppose imperialism, old and new colonialism, and oppose the policies of stressing force, controlling others, and exercising hegemony over the world.

In the future, the Romanian Communist Party will wholeheartedly work to construct a prosperous socialist Romania, to keep in close touch with other socialist countries and all advanced human forces, and to carry out unremitting struggles for building a just and perfect world.

The Romanian Communist Party executes its historic tasks with a lofty sense of responsibility, leads and unites the people's forces, and struggles to construct and comprehensively develop a socialist society and push Romania forward toward communism. As we commemorate the 60th founding anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party today, the Romanian Communist Party is stronger and more united than ever, fully showing that it is the center and motivating force of Romanian society.

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SOME QUESTIONS ON EXPANDED REPRODUCTION

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[Article by Lin Zili [2651 1311 0500]]

[Text] Expanded reproduction is one of the topics that has often been much talked about. It is of significance to conscientiously study and resolve this question in socialist economic construction and particularly in the further readjustment of the national economy that is being carried out at present.

In Marx' concept of reproduction, the most important thing in expanded reproduction is the conditions for its realization and also the question of the proportionate relations of social production. But when we talk about expanded reproduction we often refer to the so-called relations between simple reproduction and expanded reproduction, and in fact it arises from aiming at practice because this question actually exists in our economic construction.

It is true that when Marx talked of expanded reproduction, he talked about simple reproduction and expanded reproduction. But the simple reproduction referred to by Marx is a theoretical abstraction; it is a rational and scientific hypothesis. In actual economic construction, simple reproduction is always included in expanded reproduction. Accordingly, the expansion of production means that it is expanded on its original basis. But why is it that when the whole scale is expanded, a problem appears in the smaller part? Is not this contrary to reason? In reality, however, we have witnessed a great many such phenomena in which we did not maintain the original production base well enough to enable it to display its role and, on the other hand, we were eager for new projects. As a result, these two aspects contradicted each other and there appeared the so-called relationship between simple reproduction and expanded reproduction.

Theoretically, this relationship refers to the relations between compensation funds, consumption funds and accumulation funds for reproduction. Our entire social labor is expressed in social funds, divided into three parts, viz, consumption funds, compensation funds and accumulation funds. But this relationship mainly refers to the relations between accumulation funds and consumption funds and between accumulation funds and compensation funds. In order to expand reproduction smoothly, it is necessary to properly handle these relations and define their proportions.

Compensation funds mean that the whole of c is used to compensate the consumption of goods and materials in production. It is thus used to resolve simple reproduction. Consumption funds mean that the whole of v and part of m are used to guarantee the manual and mental reproduction of laborers and it also belongs to the category of simple reproduction. But accumulation means that most of m is used as fund for the next production cycle, i.e., it is used to expand reproduction. Yet, generally speaking, part of the compensation funds and consumption funds are also often used in expanding reproduction. Therefore, there are three sources of funds for expanding reproduction, viz, accumulation funds; part of the funds that are allocated for depreciation funds of fixed assets; and circulation funds that are allocated through bank credits and part of the individual consumption funds (excluding the use of the channel of foreign funds).

Since the relations of simple reproduction and expanded reproduction mean handling well the relations between accumulation funds, consumption funds and compensation funds, it is imperative to grasp well the following three limits: (1) the limit of accumulation; (2) the limit of the depreciation funds used in expanding reproduction; and (3) the limit of the credit funds used in expanding reproduction. Since accumulation is the most important source for expanded reproduction, first of all I want to talk about the limit of accumulation, which is usually referred to as the accumulation rate.

An Inquiry Into the Law Deciding the Accumulation Rate

The accumulation rate is an important matter. Ever since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many comrades have made inquiries into the accumulation rate that is most suitable for promoting the growth of the national economy. It is agreed that, judging from the experiences of the first 5-year plan and of the 3-year readjustment period that witnessed smooth development of the national economy, it is considered more proper to keep the accumulation rate at 22 to 25 percent. These figures are of significance and are valuable for us in investigating and considering accumulation in the future. Nevertheless, these figures only show our experiences, and with these figures it is hard to judge whether the accumulation rate is proper when the national revenue is increased or decreased by a big margin. Therefore, it is necessary for us to make a theoretical inquiry into the law that decides the accumulation rate.

In studying the accumulation rate, some articles have suggested taking the existing consumption level, which does not decrease with the number of the original and additional population, as the maximum limit for accumulation and the average funds needed for the equipment for the newly recruited laborers as the minimum limit for accumulation. These articles also suggested proceeding from actual conditions in various periods and determining a proper accumulation rate between the maximum and minimum limits.

That is to say, if we exclude the factor of population growth, the maximum limit for accumulation means no increases in consumption while the minimum limit means no accumulation at all, and this situation leads to quite a big margin. Such a definition is rather general if we want to further inquire into the accumulation rate. The expansion of reproduction occurs on the basis of the constant development of the labor force, the growth of labor productivity and the growth of the

volume of labor that has a certain productivity. In the composition of value, it is the change corresponding to the volume of social labor on the part of surplus production m . This change is followed by a change in the structure of social need, and this new structure is higher than the existing one and represents a higher social consumption level. That is to say, the growth of social labor productivity and labor volume necessarily demands production of more means of subsistence. Apart from the factor of the development of production tools, such a necessity might have the following two factors from the viewpoint of laborers: because of increases in the number of laborers and because of the improvement in the quality of the labor force, these two factors demand that consumption must grow. An increase in the number of laborers will consequently give rise to increased consumption and higher wages. When the quality of the labor force is improved, consumption will increase. This is because a higher quality labor force needs more compensation, and the improvement of the technological level means that wages must also be raised. Therefore, increases in national revenue are naturally followed by increases in consumption. Otherwise, it would contravene the law. The reason why we owe debts from the past is because we violated this law.

The direct goal of expanded reproduction is to produce more consumer goods, and the means to reach this goal is accumulation. In order to properly decide the accumulation rate or to decide the proportion for accumulation in the entire national revenue, it is imperative to quantify the newly added volume of labor. That is to say, it is necessary to clarify the volume of consumer goods that will be produced in the next production cycle by the newly added national revenue. It is not only a question of whether consumption is increased or is increased slightly; what is more important is the volume of the increase. That means that we must find a concept for restricting the quantitative relationship.

According to our study of social needs, first of all social needs refer to people's direct need for consumer goods and to achieve these goods certain means of production are also needed. All these combinations of use value are conditioned by the volume of social labor (the volume of social labor refers to the volume of the labor with a certain productivity and labor productivity is of great significance and the role of the increase in labor productivity equals the role of the newly added value of social labor). This concept is also applicable to the question of expanded reproduction. Thus, with increases in national revenue, it is necessary to refer to the figures of the previous production in deciding the volume of consumer goods that are within the capability of the newly added volume of labor. For example, if the previous production of 100 consumer goods demanded 200 means of production, then under the premise that the technological structure remains unchanged, an additional 200 means of production are needed if we want to produce 100 more consumer goods. Thus, supposing that the volume of the newly added labor has been determined, there is a limit to the quantity of consumer goods produced by this labor (for example, if the national revenue increases by 3,000, consumption can be increased by 1,000 while another 2,000 are additional means of production that are needed in increasing the means of subsistence). Consequently, there is a limit to the amount of the entire national revenue that is to be allocated for consumption. That is to say, we must raise the level of social consumption according to the laws of probability. The total volume of additional social consumption can be calculated according to the need that is decided by the volume of labor and according to the proportion

of the means of production that is needed to produce the consumer goods by the original production units. This volume is the limit of consumption and accumulation that represents the proper accumulation rate. This proper accumulation rate is the basis and general numerical value that gets rid of some complicated factors. In fact, these factors must be included and they merit our consideration. Therefore, these factors must be revised, and the most important revision is to change the organic part. In particular, during the general renewal period that involves a large-scale technological base, such as the replacement of hand tools by machinery and of ordinary machinery by automatic equipment, it is necessary in general to increase the proportion of accumulation in the national revenue. Some other factors are even more complicated to include. For example, as our country is experiencing an important historical period in its advance toward modernization, it is even more important to have more accumulation to renew the technological equipment of our national economic departments. But, on the other hand, we are faced with particular difficulties. These difficulties include the fact that, owing to the excessive accumulation rate in the past long period, the first-category production of some departments is too far removed from the needs of consumers, the national economy is out of balance and the morale of the people has been damaged. As a result, we are not only unable within a short time to increase accumulation but we have also been compelled to curtail capital construction to make up for deficits. Therefore, in deciding the accumulation rate it is imperative to consider the particular situation that prevails. If this situation is characterized by disproportion, the accumulation must be readjusted down or up and there might be basically no accumulation for some years. In short, it is necessary to consider changing the organic part and improving the situation characterized by disproportion while the final accumulation rate is a revised numerical value, and the basic reason for doing this is to attain the above-mentioned proper accumulation rate that is conditioned by the limit in the increase of consumption.

In addition to grasping the accumulation rate, there also exists the question of distribution and use of accumulation, but I am not going to talk about this question here.

The Limits for Using Compensation Funds in Expanded Reproduction

The main part of compensation funds is depreciation funds. As the compensation value of consumed labor, depreciation funds are used for buying equipment and building factories and mine shafts. Therefore, the retention and use of depreciation funds belong to the category of simple reproduction. But during the period when the fixed assets are being used, the gradually accumulated depreciation funds, to a certain extent, can be used in expanded reproduction. In volume 2 of "Das Kapital," Marx expressed the view that part of the depreciation funds can be used to expand reproduction and renovate machinery so as to improve efficiency. Concretely speaking, depreciation funds are used to expand reproduction in the following three aspects. First, during the renewal period when the existing fixed assets are being gradually consumed, the depreciation funds are used to purchase additional means of production and expand production. Second, during the period when the original fixed assets have been used up, depreciation funds are used to rebuild the existing enterprises or carry out large-scale maintenance work and renovation. That is to say, they are used to

expand production by means of tapping potentials and renovating. Third, during the period when the existing fixed assets are being used, the departments that are producing the means of production have increased labor productivity and lowered the value of the means of production. As a result, there is a difference between the value of the renewed existing fixed assets and the value of the means of production that have been discarded as useless. That is to say, the total amount of depreciation funds exceeds the funds needed for rebuying the original fixed assets, and this difference is also a source of funds for expanding reproduction. It is apparent that with the development of the social productive forces that causes increases in fixed assets, depreciation funds are increasingly becoming a source of investment in expanded reproduction.

Since depreciation funds play a considerable role in expanding and speeding up reproduction, the limit in the use of depreciation funds in expanding reproduction has become an important matter determining whether social reproduction can be carried out smoothly. In the current situation in our country, this limit has some defects. First, the depreciation rate is too low while the depreciation period is usually more than 20 to 30 years. A great number of outdated equipment is still on "extended active duty" and consequently we have neglected the factor of invisible losses. This situation represents a concept of the use of the means of labor by small producers, and this concept hinders the development of technology and lowers the cost of the wear and tear on fixed assets that are included in production costs so as to cause a false surplus of products and national revenues. As a result, the prices of products fail to compensate consumption, or management shortcomings are covered up and lead to more waste. In fact, this means that we are just dipping into our capital. What is more important is that more compensation funds are used in capital construction to create bad results.

In our opinion, generally speaking, the limit of depreciation funds for use in expanding reproduction must be that they do not affect the smooth compensation for renewal. Concretely speaking, the rational limit should be: first, the renewal of the fixed assets in the year must be fully guaranteed so that the existing production scale, that is simple reproduction, can be carried out smoothly. Second, the maintenance cost for the fixed assets that are being used must be fully guaranteed. That means that the necessary conditions for simple reproduction must be guaranteed. It must be pointed out that since these two points are directly related to the scale of production and they will have a direct effect on whether the amount of products is kept at the level of the previous year, they have very limited flexibility. Therefore, depreciation funds must first of all be used in the above-mentioned two points and the rest of the funds can be used for expanded reproduction. In using depreciation funds for expanded reproduction, it is first of all necessary to meet the needs of the existing enterprises in tapping potentials, renovating and restructuring. This is a fairly economical and convenient way to improve the technological level, increase production and improve quality in our bid to expand reproduction. The rest of the funds can be used for building and expanding production facilities as a way to expand reproduction. Generally speaking, such funds are invested in projects that are able to bring quick returns, but for many years in the past we did just the opposite. As a result, a number of old enterprises have yet to be renewed or repaired while their old equipment is operating with many defects as it is on "extended active duty." No measures have been taken to tap its

potentials, renovate and restructure it. This is not because we do not have the funds. But even if the funds are given to these enterprises, they still lack goods and materials. This is because most of the goods and materials have been used in building and expanding production facilities. As a result, simple reproduction has been kept at a standstill, tapping potentials, renovating and restructuring are often nothing but lipservice, and for many years our products have been of low quality and quantity and consequently we have failed to meet the demand. Thus, it is an important task to change this situation during the current readjustment.

In addition to depreciation funds, compensation funds include circulation funds that are used for compensating the consumption of raw materials, auxiliary materials and fuel, but these funds generally belong to the part of bank credit. Credit funds include more than just circulation funds and are derived from many sources. For example, the bank may loan out the funds that are distributed from the national revenue through the budget for expanding reproduction, for expenses in nonproductive sectors and for social insurance but are still deposited in the bank and have not been used up. In any case, it is not necessary to talk much about it here. What we are going to discuss here is the temporarily idle circulation funds that include workers' wages and the people's deposits. Such currency funds are constantly being deposited and withdrawn in different amounts, which causes a difference between deposits and withdrawals for the bank. This difference means that there is a large and stable average amount. In addition, part of the credit funds that are allocated to the bank by state finance can also be used as auxiliary funds for expanding reproduction.

Bank credit differs from financial allocation because it carries interest. The loans for expanding reproduction must be mainly used as additional production goods that are used for expanding reproduction and as fixed production funds needed for expanded reproduction, and priority must be given to the trades that are able to bring quick returns and to those whose products are in short supply. But this should be carried out under the premise that the revenue and expenditure of bank credit is balanced and that there is no credit inflation. In addition, it is necessary first of all to guarantee compensation arising from the need for simple reproduction. These are the limits. The economic means of the bank, such as different interest rates and credit sanctions, must be used in directing and supervising the use of loans so as to guarantee the limits.

Accumulation must be carried out and compensation and consumption funds must be properly used through adding to the value of the goods so that the use value of these goods can be expanded. In plain language this means expanding reproduction through spending money (this money represents goods and materials). Generally speaking, money is needed to expand reproduction, but there is a way in which no money or little money is needed and this method was once mentioned by Marx. But when he was expounding on the question of expanding reproduction in volume 2 of "Das Kapital" he did not mention this question. Therefore, it is necessary for us to talk about this question, because sometimes and under some circumstances it is an enormous resource that cannot be underestimated.

For example, if a production unit has been able to increase labor productivity, this means that its production has been expanded. But such improvement in labor

productivity is often the result of additional investment that is aimed at improving the quality of factors in production that include material labor and living labor. The improvement in labor productivity is caused by material means of production that have become more advanced following renovation or by the improvement in the quality of the labor force after training is given or might be caused by both. But sometimes labor productivity can be improved without additional capital. This improvement includes increased labor efficiency, lower consumption of funds and improvement in rational production and scientific organization owing to improved management. But why has such a potential that was hidden in the past been able to emerge again? It is because the people are able to display their initiative. In the past, people were not willing to work hard, or their work was dispirited, but now they are willing to work hard and happily. In the past they just idled away their time, but now they are working conscientiously in an effort to make progress. This initiative is related to the readjustment of people's interests. This includes the relaxation of the agricultural policy and the reform of the industrial system, and these two aspects are typical. In the past, our agricultural policy was too rigid. As a result, peasants in some places were kept in poverty for a long period of time and they had to "depend on loans in production, on resold grain for food and on relief for spending money." They lost confidence in the collective economy as well as in their own future. This situation was caused by a too rigid industrial system, because under this system the grassroots levels were very passive and just relayed orders from above. Enterprises and their staff were not in a position to display their initiative because they were "eating out of the same big pot with their iron rice bowls" and consequently they worked perfunctorily, not to mention their lack of displaying initiative. Following the relaxation of policies, there emerged various forms of responsibility systems and the peasants have since then been engaging in production with greater enthusiasm. Many places with bad natural conditions and backward production tools have experienced changes in a short period. Peasants are working from dawn until dusk, and they have been trying their best to open up more ways for production. As a result, they have increased grain production by a big margin and rapidly developed a diversified economy without asking for a single cent from the state. Enterprises have become active following trial-point expansion of autonomy on the industrial and transportation fronts. Comrades in Sichuan Province say that they have considerably increased profits with the same number of staff and equipment. This means that, following some breakthroughs in the system, the enterprises have been able to create more social wealth without additional state investment. Therefore, under the current situation in our country, much can be done to increase production by readjusting the relations of interest and expanding reproduction without spending money. The agricultural potential is even bigger. As our financial situation is tight, it is important to display the role of policies. But there is a prerequisite for expanding reproduction in this way, viz, it is applicable to specific conditions during a specific period and this method is not generally efficient, and neither does it lead to considerable results. From a long-term point of view, we must remember that accumulation investments play a decisive role.

Choosing the Type of Expanded Reproduction

Expanded reproduction can be divided into two types--extension and intension--and Marx talked about the features and results of these two types in "Das Kapital."

What I want to talk about here is how to choose the pattern of expanded reproduction that is most suited to our current situation, particularly to the situation during the economic readjustment period.

In realizing industrialization, most countries in general emphasize expanded reproduction by extension, and this is followed by gradually increasing the proportion of expanded reproduction by intension. Both are carried out simultaneously, although sometimes emphasis is put on intension. There is no doubt that modernization is based on advanced technology, and this does not merely mean an increase in the means of production. But we are discussing this problem by relating it to the intermediate prospects for economic readjustment, and behind these prospects there are the real prospects for the general goals of modernization. That is to say, we are not concretely discussing how to put up sails and cruise quickly but how to repair leaks, stabilize the boat and advance steadily. That is why cutting down expenditure and restricting currency come first, and when we are considering things we must proceed from the interests of these two aspects and must by no means do otherwise. The same attitude must be taken with regard to the types of expanded reproduction. We must fully understand that we are doing our work with limited finances and, therefore, we must resort to a construction plan that needs little money and brings quick earnings. Of course, we must understand that we have bright prospects. But even after the readjustment work is completed and we are able to make greater progress, it will still be necessary for us to achieve quick results with little investment.

If we merely compare the two patterns of extension and intension, we will find that both will reach the goal of expanding reproduction. But, in general, extension needs more money than intension because the former is mainly directed at developing production in breadth through building and expanding production facilities, while the latter is directed at developing production in depth through developing productivity and technology based on existing factories. In order to save funds it is in our interest to enable more old enterprises to tap their potential, renovate and restructure and add fewer new facilities and projects. The main reason for our deciding to curtail capital construction is mainly to lessen expanded reproduction by extension. It is also because over the past 3 decades and more in our socialist construction, we have mainly concentrated our efforts on extension in a bid to initially set up a substantial national economic base. That is to say, we have established such a base on the barren land of old China. In fact, all countries experience a pioneering period of developing from scratch. Of course, our wealth is not enormous. We still have many things that are coarse, clumsy and backward and all of them must be shifted to the more advanced technological base through renovation and renewal. To realize this goal we must concentrate our efforts on intension. This will save more money than will the importation of complete sets of equipment.

In general, intension is of more significance to us in saving money. But there is another important question that merits our consideration, viz, the factor of our population. A huge population is one of our characteristics. It is a pressure on us and has become one of the prominent social problems over the past few years following the emergence of the problem of employment. In comparing extension and intension, the former generally absorbs more labor force than the latter, which sometimes even squeezes out some of the labor force. Hence, we

must pay attention to this problem now and for some time to come when the number of additional laborers will be quite big. That is why we must save investment and pay more attention to intension. However, a certain type of extension is needed to solve the labor employment problem and consequently it is necessary to properly choose the type of extension.

Pure extension in expanded reproduction means merely increasing the quantity of production factors without improving quality. In such a case, the proportion of staff and equipment is increased but the technological structure remains unchanged. If extension includes intension, it represents a combination of extension and intension. This means that the newly built enterprises have a fairly high technological level. Such enterprises include some of the modern projects we are now building, particularly imported items. The method of expanded reproduction often requires more funds than pure extension but a smaller staff because of a high level of automation. There is also another type of extension with less increase in the proportion between technological equipment and the labor force, a bigger increase in the living labor force and less equipment. This type of extension is characterized by being highly labor intensive, having a high employment rate, less equipment and less funds. This type is more suitable to our conditions and we must use it on a wider scale.

It is imperative for us to adopt the labor-intensive pattern on a wider scale in expanded reproduction because we are now readjusting our industrial structure. Most of the labor-intensive enterprises are in agriculture, light industry and commercial services of the so-called third production undertaking, all of which constitute a weak point in the structure of our industry. Therefore, it is beneficial to develop enterprises that will help improve our industrial structure.

Generally speaking, the newly built big projects with advanced technology are constructed with state investments while the operations of small enterprises relying mainly on living labor are comparatively diffused. Expanding reproduction by extension is not limited to state-owned enterprises. Most collective and individual enterprises of various economic forms can also use such a pattern with fewer funds. Therefore, the collective and individual enterprises can resort to this type of expanded reproduction. Thus, under the premise of stepping up planned guidance, it is imperative that we maintain and develop the role of various economic forms in expanding reproduction.

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STUDY WELL THE PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING OF MARX, LENIN AND COMRADE MAO ZEDONG

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[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496] and Teng Wensheng [3326 2429 3932]]

[Text] A leading comrade of the party Central Committee has recently pointed out that it is necessary to encourage people to study--to conscientiously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, mainly to study philosophy and to study the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong. At the same time, it is also necessary to study some history. Now some people are making comments, but most of them only see the appearance of things. This is because they do not have a solid foundation in both theory and practice. Only by laying a solid foundation in both theory and practice can one really correct one's mistakes, including "leftist" and rightist mistakes. This directive on study has been issued in light of the objective, actual conditions at present, in accordance with the need for the development of modernization and with the wishes and demands of the people. This directive is undoubtedly of great importance to guiding our present and future work.

Lenin said: "Marx' philosophy is a consummate philosophical materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 443) Comrade Mao Zedong regarded the "communist world outlook and theory of social revolution" as "a new uniform and new weapons" for the Chinese proletariat and the CCP. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the foundation of Marxism as a whole and a mighty ideological weapon for the proletariat and working people to achieve their liberation and to build socialism. The proletariat and its political party should always study and grasp Marxist philosophy, a great means of knowledge, in order to accurately analyze and assess objective conditions, to lay down lines, principles, policies and measures conforming to the actual situation, and to constantly push forward the revolution and construction. Particularly when history is at a critical turning point, the proletariat and revolutionary people are faced with the arduous tasks of summing up and digesting experiences and past lessons, surmounting difficulties caused by some mistakes and setbacks and continuing to open a way to victory. At this time, it is all the more necessary to give a very important place to the study and understanding of Marxist philosophy. Lenin clearly expounded this point. He said: "Considering the wealth and many-sidedness of the ideological content of Marxism, there is nothing surprising in the fact that in Russia, just as in other countries, various

historical periods give prominence now to one, now to another particular aspect of Marxism." "The period when the rich lessons of the revolution are being 'digested' is also the period when the fundamental theoretical, including the philosophical, problems are of prime importance to...." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 17, p 59) Both the Russian Bolshevik Party's historical practice and our party's historical practice have proved that this judgment of Lenin's is completely correct.

Following the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905, the revolution was at a low ebb. Under very difficult conditions, Lenin led the Bolsheviks to conscientiously sum up and digest experiences and lessons of the revolution. At that time, counterrevolutionary forces carried out operations on a large scale on the ideological front, wantonly attacked Marxism and reviled and ridiculed the revolution. They "criticized" Marxism in all fields, particularly in the philosophical field, and denied the popularity of Marxism. Some Bolsheviks including Bogdanov, Bazarov and Lunacharsky were also contaminated by decadent sentiments and a skeptical mentality. They adopted deceitful tricks and wantonly opposed the theoretical foundation of Marxist philosophy. Under these circumstances, Lenin wrote "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," a famous militant document on dialectical materialism. When Lunacharsky said, "Perhaps we have gone astray, but we are seeking," Lenin replied, "As for myself, I too am a 'seeker' in philosophy. Namely, the task I have set for myself in these comments is to find out what is the stumbling block for these people who under the guise of Marxism are offering something incredibly muddled, confused and reactionary." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 14) In his book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," Lenin deeply exposed and criticized Machism, neo-Kantianism and other ideological trends which opposed Marxist philosophy. He defended the theoretical foundation of the philosophy of the proletarian political party and provided the proletariat with the scientific world outlook and methodology which later enabled it to correctly study situations and sum up experiences and lessons, thus laying solid ideological foundations for the victory of the October Revolution.

The major task of our party's rectification movement carried out in 1942 was to expose and criticize the three great scourages, viz, subjectivism, factionalism and stereotyped party writing, which were left over by the history of the party and particularly the third leftist line. Getting rid of subjectivism means getting rid of idealist ideology, which causes theory to be divorced from practice. It also means fostering the dialectical materialist ideology, which integrates theory with practice. From July to August 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong personally gave lectures on philosophy at the anti-Japanese Military and Political University in Yanan and then wrote two famous articles, viz, "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." In the articles he used Marxist epistemology and dialectics to deeply expose the ideological roots of the mistakes of the opportunist line within the party, thus laying the theoretical foundation for carrying out the Marxist ideological educational movement within the party. During the later rectification and study movements, in close connection with his experience in the Chinese revolution, he repeatedly expounded the fundamental Marxist standpoint and methods, viz, proceeding in everything from reality, integrating theory with practice and seeking truth from facts. Therefore, the minds of our cadres and party members were armed with the truth-seeking dialectical materialist ideology which enabled comrades throughout the party to cast off the yoke of dogmatism and

the yoke of empiricism and to greatly emancipate their minds. They also got the invincible weapons to effectively wage military, political, economic and cultural struggles, thus guaranteeing the victory in the war of resistance against Japan and the great victory in the whole country's democratic revolution.

Our party has completed a 60-year course of struggle, and our People's Republic has participated in socialist revolution and construction for over 30 years. We are now living in another new historical transition period. Owing to the extreme arduousness and complicated nature of our socialist modernization task; owing to the 10 years of upheaval which blocked tens of millions of youths from systematically grasping the basic Marxist theory and disrupted and even terminated the middle-aged and old people's study of theory; and owing to Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who tampered with the basic Marxist theory and seriously damaged our party's dialectical materialist work style and working methods which had been shaped over a long period of time, our comrades throughout the party and the masses of cadres in particular must conscientiously and emphatically study the philosophical thinking of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong.

Only by studying well the philosophical thinking of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong can we correctly sum up historical experiences and lessons.

In summing up our historical experiences, we must study and analyze China's development of socialist revolution and construction over the past 30 years and more with the dialectical and historical materialist standpoint. We have scored tremendous achievements over the past 30 years and more, during which period many mistakes have also been committed and we have also suffered many setbacks. The most serious of the mistakes was the Great Cultural Revolution, a mistake which lasted for a long time and affected the situation as a whole. These mistakes and setbacks have brought tremendous losses to the socialist cause in our country and difficulties to the people in livelihood. As a result, there are different views among some people who are somewhat confused ideologically. This is not difficult to understand. How should we fully affirm our great achievements, deeply understand the great significance of these achievements, affirm the socialist road that the people of all nationalities in our country have chosen and affirm the party's correct leadership over the socialist cause? How should we learn from our mistakes and setbacks, draw the lessons that we should draw from them and truly take a warning from previous mistakes? This requires that we acquire the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. We must proceed from objective facts, not from our subjective feelings. We must look at problems all-sidedly and must not take a one-sided approach to problems. We must see the essence, not just the surface, of things. Otherwise, without dialectical materialism and historical materialism, which are great instruments of knowledge, we will not be able to draw a clear distinction between the principal and secondary aspects; we will fail to stress essentials; and we will be confused in the face of intricate and complex historical phenomena and historical practices that have intertwined achievements with losses, rights with wrongs, and favorable conditions with difficulties. If that is the case, the achievements we have made will not become the motive force that will inspire us to continue making progress, and the previous mistakes and setbacks will exert such great pressure on us that we will not be able to lift our heads, with the result that we will doubt our socialist cause and lose faith in its prospects.

To sum up historical experiences, it is imperative to consider historical events from the dialectical and historical materialist standpoint. Let us use the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production on the economic front and the antirightist struggle on the political front to explain this issue: Following the founding of new China and after fulfilling the task of confiscating bureaucrat capital and the task of reforming the feudal land system, by 1956 we had basically realized the socialist transformation of the capitalist industry, commerce, agriculture and handicraft industry. This was a great historic victory. Of course, during this socialist transformation, owing to the lack of experience in this new cause, at times, the pace of transformation was too fast, some forms were inflexible and impractical and some measures for consolidation failed to keep pace with the situation at that time. At present, in summing up historical experiences, we should point out these shortcomings in a truth-seeking way. However, could we doubt the historical necessity of having this great transformation of our economic system because of these previous shortcomings and because of various previous problems in the development of the socialist economy under public ownership? Was the socialist transformation of capitalist industry, commerce, agriculture and handicraft industry at that time necessary? If we try to understand issues in this way, then it will mean that we cannot correctly treat historical practices. Here it is quite evident that it is very important to have a good grasp of Marxist epistemology and dialectics which are very important ideological weapons. Socialism is being put into practice. Just like any other thing in the world, the socialist system also goes through a process of steady development and improvement. Following the establishment of the basic socialist economic and political systems, to effectively bring the superiority of the socialist systems into full play, it is necessary to continuously improve and perfect various specific systems and various types of management in accordance with practical experiences. Therefore, we must not take a vacillating attitude toward upholding the socialist road just because of some shortcomings in various specific systems and various types of management which have produced adverse effects on bringing the superiority of the socialist systems into full play. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have adopted a series of practical measures to improve and perfect various specific socialist systems and various types of management, and to consolidate and develop the basic socialist economic and political systems in order to bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play. This is the result of a summing up of our experiences and lessons over many years in the past. The 1957 struggle against the rightists had a very great impact on both the political life of our party and state and the life of society as a whole. In what way should we look upon this political movement of more than 20 years ago? This can be summed up in two sentences: 1) it was necessary to launch a counterattack against the offensive carried out by the bourgeois rightists in their extremely small numbers; 2) we made the mistake of magnifying the scope of the struggle. If our view is limited only to what is stated in one of these sentences, it would be a one-sided view running counter to the fundamental requirement of an all-round view of materialist dialectics. Only when we keep a firm hold on the sharp ideological weapon, which is Marxist philosophy, can we correctly analyze historical events and strive to deduce a scientific conclusion on the basis of facts, in order to use it as guidance for our continued advance.

In summing up historical experiences, it is imperative to appraise historical figures from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Without the guidance of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, it is impossible to draw a scientific conclusion that conforms to the actual historical situation. The appraisal of the merits and faults and the rights and wrongs of some important leaders, and the appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong which our party has made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, are examples of concrete embodiments of the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding leader of our party and the people of all nationalities in China. As far as his entire life is concerned, in spite of his shortcomings, mistakes and even some serious mistakes in his later years, his great contributions to the people of China and the Chinese nation far outweigh the mistakes he made in the course of the practice of the revolution. In the history of our party and state, Comrade Mao Zedong's merits were primary and his mistakes secondary. In analyzing his shortcomings and mistakes, we should, of course, take his personal responsibility into consideration. However, what is more important for us is to analyze the historical and complicated background. This is the only just and scientific attitude we should have in viewing historical characters.

There is another question here--the question of how to view the role played by an individual and the role played by the masses of the people in history. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said that Chairman Mao "rescued the party and the nation from crisis on many occasions. Without Chairman Mao, the Chinese people would at the very least have had to grope in the dark for a much longer time." History is made by the masses of people. This is the basic principle of historical materialism. But to acknowledge the role played by an outstanding individual in history is also a viewpoint of historical materialism. It is not right to contend that to acknowledge an individual's historical role is to advocate the theory of creation of history by an individual and that this represents historical idealism. In appraising Marx, Engels said: By relying on Marx, the contemporary proletariat is conscious of its own position and demands for the first time and is also conscious of its own conditions for emancipation. Do these words mean the creation of history by an individual? No, they do not. To deny the role played by an outstanding individual in history is not only a violation of historical materialism but is also a violation of historical dialectics. Speaking about the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said that Chairman Mao should not be blamed for every mistake made in the past. This statement reflects the reality of history and represents the profound materialistic and dialectical thinking in observing historical practice. The reason for this statement is that, like the undertakings and thinking of any other outstanding character who played a major role in history, the undertakings and thinking of Comrade Mao Zedong cannot be regarded only as the undertakings and thinking of his alone. Comrade Mao Zedong's undertakings were also the undertakings and thinking of his comrades-in-arms, the party and the people. They represented a crystallization of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Chinese people for more than half a century. His great exploits and outstanding role were historical; so were his shortcomings and mistakes. Only by dealing with the matter and appraising the historical characters in this way can we say our attitude is of historical materialism.

Only by studying well the philosophical thinking of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong can we correctly analyze new situations and study new problems and successfully promote the socialist modernization.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our country has embarked on the course of victorious advance in its drive for modernization and democracy. The general objective for taking this course is to build China into a socialist country which is modern materially, highly democratic politically, and highly civilized spiritually. The principal mistakes we have made in the area of economic construction since the founding of the PRC are "leftist" mistakes. These mistakes are manifested mainly in giving too great consideration to the need for development and too little to the potential, which has led us to crave high speed and high targets and to become overeager for quick results. Consequently, things have gone contrary to our wishes, because haste makes waste. We must completely correct this mistake, do away with the unhealthy practice of going in for more and faster economic work, and become really able to do what is within our means, proceed in an orderly way and step by step, and stress actual results. In order to do this, we must conscientiously analyze and study the situation of our country. We must proceed from the basic condition of our country--a large population (with peasants accounting for 80 percent), a limited area of cultivated land and a poor foundation to start with--when we think over a problem, make a suggestion or carry out any undertaking. Previous experience has proved that whether we can correctly understand the condition of our country and whether we can truly proceed with revolution and construction from our national conditions have an important bearing on whether our revolution and construction can develop successfully. During the democratic revolution, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong gradually achieved a deep understanding of and deeply studied our national conditions and embarked on the revolutionary course of encircling the cities from the rural areas and seizing state power by armed force, thus winning great victories in the revolution.

To work for modernization at present under the new historical conditions, we must consciously adhere to materialism and dialectics. Only by doing so will it become possible for our subjective view to correctly reflect reality and master in an all-round way the developing and changing complex objective conditions while dealing with the objective world, and for us to open up a road for modernization in the Chinese way.

The great historic feats of the 3d Plenary Session of the current party Central Committee are: It made the important policy decisions on stopping the implementation of the erroneous principle of taking class struggle as the key link and on shifting the focus of the whole party's work to socialist modernization. Moreover, it stressed that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, and it put forward the correct principles for emancipating the mind or "starting the machinery," seeking truth from facts, and uniting and looking forward. Under the guidance of these principles, we have adopted a series of important political, economic and organizational measures; redressed numerous cases of people being unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced; given scope to people's democracy; and readjusted various policies, while having instituted reforms in the management systems of the economy and of other fields of work in a planned way step by step. A series of policies and measures adopted in our party and our

country since the CCP Central Committee's 3d Plenary Session have shown vigorous vitality. This is because they conform to the national conditions and the common aspiration of the people. They were put forward and formulated on the basis of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. With this being the fact, we must correctly understand and implement the principles, policies and measures adopted at the Third Plenary Session; study philosophy well; and constantly overcome manifestations of idealism and metaphysics in our minds and in our work. Why have some comrades always failed to understand the principles, policies and measures adopted at the 3d Plenary Session of the current party Central Committee and also failed to unswervingly implement them? An important reason is that these comrades' minds and understanding are still more or less fettered by idealism and metaphysics, and that the ideas of some comrades have failed to keep abreast of the development of actual conditions. Regardless of the situation, they invariably think of the old formulations and methods, and they cannot free themselves from the shackles of "leftist" theories and practices. Some other comrades who do not proceed from objective needs for modernization have failed to consider the readjustment of the party's policies and measures in light of developing socialist production and improving the people's livelihood. In a word, their ideas do not conform with objective reality and are always incompatible with the party's principles, policies and measures. Under these circumstances, it will be very beneficial for eliminating vacillating elements and for strengthening steadfastness in the implementation of the lines, principles and policies adopted at the 3d Plenary Session if we conscientiously study the philosophical works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, especially their theses on the theory of knowledge and on dialectics, transform our viewpoint and methodology and have a correct ideological line.

Some comrades have said: Socialist modernization is an entirely new cause. What we need is a spirit of exploration. Whether we study philosophy has no important bearing on socialist modernization. Some people have even said that the study of Marxist philosophy will impose "restrictions" on exploration. This involves the question of how to look at the relations between making explorations and grasping Marxist philosophy. Our socialist modernization program is a cause that was never attempted by our predecessors. New conditions and new problems have emerged one after another, and these call for our efforts to study and find solutions. Of course, this entails our tireless and vigorous exploration. However, this kind of exploration must be carried out under the guidance of Marxist world outlook and methodology. Marxist philosophy is a science dealing with laws of development of nature, society and human thinking. Any study and exploration of problems concerning nature, society and thinking is restricted by the universal laws revealed by Marxist philosophy. A person who does not attach importance to studying Marxist philosophy will not make achievements in any study and exploration project and certainly will lose his bearings and go astray. Engels put it well: "Those who despise dialectics cannot very well avoid punishment." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 482) Marxist philosophy will not impose restrictions on any scientific inquiry, but should be regarded as indispensable to scientific inquiry as is the telescope and scalpel.

Some other comrades have said: Our study of materialism and dialectics cannot guarantee that we can avoid making mistakes altogether during the development of our modernization program. Yes, it is difficult to completely avoid making

mistakes. However, when we have a good grasp of materialism and dialectics, we can guide our thinking to conform to reality as we observe problems and handle affairs. This will help us use different methods to solve different contradictions, reduce mistakes, and, in particular, prevent us from committing big and serious mistakes. Even if we have made mistakes under these circumstances, our correct world outlook and methodology will help us to quickly correct them and draw lessons from them in good time.

In studying Marxist philosophy, the masses of party members, cadres and people should attach major importance to studying the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking was born and developed during the course of using the fundamental tenets of Marxist philosophy to solve China's problems in military, political, economic and cultural affairs and in party building. Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is the concrete utilization and development of Marxist philosophy and has made important contributions to the treasurehouse of Marxist philosophy. When we study the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong, we will feel his words touch our hearts and that his works are easy to understand. In studying Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works, we need to study not only his "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" but also his other works, including "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "On Protracted War," "Problems of War and Strategy," "On New Democracy" and "On Coalition Government." According to our many years of experiences and lessons, in studying philosophy, we must persist in integrating theory with practice and guard against and abandon those pragmatist and formalist practices which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had advocated. Only by doing so can we truly achieve success.

We advocate the study of Marxist philosophy and particularly the study of Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works. We also advocate arming the mind of the masses of party members and cadres with the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. With regard to the party's ideological building, these things are of fundamental significance. We will have the most powerful spiritual force as long as we successfully promote these things. Moreover, a powerful spiritual force will certainly transform itself into a powerful material force which will enable our modernization cause to constantly win new victories.

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'BITTER LOVE' AND INTELLECTUALS' PATRIOTISM

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[Article by Yuan Fang [6678 2455]]

[Text] In the spring of 1981, hanging willows were turning green and lilacs were blooming. Early in the morning, after doing taijiquan (traditional Chinese shadow boxing), four white-haired old professors Zhao, Qian, Sun and Li were strolling on the school campus. While walking, they discussed the film script "Bitter Love...."

Zhao: Professor Qian, I saw through the window that you had your lights on very late last night. Were you still working on that scientific treatise?

Qian: No, no. I was reading a film script. It was the "Bitter Love" that is being criticized in the press. Old Zhao, have you read it? It deals with what has happened to intellectuals. It is a low-keyed work touching on the dark and gloomy side of life. It leaves one feeling sad after having read it but the writer is quite an accomplished one. The script is after all thought-provoking and worth reading.

Zhao: These days, "Bitter Love" has become the topic of people's conversation. Many different views have been aired. The response is quite strong. I have borrowed one copy of the work and have gone through it. I feel that there are serious problems with it. In those days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were throwing their weight around, intellectuals suffered a lot. But the problem lies in how to approach the matter. I quite admire Comrade Luo Ruiqing. He was a general and also an intellectual. Lin Biao persecuted him so that he became crippled. After the smashing of the "gang of four," he worked very hard despite his poor health. I set great store by a line from a poem of his: "Despite trials and privations, one's mind is fully occupied." Though we intellectuals have suffered to different degrees, our patriotism should leave nothing to be desired, just as a piece of flawless jade does.

Qian: In my opinion, the protagonist of the script, painter Ling Chenguang, is after all patriotic. He made a name for himself in the Americas, enjoying a life complete with "a villa" and "a shining black limousine." Foreigners sponsored exhibitions of his paintings. But on learning the good news that the motherland had been liberated, he resolutely gave up everything. Both he and his wife returned to the motherland. His wife Lu Niang was in labor while on the ship.

Amid labor pangs, she kept asking: "Motherland, motherland, have we reached the motherland?" She worried that her child might be born in a foreign country. When she later learned that she had given birth to her child on the territorial waters of the great motherland, she was filled with joy. When she saw the five stars shining brightly, she named her daughter Xingxing [stars]. In the 10-year period of turmoil, Ling Chenguang suffered humiliation. But when his daughter decided to go abroad with her boyfriend, he said in a severe tone: "I...don't agree!" When his girl friend called on him and asked if he regretted his decision to give up everything abroad and return to the motherland, Ling Chenguang said firmly: "No!" It is really a case of "having done something that one considers right and never regretting it, come hell or high water." In my opinion, the writer of "Bitter Love" gives a vivid portrayal of an intellectual's patriotism. The writer at least subjectively wants to preach patriotism and is exploring ways of how to properly govern the state. Is there not a line in the preface of the script quoted from Qu Yuan?: "We have a long way to go; I will explore all that should be explored in every field."

Zhao: Old Qian, we must judge a script by its main theme. The writer has really made a point of stressing the painter and several other intellectuals' feelings of patriotism and passionate love for the motherland. But this is not intended to show how lovely the motherland, the socialist motherland, is. On the contrary, this only sets off by contrast how ugly the motherland, the socialist motherland, is, and how the motherland has treated him and other intellectuals unlovingly. In a descriptive outline entitled "a brilliant but arduous road," the writer said: "What has happened to our intellectuals in the current century is a bitter experience still fresh in the mind." "There is a crying need for the writing of this script." Its main theme is "love" or "love for the motherland." But the writer added: "What is the motherland like? What symbolizes the motherland is by no means emperors and princes and powerholders through all ages. Absolutely not! On the contrary, symbolic of the motherland are those people who have trampled upon the mother, the motherland..." "We can never at any time expect one who has trampled upon his mother to require our love!" It is to be noted that the powerholders through all ages, as mentioned by the writer, of course include the powerholders in real life, namely, the Chinese Communist Party, which is leading the Chinese people in socialist construction. The writer further said that "it is hoped that people will draw a bitter lesson from these brokenhearted souls, give up any illusion about those professing to be the symbol of the motherland and wage a firm and unyielding struggle!" The writer has thus clearly spelled out the idea of his work. "Bitter Love" is only an illustration of this idea of his. Under the guise of love, he gives full vent to his indignation against the motherland, including its contemporary powerholders. Every page is permeated by accusations against the socialist motherland. (Old Zhao fished out of his pocket a supplement to the recently published SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE ERA] which had reprinted the script "Bitter Love." Look, Ling Chenguang, as described by the author, "flees to the depths of reed marshes." A civilized person of the 1970's has drawn on the stuff of over 2,000 years B.C. Please refer to the description of the pathetic death of Ling Chenguang on a snow-covered field before the script ends, as follows:

"Snowflakes are falling quietly. Chenguang alone is crawling over the snow-covered field and making his way with increasing difficulty....

"....

"Snowflakes are falling quietly. Chenguang forces himself to crawl forward on his elbows.

"....

"The snow has stopped. Chenguang is inching his way forward on the quiet snow-covered field. Short of breath, he stops for a moment and licks the snow with his tongue.

"....

"A slow-moving helicopter appears....

"From above, reed marshes and hills could be seen....

"On the snow-covered field, there appears a question mark, black in color....

"The helicopter is descending slowly....

"The question mark becomes increasingly larger, as large as life. It turned out that this marks the last stage of Chenguang's life. With his remaining strength, he spells out on the white bed of snow the mark '?'. The dot of the question mark is his frozen body."

This "?" mark cannot be taken lightly. It means that the scriptwriter is asking people the question about which direction is China to follow.

"Chenguang is lying on the snow-covered field with his knees drawn up, his two hands reaching out in the direction of the sky...his eyes remain open and quietly staring...."

Such pathetic and frightening scenes as "a lonely person abandoned in a snowbound world" are too numerous to be cited.

Sun: Yes! After reading the script, one cannot help feeling that the Communist Party is not as good as the Kuomintang, that new China is not as good as the old China and that the socialist motherland is not as good as a foreign capitalist country. In the old society, during the Kuomintang period, there emerged an outstanding painter that became well-known abroad. But in the new society after liberation, he was forced to live like a savage and died a pathetic death on a snow-covered field of the motherland. The writer also portrays another intellectual, Xie Quishan who was a well-known poet abroad. With great enthusiasm, Xie brought his sick wife back to the country traveling on the same ship with Ling Chenguang. His wife was confident that "after her return to the motherland, she would get well and everything would be all right." But her love for the motherland was unrequited, as she found herself in a blind alley. Xie Quishan shared

the same fate as Ling Chenguang. Not long after his return to the country, he was subjected to reform, husband and wife separated. His wife finally died, the family broken....

Li: Judging from the story scenes described by you two, I think that this script is at least objectively not preaching patriotism. On the contrary, it is a distortion of patriotism and a stain on the motherland, our parents. The scenes created from the imagination of the writer naturally leave people with the impression that those who go abroad end up with money and position. Those who stay behind live in misery and want. Those who leave the country win glory and rise to prominence, those who love the country are not loved in return and end up with their lives ruined. The greater one's love for the motherland, the more pathetic his fate. What is worth loving in such a motherland?

Sun: Let me further present two scenes below with domestic and foreign backgrounds:

(In a country in the Americas)

"A modern gallery." The first thing that greets one's eyes is a notice announcing 'The exhibition of Ling Chenguang's paintings.' On the notice is a picture showing the head of a half-smiling Lu Nuan. At the entrance, well-dressed people come and go.

"One streamlined limousine after another pulls up....

"When a black limousine draws near the entrance, people that had gathered there focus their eyes on it.... Instantly, many cameras click aimed at the limousine....

"A bearded doorman comes over to open the limousine door. In a well-tailored foreign suit and wearing sunglasses, Chenguang climbs out of the limousine. For a moment, he is barely recognizable, with his well-trimmed whiskers and a pipe in his mouth. People automatically make way for him. Cameras keep flashing. Ladies and gentlemen respectfully surround him, producing autograph albums and asking him to sign them. Chenguang hastily scribbles his name, as requested. He then pushes his way through the crowd and enters the gallery. Inside the gallery, it is unusually quiet. With awe and admiration, people regard Chenguang's works. In traditional Chinese paintings, prints, oil paintings, decorative paintings and other forms, they portray the sceneries and figures typical of China. People are impressed by a glittering display of his works."

(In the reed marshes of China)

"The striking beauty of evening reed marshes, the radiant glow of the setting sun reflected in a pool of water rippled by the breeze, a kaleidoscope of color emanating from the setting sun that peeps from behind the clouds...the aquatic birds have returned but are so fascinated by the beautiful sky that they are loathe to descend.

"Chenguang says in a light tone:

"'Brother, look, how beautiful! It is beautiful everywhere in our country! It's a pity that we have no paper, no pigment, no painting brush....'

"'Ah, you are really a devoted lover! I'll get paper, pigment, painting brush and everything. I'll borrow them for you!' (Li: From the context, we can see that it actually suggests pilferage.)

"'If you can get me painting brush, paper and pigment, then I..., I...'
Chenguang is at a loss for words. '...I'll embrace you!'"

Through sharp contrasts presented in a theatrical work, the writer thus depicts how Ling Chenguang was held in respect abroad. But in the motherland, he had to ask people to steal paper, pigment and paint brush in order to draw pictures.

This is the contrast between a foreign country and our country. It also presents a contrast between old society and new society through talks between two escapees, Ling Chenguang and Feng Hansheng in the reed marshes. The script recalls the miserable background of Ling Chenguang. In the old China, young Ling Chenguang lived in poverty, but he was taken good care of by samaritans everywhere and gained recognition from those who set store by talent. An artist devoted to decorating porcelain with colored drawings taught him how to draw pictures. The daughter of a scientist, Mr Chen, presented him with a wood-cutting blade as a token of love. An elderly monk of a monastery hung a magnolia painting drawn by him on a wall. Young Ling Chenguang was conscripted by the Kuomintang as an able-bodied man. As luck would have it, he was saved by a boatman's daughter. They ended up becoming husband and wife. However, in the new society, painter Ling Chenguang returned to the country only to enjoy a good life for a short time. For he was soon caught up in the 10-year period of turmoil. He was arrested for putting a wallposter up at the Tiananmen Square about "Qu Yuan's questions posed to heaven." Given below is a description of a relevant scene:

"The boats searching the lake quickly come up.

"Chenguang and Feng Hansheng are running through reeds....

"...Shanghai of old days. Under the cover of two students, Chenguang runs into a small lane, bullets hitting the wall....

"Reeds....

"Amid the sound of gunfire and cries, Chenguang and Feng Hansheng are running in shallow water at the reed-covered beach.

"...Shanghai of old days. Amid gunfire, Chenguang and his students climbed over a garden wall.

"Reed marshes. The sound of gunfire and cries never stop....

"Chenguang and Feng Hansheng crawl into the depths of the reeds....

"The sound of gunfire and cries gradually die away.

"Chenguang and Feng Hansheng breathe hard, facing each other...everything had quieted down in the reed marshes."

In the script, there are several such scenes comparing and linking the new society with the old. This only serves to make people feel that there is not much difference between the new society and the old and even feel that the new society is not as good as the old one.

Zhao: In the script, the protagonist's daughter Ling Xingxing asked her father: "Do you love this country of ours? You love this country so much that you are reluctant to leave it. ...But does this country love you!" Professor Feng Hansheng also said: "People of this generation of ours suffer from unrequited love. We are not loved in return." The main theme of the whole script lies in these few lines. When I came to this part, I could not help feeling sad. Can it be that the masses of intellectuals' wholehearted love for the motherland has been rejected by the socialist motherland? After going through the whole script, readers would feel that the system represented by this country is not good, that the Communist Party's leadership is not good and that there is no future ahead. Through facts, such as what happened to three intellectuals, the script tells the story: I, an intellectual, have done the motherland justice, but the motherland has done me an injustice. I have not betrayed the motherland, but the motherland has betrayed me.

Qian: The work is set in the historical background of 1976. Though it carries things a bit too far, it aims at exposing the "gang of four." As an ancient saying goes, "A scholar may be killed but cannot be insulted." The motherland does seem to have overlooked the dignity of intellectuals and does seem to have in some areas done an injustice to them. Especially in the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," those in the "stinking ninth category" suffered badly. A well-known painter like Ling Chenguang returned from abroad was driven into a closet "with no window, no sunlight, no air and not any view of the sky." Leading the life of a primitive.... Though the script follows an offbeat approach and carried things too far, things like these did happen. It hurts to mention again these "scars" and "traumatic experiences." I hope that our writers will produce fewer works of this kind. But such works inevitably reflect some truths. Literature is meant to tell the truth!

Zhao: Certain scenes described in "Bitter Love" did appear in varying degrees at the time when the "gang of four" ran wild. We should really draw lessons from certain mistakes that we made in the past under the influence of "leftist" guiding thoughts. But in no way can we equate the catastrophe caused by the "gang of four" with the whole motherland and blur the line between the two, a line that must not be blurred. It appears that the script is referring to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the smashing of them. But the "gang of four" is lumped with the party and the motherland, leaving people chiefly with the impression that the motherland is the target of its attack. When degenerates like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, our whole motherland suffered, groaning, grieving, struggling and bleeding. In this disaster, not only did the intellectuals suffer but party and state leading cadres were among those receiving the

heaviest blow. We should realize that even when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were acting most wildly, there remained powerful healthy forces in our party and country (such as the so-called "adverse current in February" which should now be called the "right current in February," the 5 April movement at the Tiananmen Square launched under the influence of the party, and so forth) that waged a resolute struggle against them. Without firing a single shot, these forces finally smashed the "gang of four" and brought them to trial at the solemn court. How can we lump these evil-doers harming the motherland with our party and our socialist motherland and fail to draw the line of distinction that must be strictly observed? In the past, the Kuomintang reactionaries victimized so many patriots, but none had ever considered it a case of the motherland applying the butcher's knife to its own children!

Li: Yes! Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party and state have done all in their power to heal the wounds of those daughters and sons who have been wronged, and have reversed verdicts on thousands upon thousands of false and wrong accusations, turning chaos into order and getting rid of the source of trouble. Much arduous work has been done to rectify the mistakes made during the "Great Cultural Revolution," to eliminate the influence of "leftist" guiding thoughts and to guard against a repetition of similar mistakes. All this shows that the great Chinese Communist Party and the great socialist motherland share the same fate and the same breath with the masses of people, including the large number of intellectuals.

Zhao: An important theme of the script is the equating of the relationship between an individual and the motherland with the relationship between lovers. Before Xingxing went abroad with her boyfriend, she said to Ling Chenguang: "I am leaving. I am leaving with my lover. I love him and he loves me. ...Father! You love this country of ours so much that you are loath to leave it... But does this country love you?" In the script, Feng Hansheng also said many times, "Unrequited love. Love is not returned." "You love the motherland. Does the motherland love you?" "It is not that I do not love the motherland. It's that the motherland does not love me!" How can a real patriot raise such a question? We are the sons and daughters of the motherland, our mother. Our love for the motherland that has lived through all ages and for all generations should be unconditional. If an analogy is to be drawn, our relationship with the motherland can only be the relationship between sons and daughters and their mother. How can it be treated as the relationship between lovers, so that they can get along or break off as they like? Still less can it be a relationship between traders.

In those dark days, Fang Zhimin confined to jail was finally killed. As he was gasping his last breath, he still bore the motherland in mind. In blood he wrote the characters "lovely China." In our country, there are so many upright intellectuals. Though subjected to all kinds of persecution in the 10-year catastrophe, they say nothing against the motherland and are devoted to the modernization of the motherland both heart and soul. In the past century, thousands upon thousands of Overseas Chinese or compatriots residing in Hong Kong and Macao have not lost their will because they are leading a wandering life. But they have not switched their allegiance because their country is weak and the people are poor. It may be

recalled that at the start of the 1938 war of resistance against Japanese aggression, many Overseas Chinese gave up comfortable lives abroad to return to the motherland. They came all the way from abroad and ran one blockade after another to reach Yanan--the sacred place of revolution. At that time, among those young people moving in an endless stream from Xian to north Shaanxi, there were many such Overseas Chinese. Since national liberation, many intellectuals abroad have overcome one obstacle after another to resolutely return to the motherland. With an attitude as masters of the house, they have contributed to socialist construction. Isn't Associate Professor Luan Fu of Taiyuan College of Engineering recently mentioned in the press an example typical of such patriotic intellectuals? In 1949, he returned from Taiwan to the mainland of the motherland. He had heard about the great achievements of the motherland and felt deeply that only by following the socialist road under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party could China be rejuvenated. He linked all his ideals with the socialist cause led by the party and was keen on making himself a glorious Communist Party member. When the "gang of four" caused havoc, he was put in an awkward position and was for no reason framed as a "big secret agent" and a "big slavish comprador." But he never gave up compiling the dictionary of scientific and technical terms in order to serve the broad masses of people. Luan Fu is an embodiment of the lofty sentiments of new Chinese intellectuals and is a moving example.

Zhao: It is said that "Bitter Love" was adapted from a "movie poem." The protagonist of the poem is called Huang Yongyu, a painter. The script "Bitter Love" not only distorts patriotic revolutionary intellectuals but also seriously distorts painter Comrade Huang Yongyu. Don't you all know about the well-known painter Comrade Huang Yongyu? When our country was liberated, he refused an invitation to be a lecturer in Britain and in the United States. Instead, he joyously returned to work in the motherland. In those days when the "gang of four" caused havoc, he drew a picture of an owl with one eye open. (The owl is a wholesome bird, good at catching mice. It is highly sensitive and often sleeps with one eye open.) But the "gang of four," as scared as mice, subjected Huang Yongyu to persecution for no reason and deprived him of his right to work. He was driven away from his original home. His family of four was instead confined to a small building with an area of 7 or 8 square meters. The occupants had no sunlight all day and only had a small hole for a window. Comrade Huang Yongyu purposely drew an oil painting called "window," and hung it on the wall. Through the "window," one could see an expanse of flowers blooming during spring. This symbolized a painter's faith in the motherland. Later, Premier Zhou let Comrade Huang Yongyu draw picturesque sites devoted to diplomatic activity showing the beautiful streams and mountains of our great socialist motherland. The vicious "gang of four" then again branded Huang Yongyu's fine works as "black pictures." Huang Yongyu did not become deterred. He concentrated his profound feelings on the point of his painting brush. At the time of Premier Zhou's death, he was filled with grief and worked day and night producing woodcuts showing the likeness of Premier Zhou. Such woodcuts dedicated to Zhou's memory were presented by Huang to his many comrades.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, Huang Yongyu gave fuller vent to his feelings with his painting brush. He turned his hatred against the "gang of four" into fervent love for the motherland and the revolutionaries of the older

generation. He created a big "red lotus" with four Chinese characters "beautiful flowers and luxuriant leaves" inscribed thereon as a symbol of prosperity and wealth for the motherland. Like other intellectuals subjected to persecution, Huang Yongyu was rehabilitated by the party organization. He commands greater respect from the masses and works most assiduously. When a magazine correspondent recently visited him, he said sternly: If an individual does not even love his own motherland, how can he be worthy of the name of an artist? Our country still encounters many difficulties after a 10-year catastrophe. But can we stop loving this country? On a recent visit to the United States, Huang Yongyu said: "Our intellectuals have shared the same fate with the motherland. It is a solemn and stirring scene, a great glory. The important thing is that we have won while the 'gang of four' has been toppled!" Comrade Huang Yongyu was a painter subjected to serious persecution. But this upright artist with sincere love for the motherland planted his feet more firmly on the vast land of the motherland moving ahead!

Sun: These facts mentioned by you speak louder than 100 articles full of platitudes. I have also known a well-known painter over 80 called Li Kushan. When the "gang of four" was throwing its weight around, he met with the same fate as Huang Yongyu. But he said: "The 10-year catastrophe spelled near ruin for the Chinese people. But without the Communist Party, there would not have been the new China. This is a universally recognized truth. Isn't it precisely the party that has led us in smashing the 'gang of four'? Is it not precisely that the party has shown the Chinese nation the road to modernization with a rosy future ahead? We are like mountain flowers while the party is like the setting sun. The party is a good leader of the Chinese nation!" Comrade Li Kushan also said: "Chinese scholars have traditionally set great store by honor. If a painter does not love the nation or the motherland, he is unworthy of national honor. The value of a painting lies in integrity. Integrity, patriotism, reigns supreme."

Li: I heard that at the end of last year, a foreign correspondent stationed at Beijing talked with several Chinese writers and posed questions to well-known writer Ding Ling, who is 76. Ding Ling was asked: "Since the Communist Party assumed power, you have had a hard time. Why do you still believe in the Communist Party?" Comrade Ding Ling replied: "It's not that the Communist Party has erred. It's that some people have erred. There have been some wrong ideas." Comrade Ding Ling also said: "In the preface to the second edition of my 'The Sun Shining on the Sanggan River' published last year, I wrote: 'When writing, I feel like a fighter shouting the name of Mao Zedong in a march to the battlefield.' Later some people asked me: 'Do you still have this feeling?' I said: 'Chairman Mao is great.' I still hold the same view."

Qian: After hearing what you said, I also feel that the writer has indeed distorted our intellectuals' patriotism. Though subjected to harassment in the "Great Cultural Revolution," our intellectuals have never and should not have lost their faith in the brilliant future of the motherland. They have never and should not have shaken their faith in their warm love for socialism. We have nothing to say against the motherland. Our fate is linked to the destiny of the party and the socialist motherland, just as flesh is related to blood. The script "Bitter Love" says, "You love the motherland, but does the motherland love you?" Especially in the writer's descriptive outline accompanying the work, people are

told "to learn a painful lesson, give up any illusion about those people professing to be the symbol of the motherland, and wage a firm and unyielding struggle." This not only distorts intellectuals' patriotism but objectively plays a role in alienating intellectuals from the motherland. How can the writer claim that the work is intended to "give expression to the Chinese nation's power of condensation and centralization"?

Zhao: The work "Bitter Love" contains serious mistakes. The newspapers have criticized this work in order to uphold the four basic principles and to let people understand clearly through a typical analysis: What does upholding the four basic principles mean and what does running counter to the four basic principles mean? We must praise good works, try to improve immature works and criticize wrong works, making comradely criticisms. Criticisms made this way aim to help a writer to correct his mistakes and rectify the direction of his writing. This is a gesture of love for the writers. In making criticisms, we must adopt a prudent attitude, adhere to the guideline of making things clear and uphold the method of reasoning things out. We must pay attention to the scientific and accurate nature of criticism. Such a down-to-earth and friendly way of literary and art criticism, which is normal, is sharply different from the previous way of so-called mass criticism. This will not spoil the situation of lively literary and artistic activity but will help the implementation of the guideline of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and enliven literature and art. This is by no means a case of "using the stick." Refusing to accept any well-intentioned criticism on the ground that we should not "use the stick" will not help our socialist literary and art enterprise. The writer of "Bitter Love" is a man of talent with some relatively good works to his credit. But practice shows and will continue to show that a man who is talented but not guided by a correct political orientation and who has run counter to the four basic principles cannot find the fullest scope for his abilities and also cannot produce fine works. Of course, we must also appreciate the difficulties experienced by writers in creation. When a writer has gone astray in exploration and creation artistically, we can in no way freely exaggerate his mistakes. In criticizing "Bitter Love," do the newspapers not still cherish the hope that the writer will sum up lessons and produce fine works? There are times when a writer loses his way during his creative life. Isn't it a very satisfactory way for the dear party and comrades to give him a hand, so that he can advance along the correct path?

Sun: I still remember that the writer of "Bitter Love" in 1979 said in an appeal: "Comrade poets, we would rather sing the praises of a brick in the democratic wall. Never should we again sing the praises of any savior." (A speech given at a poetry forum in January 1979) The script "Bitter Love" is a continuation and development of this erroneous idea. In the script, it is written: "Why is the figure of Buddha so dark?" "The burning of incense by Buddhists has darkened it...." Such a question appears repeatedly. This is also improper.

Li: Yes! The writer equates faith in Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought with religious superstition. In a sarcastic tone, he attributes the roots of "disaster" to "a god" and describes the cadres and the masses as "devotees of Buddha." This is undoubtedly a distortion.

Qian: How to understand and appraise Comrade Mao Zedong and how to treat Mao Zedong Thought, this is a fundamental problem for our country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly said that in the history of our party and state, Chairman Mao's contributions are the primary factor and his mistakes are secondary. On many occasions, Chairman Mao saved the party and the state from crises. Without Chairman Mao, our Chinese people would have spent a longer period of time groping in the dark. Our cadres and people have come to see the correctness of Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought only after many victories and failures or setbacks in actual revolutionary struggle. How can it be interpreted as the blind superstition of "devotees of Buddha"?

Zhao: The birth of Mao Zedong Thought was no accident. It was a product of several decades of revolutionary struggle on the part of several hundreds of millions of people. It was a product of the integration of fundamental Marxist principles with concrete practice in the Chinese revolution. Our party has used Mao Zedong Thought to educate a whole generation of people. Only in this way have we scored revolutionary victory and founded the People's Republic of China. And only in this way has the motherland gained a foothold in the world and held its own. Of course, despite great achievements after the founding of the state, we also suffered some setbacks and followed a tortuous road. In the "Great Cultural Revolution," we again made serious mistakes. It was also the party that smashed Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Was this not the result of the work of a generation of people educated by Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought? Using a metaphor, "Bitter Love" describes Chairman Mao as the cause of "disaster." Such an approach to Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought is repudiated by any comrade who upholds the four basic principles. Chairman Mao erred in his later years. But I must advise the writer to take the whole revolutionary situation into consideration and make a clinical and overall scientific assessment instead of being carried away.

Qian: A big country like ours with a population of 1 billion must always have an ideological weapon as a guide. Chairman Mao has left us, bequeathing us cherished treasure and also some negative factors. But these negative factors have only a temporary effect. They can be overcome by our work (including cultural and artistic work). The cherished treasure left us by Comrade Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong Thought, will in the future continue to guide our actions.

Li: Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" pointed out the orientation requiring literature and art to serve workers, peasants and soldiers and to play a role in unifying and educating the people. Everything said in the talks about the need for revolutionary writers and artists of China and promising writers and artists to go among the masses and into the midst of heated struggle, about the need to develop criticism of literature and art, and about the need to correctly solve the problem of bestowing praises and making exposures must be continuously followed by us. Now some people want to negate these fundamental principles and even want to criticize them. This is a major problem of principle bearing on the fundamental direction of socialist literature and art. As the 39th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" approaches, we should raise high this great banner in marching forward.

Sun: Our upright and progressive intellectuals in the past showed their patriotism by expressing great indignation over the people's suffering and the motherland's disintegration. Now things have basically changed. Our socialist motherland, independent, democratic and free, has eliminated the system of exploitation and exploiting classes as classes with a history of several thousand years. The party has carved out a path for the emergence of the Chinese nation and held out an infinitely bright future for it on the road to being a modern powerful country. There is a way for our intellectuals to repay the country.

Qian: Just as an ancient poem says, "What you can do for your parents is nothing to everything that they have done for you." Looking back over the past and taking a look at the present, how can our intellectuals who have gone through the mill not feel warm love for the party and for our motherland and our parents, known for thousands of years to have nursed, cultivated and educated us!

(Note from the writer of this article: The use of dialogue, such as that which takes place between Zhao, Qian, Sun and Li in this article, is a way of presenting a critique.)

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LEARN FROM COMRADE MAO DUN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 81 pp 34-35

[Article by Ouyang Shan [2962 7122 1472]]

[Text] Comrade Mao Dun, a great writer and master literary craftsman of modern China, one of the earliest members of the Chinese Communist Party and a good teacher of our youth, has passed away. His death is a great loss to the revolutionary cause and to revolutionary cultural undertakings. Among the Chinese literary and art circles and hundreds of millions of youths of our country there is great sadness.

Comrade Mao Dun dedicated all his life to the vast reading public, the writers, and his young friends. He made outstanding contributions both to our revolutionary cause and to our literature and art by writing for us numerous works, explaining the how's and why's of many problems, helping us to understand things correctly, and inspiring us to forge ahead unremittingly. Now, he has left us. How empty and regretful this leaves us!

So what should we do? I think the best way to commemorate Comrade Mao Dun is to learn from him; to study his splendid writings more diligently and earnestly; and to do our best to have a good grasp of the Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods which he used so that we can understand and handle new things, situations and problems that emerge as we serve the people and socialism.

Recently, with a heavy heart, I again studied many of the commentaries Comrade Mao Dun wrote and I was deeply moved. I was much inspired by his article "On Realistic Writing and Independent Thinking," which brings to mind some of the problems that the literary and art circles are confronting at present. For instance, "absolute freedom for creative writing," "write about the truth," and so on. I think, it is very beneficial to study carefully and think seriously about what Comrade Mao Dun taught us in regard to these problems.

In this article Comrade Mao Dun wrote: "Capitalist idealists make a great show about 'free will' as if it were real. It is this 'free will' which is the basis of the so-called absolute freedom for creative writing. However, is there such a thing as 'free will'? ...No, there is not. Since there is no such a thing as 'free will', how can there be the 'absolute freedom for creative writing'? ...What deserves our investigation is the fact that 'absolute freedom for

creative writing' is furtively ushered in under the guise of 'writing about the truth.'"

How heartfelt and clear is the above passage! Since there is no such a thing as "free will," how can there be "absolute freedom for creative writing"? Nevertheless, some people in search of "absolute freedom for creative writing," are griping about the restriction imposed on them by the orientation of "serving the people and serving socialism" in the field of literature and art. They are also griping about the restriction imposed on them by the four basic principles. Some people agree in words that there is the need for an orientation in literature and art and that the four basic principles should be firmly adhered to, but actually they are in pursuit of "self"-expression; they want to display "their feelings" while ignoring the modern socialist construction that the hundreds of millions of ordinary working people are undertaking and the great achievements that have been made. Some people make no mention of the "absolute freedom for creative writing," but they put forth the slogan of "writing about the truth" and so on. This is just as what Comrade Mao Dun pointed out: They have stealthily ushered in the "absolute freedom for creative writing."

What we are undertaking is socialist literature and revolutionary literature. It naturally follows that undertaking revolutionary literature, just as undertaking socialist construction as a whole, requires the participation of the broad masses who have a common conviction and common direction. In the field of literature, how do we get such a direction? In order to be guided by a correct orientation, we must uphold the four basic principles and take them as our ideological and political guide. Besides, how can socialist literature deviate from this guide to action? The answer is obvious. Therefore, if we are unable to conscientiously maintain this orientation and uphold the four basic principles, this means that we do not yet understand the truth and do not fully grasp the problems. This being the case, what we should do is to study hard to improve ourselves. We should never think that the correct orientation for literature and art and the four basic principles are fetters restraining us. We acknowledge that writers can freely choose what to write and how to write. They must be respected in this regard. In fact, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy is meant to guarantee the writers' keeping and exercising this special privilege. However, it should be deduced from this that the creative work of writers must adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and the four basic principles. On the contrary, maintaining the orientation of the "two for's" [for the people and for socialism] and the four basic principles is by no means a restriction on writers. If any limitations and restrictions are felt, it is the result of a lack of understanding or comprehension. Therefore, once this is understood and comprehended, this feeling will dissipate. We should not forget Marx' teaching: "Each man's freedom to develop is conditional on the free development of all people." It is the socialist society alone, and none other, which provides, both materially and spiritually, the realistic base for this development. Without the collective, the people and the party, no free development for any individual is possible and neither, in a still lesser degree, is the formation of the condition for the free development of the whole people.

As has been mentioned above, the cause of socialism is the great cause of hundreds of millions of people. Socialist literature is an inseparable part of this great

cause. The success of the whole cause of socialism, including that of literature, requires unity of thinking, understanding, will, and action under the guidance of the Communist Party in order to carry on the hard struggle and to overcome all kinds of difficulties. Consequently, in order to realize this cause, first of all, a common conviction is needed. Without this common conviction, it will be absolutely impossible to realize this cause. Everyone should devote some thought to the question of what kind of attitude he should take in regard to this great cause: Is he going to join wholeheartedly, or is he going to stand by watching? Is he going to act the same as do hundreds of millions of his fellow countrymen, or is he going to come and go all by himself? Is he going to try hard to acquire the common conviction, or is he going to elaborate on his own "little world"? If his "ego" and his "own feelings" are contrary to the common conviction and feelings of the people, naturally he will feel hampered and restrained. If his "ego" and his "own feelings" are in agreement with the common conviction and feelings of the people, beyond the shadow of a doubt he will be a free and happy man.

Regarding the question of "writing about the truth," what should be the correct understanding? Let us examine once again what Comrade Mao Dun had to say about this:

"In viewing a writer's creative writing, two questions must be answered in relation to 'writing about the truth': What kind of truth is he going to write about? And why does he want to write in this manner? The former has much to do with his viewpoint and the latter with his standpoint."

What Comrade Mao Dun meant here was the kind of truth that a writer writes about and the reasons why he writes in a particular way (included here must be mentioned how this and that truth are actually written about) are closely related to the viewpoint and standpoint of each writer. This is to say, what to write and why to write in a particular way are related to whether the writer has a sense of responsibility in regard to history and the present age; whether his observations and his attitude toward his surroundings are in conformity with reality; whether he keeps the interest of the vast majority in mind; and whether he has taken account beforehand the social influence and effects of his works. All in all, these depend on the relation between the writer and the masses of people and cannot be chosen by the "free will" of the writer. As far as a writer's standpoint and viewpoint are concerned, his thoughts do not fall from the sky, and neither are they inherent in his mind, but they are a reflection of certain social conditions. Literature is one form of reflection. When a writer uses literature as a form to express social life, he invariably represents certain social relationships and he gives voice to certain social groups. For this reason, every revolutionary writer living under the socialist system always "maintains a modest heart," tries his best to enhance his political and ideological standards, takes great care at all times to guard against the attacks of nonproletarian thoughts, and closely unites his creative labor with the destiny of his motherland, the future of his nation, and the great modern socialist construction cause. Only this, and this alone, can be his correct choice.

Comrade Mao Dun proved himself to be our good teacher. He convincingly and clearly explained to us the underlying reasons of things. Let us mourn for him by learning earnestly from him, and carry forward and enhance the rich ideological wealth that he bequeathed us.

6 June 1981, Guangzhou

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FOR THE FUTURE OF THE MOTHERLAND AND THE NATION--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 62D
ANNIVERSARY OF THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 81 pp 36-40

[Article by Yan Ming [3601 2494]]

[Text] To young people, the words "ideal" and "future" have charm that youths of every generation and all ambitious youths think hard about and warmly pursue. An anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary storm--the May 4th movement--swept across the land of China 62 years ago. This movement was an excellent answer given by the Chinese youths during the years around the May 4th movement to the question of "what approach one should take to one's 'ideal' and 'future.'"

At that time China was divided and ravaged by unending wars which had lasted for years. The Chinese nation groaned under the iron heel of imperialism, and the Chinese people wailed under the despotic rule of feudal warlords.... The dark night and bloodshed seemed endless!

During those years, some people sank to the bottom, either seeking help from the ghost of feudalism and advocating "restoring ancient things and revering Confucius," or begging for "benevolence" and alms from imperialism and "busily working with foreigners to run some enterprises in order to draw a commission on loans to fill their own purses...." Others were perplexed, either indulging in personal "undertakings" and "self-cultivation" and dreaming of taking the road to save the country through industry, science and education, or admiring the theories of evolution and human rights advocated by the Western bourgeoisie and attempting to build a bourgeois republic. However, many of them were awakened by the bloody facts: "Follow the road taken by the Russians--this is the conclusion." To quicken the rise of the Chinese nation, they bravely joined the ranks of saving the motherland and reviving the nation.

The May 4th movement was a thoroughly anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary mass movement with patriotic young people as its main force. Holding high the banner of science and democracy, its young participants brought hope and dawn to people who were shackled by feudalism. In the face of the clubs, firehoses and bayonets of reactionary troops and police, they "were dutybound not to turn back even if they had to lay down their lives." Thus, they aroused the nation and raised the curtain on China's new democratic revolution with their youth, ideals, blood and lives. Did they have no kinsmen? Did they have no love?

Did they not long for a beautiful and happy life? The answers are in the affirmative. "When the nation is in peril, how can one talk about home?" This was the moral principle they followed. "Only when our nation revives will we be able to realize our wishes." This represented their aspirations. The most valuable spirit of the young participants in the May 4th movement was that they ardently loved the motherland and closely linked their own futures and destinies with the future of the country and the destiny of the nation.

This lofty spirit has always remained a valuable spiritual treasure for the younger generation in our country. To build an ideal China, advanced young people represented by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have gone through all kinds of hardship, difficulties and sufferings and have, with their blood, written earth-shaking, immortal, historic chapters for the Chinese people. When martyr Lin Xiangqian's body was cut by the slaughterer's knife, when sister Jiang's fingertips were pierced by slender pointed pieces of bamboo, an instrument of torture used by the KMT secret agents, when Comrade Xu Haidong's 66 kinsmen were brutally massacred by the KMT reactionaries, and when the thousands of Red Army fighters fed themselves on tree leaves and grass, climbed perilous cliffs and waded through rapid currents during the earth-shaking 25,000-li Long March, did they not have a hard time? In the reactionaries' torture chambers, under the reign of White terror, in the battlefields where bullets flew in all directions, in the face of brutal torture and massacre and despicable bribery and temptation by the reactionaries, and in the wicked combat at close quarters with the enemy, they were neither daunted, conquered nor exterminated. Instead, they picked themselves up, cleaned the bloodstains on their clothes, buried the dead bodies of their comrades and continued to fight. Where did their strength come from? From the heroic words that martyr Fang Zhimin said before he bravely faced execution, from the inspiring poem written by General Ye Ting when he was in jail, and from martyr Dong Cunrui's outcry before he sacrificed himself by blowing up an enemy bastion, we can see the splendor of an idea which all of them cherished. That was: they did everything for the future of the motherland and the nation. It is the broad masses, including millions of consciously revolutionary young people who, through struggle with their blood, have built our socialist state, have built up our party and its fine tradition and have shared our party's guiding ideology, which is Mao Zedong Thought. Among them were our great teacher and leader Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades in arms Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Ren Bishi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Lin Boqu, Li Fuchun and Zhang Wentian, as well as many revolutionary martyrs, including Lin Shiyang, Gu Zhenghong, Li Dazhao, Liu Hua, Chen Zanzhan, Luo Yinong, Zhao Shiyan, Xiong Xiong, Wang Shouhua, Jiang Xianyun, Guo Liang, Xiao Chun, Xiang Jingyu, Ma Jun, Chen Yannian, Zhang Tailei, Peng Bai, Yang Yin, Luo Dengxian, Cai Hesen, Yun Daiying, Deng Zhongxia, Lin Yunan, Xia Minghan, Li Qiushi, Rou Shi, Huang Gonglue, Zhao Bosheng, Ji Hongchang, Wei Boqun, Fang Zhimin, Liu Bojian, Zhou Yiqun, Ruan Xiaoxian, Liu Zhidan, Dong Zhentang, Qu Qiubai, He Shuheng, Zuo Quan, Xiang Ying, Peng Xuefeng, Chen Tanqiu, Mao Zemin, Yang Jingyu, Qin Bangxian (Bo Gu), Deng Fei, Wang Ruofei and Ye Ting. Our socialist state, our party, its fine tradition and its guiding ideology, Mao Zedong Thought, are the most treasured legacies that proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have left to us.

Since nationwide liberation, the broad masses of young people, inheriting and carrying forward the glorious tradition of the young participants in the May 4th movement, have consciously linked their studies, work or labor closely with the future of the country, the destiny of the nation and the great cause of socialist construction. They ardently love the motherland and the party and have a high political consciousness and a spirit of devotion. They are quick and diligent in thought and dare to break with outmoded conventions and corrupt customs. They study hard, strive to make progress, work conscientiously and dare to blaze new trails. Thus, they have made glorious achievements and important contributions in defending and building socialism. Advanced persons, such as heroes like Huang Jiguang, Qiu Shaoyun, Xiang Xiuli, Wang Jie and Lei Feng, activists in learning from Lei Feng, shock workers on the new Long March, "8 March standard-bearers," young model workers and outstanding CYL members, have come to the fore on various fronts. Particularly because the "four pests" wreaked havoc, hundreds of millions of people were subject to great suffering, the motherland suffered extremely serious setbacks and the party experienced an extremely serious test. At that time, large numbers of young people, heedless of their personal safety, bravely rose up in the struggle for the country and the people, composing a loud, vehement, stimulating and sad melody. With glittering youth, they realized their pure ideals and pursued a great future identical to the destiny of the motherland. It should be said that this is the mainstream of the present younger generation in our country.

However, when some young people were in adverse circumstances and were not fairly treated, when their personal wishes could not be realized for the time being, when some setbacks occurred in the political and economic life of our country as a result of the influence of "left" ideas during the past years, and, in particular, when the world was contaminated with all sorts of abominable, despicable and filthy things wantonly created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the decade of upheavals, their ideals vanished and they had nervous breakdowns. Some of them were disheartened and dejected, cried piteously that "everything has gone to pieces," and degenerated into nihilism. Others changed their orientation and became interested in personal fame and gain. Still others thought that only personal "profits" were "real" and enjoyed staying in the "cozy nests" of their own families. A few even degenerated morally and politically and fell into the abyss of crime. What striking contrast there was between their mentality, words and deeds and those of the other young people of their times!

What positions should personal ideal and future, the future of the motherland and the destiny of the nation occupy in young people's minds? How should today's young people strive and fight for the future of the motherland and the destiny of the nation as the young participants in the May 4th movement and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation did? This is a question every young person should think about seriously and answer.

We often say that it is impossible for one to go away from society and live alone. The nature of the mode of production and the development of the productive forces in a society in which one lives play a decisive role in restricting one's work and life. It is unimaginable that in the past, when the country was overrun by imperialism and the Chinese people were humiliated by being likened to dogs and

forbidden to enter the Baiduqiao Park in Shanghai in the old society, one who was a member of the Chinese nation could live quietly, happily and peacefully alone and seek "happiness"! It is also unimaginable that today, as the whole country is still poor and backward, its economy is not yet developed and the great goal and future of the four modernizations remain to be realized by us through strenuous efforts, that a person, as a member of the nation, can improve his livelihood and realize the so-called modernization of his family life by himself without social development! For this reason, first of all, only when the nation is independent and the state prosperous will there be happiness and a future for individuals. This is what we must fully understand first. When the state and the nation are experiencing a crisis, such as during the times of the May 4th movement and the 8-year war of resistance against Japan, it will be fairly easy to understand this. However, when the state is steadily developing, this question can easily be ignored. Fundamentally speaking, the ideal and future of an individual must be subordinate to the needs and future of the state. It is exactly in this sense that we discuss this question.

Of course, we do not deny that under certain external conditions one's hard work is the key to making achievements. As the saying goes, "a knife is sharpened by grinding and the plum blossom is fragrant in chilly winter." We should vigorously encourage every young person to forge ahead in the face of difficulties, to study, work and strive to make achievements in the world by painstakingly probing into the essence of things. However, understanding this point alone is not enough. We must also realize that even the inventions and creations of individuals, including their new achievements in the realms of ideology, culture, science, the arts and other realms, are nothing but a crystallization of collective wisdom. They are inseparable from the support and efforts of the masses, because any cultural and scientific achievement or new achievement can only be a form of development and improvement on the basis of the cultural and scientific knowledge accumulated by our predecessors over the past several thousand years. It can only be the summation and epitome of the social practice of the broad masses, and the result of concerted efforts by other cultural and scientific workers and the broad masses. Thus, we say: The collective efforts of the whole society are the prerequisite for the realization of the ideals of individuals. Only by analyzing and understanding problems in such a manner, by consciously handling, in a correct manner, relations between the individual and the collective, between the individual and society and between the individual and the state, and by adequately appraising the role of individuals in the development of society, will it be possible to bring the future of individuals in line with the future of the state and the nation.

Some people say that conscious subordination to the state's needs is "an expansion of the three obediences and the four virtues in the old society" and is aimed at "fettering people's creativeness." This viewpoint is completely untenable.

Society is a whole in which the relationship between man and man is extremely complicated. The realization of socialist modernization needs the collective efforts of young people of all walks of life. No matter whether one grows crops, weaves cloth, builds houses, cleans things, does odd jobs or engages in scientific research or artistic work, one represents a division of labor and an

indispensable part of the development of society. We admit that one's special skills and interests are different from those of others. So far as an individual is concerned, it is entirely normal for him to request that his personal, special skills and interests be taken into consideration. So far as the state is concerned, it should of course try its best to make suitable assignments and arrangements on the basis of each person's special skills and interests so that each person's skills are put to the best use and so that each has a role to play. However, the needs of the state are not completely compatible with an individual's special skills and interests at all times and under all circumstances. In a country like ours with a population of 1 billion people, how can one do whatever one pleases and each go his own way? This kind of free development cannot go very far under any social system. Do some developed capitalist countries not boast that every citizen enjoys the "freedom" to choose his job? However, in these countries, millions, or about 10 percent, of the people, are always unemployed. Which of these unemployed people would not like to find an easy, suitable job? Do the unemployed academicians, professors and artists really like to depend on relief funds for support? We can see that this "freedom" is false. It is strictly confined to the needs of the bourgeoisie. Hunger is like a rope tying everyone's neck so that even an artist has to work as an unskilled laborer and even an engineer has to wash dishes in a restaurant. Even if we reach the high level of communism in the future, it will be impossible to eliminate all forms of division of labor. There still exists an objective ratio of labor distribution in all sectors of social production. This demands that every laborer consciously subordinate himself to the needs of society. Therefore, bringing the efforts of the individual into line with the needs of society and the development of the state is not an "expansion of the three obediences and the four virtues" but reflects the high political awareness of young people in the present era and the most rudimentary principle guiding their actions.

Does consciously bringing the efforts of the individual into line with the needs of the state mean "fettering people's creativeness"? The answer is no. Gold will not change its value after being buried for a time. In the same way, the youth of ambitious young people is not wasted by working at ordinary posts. An old Chinese saying goes: "Every profession produces its own authority." That is to say, no matter what job one does, if one loves it and delves into it, one can make extraordinary achievements at any ordinary post. We have read stories about some young people who have scored remarkable results at their ordinary posts of a button seller, a locksmith, a warehouse keeper, and so forth. These touching reports tell us convincingly that their work is so ordinary and yet so great and that they can display their creativeness at their ordinary posts. Furthermore, even if our jobs are not in line with our liking, we can still study or do research during our spare time. We can make great achievements as long as we persist in studying and probing. We might also think about the circumstances in which such great learners and inventors as Copernicus, Faraday, Edison and Hua Luogeng grew up. The touching stories of their experiences also convincingly tell us that they worked hard and displayed their creativeness before obtaining the laurels of science. Moreover, living under the socialist system today, we enjoy the unprecedentedly fine conditions created by the party and the state for the broad masses of young people.

Some young people say: "The future of the state and the nation is too far from us. We had better work for something real!" How should we approach this question? First, everyone alive has everyday needs of all descriptions. To enrich one's life calls for not only healthy and abundant spiritual enjoyment but also plentiful material supplies. This point is very simple. But, what relationship is there between the personal needs for real benefits and the future of the state and the nation? Personal real benefits are based on the prosperity of the state and the nation. Another equally important point is that the state develops production for the purpose of giving all people, including all young people, greater real benefits. This is an identity of the future of the state and the future of the individual. Viewed from this angle, personal real benefits are closely linked with the future of the state and the nation. How can we say that the benefits of the state and the nation are "too far" from us? The crux lies in the fact that, for many years, we emphasized that individuals must sacrifice themselves for the state and for the nation, while ignoring the point that the state must also work for some real material interests of the people. Either in propaganda work or in practice, there exists a trend to separate the fundamental and long-range interests of the state and the nation from the specific, real and immediate interests of the people. This is a bitter lesson we have learned in our work over the past several decades. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party and government have adopted a series of measures to increase the wages of workers and staff members, raised the purchase prices for farm and sideline products and accelerated the growth of light and textile industries. Compared to the period when the "gang of four" held sway, the livelihood of the people in urban and rural areas has greatly improved. So long as we conscientiously implement the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have a great hope to raise the living standards of the people and make our nation more prosperous than ever before. It is precisely because of this that we consider it undesirable to want only current material benefits and have a cozy nest for one's own family, but to show no interest in the future of our country or make no efforts for the country's needs. To satisfy their personal demands, some young people sacrifice the interests of the state and the nation by engaging in corruption and theft, giving and accepting bribes, profiteering, smuggling, destroying public property, violating social morality and behaving in a way harmful to the state's prestige and their moral qualities. We must oppose them, strictly denounce them and punish them according to the law.

Our country is indeed very poor. Whatever the causes of this situation might be and no matter how many lessons we have learned, there is one thing in common among them, that is, the people, particularly the young, are quite dissatisfied with this situation. The heartfelt wish of the people throughout the country is to change the situation. How can the situation be changed as soon as possible so that our country can become prosperous and powerful as soon as possible? Can we rely on anxiety, sigh, and blame God and man? That will never work. Nor will it work if we ask God for help or rely on the soul of each genius or sage. It is disgraceful for people to beg foreign countries for help, admire the way of living of foreign bourgeoisie and abandon patriotism. In the final analysis, we must rely on ourselves, our own two hands and our dedication.

Marx said: In a certain sense, one practical action is more important than a dozen programs. An ideal, however beautiful, can only be the moon in the water or the cake in a painting, and the future of the state and the future of the individual can only be a beautiful dream unless we put it into action. All young people today should follow the example set by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, devote themselves to their work posts, have the future in view, seize every minute, and work hard and earnestly. Some people worry that calling on the young people to work contentedly at their posts can only make them see the immediate and partial interests while neglecting the long-term and overall interests. They do not have to worry about this. By concerning oneself with the future of our country and nation, we do not mean to call on the youths just to pay lipservice to the country and nation. Instead, we want all youths to make practical efforts and consciously contribute to the future of the country and nation by doing creative work at their respective posts. By advocating devotion to one's own work, we do not mean confining our scope to immediate personal interests and advocating out-and-out egoism. On the contrary, we mean that one should have the cardinal principles in mind, take the overall situation into account, obey the organization, observe discipline, consciously gear one's study, labor and work to the needs of the country, and take solid action to create a beautiful future for the country and the nation.

Our country now has 200 million young people and 300 million teenagers and children. This shows that we have a great number of fresh troops and successors for our cause of socialist modernization. To prove themselves capable of tomorrow's heavy responsibility, the young people of today must take study as their most important task and acquire the abilities needed to run the country. Today the party and the government have created very good conditions for study. The total number of students enrolled in full-time universities, television universities, factory-run universities and other schools has exceeded 1.9 million, being 8 times greater than the total number of students graduated from universities in more than 5 decades in the old China before liberation. The state has also run a variety of correspondence universities, spare-time universities, institutes and schools for advanced studies, evening schools for workers and commune members, and training classes. It is entirely possible for the vast number of youths to systematically study science, culture and other knowledge in these schools, or, by studying independently and using other means, to achieve real ability and learning for serving the people. The key lies in whether the young people will work hard and delve into their studies, make progress gradually and perseveringly, and exert strenuous efforts to achieve abundant results. What must be pointed out is that the youths should receive education in the four basic principles while diligently studying science, culture and other knowledge, so that they can develop morally, intellectually and physically, and actively participate in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Every young man or woman must regard the emancipation of all mankind as his or her own duty, be a social activist who has ideals, morality, knowledge and physical strength, and bravely shoulder the heavy responsibility of the four modernizations. Those who have no lofty ideals and aspirations, no firm communist world outlook, no modern scientific and cultural knowledge or no strong physique cannot competently undertake the historical task of the four modernizations.

The road to the four modernizations is long and beset with difficulties. Yet we can only march forward step by step. This is the only choice we can make. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism have hindered us for centuries. The sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wasted 10 years of our precious time. Only 19 years are left in this century. Young friends, an era is calling us. Our historical duty is encouraging us. The party and the people are placing their hopes on us. Let us devote all our enthusiasm, all our physical and mental capacity, all our wisdom and our energy to the struggle to create a great future for the country and nation!

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IN PRAISE OF PRACTICAL WORKERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 81 pp 41-44

[Article by Sha Ying [3097 5391]]

[Text] In its column "Practical Workers," from June last year to January this year, RENMIN RIBAO has carried over 70 short articles reporting the experiences and deeds of some workers, peasants, army men, doctors, teachers, factory managers and other work personnel at the grassroots level. These articles were original in the choice of theme, simple in writing style and full of profound strength. They were worth reading.

Many characteristics of these figures deserve our praise and emulation. In Lenin's "A Great Beginning," there are these two phrases: "Fewer pompous words, more plain, everyday work...." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 17)

In "Parting Forever" written by Zhou Enlai at the age of 24, there is a verse: "Sitting around and talking. Why don't you get up and do something?" Admittedly, it is all right to be concerned about one's country and one's people, but what is needed most is to act in the interests of the country and the people. The four modernizations program can be accomplished only by doing concrete work and it can never be realized by shouting empty slogans. Some people are "giants in words but dwarfs in deeds." They are good at bragging and pleasing people with claptrap but, with regard to action, they hesitate to move forward so they do nothing besides grumbling and making sarcastic remarks. Those who have the chronic and stubborn disease of telling lies, talking big and indulging in empty talk greatly disgust people. Contrary to the above-mentioned figures, the people presented in this article are all practical workers who do ordinary work and are unknown to the public. Some of them are master laborers, experts in certain trades, shock workers, versatile workers, scientists, artists and cadres at the grassroots levels who enjoy the love and esteem of the masses, and so on. Working with a will to make the country strong and scale new heights in their respective fields, they all have performed brilliant exploits at their posts. They are the hope of the Chinese nation, and the future of the four modernizations depends on them. Please look at: Liu Dayin, a tallyman of the Jiangbei operation area under the Zhongqing Port Bureau, who was chosen as a quality pacesetter because he has managed to handle more than 3 million pieces of goods without a hitch for over 20 years. Liu Jingbo, a postman in Tianjin, was awarded the title of special-class model worker because he has managed to deliver 4.6 million pieces

of mail, including newspapers and periodicals as well as letters, without any mishaps for 23 years. Ji Langzong, the commune party secretary who has the love and esteem of the masses of the Tibetans, disregarding her age, made investigations to get to know the real situation of all of the 280 households of the commune one by one and helped solve the difficulties in production and life household by household. People say: "She is dearer than mother." Zhang Ling, an air pilot, has set a safety flight record of over 1,500 hours from the top of Tianshan Mountain to the foot of Zhangbei Mountain and from the Qinghai plateau to the shore of the Donghai Sea. In the war of self-defensive counter-attack against Vietnam, she rendered meritorious service in brilliantly fulfilling urgent tasks and received awards for it. Xu Benren, head of the acupuncture and moxibustion section of the Shenyang Air Force Hospital, has cured over 200 diseases by acupuncture therapy and helped 200,000 patients get rid of ailments through continuous resolution of key problems for decades. He rendered meritorious service and received numerous awards and was named a "miracle worker of acupuncture." His "fast acupuncture therapy" has aroused the attention and interest of people in the country and abroad. Xie Jin, the famous film director, by careful and intensive study, directed 10-odd famous feature films such as "Red Detachment of Women," "Sisters on the Stage" and "The Legend of Tianyunshan" in succession. He produced movies in the Chinese style, which were welcomed by the masses, flying his own colors in international movie circles. In addition, there are Han Lianxi, the "innovation enthusiast," Meng Xiancheng, the "living marine chart," Zhang Shigang, the "master of hoisting," Xiang Yunkuan, the "one-armed model worker," Wang Fujin, the "special-class barber," and Fan Chengjun, the "expert on Yunnan geology." These soul-stirring examples are far too numerous to single out.

One of the important reasons that practical workers make outstanding achievements is that they devote themselves wholeheartedly to the interests of the vast majority. They work diligently not for personal fame and gain, or for winning promotions and seeking personal privileges, but for socialist construction. They have a strong sense of responsibility for their jobs. They have beautiful souls and lofty ideas. What they yearn for day and night is to make their country more prosperous and powerful and do their best so that the people benefit. Huo Ziguang, a Tibetan battalion commander of the border units, has been on active duty for 16 years; he goes to the various sentry posts deep in the dense forests, gorges and high mountains as well as the forward positions, regardless of the weather--in the wind and in the rain--throughout the year. Twice he has waged life-and-death struggles with intruding enemy agents. Why has he done all this? He does this in the defense of our motherland and for the four modernizations program. Huang Meilin, who works in a guesthouse in Fuding County, has become the deputy head of the guesthouse after working there for 12 years but he has continued to be the "handyman," and offered to undertake the task of cleaning the men's lavatories, which he has continued to do every day. He often says: "For the acceleration of the four modernizations, I am willing to be a 'handyman' in trade services as long as I live." As a pedicurist in a public bathhouse in Xian, Yu Sumei was the target of scorching satire and freezing irony. Some said she was a "fool." "For a senior middle school graduate to study pedicure is spineless and unimaginative." All this made her family cold and indifferent to her and caused an estrangement between her and some of her relatives and friends. However, she broke with the outmoded

conventions and bad customs with strong determination and helped cure over 49,700 people who suffered from various foot diseases. She said: "Let this small tool of pedicure serve those people who have suffered throughout their lives from foot diseases. ...This is my one and only wish." When a fire broke out and threatened from three directions the retail shop of the Yuijin people's commune in Tuo Kexun County, where Man Nihan is employed as a worker, she dashed about carrying out wood and hay from the shop, disregarding her own safety. Her face was burned and her eyes were red from the smoke. At this crucial moment, her husband and children came to tell her that their house was also on fire and asked her to go home to help put out the fire. Which should come first: public interests or personal interests? She was confronted with a severe test. Without the slightest hesitation, she chose to protect public property. Not only did she not leave her post but, on the contrary, she asked her husband to join the fight to protect the retail shop. It took 10 hours to put out the raging fire. The commodities and cash of the retail shop were saved, but five rooms of their house and other property were destroyed by the fire. This spirit of being the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, putting public interests before personal interests, devoting oneself to the interests of the country and the people and fearing neither hardship nor death demonstrates the brilliant radiance of communist ethics!

Man's knowledge stems from practice. Only through practice can truth be found and developed and at the same time, practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. The standpoint of practice should be first and foremost in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. The reason why these practical workers could make such outstanding achievements lies in the fact that they took part in practice and were not in the least divorced from practice. They are all honest and prudent people. They dare to think and to explore. In practice, they study enthusiastically and assiduously and make progress every day. Being practical and proficient in their professional work, they act according to objective laws. For instance, Feng Kuohua of a certain unit of the People's Liberation Army gathered a great deal of materials and more than 15 important pieces of information concerning soil fertility, meteorology and management through 3 years of painstaking work. After repeated study, he was able to formulate laws on the growth of wheat in areas north of the Great Wall. The average output per mu surpassed 1,000 jin for 4 successive years, thus setting a record for high yield in wheat output for areas north of the Great Wall. Zhao Qinglong, an engineer of a certain unit of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, only attended primary school for 4 years, but through assiduous and intensive study over decades, has made great achievements by introducing a theory into the prospecting field of geophysics, thus filling the gap in this field. It took him nearly 10 years of self-study to attain the basic knowledge of physics and of elementary and higher mathematics and to master many theories of modern mathematics such as the theory of probability, cybernetics and statistics. While working, he studied so diligently that he neglected his sleep and meals and even on the very night he got married, he still performed mathematical calculations till 2 am. Tan Mutao, an engineer of the Guangdong Geological Bureau, has broken the categorical assertions of foreign specialists that "there were no large mineral deposits of granite formed during the Mesozoic era," and "200 meters deep into granite is the forbidden zone." He discovered a huge uranium deposit in granite formed during the Mesozoic era of our country. To

explore the mystery of nature, he led geological personnel to scale sheer precipices and overhanging rocks, inspect open mines and drill into galleries. By so doing, he collected and sorted out firsthand materials containing hundreds of thousands of characters. Through analyses and studies, he succeeded in the end and was awarded the title of model worker of the geological bureau and affiliated organizations throughout the country. Li Liqing, party deputy secretary of the first machine-building factory in Nei Monggol, keeping the four modernizations program in mind, studied the experiences of the United States, Japan and Yugoslavia concerning enterprise management. By combining them with the concrete conditions of the factory, and fostering strengths and circumventing weaknesses, he was able to develop a new way for enterprise management, thus enabling the factory to produce large amounts of high-quality products with low consumption, little waste and big profits. The factory was named an advanced enterprise of the whole country and was given an award by the State Council.

What is worth pointing out here is the constant emergence of fine people and deeds among the broad masses of workers and staff in commerce and service trades. In a socialist society, all trades and professions and all kinds of work are equal; people differ only in the kind of work they do, and are not classified into superior and inferior, high and low. Commerce takes on the task of distribution and exchange. Commerce is a bridge that links production with consumption between the cities and the countryside. Service trades have a bearing on the lives of hundreds of millions of people, and the quality of the service in work is closely related to the vital interests of the people. To engage in these fields is a glorious task and is full of bright prospects. The advanced deeds of some of the shop employees, barbers, pedicurists, cooks, handymen and maintenance workers were carried in the "Practical Workers" column. This is of great significance. These people who were looked down upon in old society are respected and honored in the new society. This is also an indication of the superiority of socialist society.

The people reported about in the "Practical Workers" column are all outstanding figures. They dare to think and dare to act. They are both Red and expert, and they are the pride of our country and the cream of our times. They live among the masses, fight on the first line, understand the masses and know the pulse of the masses. They rush ahead irregardless of their own safety to lead the masses or use their own outstanding exploits and exemplary actions to influence the masses by bringing forth their initiative, enthusiasm and creativeness and serving the four modernizations program. The masses are the source of all strength. The mass line is our precious heritage. By relying on the enormous and powerful labor army which is made up of the thousands upon thousands of practical workers and in which they play a leading role, our four modernizations program is truly promising. Having the overall situation in mind, daring to shoulder heavy loads, they quietly immerse themselves in hard work in a down-to-earth manner, day in and day out and year in and year out. Having gone through all kinds of hardships and difficulties, they have added the brick and mortar to the foundation of socialism and continue to create and discover. There are also large numbers of outstanding practical workers in the capitalist countries, but apart from some revolutionaries and people engaged in the progressive cause, they ostensibly serve the capitalists. Compared with the practical workers in our socialist country, they are quite different in nature. Lenin once highly

praised the practical workers under socialism. He said: "Communism begins when the rank-and-file workers begin to display a self-sacrificing concern that is undaunted by arduous toil for increasing the productivity of labor, for husbanding every bit of grain, coal, iron and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their 'close' kith and kin, but to their 'distant' kith and kin, that is, to society as a whole, to the tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in a socialist state, and then in a union of soviet republics." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 16) Comrade Mao Zedong praised the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self. He held that a man's ability might be great or small, but if he has this spirit he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests. Our practical workers are men like these.

For a long time, under the influence of leftist ideology, and especially in the 10 years of turmoil, the fine tradition and style of the party were sabotaged. At present, the style of our party has improved consistently but much work still needs to be done in this regard. The work style of a ruling party is a matter of life and death to that party. The rectified party style will be an impetus to the work style of the people. We are determined now to overcome all unhealthy tendencies. To publish articles under these circumstances is of special significance. Although most of these practical workers are rank-and-file party members, some are even not party members. Their lofty ideas, noble quality and fine work style have embodied the healthy tendency of our party and the spirit of our times. They are genuine men of party spirit and new-type men under socialism. They are not only the builders of the socialist material civilization but also the builders of the socialist spiritual civilization. In strengthening the party's ideological and political work, we should educate party members, cadres and masses with the deeds of these practical workers, thus enabling them to enhance their enthusiasm, foster a spirit of uprightness and resist unhealthy trends and evil practices. The mass media--newspapers and periodicals, broadcasting, television and movies--should vigorously propagate their deeds and spirit so as to change the general mood of society. We should not take public opinion lightly. Let the bureaucrats who have the special-privilege mentality and privilege-seeking style, those who issue arbitrary orders and who "tell lies, talk big and indulge in empty talk" and give way to unhealthy tendencies read these reports concerning the deeds of practical workers. If they compare themselves to them, will they not feel ashamed? As for youths, they should read more of these kinds of articles and learn from practical workers. They should learn from their communist ideals, ethics and spirit and foster lofty thoughts and feelings; learn from their experiences and methods how to overcome difficulties; and learn to open up new avenues in work, develop themselves into new-type Red and expert qualified persons who devote their lives to the great four modernizations program and make contributions to the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. As for the leading cadres who undertake important tasks for the realization of the four modernizations, by reading these articles they can raise their political consciousness, carry out the spirit of plain living and hard work, go deep into the reality of life, strengthen their investigations and studies, find out and praise practical workers on a timely basis, popularize their advanced experiences and create conditions for them to give full play to their enthusiasm and creativeness. Furthermore, they should set a good example and use their own actions to influence the masses, educate the young people and promote the development of the four modernizations program.

We are going to build a modern, socialist powerful country which has a highly developed democracy and civilization. This is a magnificent and glorious task. We are carrying out our construction in an economically backward and large country which has a weak economic foundation, a country with a population of 1 billion, of which 800 million are peasants. It is exceedingly arduous and difficult to find a road to the Chinese-style modernization under these circumstances. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has returned to the course of Marxism. Since its line, principles and policies are all correct, a fine situation, seldom seen since the liberation, has emerged. It is necessary to lead the cadres and broad masses in carrying forward the pioneering spirit of doing concrete and hard work and striding forward along the political orientation with a sense of being the masters of the country. The four modernizations are like a big stage. Everyone can display his skills to the fullest, give full play to his talents and act in a drama which is full of sound and color as well as power and grandeur. We should all be actors and actresses and not be the audience, and never obstruct the performance of the drama. Our party has the glorious tradition of plain living and hard work. We are confident that the revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard work can surely be revived and carried forward. Why is it that we should take great pains to cite so many examples of practical workers? It is not only because we want to praise and commend practical workers but also to show with facts that the lofty ideals we are seeking can be realized by doing concrete and hard work. At the same time, these examples are indications that we have brought up a great number of brand-new people never before seen in the history of mankind who are constantly emerging in greater numbers. Engels pointed out: "To engage in production jointly with the whole strength of the society and the new developments caused by it requires men of a completely new type and will produce men of such a new type." The socialist cause is for the emancipation of man and its success depends on man's struggle. We should keep man in mind, train and bring up a new-type man. This is an important task.

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ABOUT THE CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC SECTORS IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES SINCE THE WAR

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[Article by Xie Deyuan [6043 1795 3104]]

[Text] Since World War II, a new feature seen in the economic development of the developed capitalist countries is that in their entire national economy the relative importance of material production sectors has declined while that of the nonmaterial production sectors has increased, viewed either from the standpoint of the amount of earnings they create or the number of people they employ. Analyzing the changes in the productive forces and production relations of the developed capitalist countries and providing a correct explanation of this new feature will help in deepening our understanding of certain laws governing current capitalist economic developments. This is of important significance both in theory and in practice.

Actually, in regard to this new feature, people's understanding of it has steadily deepened. In the past, the viewpoint used to be that the expansion of the nonmaterial production sectors was a sign of social decline. Hence, in analyzing capitalism this was viewed as a symptom of decadence. However, following the economic development of the developed capitalist countries and an increase in real data, people's field of vision widened and their understanding deepened, resulting in views contrary to the above. Many people have pointed out that the development of the nonmaterial production sectors in the developed capitalist countries is a phenomenon which is in line with the objective demands of economic development. Nevertheless, certain comrades actually rebutted the idea that the decadence of capitalism was thus reflected. In my opinion, the development of nonmaterial production sectors in the developed capitalist countries is a phenomenon which is in line with the objective demands of economic development but also reflects the rising decadence of capitalism.

I

The type of structure required by the national economic sector of a country is basically determined by the level of development of its productive forces. Here the labor productivity of agriculture plays the fundamental role. Leaving foreign trade aside, only when a country's agricultural labor productivity is greatly raised is it possible for the country to withdraw from agriculture a

large labor force to take part in other lines of work. Similarly, only when the labor productivity of the entire material production sector is raised considerably is it possible and necessary for the nonmaterial production sector to develop considerably. A definite level of development of the productive forces determines a definite structure of the national economic sector. The higher the level of development of the productive forces, the greater the development of the sector of nonmaterial production. This applies to all forms of social structure.

However, evolution of the structure of the national economic sector is related not only to productive forces but also to production relations. This is shown in the following: First, changes evolving in the structure of the national economic sector directly reflect changes in production relations. For example, in a primitive communist society the three great social divisions of labor were, in effect, three big changes in the structure of the national economic sector. If it is said that the dissociation of animal husbandry from primitive agriculture did not directly reflect a change in production relations, it may also be said that because of the independence gained by the handicraft industry and commerce, ultimately resulting in the formation of the association of craftsmen and of the merchant class, a change in production relations was directly reflected. Second, certain changes in the structure of the national economic sector, though basically caused by the rise in the productive forces, were nevertheless brought about directly by certain new aspects of production relations. For example, in the society of serfdom, the evolution of family serfs and craftsmen serfs primarily serving the luxurious life of the nobility was caused directly by the production relations of serfdom. Third, although certain changes in the structure of the national economic sector might not directly indicate changes in production relations, the social effects resulting therefrom do reflect certain definite features of production relations. For example, during the period of capitalist industrialization, the changes in the structure of the national economic sector carried the indelible signs of the power wielded by the capitalist class in their forcible exploitation of the small producers and reflected the basic and special features of the production relations of the period.

Hence, with regard to the changes in the structure of the national economic sector, we must study them not only from the angle of their relation to the productive forces but also from the angle of their relation to production relations. Only in this way can we understand to the fullest extent the nature of these changes and be able to see that they embody both the common points of all forms of social structure and the special characteristics of individual forms of the social structure.

II

The changes in the structure of the national economic sectors in the developed capitalist countries after the war, that is to say, the fall in the relative importance of their material production sectors and the rise in the relative importance of their nonmaterial production sectors, came as a result of the development of the productive forces in these countries and the improvement in the standard of living of their people. The rise in the labor productivity of

industry and agriculture provided the base for these changes. Take the United States for example: Because its industrial modernization has brought about its agricultural modernization and because the labor productivity in agriculture has increased greatly (in 1950 the production of each individual farmer was sufficient to feed 17 people; in 1973 he could produce enough to feed 62 people), the ratio of the number of people engaged in agriculture out of the total number of people in employment dropped sharply (in 1950 it was 11.8 percent; in 1976, it dropped to 3.8 percent). In this way, a large number of people gainfully employed in agriculture were released from it. At the same time, the labor productivity in industry was also raised, and industry was thus unable to absorb the large amount of surplus labor power released from agriculture. As a result, the surplus labor power flowed into the nonmaterial production sectors and caused these sectors to expand. According to statistics compiled in France, it was found that 5/7 of the labor power released from agriculture was absorbed by the service trades while only 2/7 was absorbed by industry. Naturally, this caused labor power to shift from the material production sectors to the nonmaterial production sectors. It was found that in the United States, the proportion of the total number of people employed in the material production sectors out of the total number of people employed dropped from 53.2 percent in 1950 to 39.2 percent in 1976, while conversely the proportion of people employed by the nonmaterial production sectors out of the total number of people employed increased from 46.8 percent in 1950 to 60.8 percent in 1976.

Two principal levers have helped to raise labor productivity, one being the technological revolution and the other the division of labor in the social structure. Both of these factors brought about changes in the structure of the national economic sector.

After the war the third technological revolution in the developed capitalist countries, on the one hand, raised labor productivity and thereby helped to release labor power from the material production sectors and, on the other hand, further strengthened scientific research work and raised the cultural and educational standard and technological level of the workers. In turn this meant that the scientific research and cultural and educational enterprises had to be considerably developed; otherwise, the progress of the technological revolution would have been impeded, which would have in turn impeded the process of converting the fruits of the technological revolution into direct labor force.

The development of the division of labor in the social structure is the result of production development and it also promotes further development of production. After the war, in the developed capitalist countries the division of labor was further accelerated. One indication of this was the high degree of specialization and coordination in production, which, on the one hand, promoted the rapid development of those trades serving the material production sectors such as commerce, currency and enterprise management, and, on the other hand, rendered it possible for the service items, which the enterprises used to operate themselves, to become independent and form themselves into separate highly socialized trades serving the enterprises. The separate units took various forms such as those engaging in research and development, advertising, data collection, purchase and sale of securities, maintenance of buildings and equipment, public hygiene and sanitation and environmental protection, and also those trades serving

agriculture such as those supplying seeds and fodder and those engaging in transportation and in maintenance and rental of farm machinery, and so on. With the rapid development of production, the relative importance of these trades in the entire national economy will naturally increase and the proportion of the number of people they absorb in employment out of the total number of people employed will tend to rise in due course.

Following the development of the economy, the rise in the standard of living of the people in the developed capitalist countries naturally causes changes in the consumption structure. This is because, after the basic livelihood needs such as clothing, food and housing have been met, people indulge in extra consumption activities which increase their tastes and demands for various kinds of consumer durables and for sundry forms of cultural, recreational, travel and social activities. In particular, the demand for cultural, recreational, travel and social activities accelerates rapidly. For example, in Japan consumption expenses, including those for medical care, health preservation, culture, recreation, travel and social intercourse, reached 33 percent of the individual's total outlay in 1965 but went up to 42 percent in 1976. Nevertheless, more cultural, recreational, travel and social activities means that more leisure time must be available, which in turn requires the following two conditions: one is the shortening of labor time and the other is the reduction of household labor. The former depends on greatly raising labor productivity while the latter requires the social structure to furnish various kinds of livelihood services. It is thus seen that the changes in the people's consumption structure invariably bring about speedy development in the various kinds of service trades, which in turn promotes changes in the national economy and in the employment structure.

The above analysis shows that the changes in the structure of the national economic sector in the developed capitalist countries after the war were the result of the development of the social productive forces and the higher standard of living of the populace. This meant progress in economic development.

III

It should also be noted that the development of the nonmaterial production sectors in the developed capitalist countries was accompanied by expansion in the following three categories of trades and departments:

The first category is the ponderous government structure and military establishment.

The second category comprises those service trades directly serving the monopoly capitalist groups and individuals, such as legal offices, advertising organs, policy research units, and data-collection and economic-espionage agencies. In addition, this category includes bodyguards, private police, hired thugs, professional fighters and trades supplying luxury goods for the corrupt enjoyment of the monopoly capitalists.

The third category comprises those trades engaging in speculation, gambling, traffic in narcotics, smuggling, prostitution, assassination and various sorts of low-grade recreational activities. For example, it was found that the trade

engaged in by the behind-the-scenes manipulators in the United States realized annual profits amounting to \$50 billion, which was twice the net profits of the petroleum industry.

The expansion in these categories of trades was determined by the nature of the production relations under capitalism and came as the natural result of the development of postwar state monopoly capitalism.

State monopoly capitalism is a system of production relations. Its development represented a new and most important feature in the growth of capitalism after the war, when it actually reached a new stage of development. It is related to all the socioeconomic phenomena of the developed capitalist countries and exerts a deep influence on the changes in the national economic sector of these countries.

Under state monopoly capitalism, the economic function of the state has been greatly enlarged. The state not only protects and assures from outside the development of capitalist social reproduction but actually takes part in the various spheres of social reproduction. The state's all-round intervention in the economy becomes not only an emergency measure under certain special conditions (such as in time of war) but also policy implementation of a normal and regular nature. Under such conditions, the economic control structure of the government expands greatly, though in part because of economic necessity. However, as a whole, a swollen bureaucratic structure comes into being.

The development of state monopoly capitalism has further intensified the inherent contradictions of capitalism. The monopoly capitalist class works hard to strengthen such state organs as the armed forces, police and special agents and at the same time promotes various kinds of degenerate cultural measures to suppress and poison the people in order to strengthen its domination. This provides the background for the swift development of a ponderous government organizational structure and of the various corrupt and degenerate trades.

Under state monopoly capitalism, the struggles between the monopoly groups, between big and small monopoly capital groups and between monopoly capital and nonmonopoly capital are intensified. The monopoly capitalists resort to relentless methods to crush their opponents, and this results in the abnormal growth of those service trades which help them to achieve their objectives. For example, the growth of the advertising trade has far exceeded the necessary limits, and trades have emerged that specialize in spying and collecting intelligence and even in assaulting and causing bodily harm to other people.

Under state monopoly capitalism, the government of the capitalist class frequently resorts to currency inflation as a measure to stimulate the economy. This in turn creates a hotbed for speculation.

Under state monopoly capitalism, the government of the capitalist class adopts various measures to insure huge monopoly profits for the monopoly capitalist class so that it can live a life of wanton extravagance. In turn, this accelerates the growth of those service trades providing a luxurious and corrupt livelihood for the monopoly capitalists.

Quite clearly, the development of these trades is an enormous waste of the labor power of society. In fact it seriously impairs social progress and clearly illustrates the growth of the corrupt and degenerate nature of capitalism.

In regard to state monopoly capitalism, Lenin once analyzed the rise in the degree of socialization of the production and circulation sectors and pointed out that state monopoly capitalism accords the most complete material preparation for the advent of capitalism. Can it be said now that this preparation process has reached an even fuller stage of development? We pose this question because presently not only is there an enormous increase in the degree of socialization of the production and circulation sectors but also socialization has entered into the distribution and consumption sectors.

Following the changes in the structure of the national economic sector after the war and the implementation of various kinds of social welfare measures, the reproduction process of labor power in the developed capitalist countries has also become socialized. What is meant here by the socialization of the reproduction of labor power is that a kind of change has been effected in the mode of payment for the value of labor power. In other words, the capitalists do not pay by means of wages the full value of the labor power consumed. Instead, using taxes and sundry insurance schemes, the government of the capitalist class deducts a portion of the wages for use in the reproduction of labor power (in reality only a portion of the taxes is devoted to this purpose). This, in effect, is the real nature of the various welfare benefits such as free education, free medical care, unemployment relief and pension systems. In promoting the socialization of the reproduction of labor power, the capitalist class actually aims at building up more victims for their exploitation, squeezing out more surplus value and generally maintaining the existence of the capitalist system. Nevertheless, the objective results of this process are the socialization of the distribution and consumption sectors of capitalist society. Moreover, with the development of the various trades serving actual livelihood needs, the portion of consumption directly handled by the workers themselves out of the wages they receive is also more or less socialized. In this way, with socialization reaching all the way from the production and circulation sectors to the distribution and consumption sectors, the material preparation for the transition from capitalism via proletarian revolution to socialism may be said to have been more fully completed.

IV

In addition to deepening our understanding of the economic laws governing the development of capitalism, the study of the changes in the structure of the national economic sectors of the developed capitalist countries also furnishes us with materials for the further study of the theoretical problems in connection with the general development of production in the social structure. Let us illustrate this as follows:

What kind of departmental structure the national economy of a country should and must have depends on the level of development of its productive forces. The criterion to judge whether the structure of the national economic sectors of a country is rational is that it must meet the objective requirements of economic

development and should not be based merely on people's subjective wishes. To be divorced from the development level of the productive forces and subjectively demand the setting up of a definite kind of departmental structure must inevitably have ill effects on the development of the economy and on the people's livelihood. Take the case of the service trades: Irrespective of whether the trades are to serve production or to serve people's livelihood, to what extent they should be developed and to what level of development they should attain must be determined and based on the development of production and on the actual needs of the people's livelihood. In the event that they do not coincide with these needs and fall below the required standard, there will be resultant adverse effects on production specialization and the increase in labor productivity will be retarded. At the same time, the circulation links will be impeded, the reproduction process will be hindered, the people's livelihood will be generally inconvenienced and a rise in the employment rate will be impeded. On the other hand, if they exceed the requirements and their development is lopsided, then the burden of society as a whole and of the populace will be heightened and the development of production will be adversely affected. In this connection, an associated problem is: The suggestion of converting cities of consumption to cities of production--is it generally correct? It is true that for a certain period of time following the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the suggestion that cities of consumption be converted to cities of production as a measure for restructuring the former old cities and towns did have some relevance. However, to go beyond this special context and raise it to the status of a general concept to the extent of requiring that the number of people employed in material production sectors in each and every city must be more than that in the nonmaterial production sectors, and the more the better, in order to demonstrate the unqualified nature of the shift to cities of production--this would not be correct. It would in fact hinder the necessary development of education and culture, of sanitation and medical services and of those trades serving the people's livelihood needs. From the long-term view, this would indeed be extremely disadvantageous. Moreover, a new theoretical problem of importance is concerned herein. This refers to the new problems posed by the changes in the structure of the national economic sector on the theory of social reproduction. This will require further specialized research.

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THE PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM AND A CADRE'S SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

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[Article by Zhu Tongguang [2612 0681 1639]]

[Text] It is all the more necessary for cadres to strengthen their sense of responsibility in work to implement the agricultural production responsibility systems. But at present some communes and brigades have adopted the method of the "two responsibilities and the one 'let go,'" i.e., letting the masses take full responsibility for output quotas, letting the masses take full responsibility for contracted jobs, and the cadres not becoming involved. Some comrades even say that, when implementing the responsibility systems, it is enough just to pay attention to "rewards" on the one hand, and to "compensation" on the other. Such an erroneous understanding and work method are detrimental to the implementation and growth of the agricultural production responsibility systems and to the development of agricultural production. We must not substitute the sense of responsibility for the responsibility systems. When implementing the responsibility systems, it is all the more necessary to strengthen the sense of responsibility.

First, in the final analysis, all forms of the agricultural production responsibility system are economic means adopted for agricultural management. We must correct the malpractice in which management in agricultural production is carried out solely by relying on political compulsion and administrative orders. But we must not abolish socialist ideological education, which is indispensable for commune members. Ideological and political work and economic means must be carried out simultaneously and in coordination. Neither should be overemphasized or substituted at the expense of the other. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," objective economic laws were ignored and production was carried out by relying on the so-called "mass criticism." As a result, the commune members' initiative and creativeness in collective production were seriously dampened and the productive force in agriculture was seriously disrupted. This is a profound lesson to be firmly kept in mind. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," it has been absolutely correct for us to bring order out of chaos, to emphasize that we must do things according to economic laws and to carry out economic management according to the economic means. But we must guard against going to another extreme--the negation of the importance of ideological and political work. When we use economic means, we must also pay attention to ideological and political work. China was a country full of small-scale

production, so the conventional trend of small-scale production is very strong and still remains in the minds of some commune members. For instance, some people one-sidedly think that the responsibility systems simply mean "each going his own way" and "attention should be focused on money," both of which are divorced from the collective economy. If we do not pay enough attention to these erroneous ideas, and if we do not do patient and meticulous ideological work to overcome them, it will be difficult to consolidate and develop the collective economy in rural areas.

Second, the period in which the various forms of the production responsibility system has been implemented in the rural areas has not been very long. Leading cadres at all levels and commune members are required to conscientiously study how to implement this system so as to improve and perfect it. For instance, how to persist in the principle of division of labor and of coordination under the unified management of the production team during the implementation of the responsibility system under which a specialized group undertakes a production task in which payment is based on output quotas. How each trade should take full responsibility for its output quotas when contracted jobs are assigned to each group, laborer and household according to the principle of facilitating production and of being beneficial to management. Which operational tasks in the process of production are to be unified and which are to be divided. How to fix reward and compensation standards. How to give special consideration to martyrs' and army-men's families and to families in straitened circumstances. These problems must be solved in our practice through investigation and study. Our cadres must heighten their sense of responsibility, constantly sum up their experiences, solve problems during their advance in order to make the responsibility system more and more perfect. Paying attention to "rewards" and "compensation" is only one aspect of the work of implementing the responsibility system. The work is much richer and much more complicated. For instance, it is no simple matter to decide what form of the responsibility system should be adopted under specific conditions. It involves the status of the productive forces, natural conditions, economic conditions, the masses' habits and the cadres' ability to manage. If things are to be done well, the cadres of the communes and brigades must conscientiously carry out investigations and studies deep among the masses with a high sense of responsibility. No good will be achieved if we do things recklessly in a set pattern and without taking responsibility for our actions.

Third, since the implementation of the production responsibility system, production has increased by leaps and bounds, and the collective resources have become substantial. Even in this situation, the cadres of the communes and brigades are required to strengthen their sense of responsibility and to do a good job of management. Some comrades have put it correctly: After implementation of the production responsibility system, a production team is like a large abacus while a commune member is like a small abacus. Although the small abacus must calculate for the collective, it must be under the control of the large abacus. [sentence as published] In this sense, it is more necessary for the communes and brigades to strengthen their leadership and management. What we oppose is confused, subjective orders. Not only must correct leadership and scientific management not be opposed, they must be strengthened. In addition, following the further development of agricultural production and the constant enlargement of the collective economy, advanced scientific and technological achievements will arise

on a wide scale. The cadres of the communes and brigades are urgently required to raise their management level so as to adapt themselves to the new situation of agricultural development. Therefore, we must learn techniques and learn management. Otherwise, we will not be competent in our jobs.

In short, everything will go off without a hitch after the implementation of the responsibility system. On the contrary, new problems will constantly arise. The cadres must lead the commune members in constantly solving these problems. Therefore, with the implementation of the production responsibility system, the cadres' tasks have become heavier, not lighter. Their work has become more complicated, not simpler. We must conscientiously study the party's line, principles and policies, really improve our work style, gradually adapt ourselves to the new situation and do our work well.

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