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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 10, 16 May 1981

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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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CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE LINE OF THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CCP  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND FIRMLY ADVANCE ALONG THE TRACK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 2-12

[Article by Feng Wenbin [3458 2429 1755]]

[Text] What is socialism? Can socialism be built in less economically developed countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat? How can it be built? This is a question of great theoretical and practical significance. This question has aroused the concern and discussion of many people at home and abroad. At present, some cadres and masses still do not have a correct understanding of upholding the socialist road and of the party's line, principles and policies laid down at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. This is primarily because they have not solved the ideological problem by integrating theories with practice. Thus, I would like to discuss my views on this question in order to study with our comrades.

I. The Basic Characteristics of Socialist Society and the Social Character of Our Country in the Present Stage

Our country's socialist revolution and construction already has a history of more than 30 years. Although we have taken a tortuous road, the 30 plus years of practice are very valuable to us. First, socialism has been turned from an ideal into a reality in our country. We have already founded a solid state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, established socialist public ownership of the means of production, eliminated the exploiting system, initially established a socialist material foundation, developed socialist culture and education and made tremendous achievements in all fields. Second, we have gained rich experiences, both positive and negative. An important task before us is to study the theory of scientific socialism in the light of the actual conditions, sum up the experience of socialist practice in a realistic way, achieve a correct understanding of socialism and strengthen our faith in socialism so that we can increase our consciousness in implementing the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and better fulfill the tasks of socialist modernization.

With regard to the understanding of socialism, the minds of some comrades are still confused. Why did people have greater faith in socialism and its superiority in those years when we were beginning to construct socialism? In

those years, they seldom raised any doubts. Why are people's minds confused after 30-odd years?

In the first few years after the founding of new China, our line was correct and we did our work rather well. The transformation of the means of production from private ownership into public ownership was carried out rather smoothly, the economy recovered and developed rather smoothly, the people's standards of living were remarkably improved, the society was in good order and people were fully confident of achieving socialism. When the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was basically completed, we put forth some good suggestions on how to construct socialism. However, as we did not have our own experiences, as there were not many successful experiences for us to make use of, as we were overanxious for quick results in our guiding ideology, and as we made a wrong estimate of the situation of class and class struggle, we really made many mistakes, some very serious.

From 1957 to 1966, before the "Great Cultural Revolution," although we made some "leftist" mistakes and suffered some setbacks, we corrected them later step by step. Generally speaking, we advanced on a basically sound path and made very great achievements, and the broad masses still firmly believed in socialism without doubt. The problem was that due to all kinds of reasons we failed to theoretically make clear the shortcomings and mistakes of this period and failed to seriously straighten them out in our guiding ideology. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the "gang of four" took advantage of our "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology, engaged in counterrevolutionary sabotage and created an unprecedentedly serious disaster.

And it was exactly during our country's 10 years of turmoil that some capitalist countries made considerably great advances in science, technology and economics. This has made some comrades, particularly some young comrades, have doubts about the superiority of the socialist system. They are not good at analyzing the causes of the problems that have arisen in our country and are very apt to mistakenly attribute them to the socialist system itself. To solve these questions, it is necessary to scientifically analyze what a socialist society is, why our country's socialist construction has experienced twists and turns, and how socialist construction should be pursued according to our national conditions.

Then, what is socialist society? What are the characteristics of socialist society? According to Marxist-Leninist theories, socialist society is the first stage or the lower stage of communist society. It is different from capitalist society in nature and is different from the higher stage of communist society in the level of maturity.

Lenin once said that socialism refers to the public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to work.

The public ownership of the means of production represents the most fundamental characteristics of socialist society. Organizing production on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production is a decisive distinction between the socialist and capitalist systems. In view of the practical experience accumulated by each socialist country, the forms of public ownership of the means of

production are definitely different at various stages of developing socialism in each country. For instance, there are state operated economies and collective economies in our country; there still exist differences between large and small collectives within the collective economy itself (there are the commune-level ownership, production brigade-level ownership and the production team-level ownership of a rural people's commune) and there is also a small portion of individual economy, which is controlled by the state and subordinated to the public economy, as a necessary supplement to socialist economy. However, the most fundamental criterion for determining whether or not a society is socialist lies in whether or not this society has realized the socialist public ownership of means of production and eliminated the system of exploitation. It does not lie in the forms of public ownership that have been adopted. The determining factor also lies in whether or not socialist public ownership occupies an absolutely dominant position in industry, agriculture and commerce. It does not lie in whether or not the public ownership of all means of production has been realized.

Socialist economy combines both planned economy and commodity economy. Socialist public ownership provides the possibilities to a socialist state for consciously utilizing the objective law governing the development of socialist economy in a planned and proportional way, for carrying out management of the national economy in a planned way, for correctly regulating the relations among all economic departments, for rationally distributing productive forces, and for making full use of manpower, materials and funds to develop science, technology, culture and education so that the national economy can be developed at a sustained and steady pace. Meanwhile, the socialist economy itself is also a commodity economy. This is a new type of commodity economy, which is different not only from the capitalist commodity economy but also from the small commodity economy. Labor force is no longer a commodity in socialist commodity economy. What it represents is not the economic relationship in which the capitalists exploit hired laborers, nor the economic relationship among the small private owners. Rather the socialist commodity economy represents the economic relationship among the working people (including the relationship among the state, the collective and individual laborers) established on the basis of identical vital interests. It is developed in a planned way, instead of being in an aimless and anarchist state.

Another fundamental characteristic of socialist society is the implementation of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In the socialist stage, it is impossible, at the level of the development of productive forces, to provide an abundant supply of products. Therefore, the distribution of consumer goods for an individual can only be made according to the amount and quality of labor he performs--more pay for more work done, less pay for less work done, and no pay for no work done at all. In socialist society, work is a worker's sacred right and bounden duty as well as a glorious and heroic task. On the one hand, when conditions permit, the society should give full play to all workers and organize them to work according to their own characteristics and specialties. On the other hand, workers should work conscientiously and display their different abilities at different posts and in return get corresponding remunerations from society. Egalitarian practices in labor organization which ignore the characteristics and specialties of individual workers and practices in distribution which ignore the differences in work are not in keeping with the principle of

"from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." Similarly, those who demand distribution according to work and refuse to give full play to their abilities, who work in a perfunctory and slack manner and who are irresponsible and unreliable also do not conform with the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." In socialist society, no person with working abilities is allowed to idle about, to earn without working or to earn much by doing little work. "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" is a guiding principle that must be observed by everyone in the socialist society. Different from the communist principle of "to each according to his need," the principle of "to each according to his work" has actually not realized equality among all members of the society, but it means a fundamental negation of the system of exploitation that has existed for several thousand years.

Another fundamental characteristic of socialist society is that the people have become masters of their own affairs. Following the establishment of the socialist public ownership, the working people have become owners of the means of production and masters of their country and society while a new human relationship of equality and mutual help has been established. The socialist society practices a high degree of socialist democracy in order to insure the people's political and economic rights of being masters of their own affairs. It also practices a comprehensive legal system in order to bring the legal system in line with the socialist system and to insure the realization of the people's democratic rights. In a socialist society, all state functionaries are the people's servants and should serve the people wholeheartedly. This characteristic indicates that socialism is not only an economic system based on public ownership but is also a kind of highly democratic political system. The people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is actually a political system under which the people are their own masters.

In a multinational socialist state, the characteristic that the people are masters of their own affairs also manifests itself in a new type of national relationship of equality, mutual assistance and fraternal unity among all nationalities in working together to strive to build a socialist society.

A socialist state implements a principle combining patriotism with internationalism and the five principles of peaceful coexistence in foreign affairs. It neither yields to hegemonism nor practices it. A country that practices national oppression at home and follows hegemonism abroad cannot be considered one with a genuine socialist system.

In the realm of spiritual life, the socialist society should have a highly developed scientific and cultural level, communist thinking, ideals, conviction, ethics, and discipline, revolutionary stand and principles, the comradely relationship between individuals, and so forth. An important task in the spiritual life of a socialist society is to help the broad masses of people foster ideas of wholeheartedly serving the people, providing compassion to comrades, shouldering responsibility in work, constantly improving one's skills, and showing greater concern for others than for oneself. Socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization depend on each other for promotion. The superiority of the socialist system and the development of socialist productive forces guarantee the unceasing raising of mental attitudes and the intellectual



world among the masses of people in socialist countries. Conversely, the change in people's mental attitudes will once again stimulate the development of productive forces and the consolidation of socialist economic and political systems. Without a highly socialist spiritual civilization, it would be impossible to further consolidate the foundation of a socialist economy and develop socialist economic construction, nor would it be possible to achieve a high political democracy and fulfill the goal of communism.

The characteristics of socialist society make it possible for us to integrate state interests, local interests, collective interests and individual interests, to rationally readjust the relations among these interests, to give play to enthusiasm in all fields, and to rely on our own efforts to unceasingly solve all sorts of contradictions that have occurred in the course of advance so that society can be developed healthily.

The fundamental characteristics of socialist society indicate that socialist society is above capitalist society and socialism is the most superior system since the founding of human society.

We can have further discussions on how to generalize the basic characteristics of socialist society. However, I think the above-mentioned characteristics are very important.

Judging from the fundamental characteristics of socialist society, we should say that our country has basically established a socialist system and become a socialist society after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce.

China's socialism has demonstrated its superiority during the process of its emergence and during the transitional period when the old production relations were changed into the socialist relations of production. This refutes the fallacy that socialism is not suited to the conditions of China. During the first 8 years after the founding of the PRC, that is, from 1949 to 1957, the average annual increase of the total output value of China's industry and agriculture was 14.6 percent, the average annual increase of the national income was 12.6 percent and the average annual increase of the actual wages of the staff and workers was 5.5 percent. During that period of time, we won a victory in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, strengthened our defense capability and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship. In those years, although our country had just begun to achieve socialist construction and although many problems existed in the national economy and the people's livelihood, our production increased, our economy prospered, our culture and education developed continuously, the people's livelihood improved gradually, the general mood of the society was very good, people were full of confidence and everybody said that socialism was good.

"Without the Communist Party, there would have been no socialist new China."  
"Only socialism can save China." This is a truth proved by history over the past decades. Practice of socialist construction in the future will further prove this truth.

There is one view which considers that socialist society can only be built in a highly developed capitalist country, that socialism cannot be realized in China because of the backwardness of its economy and culture, and that socialist revolution and construction should not have been carried out in China after the triumph of the new democratic revolution but should be carried out only after the full development of capitalism in China. This concept, which was long refuted by the practice of socialism, has been recently revived in the minds of a number of persons. They say: This is a Marxist theory and, based on it, China should not have been led to socialism at that time, and at present should turn back to make up for missed lessons in capitalism. Such a viewpoint is a distortion of Marxism.

It is true that Marx and Engels thought that socialist revolution might triumph first in Britain, France and other relatively developed capitalist countries at that time. However, they did not rule out the possibility that socialist revolution could be carried out in countries in which capitalism was not fully developed, nor did they specify that socialism can only be practiced when a high proportion of large-scale socialized production has been reached. On the contrary, in the late 1840's while Germany was in the early period of its industrial revolution, its industrialization standard was still low, extensive small production existed there, and feudal rule was not yet overthrown. Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto" that, compared to the bourgeois revolutions in Britain and France, Germany had a much more developed proletariat for realizing such a change. Thus, after the triumph of the bourgeois revolution, this was why the bourgeois revolution could be directly converted to a socialist revolution. Later, in the article entitled "The Peasant Question in France and Germany," written in 1894, Engels said: "We do not have to wait for capitalist production to develop everywhere to its utmost consequences and wait for the last handicraftsman and the last small peasant to fall victim to capitalist large-scale production before we carry out this transformation." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 312) Based on the practical experience of the Russian Revolution, in his 1923 article, "On the Revolution of Our Country," Lenin further developed the concept of Marx and Engels, pointing out that it was entirely possible for the proletariat to seize political power by making use of the established worker-peasant alliance, and then the proletarian regime would be relied upon to develop economy and culture and achieve socialism. To counter the proposition held by the opportunists of the Second International that "Russia has not attained the level of development of productive forces that makes socialism possible," he talked of a profound truth: "If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite 'level of culture' is, for it differs in every West European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and then, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 691)

After a state regime of the people's democratic dictatorship is established in China, might China enter the state of the socialist revolution and make the transition to socialism? This question had long been affirmed by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong and solved by the actual practice of China's revolution. The founding of the People's Republic of China indicates the basic conclusion of the

new democratic revolution and the start of the socialist revolution. How has it been possible for China to directly enter into the stage of an independent development of capitalism? Fundamentally speaking, this has been decided by the course of the development of Chinese history, which has provided China with the basic conditions for taking the socialist road. Speaking of international conditions, since the world has entered a stage of imperialist and proletarian revolution, China's revolution has thus become a part of the world proletarian revolution and is subject to support from the international proletariat. Speaking of domestic conditions, first, there are the proletariat, the proletarian political party and a solid worker-peasant alliance. Particularly after the democratic revolution is triumphant on a national scale and a state regime of the people's democratic dictatorship is founded, the proletariat has an absolute superiority politically and has firmly grasped the revolutionary leadership. Second, there are not many modern industries in China, but they are highly concentrated and previously their capital was mainly in the hands of the Chinese bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The confiscation of this capital and its transfer to the proletarian-led state make the People's Republic control the state's economic lifeline and make the state-run economy become a leading component of the whole national economy. Relying on the Communist Party's correct and powerful leadership and on the state-run economy's leadership over the whole national economy, we have been able to conduct a socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and to transform the private ownership of production means into socialist public ownership. This basically insured that, on the foundation of the triumph of the democratic revolution, it was possible for our country to take a noncapitalist road.

It must be pointed out that the development of history has an objective law. Whether a country should pass through the stage of an independent development of capitalism does not depend on man's will. In old China, capitalism was not developed and the economy was backward. This brought considerable difficulties to our socialist construction. We were able to enter socialism through socialist transformation after the founding of the PRC. However, why have we failed to make full use of the superior conditions of the socialist system to develop the social productivity forces and construct a highly developed socialist material foundation? Why must we enter a developed capitalist stage and make people suffer from capitalist exploitation for a period of time? History has verified that polarization occurred in the rural areas following the completion of the land reform and the development of the peasants' individual economy. It has also verified that the bourgeois class launched furious attacks by resorting to the "five evil" practices in the urban areas following the economic recovery and development of capitalism.

With the acute two-line struggle under way, if we had allowed the five sectors of the economy to permanently coexist and develop rather than carry out the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, we would have allowed capitalism to develop freely. Then, China would have spontaneously taken the capitalist road. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong correctly mastered the law of the historical development, fully recognized the inevitability of socialist transformation, adopted perfectly correct principles, policies and steps to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and guided the whole national economy along the socialist track.

Socialist transformation has been relatively successfully realized in a big, populous country whose economy was backward. This was a great beginning in world history and is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism from our party and Comrade Mao Zedong. Obviously it is erroneous to believe that we should turn back to make up for missed lessons in capitalism after conducting socialism for more than 30 years.

There is another erroneous viewpoint which considers that only when highly socialized production is realized, when society directly controls all the means of production, when there is no commodity production and direct distribution of products is realized, then it is a socialist society. Thus the viewpoint denies the socialist nature of our current society. Such a viewpoint disregards the practice of our country's socialism of more than 30 years. In judging whether or not a society is a socialist one, it is primarily essential to see whether a superior position has been established for socialist public ownership and whether the principle of "to each according to his work" is implemented. As for commodity production, the socialist practice of our country and others attests that it too is necessary for a socialist society. It is still impossible to realize a direct distribution of products in a socialist society, and it is necessary to conduct distribution through commodity exchanges. It should also be known that a socialist society goes through a course of continuous growth and change. Proceeding from the initial socialist stage to a more mature socialist state, the socialist system will surely be increasingly perfected and its superiority will surely be increasingly reflected. Our society in its present stage is still not a mature socialist society, but it already has the above-mentioned fundamental characteristics and economically has both socialist and capitalist elements. Obviously there is a basic difference between society now and the transitional one, when a rural individual economy held superiority. How can one say that our society is not a socialist society?

The socialist road is the only road for the development of Chinese history. Many problems arose in the past certainly not because of the establishment of the socialist system, but because of the serious mistakes that were committed at times due to a failure to understand and grasp socialist objective laws after basically completing the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. This is a serious lesson we must conscientiously sum up.

## II. A Serious Historical Lesson

One of the serious lessons we must learn in the practice of socialism is that after basically completing the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, we violated some socialist principles on several occasions and failed to get a clear ideological understanding of these principles. As a result, these violations developed into serious "leftist" mistakes such as the "Great Cultural Revolution" which caused enormous losses to our socialist cause. To uphold scientific socialism, we must make a clean break with such "leftist" mistakes. The main manifestations and harms of "leftist" mistakes are:

(1) Exaggerating class struggle in socialist society. After the socialist system was established and under circumstances when the exploiting classes were already eliminated as a class and class struggle existed only with a certain scope, we

still looked upon socialist society as a class antagonistic society, had an incorrect understanding of the basic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, did not shift the stress of our work on developing social productive forces, used class struggle as a substitute for everything, did not attach importance to socialist democracy and the legal system, one-sidedly stressed dictatorship and violence, confused two different types of contradictions, formed the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and had the erroneous phenomenon of the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques made use of the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" to carry out reactionary sabotage activities which led to serious consequences.

We looked down upon science and technology, looked down upon mental labor and looked down upon intellectuals. We even viewed intellectuals as bourgeois intellectuals. We did not help the working people master intellectual work but attempted to eliminate the difference between mental labor and physical labor by means of turning mental laborers into pure physical laborers. This greatly hampered the development of our country's science and culture.

(2) Being overanxious to effect a transition in the relations of production. We exaggerated the effects of the productive relations on the productive forces and violated the law that the productive relations must suit the nature of the productive forces. We paid no attention to the actual conditions of the productive forces and pushed the reform of economical relations forward by means of political movements and class struggle. We thought that the higher the degree of public ownership of the means of production and the larger the scale of it, the greater its superiority would be. We were overanxious to effect the transition to collective ownership, to unitary ownership by the whole people and to communism. We cut off as tails of capitalism such things as plots for private use, family sideline production, country trade fairs and small-scale individual economy. We confused management methods with forms of ownership and opposed the productive responsibility systems. We negated distribution according to work and vigorously practiced egalitarianism so that there was no difference at all between working and not working and between doing good work and doing poor work. We restricted and even abolished socialist commodity production. We negated the law of value, did not carry out economic accounting within the economy of public ownership and did not carry out exchange at equal value among economic units of public ownership, completely negated the role of regulation by market mechanism and even equated the commodity economy with the capitalist economy. The outcome was that the development of the productive forces was hampered and sabotaged.

(3) Being overanxious for quick results in economic construction. Our economic construction violated the requirements of basic socialist economic laws and the law of planned and proportionate development. The scale of construction exceeded the capability of the country and we did not attach importance to an overall balance. Since we were overanxious for quick results in economic construction, we only stressed opposing right deviationist conservatism and did not pay attention to opposing leftist deviation and rash advance. We only stressed in politics the necessity of developing at high speed and did not pay attention to doing analytical studies on the possibility of the economy developing at high speed. Consequently, we did not pay enough attention to actual conditions, disregarded

the people's livelihood, blindly sought high speed, high quotas and high accumulation and blindly carried out capital construction. In past years, under this erroneous ideological guidance, several big rash advances in economic construction occurred which slowed down the progress of socialist construction.

The serious mistakes mentioned above, especially the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution," brought the entire national economy to the verge of collapse and caused inestimable losses politically, ideologically, culturally, educationally and in social practices. What was more serious was the delay in training and educating a whole generation of people. In those 10 years, several millions of professional persons should have been trained in institutions of higher learning and in technical secondary schools. Providing spare-time cultural and scientific education for staff members and workers almost stopped. The number of illiterate people increased. Social practices worsened and superstitious activities became common. The ideology of a large number of youths was poisoned and their hearts and minds were injured. These seriously affected the construction of the socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Left deviationist mistakes, especially the sabotage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, caused serious losses to the socialist cause in our country, but they did not change the nature of our socialist society. Socialism has stood extremely serious tests. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were not able to destroy our party. Our party smashed them. In the short period of several years after the downfall of the "gang of four," we have quickly rehabilitated the national economy which was on the verge of collapse, have rapidly changed the turbulent political situation and have embarked on the correct road of the "four modernizations." All this precisely proves that socialism is greatly superior and possesses vitality.

The superiority of the socialist system cannot be realized spontaneously. It only provides the possibilities of arousing to the full extent the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and of steadily developing socialist economy and culture. In order to turn these possibilities into reality, not only are certain objective conditions needed, but it is more important to have correct subjective guidance. Since socialism is an unprecedented cause, the understanding of both the masses and their leaders of the law of the objective development of the socialist society can only increase step by step. Therefore, "leftist" or rightist mistakes are inevitable. They affect bringing into play the superiority of socialism. We will have the correct understanding of socialist revolution and construction only after we have undergone many reverses, after we have committed many mistakes and after we have corrected them. Therefore, we must not doubt the socialist system itself because there are still flaws and some backward things at a certain socialist stage of development or because the superiority of the socialist system is not able to be brought into full play as a result of defects in the subjective guidelines. Meanwhile, we must also have the courage to admit and examine our mistakes and be good at summing up our experiences and lessons.

The reasons for "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology were manifold. It does not accord with historical facts, nor is it conducive to summing up experiences and lessons if we blame an individual for all the mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements are primary, and his shortcomings and mistakes are secondary. We

must not negate Comrade Mao Zedong's achievements because of the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and must not confuse the mistakes of a proletarian revolutionary with the counterrevolutionary sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A lack of practical experience was an important cause for making mistakes. Another important cause was arrogance and complacency and being divorced from reality and the masses in the wake of victory. If we had remained modest and prudent, continued to guard against arrogance and rashness, conscientiously studied the theory of scientific socialism, practically proceeded from China's conditions, listened attentively to the voice of the masses, summed up both positive and negative experiences and lessons and carried out socialist construction vigorously and steadily, we would have made fewer mistakes and done much better in carrying out the socialist cause.

Engels pointed out: "Since socialism became a science, it has demanded people to treat it as such, that is to say, it demands people to study it." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 301) In order to avoid repeating the "leftist" mistakes and other mistakes, we must bear firmly in mind Engels' teaching, study and treat socialism as science and implement it on the basis of reality.

### III. Disperse the Left Deviationist Ideological Influence, Conscientiously Implement the Line, Principles and Policies Formulated at the 3d Plenary Session

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on integrating theory with practice and seeking truth from facts, has summed up experiences and lessons, has corrected "leftist" mistakes and has laid down the correct line, principles and policies by integrating the basic principles of scientific socialism with the concrete conditions of our country. As a result, we have returned to the track of scientific socialism in all work and have made tremendous achievements on all fronts.

In 1899, Lenin stated in "Our Program" that what Marxist theory provided was only general guiding principles and that the concrete application of these principles would not be the same in England as in France, in France as in Germany and in Germany as in Russia. As we travel on the socialist road, we should neither violate the basic principles of scientific socialism nor copy things mechanically from books but must integrate the basic principles of Marxism with our country's concrete conditions and practices.

We must pay special attention to our following conditions:

Our country's socialist society emerged from a semifeudal and semicolonial society with undeveloped capitalism. Although tremendous achievements in socialist economical and cultural construction have been scored and an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system have been formed, we have not changed basically the backward state of social economy, culture and science. The traditional influence of the management ways of small production, force of habit and feudalism is very deep and widespread.

Our country has a vast territory but much of it is mountainous regions, water and grasslands. There is not much arable land. If viewed from the average amount per capita, there is even less.

Our country is rich in natural resources but they have not been completely verified by investigations and have not fully and effectively played their roles.

Our country has a population of 1 billion of which 800 million are peasants. Labor intensive agriculture is the chief means of production and still accounts for quite a large proportion of the national economy. The natural conditions of the national minorities and various regions differ in thousands of ways and economic development is extremely unbalanced.

The documents of the party's "Eighth Congress" and such works of Comrade Mao Zedong as "On the Ten Major Relationships" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" set forth a number of correct ideas on how to integrate the basic principles of scientific socialism with the concrete conditions of our country in the course of the socialist construction. The line, principles and policies laid down since the party's 3d Plenary Session have restored and further developed these ideas, thus pointing out the direction for us to take on the path of socialist construction suitable to the conditions of our country.

1. In view of the fact that our country's economy and science are relatively backward, we must on the one hand develop social productive forces and build a strong socialist material basis as soon as possible and on the other hand proceed from reality, act according to our capability, pay attention to actual results and advance step by step. The first major strategic policy decision made by the 3d Plenary Session was to shift the emphasis of the party's work to socialist modernization. At the same time, in view of the serious disproportions between various sectors of the national economy under the longtime influence of "leftist" guidelines, the session decided to readjust the entire economy. We must conscientiously implement the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, with the stress being put on readjustment. Basically speaking, readjustment means readjusting the structure of the national economy in an all-round way, rationally reorganizing industry and making the economic structure rational by combining readjustment with restructuring. Only by so doing will we be able to develop socialist modernization in a healthy and steady way.

2. Since the development of our country's productive forces have not been proportionate, the basic means of production are large-scale modern industries and backward agriculture carried out with manual labor. There are still a lot of handicraft industries in industrial and communications departments. The conditions of our country dictate that we can only adopt various forms of public ownership. Since the 3d Plenary Session, we have corrected the mistake of being overanxious to change quickly the production relations and of thinking that the larger the proportion and the higher the degree of public ownership the better. It has also been clearly pointed out that we must adopt different forms of public ownership and some necessary supplementary forms and that on the condition that the state-run economy and the collective economy constitute the majority, that a certain amount of individual economy in towns and rural areas and joint venture enterprises with foreign funds is allowable.

It must be emphatically pointed out that individual economy is not equivalent to capitalism. First, in individual economy, the laborers earn their own living



while in the capitalist economy, there is exploitation of man by man. Second, before the socialist transformation, there were certain connections between the individual economy and the capitalist economy. At present, the individual economy depends on the socialist economy of public ownership and is a necessary supplement to the socialist economy of public ownership. It also provides an outlet for a portion of the labor force, utilizes idle capital and handles affairs which the state-run economy and the collective economy have no time to attend to in order that various social needs can be satisfied. It is wrong to equate individual economy with capitalism and to think that allowing the existence of a certain amount of individual economy means "restoring capitalism." Marx said: "In any form of society, there is a certain kind of production controlling the status and influences all other production." "This is a kind of illuminating light which outshines all colors and changes their characteristics." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 109) In socialist society, the economy of public ownership controls other component parts of production. Here individual economy has changed. It has become a necessary supplement to the socialist economy of public ownership. When the economy of public ownership develops to such an extent that it can fully satisfy social needs and the conditions for the existence of the individual economy disappear, the latter will be transformed into suitable forms of the economy of public ownership as a matter of course.

3. Since our country's commodity economy is not well developed and the degree of production socialization is not high, we must develop the commodity economy with great efforts. There is one viewpoint that the development of the commodity economy will give rise to capitalism. This viewpoint is wrong. The fundamental difference between the socialist commodity economy and the capitalist commodity economy is that in the former, the labor force is no longer a commodity. This eliminates the exploitative relationship. In the socialist system, the state firmly grasps the economic lifelines and controls the chief economic levers. With these conditions, there will not be the anarchy of the capitalist commodity system and much less will it give rise to capitalism. In the socialist society, the commodity economy develops in a planned way. In the economic management structure, the socialist economy combines regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism and gives full play to the role of marketing under unified and planned guidance. Only by developing the socialist commodity economy can we integrate the material interests of the state, the collective and the individual, arouse the enthusiasm from all quarters, speed up the circulation of funds and accumulation, enhance the expansion of reproduction and the development of the productive forces of the whole society and make the socialist economy prosperous. Since the 3d Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has decided, on the basis of summing up historical experiences, to adopt the policy of developing the socialist commodity economy and of integrating regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism. Remarkable results have been achieved in the preliminary implementation of this policy. It has been proved that this policy is in conformity with the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism and that it is entirely correct.

4. Because our country has vast territory and its economy is backward, manual labor is still the chief means of production in the collective economy and there are restrictions due to natural conditions. Thus the management of agricultural production demands greater adaptability and flexibility. Starting from the

3d Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has further implemented and readjusted a series of rural economic policies. For example: The decisionmaking right of production teams is respected; the policies governing purchasing prices and quotas of agricultural and sideline products and for taxation and credit have been adjusted; plots for commune members' private use have been increased, family sideline production is encouraged and county trade fairs are allowed; various forms of the production responsibility systems such as contracting according to specialized trades and payment based on production (including fixing output quotas for groups, individuals and households) have been commonly established. This series of policies and measures has greatly fired the peasants with enthusiasm for production and has played a role in speeding up the restoration and development of our country's agricultural production. Besides, since the 3d Plenary Session, the narrow concept caused by confining our view only to the small quantity of arable land without seeing the potential of all the land of our country and to only several kinds of cereal crops without seeing the broad prospects of diversified economy has been shattered. We have started to reform the traditional agricultural structure and production layout, to develop diversified economy suiting measures to local conditions, to develop socialist rural commodity economy and to make use of modern science and technology according to the concrete conditions of our country. The development of rural diversified economy and commodity economy and the application of science and technology will promote the overall development of agricultural production, increase social wealth, increase the peasants' income, increase the accumulation of funds and rationally utilize the surplus labor force in agriculture. This is a strategic measure to boost the prosperity of our country's rural economy.

Now we will mainly talk about the problem of fixing production quotas for households. This form of the responsibility system is suitable for scattered, backward and remote mountain villages and for production teams which have had difficulties for a long time and whose collective economy has not been in good shape. Some comrades worry that if we fix production quotas for households among some people we will depart from the socialist road. Why do they have this worry? This again is because they are confused by "leftist" ideas, and cannot differentiate between socialism and capitalism. They connect the mentioning of fixing production quotas for households directly to capitalism. This seems to have become a formula. As a matter of fact, such a formula cannot be. The past individual farming of small agricultural production was based on the private ownership of land and it belonged to the feudal economy or the capitalist economy. The present way of fixing quotas for households is based on the public ownership of land and other chief means of production. It is one form of the responsibility system under which there is no exploitation, and buying, selling or renting land and the hiring of labor are prohibited. It is groundless to say that it "restores capitalism." Of course, we must also understand that since this form of management by fixing production quotas to households is adopted on the specific condition that the collective economy has not been in good shape for a long time, it will naturally develop toward socialization with the restoration and development of the productive forces and the application of agricultural science and technology (including agricultural machines). Therefore, we should find the most appropriate means for transformation by studying of the various forms of responsibility systems and when objective conditions permit and the masses are willing to do so, we can carry out the transformation step by step by making the best use of the situation. We should

never ignore concrete conditions and subjectively resort to administrative orders to "rectify deviations."

5. Eighty percent of our country's population is in the countryside. In mapping out long-term plans for the development of our country's economy, politics, culture, education and science, we must proceed from this reality. The road of modernization taken by today's major developed countries is for the surplus rural labor force to move to cities giving rise to dense population in big cities, the increase of crime, pollution and other social evils. Therefore, the party Central Committee pointed out: In the development of modernization in our country, we should avoid such a situation and should gradually give play to over 5 million small towns and cities scattered like stars all over the country. With the development of the rural diversified economy, the commodity production and the commodity exchange, these small towns and cities should gradually develop into political, economic and cultural centers in rural areas. This strategy for development is conducive to the integration of our country's manpower resource and natural resources; it is conducive to the integration of agriculture, industry and commerce and culture, education and science; it is conducive to rational economic layout; and it is conducive to reducing the distinction between town and country and the distinction between workers and peasants.

6. In accordance with the actual situation that our country has a poor foundation to start with and our science and technology are relatively backward, we have, since the 3d Plenary Session, adhered to the policy for construction by mainly relying on ourselves, stressed developing the social productive forces by relying on own labor, material and financial resources, attached special importance to tapping the potential of and reforming the existing enterprises and relied on the existing machines, equipment and technology to effect modernization. At the same time, we have introduced necessary advanced technology and equipment and a certain amount of foreign funds. Facts have already proved that the integration of mainly relying on ourselves and necessary introduction can speed up the development of the social productive forces and this is necessary and conducive to socialist modernization. Some comrades worry that the introduction of foreign funds and joint venture enterprises with foreign funds may cause deviation from the socialist road. This worry is not necessary either. Introducing a certain amount of foreign funds and running joint venture enterprises with foreign funds (there are also a few enterprises with only foreign funds in special zones) are a means for us to master modern science and technology, to learn experiences of modern management and to train competent people in modern enterprise management and competent people in science and technology. Joint venture enterprises with foreign funds are a borrowed form for building socialism controlled by our country according to stipulations of our country's laws and with the prerequisite of maintaining our country's sovereignty. The price we pay is to endure exploitation by capitalists to a certain degree. As what Lenin said in the past when the "hiring system" was practiced, this "tribute" to capitalism "will not ruin us at all but is a most reliable means for us to realize socialism."

7. Our country's culture, education, science and technology have been backward for some time. With the serious sabotage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," there has appeared in our country the situation of a temporary shortage of qualified personnel for construction. This is not in keeping with the needs to

realize modernization. Without highly developed culture, education, science and technology, it is impossible to build a high socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Since the 3d Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to building socialist spiritual civilization while building the socialist material civilization and emphasized developing mental resources. On the one hand, we should restore and develop higher education, make secondary education universal step by step, strengthen technical secondary education, vocational education and adult education and reform the existing educational structure so that the number and varieties of specialties set up meet the needs of economic and social development. On the other hand, we must stress that the socialist spiritual civilization must be guided by the communist ideology. We must strengthen and improve political and ideological work, especially ideological work on youths and arm the new generation with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and communist morality. Helping youths to develop communist lofty ideals, morality and sentiments is an indispensable important content of the socialist spiritual civilization. It is of decisive significance to the construction of the socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, and to the future destiny of our country. It is of vital and lasting importance.

8. In the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party's democratic life and socialist democracy and the legal system were seriously damaged giving rise to a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases. Since the 3d Plenary Session, not only have these unjust, false and wrong cases been rehabilitated but also "Some Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life" and a series of laws and regulations have been established. The party's fine traditions have been greatly restored and developed, socialist democracy and the legal system have been restored and strengthened and a lot of work has been done to realize a high degree of socialist democracy.

Since the 3d Plenary Session, under the guidance of the correct line of the party Central Committee, the people of the whole country have adhered to the four basic principles, corrected the left deviationist mistakes, eliminated the historical calamities caused by the counterrevolutionary sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and have made great progress generally acknowledged by the world on the economic, political, ideological, cultural, military and foreign affairs fronts.

However, because of the long-term influence of the leftist ideas, some comrades cannot change their way of thinking although they have seen this economic development with their own eyes and personally felt the rise in their standard of living. They still think that the "purer" the socialist society is the better and that there should only be one unitary economy of public ownership and should not be individual economy; the economy of joint venture with foreign funds and the fixing production quotas for households should not be allowed. They even doubt the correctness of developing the commodity economy. They are accustomed to looking at all these as capitalism or the soil for the growth of capitalism. Consequently, they think that we have been deviating to the "right" since the 3d Plenary Session and that we are "restoring capitalism." This is entirely wrong and is not in conformity with Marxism. As to the socialist society, there is a passage quoted from Marx which is familiar to all of us and is worth serious consideration. Marx said, "What I have been discussing here is a communist

society, one which does not develop independently. On the contrary, it grows out of the capitalist society. Therefore, it brings with it traces in all aspects, in economic, moral and spiritual aspects, of the old society from whose womb it has emerged." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10) Marxism never held that the socialist society is 100 percent pure but holds that the existence of "traces of the old society" is inevitable. These old traces can only be gradually eliminated when the productive forces of the socialist society are highly developed. We should also be aware that in countries where economy and culture are less developed, these "traces" are even more prevalent. If we try to eliminate them when conditions are not right, we are bound to do damage to the productive forces. Practice since the 3d Plenary Session has proved, and will further prove, that making the productive relations and management system more suitable for our country's present productive forces are not only conducive to speeding up the development of the productive forces but can also create conditions for the perfection of the socialist system and its development toward a higher stage.

The ultimate objective of the party is to realize communism in China. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have corrected left deviationist mistakes theoretically and practically. This has made it possible for the economic and social development of our country to really get onto the track of scientific socialism. This is precisely aimed at creating conditions for breaking a path for Chinese-style socialist construction and for realizing the great objective of communism.

At the first NPC in 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party." "The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." This is a crystallization of historical experiences in the revolution in our country. Party leadership and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are the basic guarantee that the socialist cause in our country will be victorious. As to how to carry out socialist construction, we are still continuing to practice and sum up our experiences. We still cannot say now that we have completely understood and grasped the objective laws governing the development of a socialist society. There will be difficulties before us on the road of advance. However, our socialist system will certainly display its increasing strong vitality and we will certainly be able to successfully achieve the grand goal of socialist modernization in our country provided we uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; combine the great ideals of communism closely with the scientific approach of seeking truth from facts; unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country to persistently work hard with one heart and one mind in accordance with the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and courageously and steadily correct all erroneous tendencies running counter to scientific socialism. In this way, our communist ideals will also certainly be realized.

(Draft of a lecture given at the Party School of the CCP Central Committee on 11 April 1981. Some changes in wording were made before publication.)

CSO: 4004/122

THE QUESTION OF 'FOR WHOM' IS STILL A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION--STUDYING 'TALKS AT THE YANAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 13-17

[Special commentary by Ding Zhenhai [0002 2182 3189]]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" (referred to below as the "Talks") was published 39 years ago. Despite repeated tests and historical storms over a long period in the past, it is still radiant today. Marxist theory cannot be treated as unalterable dogma. Similarly, some individual proposals and conclusions in the "Talks" are still subject to perfection and supplementing in the wake of the development of the era. However, we cannot deny that the "Talks" has developed a series of evergreen fundamental principles guiding proletarian literature and art in accordance with the actual experience of the Chinese revolution. All contentions and practices are wrong that mean to speak ill of or negate this immortal masterpiece.

The "Talks" is an epoch-making historical work and a brilliant theoretical monument in the historical development of Marxism. It proposed and in fact solved many problems concerning theory and policy on the path of development of Chinese proletarian literature and art, such as literature and art and revolution, literature and art and life, popularization and improvement, ideas and creation, praise and exposure, motives and effects, inheritance and reform, criteria for literary and art criticism, the united front of literary and artistic circles, and so on. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, the "heart of this matter" is a question of for whom literature and art are intended. Comrade Mao Zedong was an expert in grasping the main contradiction among the various complicated historical phenomena and practical contradictions to stress the main points, push toward the overall situation and eventually bring a solution to the whole problem. The "Talks" has made a great contribution to the historical development of proletarian literature and art. It has grasped the fundamental question of for whom literature and art are intended, which is also a question of principle; made clear that literature and art is serving the masses (primarily the workers, peasants and soldiers); and worked out the sole and correct way to accomplish this direction, namely integrating the writers and artists with the broad masses.

The relationship between literature and art and the people, in other words, the attitude of literature and art toward the people, is the major criterion for judging all ancient and contemporary writers and their works. This truth has been

proven from Qu Yuan's "Grieve over hardships in the common people's livelihood" to Du Fu's "Behind the vermilion gates, meat and wine go to waste, while out on the road lie the bones of those frozen to death"; and from the historical theme of "Water Margin," which revealed that "people rebelled as a result of government suppression," to the sympathy and praises for the opponents of the feudal society and the suppressed slaves in the "Dream of the Red Chamber." However, where proletarian writers are concerned, the relationship between literature and art and the people has developed a qualitative leap, differing from aggressive writers of the past who were content to show concern and sympathy for lower-level people who were suffering hardships and difficulties. Proletarian writers must allow their own class stand and sentiments to fundamentally change in order to become loyal sons and bold fighters of the proletariat and the laboring masses; they must turn the people's ideology, sentiments, ideals and pursuits into their world outlook and the flesh and blood of their literary and art works. They must let the truth, that the masses create history, shine through every cardinal link and the whole process of artistic creation, in order to enable their work to be really essential to and made use of by the people and play the historic roles of "awakening and inspiring the people, pushing the people forward toward unity and struggle and encouraging them to reform their own environment."

Lenin first proposed in 1905 in his work "Party Organization and Party Literature" that proletarian literature and art must serve the millions and tens of millions of working people. However, how can we accomplish this demand of Lenin? That is to say, what is the practical device to achieve this great goal? Comrade Mao Zedong was the first to comprehensively and systematically solve this problem, linking theory with actual practice. In the "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong enriched and developed the Marxist principles concerning the party spirit of literature, by aiming at various contradictions and problems existing in Yanan literary and artistic circles and the new literature and art movement since the "May 4 Movement." Comrade Mao Zedong also promptly and profoundly concluded that the question of for whom are literature and art intended is the "heart of the matter," and stated that the key method to solve this crucial problem is that revolutionary writers and artists must reform their sentiments and that the specific device is to go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, go deep into the actual struggles and study Marxism-Leninism and to "integrate with the masses of the new era."

That literature and art should serve the broad masses and the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental direction and principle for developing Chinese proletarian literature and art. However, in different historical times or eras, this fundamental direction and principle will bear its own specific contents of the era and specific characteristics. About 39 years ago, the principle that literature and art should serve the people, the workers, peasants and soldiers was closely related to the central task then of overthrowing the enemy of our nation, accomplishing national liberation and building a new China. Since the establishment of new China, development of proletarian literature and art was bound to be closely related to socialist revolution and construction under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Socialism is where the fundamental interest of the people lies. Thus, to serve the people and socialism becomes the fundamental direction of the development of literature and art in the entire historical era of socialism.

After the publication of the "Talks," the new appearance of literature and art, the new Chinese revolutionary literature and art cause, and the meritorious achievements obtained in the liberated areas amply proved that the direction and road of literary and artistic development pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong were correct and that the setbacks and mistakes on our road of advance, be they "leftist" or rightist, all ran counter to the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks." During the 10 years of upheaval under the "gang of four," the villains were in fact polluting the "Talks" every year in the form of holding a ceremony to commemorate it, and they were in fact engaged in the most filthy conspiracy under a magnificent pretext. What the "gang of four" created and pushed in the literary and artistic circles was a reactionary line which was antagonistic to the party, the people and the masses of writers and artists, and led to an inestimable historical catastrophe in new China's revolutionary literature and art cause.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session, our country's literary and artistic works seemed to have bid farewell to the solemnity of autumn and have rejuvenated in a warm spring. A picture of prosperity has appeared, and the CCP Central Committee has commended the literature and art circles as "one of the departments which have scored distinctive achievements." The most prominent characteristic of the development of literature and art in the new period is that they have brought an end to the hypocritical and conspiratorial literature and art, characterized by "hiding the truth from" and "deceiving" the masses during the period of the "gang of four," and restored and promoted up closer ties between literature and art and the life of the people. Recently, various forms of literature such as fiction, drama, movies, poetry and prose and so on and various kinds of art such as painting, music, dancing and so on have scored remarkable achievements and gained popularity and praise among the masses because they have reflected the thoughts, sentiments, desires and demands of the masses through making a realistic portrait of the people's life. Literature and art which take root in life and among the masses, breathe and live with the masses and help the masses push life forward is the people's literature and art, which shows great vitality. Similarly, works which indulge in self-expression and self-elaboration, and whose sentiments are indifferent to and drift apart from the masses will certainly be shunned and estranged among the masses. Literature and art of the people are the most powerful and prosperous. Upholding the principle that literature and art serve the people and socialism and integrating writers and artists with the masses is the sole and correct direction and road to promote socialist literature and art.

While fully affirming the achievements that literary and artistic works have scored in the past few years, we must also notice certain shortcomings and problems cropping up on the road of advance. Our literature and art works are still far from meeting the demands of socialist modernization in the new period and the people's demands in many aspects, particularly, in ideological content, artistic quality and subject matter and variety of forms and styles. As a matter of fact, there is only a very limited number of works which can practically and profoundly reflect the bubbling life and selfless struggles of the broad masses of people in the new period through vividly portraying realistic figures and moving artistic scenes. The portrayal of new socialist people and pioneer workers in accomplishing the four modernizations is still a weak link in literary and art works hitherto. We should also draw attention to the fact that there are still a



small number of works portraying scars and exposing flaws which are too despondent, and even give off the idea of pessimism, nihilism and extreme individualism. Apparently, the shortcomings of contemporary literary and art works are: the writers and artists follow trends like a swarm of bees; they copy mechanically regardless of the specific conditions, and overstress romantic feelings to prolong the plot; and many of their works are in poor taste and are the same old stuff with a new label. Despite complicated social background and ideological factors that account for these problems, the question of for whom literature and art are intended and the question concerning the integration of the writers and artists and the masses are still the "heart of the matter."

In the past few years, a tendency which gives much food for thought concerning literary works has appeared: Since the smashing of the "gang of four," some young writers have gained a reputation by denouncing in their works the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" which sabotaged the country and brought hardship to the people and by successfully reflecting the vicissitudes of life during the 10 years of upheaval. However, as time goes by, although they may have improved their writing skill, their works are becoming less effective in reflecting the era, showing love for life and playing a social role. To find out the reason for this, we must understand that these comrade writers certainly suffered a lot during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and fell into the "stinking ninth category," during which time their sentiments and living conditions were similar to those of the masses. This accounted for the fact that they could realistically reflect in their works the people's hardships, destiny, desires and demands. However, time is quickly passing. When the broad masses are now involved in the historical and great cause of building the four modernizations, they enthusiastically anticipate that our writers will display creativity and portray the new scenes in which the broad masses of people create their own history. Nevertheless, some of our writers, for various reasons, are drifting apart from the masses of the new period; they do not understand and are unfamiliar with new life, new struggle and new figures. Moreover, some of them are willing to suit their works to the taste of a very limited number of "readers." Apparently, if nothing is done to change this inappropriate situation, our literary and art creation will lag behind the times.

When we put forth this anticipation, we certainly are not ignoring the specific subjective and objective conditions of the writers, and rigidly demanding that they follow the trend to reflect the four modernizations. Variety of themes, subject matter, figures and styles is always necessary. The writers can portray everything in their sight, be it imaginary or real, ancient or contemporary, foreign or native, praise or exposure, friendship or love...and so on. However, we put forward the reasonable demand that literary works must give people confidence and strength and be beneficial to enhancing the people's moral standard and healthy aesthetic judgment, no matter what their themes and figures are.

As a matter of fact, where ideology in literary and artistic creation is concerned, there are now objections against the direction of literature and art serving the people and socialism, not to mention the fact that some literary and artistic works do not meet the demands of the people. Some people say: "The goal of literature and art lies in literature and art themselves." Others say: "Literature and art mean literature and art; why must they serve something?" And

some say: "The works are the writers' subjective reflection of the outside world." Some people even regard Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" as certain "regulations" which restrict creation. Of course, only a very small number of people hold such obviously wrong concepts. Currently, what merits our attention is that some comrades have shown wrong understanding of the fundamental question of for whom literature and art are intended and of the relationship between literature and art and the people's life in the course of holding discussions on "new literary and artistic ideas."

Recently, literary and artistic circles have conducted various discussions on the technique of expressing the stream of consciousness in novel writing. In fact, by treating the stream of consciousness as a kind of expression technique, we can absorb some of its useful factors in creation, and in many cases, some writers have made remarkable achievements in this respect. However, in the course of probing the technique of expressing the stream of consciousness and new literary ideas, many comrades have got practically involved in the significant issue of the fundamental direction of literature and art, and hold that "certain comrades will not accept their exploration and new creation in literature and art. They would rather, however, create the spring snow for 1,000 people than create the song of the rustic poor for the 800 million people." Apparently, such "new creation" and "exploration" reveal the fact that there is a great difference, where sentiments are concerned, between the advocators of this principle and the broad masses of people, and show that the fundamental question of for whom literature and art are intended is not yet solved among them. Writers possessing the so-called ideology of being "reluctant to create the song of the rustic poor for 800 million people" do not in fact deserve the title of socialist writers, and are, furthermore, lagging behind many aggressive writers in history. Regarding this point, Hegel said: "Art is not intended for a small group of scholars who possess a high cultural standard, but for the broad masses throughout the country." How can our socialist writers feel at ease and justified in constructing an art palace for "1,000 people," and shut the door against the 800 million people?

Comrades holding this view have also separated the dialectical relations between popularization and raising of standards. The standard of popular works of course needs to be incessantly raised, but popularization is at all times the basis for raising the standards, and no standard can be raised without popularization. In China today, the so-called raising of standards made on the basis of divorcing oneself from the 800 million people who enjoy the "song of the rustic poor" is in fact the kind of closed-door raising of standards severely criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong in the "Talks." The kind of "spring snow" which only caters to the understanding and appreciation of "1,000 people" is only a castle in the air which is divorced from the masses and reality and is empty and dull. It can never be the "quintessence of literature and art" which pushes forward the development of the entire literature and art cause.

In accordance with Marxist aesthetic principle, works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Similarly, revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. However, going by this "new aesthetic principle," if literary works

still repudiate social life beyond the self, they are fundamentally deviating from the material base for literary and art creation. Of course, in reflecting social life, the writers are not mechanically copying, as if taking pictures; they must display their initiative and creativity. Thus, from preliminary consideration, and from working out a plot to completing a work, the sentiments of the writers are involved in the works which bear a deep imprint of "self." But this is a subjective and objective unity with the realistic process in which the writers reflect social life, and is neither antagonistic nor mutually exclusive. The value of "self," as a category of socialist literature and art, certainly manifests the uniformity of the sentiments of the figures in the work with those of the writer himself, and represents the writer's unique mode of thinking and feeling. However, in the final analysis, such thinking and feelings must depend on the writer's degree of success in characterizing the masses' thinking and feelings, which represent an extensive social capacity. The "self" is naturally more emphatically colored in lyric poetry than in other narrative works. Even if this is so, this does not imply that the poet's subjective sentiments can drift apart from the social environment in which he is actually situated. Poets like this will definitely have no future in their career if the "self" in their works is not related to the contemporary era and the people's sentiments and is not singing the praises of the people's "great achievements," "heroic struggles" and "selfless labor," but on the contrary, is only satisfied in expressing their selfish and trivial desires. (Taine), a bourgeois aesthete, has remarked: "An isolated person always lacks strength and his works will never win high appraisal." Both ancient and contemporary literary creations have proven that literary works including lyric poetry can "truthfully prosper" only if we take root among the life of the masses. Otherwise, the tree of art will die and the flowers will die. The decline of the contemporary Western schools of literature serves as a warning for adhering to the "new aesthetic principles."

The philosophical basis of this "new aesthetic principle" is to place the individual above society. This writer has also realized: "Superficially, this seems to be a divergence in the aesthetic principle, but in fact, this is a divergence in the criterion of the value of man. From the point of view of the young reformers, the individuals should enjoy a superior position in society. Their belief is that if it is man who has created society, the interest of the individuals should not be negated for the sake of maintaining social interests." It is true to say that in the wake of raising the level of man's material and spiritual civilization, the position and role of the individual in the society will certainly be raised as well. Socialism does not mean to negate the existence of the interest of the individual, but to uphold unanimity among the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. However, the interest of the individual must be subordinate to the interests of the state and the collective, and all aggressive persons who possess revolutionary awareness must always be prepared to sacrifice their own interests, or even their lives if necessary, for the party's and the people's interests. The so-called "new aesthetic principle" totally evades the individual's obligations and responsibilities toward society, the state and the people, placing the individual in a "superior position" to society and the people.

Whether we treat literature as a cause of the party and the people or as a cause of the individual is a basic premise for whether we can uphold the principle that

literature and art serve the people and socialism. As Comrade Mao Zedong said in the "Talks": "Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers." Since the "new aesthetic principle" proceeds from the interest of the individual and places the value of man above everything, it certainly cannot provide a proper answer to the fundamental question of for whom literature and art are intended, which is also a question of principle.

Recently, we have drawn inspiration from the problems derived from studying theory and arising in the course of creating literary and artistic works; not only in Yanan 39 years ago did the question of for whom literature and art are intended crop up and "seem to be solved," while in fact "the contrary was proved" and the "sentiments," "works" and "deeds" of many writers and artists "more or less showed that they had met neither the demands of the masses nor the demands of the actual struggles"; this is also a significant question today, at which our literary and artistic circles should aim.

Comrade Mao Zedong acutely pointed out 39 years ago in the "Talks": Many comrades of the literary and artistic circles in Yanan have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. This was why the sentiments and way of living of a good number of people could not accord with the new era of the masses. And it was necessary at that time to solve the question of for whom and how literature and art should work and solve problems concerning the writers' stand, attitude, objectives of work, study and so on in order to work out a proper development of revolutionary literature and art and to accomplish the task of "overthrowing the enemy of our nation and accomplishing national liberation" entrusted us by the era. Today, our country has stepped into the new era of socialist modernization. Simultaneously, while we greatly enhance the level of the productive forces, we must also reform and perfect the socialist economic and political systems and develop a high level of socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. In addition to this, we must also achieve a high level of material civilization, enhance the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation, develop lofty and rich cultural life and eventually achieve a high standard of socialist spiritual civilization. Undoubtedly, in the course of accomplishing the great historical tasks of the era, literature and art have bright prospects and shoulder great responsibilities in which other departments cannot replace them. In the past 4 years, our literature and art have really made a lot of contributions which could never be underestimated nor written off. Nevertheless, we must still draw attention to the fact that our literature and art are still far from meeting the demands of the era. The crux and the key of the problem are still the same: uphold the direction that literature and art serve the people and socialism, and achieve integration of the writers and artists and the broad masses of people in the new period. It is apparent that if our writers and artists do not diligently study Marxism-Leninism and society and do not integrate with the broad masses in the new period, in the current situation in which the old and the new are criss-crossed, the new replaces the old and there are various complicated social and ideological contradictions, they cannot properly understand the essence of the era and the natural trends of historical development, they cannot portray the great historical scenes in which millions upon millions of people are marching

toward the four modernizations under the leadership of the party, they cannot create realistic and touching new socialist people and brilliant pioneer workers for four modernizations, nor can they shoulder the sacred obligation of "spiritual engineers" who spiritually and morally support the people. In the "congratulatory speech" given at the fourth national congress of writers and artists, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed and profoundly expounded on the same question, that literature and art must integrate with the people of the new period: "The people are the mother of the writers and artists. The artistic life of all aggressive writers and artists depends on the flesh and blood relationship between them and the people"; "The people need literature and art, and literature and art also need the people. The fundamental path for developing and promoting our socialist literature and art cause is to spontaneously gather materials, themes, plots, language, poetic flavor and scenes from the people's life." The "fundamental path" pointed out in the "congratulatory speech" and the direction and path stipulated in the "Talks" that literature and art should serve the broad masses of people, the workers, peasants and soldiers and that the writers and artists should integrate with the broad masses of people are one and the same.

At the conclusion of the "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong powerfully pointed out 39 years ago: So long as we uphold the correct direction that literature and art serve the masses, the workers, peasants and soldiers, we definitely "can create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of people, and can advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base and throughout China to a glorious new stage." History has turned Comrade Mao Zedong's predictions into truth. So long as we continue to uphold this proper direction today, we certainly can bring about a more glorious "new stage" in the development of socialist literature and art.

CSO: 4004/122

## IDEALS AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 18-22

[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189]]

[Text] To live in the world, man must have a definite basis for material life, that is, his life must be insured by a definite quantity of clothing, food, accommodation and means of transportation. Otherwise, he will not be able to maintain his own life or produce later generations, and human society will not be able to exist.

To live in the world, man must also have a definite amount of spiritual or cultural life. For example, he must read books, study and discuss problems, engage in moral self-cultivation, take part in cultural and recreational activities, and so on. In these activities, everyone invariably harbors some particular ideology, pursues some particular goals, upholds certain principles of getting along with people and conducting oneself in society, as well as displays one's own favorites and interests. In one way or another, these activities invariably reflect one's world outlook, outlook on life, moral concepts and educational standard. All these constitute the rich content of man's spiritual life.

In every society, the degree of development of its entire material life determines its material civilization, while the degree of development of its entire spiritual life determines its spiritual civilization.

The relationship between material civilization and spiritual civilization, or between material life and cultural life, is one of interdependence and mutual promotion. The production of material things is the basis of mankind's survival and development, and to a certain extent material civilization provides material insurance for building spiritual civilization. If people's material life is persistently very deficient and people persistently suffer from hunger, their spiritual life will inevitably be greatly restricted. However, man's spiritual life is not negative and passive; it exerts a strong influence on material life. A spiritual civilization that is characteristic of a progressive class is a strong motive force in building material civilization. Building material civilization and building spiritual civilization are analogous to a pair of wheels which carry us forward in building a strong and modern socialist country; each wheel is indispensable. We must more vigorously eliminate the pernicious influences of the "theory of the omnipotence of spiritual forces" and of asceticism that were

preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must employ our main forces in building our socialist material civilization. We must have concern for and gradually improve the people's material life. However, we must also pay great attention to building the socialist spiritual civilization and oppose the erroneous ideology of emphasizing immediate "material benefits" at the expense of lofty ideals and revolutionary morals.

#### A Rich and Lofty Spiritual Life Is a Tremendous Force Which Impels a Revolutionary Forward

It goes without saying that certain material needs of a revolutionary must be satisfied. However, a revolutionary particularly needs a rich and lofty spiritual life. In man's life, spiritual life occupies an extremely important position. If a man merely proceeds from physiological needs, indulges in the pleasures of material life and lacks a lofty spiritual life, his creative ability will inevitably be weakened and he will lose the value of man's existence. The ancient Greek materialist philosopher Heraclitus said: "If happiness lies in the pleasures of the flesh, then we should say that a cow enjoys happiness when it has forage to eat." ("Ancient Greek and Roman Philosophy," Sanlian Bookstore 1957 edition, p 18) This remark vividly demonstrates that the satisfaction of material wants is not the sole requirement and desire in man's existence, and a lofty and rich spiritual life is the most prominent distinction between man and other animals. However well off or humble a man's material life is, spiritual life is indispensable. A revolutionary whose spiritual life is lofty and rich will feel happiness amid hardships even if his material conditions are temporarily rather poor and his hardships are rather great. A lofty spiritual life will fill a revolutionary with a tremendous force which impels him to conquer difficulties. Even in circumstances of very poor material living conditions, our earlier generation of revolutionaries still had high morale and advanced bravely. This was inextricably related to their lofty minds. The martyr Fang Zhimin lived a life of poverty and simplicity for the sake of "lovely China." In his article "Death," he said: "Since I have the liberation of our class and our nation as well as the success of our party's cause in mind, I do not care about any magnificent houses, but I am willing to live in a shabby and damp thatched hut. I do not care about delicious Western-style food and dishes, but I am content to eat unpleasant-tasting millet and vegetable roots. I do not care about snug and soft spring beds, but would instead sleep in some accommodation that resembles a pigsty or doghouse. I am not tempted by a leisurely life, but I would like to work hard 16 hours a day! I am not tempted by riches, and I like to remain poor! I do not fear hunger, cold, danger of difficulties. I can stand humiliation, agony and an intolerable life! All these adversities cannot shake my determination in the slightest degree. On the contrary, they more intensively temper my will!" These words reflect very lofty revolutionary ideals and a noble spiritual life. During the war of resistance against Japan, Yanan and various other bases of resistance against Japan were generally regions of great economic difficulties and backward scientific and educational standards. The revolutionary ranks were in the difficult situation of having almost no clothing, edible oil or paper. However, the vast numbers of army men and the broad masses of people cherished lofty communist ideals, united together, worked selflessly in the public interest, struggled arduously, and thus formed the great Yanan spirit and created good mental conditions for gaining victory in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation.

This example fully demonstrates the extraordinary role of the spiritual life in people's overall life, particularly in difficult situations.

Today our circumstances differ from those of the years of revolutionary wars. Our circumstances are now much better. Can we then cease advocating a lofty spiritual life? Should we stop emphasizing the building of socialist spiritual civilization? Obviously not. In our country, if we slacken the building of spiritual civilization, the people's morale will slack off, evil influences will prevail, and the building of our socialist material civilization will be affected or even ruined. At the individual level, if a man's spiritual life is meager and barren, then even if his material life is excellent he will not live a happy life. This is very common in developed capitalist countries. Even in our country, there is a very small number of people who do not have lofty ideals, who devote their efforts to securing personal material pleasures, who are preoccupied with all sorts of worries over their personal gains and losses, and who are consequently always in low spirits. They may be young physiologically, but spiritually they have grown old. Comrade Tao Zhu said: "A man whose personal 'material desires' are very strong, who is dominated by such desires, will certainly lack ideals and have vulgar interests and a barren spiritual life. His life will be extremely deplorable." ("Ideals, Values and Spiritual Life," p 113) These words have profound meaning and people should refer to them.

#### Only by Acquiring Revolutionary Ideals Can One Have a Lofty Spiritual Life

Everyone must invariably pursue something, that is, must have certain ideals. Ideals amount to one's blueprint of one's future life as well as the long-term goals of one's endeavors.

Ideals run through as well as constitute the prop of one's spiritual life.

Ideals represent one's prospects and hopes for the future. Such prospects and hopes invariably reflect one's views of the real world and real life and reflect one's world outlook, particularly one's outlook on life. One's outlook on life is one's overall and basic views on the aims and meaning of life. Because people differ in their economic status, class status and ideological consciousness, their understanding of and attitude toward the aims and meaning of life differ, that is, their outlooks on life differ. For example, some people might believe that "all human beings are selfish" and that "all human beings live for the sake of money." Therefore, they diligently strive for personal gain and go so far as to pursue private benefit at the expense of justice or to benefit themselves at the expense of others. They might even base their personal joys on other people's sufferings. However, many other people hold the opposite view. They think that everyone lives under conditions which represent the realization of one's ancestors' ideals and that one cannot be completely divorced from these conditions. Therefore, one must not merely consume the material and spiritual wealth created by ancestors and other people but must also create additional wealth for society. One must not merely require others to work for one's personal existence and development but should also benefit other people. People who hold such views take making contributions to society as their own ideals and goals. The broad masses of laboring people as well as many progressive thinkers and scientists cherish this kind of outlook on life in varying degrees. For example,



an old worker in Shanghai lived a simple life and donated all his savings, amounting to over 10,000 yuan, to the state. This old worker embodied the outlook on life and lofty moral character of the working class, which are characterized by wholehearted devotion to the country and selflessness. In his article "My World Outlook," the great scientist Einstein said: "I remind myself hundreds of times a day that my spiritual life and material life depend on the labor of other people (including the living and the deceased). I must try my best to repay in equal value the things which I have received and which I am now receiving. I fervently cherish a simple life, and I often feel sorry when I find that I have taken too much of my compatriots' labor." ("Einstein's Works," Vol 3, p 42) He deplored the kind of philistine life in capitalist society that is characterized by a scramble for fame, money and wealth. He said openly: "I always feel that the philistine goals which people eagerly pursue, namely wealth, vanity and a luxurious life, are despicable." (Ibid., p 43)

On the other hand, communists who devote their whole lives to struggling for the cause of the emancipation of mankind regard working for the benefit of the overwhelming majority of people as life's greatest pleasure and happiness. Marx said: "Emancipate all mankind." Mao Zedong said: "Serve the people wholeheartedly." Lu Xun said: "Serve the children as beasts of burden serve their masters." These words represent revolutionaries' ideals. They are the concentrated expression of the proletarian outlook on life. Such an outlook is compatible with the requirements of society's development and with the basic interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and is, therefore, progressive and revolutionary.

Acquiring communist ideals is tantamount to correctly resolving the problem of the revolutionary outlook on life. Lei Feng said: "We eat in order to live and not the other way around. I live to wholeheartedly serve the people and to struggle for the cause of the emancipation of mankind, namely communism." Such lofty ideology prominently reflected his communist ideals and revolutionary outlook on life. Such an outlook represents the ideological basis on which communists and revolutionaries build up their lofty ideals, as well as provides the strength which enables them to be selfless and fearless and to persist in communist ideals.

Some people say that they have no particular ideals or outlook on life, and that they are content to be well fed and well clothed, as well as to have a gratifying job and a small family in a comfortable home. Actually, this is a kind of ideal and outlook on life, though it is philistine and marked by vulgar interests. Because different people pursue different goals in life, they differ in their understanding of and attitude toward dignity and shame, beauty and ugliness as well as joy and suffering. Why do some people think that it is foolish to "suffer losses" for the revolution's sake in moments of need and that it is not worthwhile to sacrifice their lives for the people? Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "Such viewpoints arise from their various kinds of noncommunist outlooks on life. Their outlook on life, which is characteristic of the old society or even of exploiters, emphasizes pleasure seeking (as reflected in such old sayings as 'Life is for pleasure seeking,' 'Life is like a dream, and there are too many opportunities for enjoying ourselves' and so on). They think that it is not worthwhile to sacrifice their lives before they have enjoyed life." He said that people who have such an outlook on life, which is characteristic of the exploiters and which is marked by pleasure seeking, "will tend to practice corruption, waver

and degenerate, even to the point of dropping out of the party and revolution." ("On the Party," pp 150-151) To have concern for the destiny and future of the state and the nation, to serve the cause of the people--these are the minimum demands placed upon a revolutionary as well as important criteria for testing whether he cherishes lofty ideals and a revolutionary outlook on life.

When we encourage "suffering losses" for the revolution's sake if necessary and sacrificing one's life for the people, we do not negate one's personal interests and we are not against improving people's material and cultural life. Comrade Zhang Wentian said: "The ideals in life consist of striving for an ideal life." ("Politics and Economics Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") Our "ideals in life" are to realize socialism and communism so that everyone can live a happy and fine "ideal life." In the past we waged armed struggles to seize political authority. Now we are occupied with socialist economic construction. The ultimate aim of all this is to satisfy people's material, cultural and other needs, so that people may live an "ideal life." Nevertheless, to achieve this, we must in the first place have lofty revolutionary ideals. We must turn ideals into reality through collective and arduous struggles. That is, as people often say, we must be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts.

#### The Guidance of Marxism Is Indispensable To Building Revolutionary Ideals

The building up of revolutionary ideals must be guided by Marxism, because what we want to build up are communist ideals, which constitute part of the Marxist world outlook and which are based on Marxism. Marxism reveals in depth the objective laws of development of human society and scientifically expounds the inevitable realization of communism over the whole world. Only by arming ourselves with Marxist ideology can we correctly answer the question of why we must build up communist ideals and can we consequently build up the firm faith in realizing these great ideals. Why are some people devoid of high aspirations or a will to perform noble deeds? Why do some people vigorously strive for what the bourgeoisie calls "freedom, equality and altruism," or even for the bourgeois way of life, taking such things as their ideals? The reasons are manifold, but one important reason is ignorance of the basic Marxist theories. More than a century ago, when Marx and Engels were young men in their 20's or 30's, they dared to publish the "Communist Manifesto" and declare war against the old capitalist world. What did they rely on as the source of their courage? They relied on their knowledge of the laws governing the doom of capitalism and the inevitable victory of communism. There have been many Chinese Communist martyrs who bravely sacrificed their lives. "Neither riches nor honors could corrupt them, neither poverty nor lowly conditions could make them swerve from principle, and neither threats nor force could bend them." A very important reason was that the truth of Marxism filled them with conviction and strength. Marxism was the guiding principle for Comrade Li Dazhao, who "carried the load of justice on his iron shoulders." Before his martyrdom, Comrade Xia Minghan wrote these brave words in a poem: "Chopping off my head does not matter to me," and his spiritual prop was explained by his words: "provided our doctrines voice the truth." In the enemy's prison, Comrade Fang Zhimin was firm and unbending, because he firmly believed: "The doctrines we believe in represent the truth in the universe." Comrade He Long abandoned the opportunity to become a high official of the old society and joined the Communist Party to help wage revolution, because he

realized that "only the Communist Party can save China, and only Marxism is the truth that can save our nation." These concrete examples illustrate that if one theoretically understands the scientific meaning and nature of communist ideals, then one will manifest lofty ideals and an unbending will in practice.

When some people undergo a few sufferings on the long journey of life, their faith in the cause of communism wavers. An important reason is that they have not quite satisfactorily studied Marxism and are deficient in a firm faith in Marxism. Why could the strong-minded revolutionary Zhang Zhixin become a pioneer in emancipating the mind as well as a heroine in opposing Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? One essential reason was her firm belief in the "spiritual prop" of Marxism-Leninism. She said: "One who is living must have a firm belief. One must not merely care about one's food, clothing, accommodation and so on, but must also make some contribution to society. To truly be a human being, one must have lofty ideals, firmly believe in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, cherish the broad aims of revolution, and never vacillate whatever people might say about him or her." Such scientific understanding of theory and self-cultivation in ideology are highly commendable and essential.

#### Building Revolutionary Ideals Must Be Based on the People's Basic Interests

What kinds of ideals are revolutionary and lofty? What kinds of ideals are backward or petty and low, or amount to impractical fantasies? The basic distinction lies in whether such ideals are based on the understanding of objective things and the laws governing them, and whether they embody the basic interests and aspirations of the broad masses of people. If a man's ideals are in the interests of the majority of people, are aimed at the progress of society, and play a role in promoting the development of social productive forces, or, in other words, if the ideals are compatible with the laws of social development, then they are revolutionary and lofty. On the contrary, if a man's ideals violate the basic interests of the people and are incompatible with requirements of the laws of social development, then even if he diligently strives for or even achieves some temporary successes, his ideals are not only not commendable but will be despised by people.

In our country, the people are bound by a common cause and they share common interests. An individual's interests are dependent on the development of state and collective undertakings, while our country's strength and prosperity require everyone's contributions. That is to say, in socialist society, people inevitably have common ideals because the basic interests of the whole people are identical. Such common ideals embody the seeking of future common interests. Today, the common ideals of the people of our country consist of building a great socialist power, and to subsequently realize communism through the concerted efforts of everybody in the country. These embody the people's basic interests and constitute an irresistible historical trend. Obviously, it is impossible to envisage the existence of these common ideals in a country ruled by the exploiting classes. For example, in imperialist countries, not only are the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat basically contradictory, and not only are there uncompromising conflicts and struggles between these two classes, but even within the bourgeoisie itself or among various groups of capitalists, there exist complicated and intense competition and conflicts of interests. Therefore, in

such a society, common interests, and hence common ideals, of all members of society will not exist.

Of course, when we acknowledge the existence of common ideals in a socialist society, this does not imply that we negate the existence of an individual's personal ideals, or that we require all people to have identical ideals. Under the prerequisite of struggling for the common ideals, everyone can have distinctive personal ideals, or in other words, everyone's ideals will display personal characteristics. Nevertheless, a revolutionary's personal ideals should be based on the basic interests of the people, and he should not "design his own" ideals and thus deviate from the needs of the cause of revolution. This is because man is a social creature. His practice will either promote or impede the development of society and cannot be absolutely independent of social and historical development. If he violates the needs of the cause of revolution and violates the basic interests of the people to "design his own" ideals, then such ideals will be backward, petty and low, and will impede social progress.

In a class society, one's personal ideals, in the final analysis, reflect the will and interests of a particular class. A revolutionary should establish his personal ideals on the same base as that of the proletarian class ideals, and should correct, supplement and develop his own ideals according to the needs of the cause of revolution. In this respect, the heroic soldiers who joined the defensive assault on Vietnam have set a good example for us to follow. Before they enlisted in the army, each of them had his own ideals and aspirations. Some wanted to be scientists, some wanted to be drivers and so on. However, in the furnace of the people's army, they were gradually and wholesomely influenced and educated, so that a grand blueprint began to appear in everyone's mind, namely, to completely sacrifice oneself for the magnificent cause of defending our motherland and safeguarding the four modernizations. A new soldier who had taken the college entrance examination and who had enlisted before the examination results were published, had loved mathematics since he was a child and wished to become a scientist when he grew up. When he was undergoing intensive military training near the southern border of the motherland, he received his examination results, sent to him via his family, which made him eligible to enter college. He thought that the most urgent task of a revolutionary soldier was to beat back the enemies which had invaded the motherland's border. The motherland needed not only scientists but also defenders. If one merely emphasized one's personal ideals and aspirations at the expense of the security of one's country, then one would be too paltry. Therefore, when his superior asked him for his opinion, he categorically answered: "I want to fight! My ideals are at one with our motherland's needs." Our heroic soldiers are imbued with ideals. When the cause of revolution requires them to quit their ideal jobs, they know thoroughly how to unconditionally subordinate their personal interests to the collective interests. Tens and thousands of examples like this can be found not only among the ranks of the people's army, but also on various fronts of socialist construction.

However, in real life, there are also some people who do not clearly understand the relationship between personal ideals and the class ideals of the proletariat. They want to do certain types of jobs, and when their wishes are not fulfilled, they become inactive and pessimistic and think that "my ideals are shattered and my future is gloomy." This is erroneous. It amounts to an incorrect

understanding of ideals. We must know that, generally speaking, the revolutionary ideals that we are talking about are directed toward building a powerful socialist country with a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization, and with the ultimate realization of communism. A particular job which one wishes to perform is a means to attain the ambitious goal of realizing communism. Because of the social division of labor, different people must perform different tasks. However, we can contribute our efforts to realizing our lofty goal at different work posts. Therefore, when the cause of revolution requires us to change our ideal job, we should subordinate ourselves to the needs of the cause of revolution and take up the new job. That is to say, everyone must satisfactorily perform one's own duties in the job assigned to one by the government according to the principle of unified planning with due consideration for all concerned. Of course, when the government arranges jobs for people, it should consider their personal preferences and aspirations as far as possible, but in practice it is difficult to find the perfect job. Therefore, when contradictions exist between personal ideals and the needs of the cause of revolution, we are required to subordinate our personal interests to the overall interests as well as to make the greatest possible contribution at the posts assigned to us according to the people's needs.

Ideals are the guide of our action. They provide spiritual strength which impels us forward. If a man has acquired lofty communist ideals, he will break free from the narrow limit of personal gains and losses and will be able to consider and handle problems with the interests of the proletariat and all mankind in mind. Therefore, only by acquiring revolutionary ideals can one have correct goals to strive for, can one's enthusiasm in creating a new society be kindled, and can one give light and warmth to the world in one's life as one should. Only thus can one's spiritual life be meaningful.

CSO: 4004/122

## PERSISTENTLY PUBLICIZE COMMUNIST ETHICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 23-28

[Article by Fan Lu [0416 6526] and Liu Ren [2692 0086]]

[Text] Communist ethics are the most beautiful and loftiest ethics of mankind. They play a significant role in every stage of the revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat. Before the proletariat seizes political power, they are able to educate and guide the revolutionaries in fearing neither difficulties and hardships nor bloodshed and sacrifices. They are able to unite the broad masses of people in their struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule. After the proletariat has seized political power, they are able to inspire and encourage the revolutionaries to maintain and bring into full play the revolutionary traditions and resist the corruption of feudalist and bourgeois ideas. They are able to unite the broad masses of people in their struggle to transform the old society and build the new socialist society. To publicize communist ethics during the new historical period is even more significant in realizing socialist modernization and in developing a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Therefore it is a glorious duty for each theoretical worker, each propaganda worker and each educational worker to correctly understand the role played by communist ethics in revolution and construction, actively carry out propaganda and communist ethical education and develop communist ethics.

Our party has all along attached importance to extending the propaganda of communist thinking as a system and using communist ethics as a standard for views and deeds of Communist Party members and advanced elements so that they can bring along and influence the broad masses of people in carrying forward the revolutionary spirit and in struggling for the victory of the revolution. As early as the second revolutionary civil war period, Comrade Mao Zedong formulated the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention of the Red Army. Particularly in the resolution "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," he put forth the principles and methods for correctly handling the relationship between the army and the people, the army and the government, and officers and soldiers. They embodied the communist spirit and moral standards. In those days, the material life of the Red Army was in very straitened circumstances. But in numerous battles, the Red army men pressed forward with an indomitable will and defeated the powerful and ferocious enemy. That was because the army was imbued with staunch revolutionary spirit and noble moral concepts. The world-shaking 25,000-li Long March fully manifested the heroic spirit and moral sentiments of

the Red Army, the revolutionary spirit of the commanders and fighters of the Red Army for making revolution and serving the people wholeheartedly, the leadership and the rank and file being of one mind, unity and friendship, struggling arduously and making heroic sacrifice worked an epic miracle of mankind. As Snow commended in "Red Star Over China," "Only the finest army can stand the tense and arduous daily conditions which the Red armymen bore." "They were conscientious socialist fighters."

During the war of resistance against Japan, the communist moral standards of the proletariat were further developed within the revolutionary ranks and in the vast liberated areas. In his articles "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Serve the People," Comrade Mao Zedong systematically expounded the role of a vanguard and model of Communist Party members, stipulated the codes of conduct for Communist Party members in handling various kinds of relations and called on everybody to learn from Comrade Bethune his communist spirit of utter, selfless devotion to others and from Comrade Zhang Side his spirit of serving the people completely and thoroughly. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" also played an important role in helping party members and revolutionary cadres foster a communist world outlook and cultivate communist ideals, convictions and ethics. The Yanan rectification was a great Marxist education campaign. The party's three important styles of work of integrating theory with reality, maintaining close ties with the masses and criticism and self-criticism were greatly developed and became principles for political life. In those days, the broad masses of party members and revolutionary cadres strived to remold their ideology, tried their best to guide the views and deeds with communist ethics and worked wholeheartedly for the benefits of the people. Therefore, they won the sincere support of the people of the whole country and were praised and admired by the world's progressive people. These traditions became our party and army's powerful spiritual weapons in conquering the enemy and scoring victories. The "Yanan spirit" we usually speak about was formed and developed during this period.

In the early days after the liberation of the whole country, the broad masses of Communist Party members, revolutionary cadres and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army spread the party's fine traditions and styles to the masses of people of all nationalities throughout the country by their own examples and formed the spirit of the initial postliberation period. Once this kind of spirit dominates people's minds, it becomes a tremendous material strength and will blaze a new path to cleaning up the filth and mire left over from the old society, promoting the restoration and development of the national economy and fostering the new styles of a generation. From the 1950's to the early 1960's we persistently carried out education on communist ethics. "To emulate heroes and models with deeds" became a common practice at that time. Many heroes and models emerged with communist ethics and qualities. Lei Feng and Jiao Yulu were the outstanding representative figures of such heroes and models. Particularly during the time when China was faced with temporary economic difficulties, we still persevered in promoting and giving full play to communist ethics. This played an active role in helping the party and all the people in the country work with one heart and one mind to overcome difficulties and promote the cause of socialism.

History proved that no matter whether during the democratic revolution period or during the socialist period, communist ethics played an immeasurable role in defeating our enemies at home and abroad and in scoring victories in revolution and construction. Before the "Great Cultural Revolution," the mental attitude and social practices of our country's people won universal praise and were acclaimed by the world. From this it can be seen that even when the level of development of the productive forces was not yet high and under relatively difficult conditions of material life, we could also advocate communist ethics just the same and achieve good results. The idea that advocating communist ethics goes beyond the present historical stage is not in conformity with historical facts.

During the decade of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" recklessly trampled on the party's fine traditions and style of work, corrupted communist ethics and values, undermined the guiding principle on the relationship among the people and caused disastrous consequences. A pressing task before us is to eradicate the influence of the decadent ethics of feudalism and the bourgeoisie peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must strengthen education on communist ethics, restore and bring into full play our party's fine traditions and style of work and vigorously develop socialist spiritual civilization.

Communist ethics are a component part of communist thinking as a system. Its foundation is communist ideals and convictions and its core is proletarian collectivism. They demand that communists and all revolutionaries remain boundlessly loyal to the cause of communism, wholeheartedly serve the people, consider and care for the same things that the masses do, be selfless, work heart and soul for the public interest and be utterly devoted to others without any thought of oneself. They should be completely responsible for their own labor and work, study assiduously, observe discipline, maintain order, work hard, lead a plain life and be honest in performing one's official duties. They should care about the interests of the party and the masses more than the interests of individuals. They should care about others more than they care about themselves. If necessary, they should sacrifice their interests for the interests of the party, the state and the collective. They should be extremely warm and sincere to the people and comrades. They should bear the overall situation in mind and put the general interests above all. They should unite as one, help each other and treat others as equals. They should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They should put others before themselves and sacrifice their own interests for the sake of others. In short, they should guide all their views and deeds with communist thinking. These communist ethics were gradually formed and developed by critically inheriting the fine qualities of the laboring people in history under the guidance of Marxist theory.

In developing socialist modernization, communist ethics play a tremendous role that cannot be ignored. To build a modern, powerful, highly democratic and civilized socialist nation, we must not only be highly civilized materially but spiritually as well. By spiritual civilization, we mean, in addition to well developed education, science and culture, the dominance of communist ideals, beliefs, morals, discipline, revolutionary stand and principles and a comradely relationship among the people. Communist ethics are important contents of a spiritual civilization. Educating the people with communist ethics mainly means evaluating people's views and deeds and adjusting the relationship among the



people with public opinion, by force of example and the method of criticism and self-criticism so that everybody understands the objective standards for right and wrong, good and evil, glory and disgrace and beauty and ugliness, restrains and standardizes their views and deeds, conscientiously observes social discipline and safeguards public interests and insures the smooth progress of the construction of socialist modernization. Besides, through moral education, and arousing the enthusiasm of the masses to the greatest extent so that the people of the whole country can carry forward the spirit of working hard and doing solid work, we can further increase labor productivity and speed up the construction of a material civilization. It will be difficult to realize socialist modernization if we only pay attention to material production, ignore ideological education and fail to work hard in helping people raise their ideological level and moral standards.

It is necessary to train a generation of socialist new people to realize socialist modernization. Youths are the future of the motherland. They are a vital new force in socialist modernization and also future successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The ideological consciousness and mental outlook of the younger generation determine the success and failure of the four modernizations and the destiny and future of the party and the country. We must have a thorough understanding of the far-reaching significance of educating the young people with communist ethics. Lenin attached much importance to educating the young people with communist ethics. He pointed out, "You should train yourselves to be communists...should treat the entire undertaking of fostering, educating and training young people as the undertaking of fostering the communist ethics of young people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 257) Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that we should insure the moral, intellectual and physical development of young people and students. Here moral education includes education on communist ethics. Trained and educated by the party, the political consciousness, moral cultivation and professional studies of our country's young people and students were relatively good before the "Great Cultural Revolution." That was because in those days the party and the CYL organizations, educational and administrative departments at all levels and headmasters, teachers and political workers all paid attention to doing ideological and political work. While educating the students with Marxist-Leninist theory, a series of effective measures were adopted to foster the students' communist moral qualities. For example: The "five-likes" (love the motherland, love the people, love labor, love science, love public property) education of the 1950's and "learn from Lei Feng, try to be good in three aspects" of the 1960's; the education on revolutionary traditions and education on collectivism. These played an active role in fostering the student's dialectical materialist world outlook and the thinking of serving the people. In those days, the overwhelming majority of graduates from universities, colleges and secondary technical schools accepted the state's assignment and tried hard to serve the people and socialism. However, in the 10 years when the "gang of four" ran amuck, education for young people was seriously impaired. After smashing the "gang of four" and through bringing order out of chaos, education was embarked on a correct track. The policy of an overall moral, intellectual and physical development has been further implemented. But it takes time to thoroughly heal the wounds inflicted by the "gang of four." Therefore, it is imperative for us to greatly strengthen ideological and political work, strengthen education on communist ethics and enthusiastically guide and help young people and

students to raise their ideological consciousness and moral level. Only in this way can we train the young people into a new generation with ideals, morals, knowledge and good health. How can the younger generation take on the heavy responsibility of building socialism and communism without communist thinking, ideals, convictions and ethics?

Some people maintain that advocating communist ethics at this stage violates the historical materialist theory that the economic foundation determines the super-structure. According to such a viewpoint, it seems that the socialist economic foundation can only generate socialist ethics and that communist ethics can only be generated when communism has been realized. Can this be true?

Historical materialism tells us that all ethics are products of the society's economic situation. In a class society, there are different ethical concepts because of the different status of various classes. Feudal society had the ethics of the landlord class and the ethics of the peasants. Later there also appeared the ethics of the bourgeoisie. In capitalist society, three types of ethics exist at the same time: the ethics of the landlord class, the ethics of the bourgeoisie and the ethics of the proletariat. While the ethics of the proletariat have been further developed and have assumed the dominant position during the socialist state, the influence of the ethics of the landlord class and the ethics of the bourgeoisie still remain. While we should not confuse the ethics of one class with other different types of ethics in a society, much less should we conclude that only one type of ethics can be generated from one economic form of society.

The generation and development of proletarian communist ethics had their objective foundation. Communist ethics, which were generated from a capitalist society, reflect the economic status and interests of the proletariat. When the proletariat has been integrated with socialized mass production, such noble qualities as selflessness, unity, mutual assistance and obeying discipline will be generated in the course of practice. Since the birth of Marxist theory, the advanced elements of the proletariat have armed themselves with such an advanced theory and, in the course of revolutionary struggle, gradually fostered communist ideals and convictions and cultivated and formed communist ethics. After the proletariat seized political power, it eliminated the exploitation system, established the system of public ownership of the means of production and laid a firm material foundation for the development of communist ethics. Following the development of the socialist cause, the influence of the exploiting classes' old ethics had been diminishing each day and communist ethics have become increasingly deeprooted among the people and its contents have been increasingly enriched. We can say that communist ethics were generated in a capitalist society, developed in a socialist society and will be perfected in a communist society, as a matter of fact, the communist ideology as a system including communist ethics was generated in the capitalist society. Its development into the guiding ideology of the whole society in the socialist period was entirely in conformity with the historical law. How can we say then that publicizing communist ethics at this stage violates the historical materialist theory?

Still other people maintain that communist ethics cannot coexist with the principle of distribution according to work, and that it is improper to propagate

communist ethics if we want to implement the principle of distribution according to work. We think we certainly can and must organically integrate implementation of the principle of distribution according to work with fostering communist ethics. This is because: First, at the present stage, only by implementing the principle of distribution according to work can we arouse the laboring people's enthusiasm in a still better way so that productivity can be raised, production can be developed and the people's material and cultural needs can be continually satisfied. Moreover, the current education on communist ideology is meant to heighten the laboring people's political consciousness, foster their communist ideals and conviction, strengthen their sense of responsibility in their work as masters of their own country, carry forward the spirit of doing solid work and strive to increase production and conserve resources. The basic purpose of doing this is to build socialism and create the conditions for realizing communism under which the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be followed. Second, the basic requirement of the policy of distribution according to work is to realize the principle "he who does not work shall not eat." This principle demands that none of us build our happiness on other people's misfortunes but that we take the path of common prosperity through individual and collective labor. This is in line with the requirements of communist ethics at the present stage. Third, fostering communist ethics will be conducive to implementing the principle of distribution according to work. Only by fostering the spirit of being the masters of our own country under the guidance of communist ideology can we enable each and every laborer to work for society according to his ability and be rewarded by society accordingly. In the early days of the Soviet regime in Russia, Lenin spoke highly of the voluntary labor initiated by workers and called it "a great creation" and "the beginning of a decisive change." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 1) What Lenin advocated was a conscientious attitude of communist labor and he called on the people to enthusiastically make more contributions to socialism. They did not negate distribution according to work. On the contrary, only by fostering the communist attitude of labor can we continually heighten labor productivity, create more wealth for society and implement the principle of distribution according to work in a still better way. If we fail to carry out propaganda and education in communist ethics, to advocate the communist spirit, to criticize the decadent ideas of being bent solely on profit and of harming others and the general public to benefit oneself and if we do not help educate those whose attitude toward labor is that of the hired hand mentality--a viewpoint of one who will "work only for pay," "do no more than he is paid for," and who thinks that "subjectively he works for himself but objectively he works for others--and enhance their consciousness, then we will be ideologically confused, we will have no discipline and we will not be able to improve our labor productivity and to implement the principle of distribution according to work. This will seriously impair our socialist cause.

Some people believe that propagating communist ethics is the root cause of the "communist wind" and leftist ideological trend. This viewpoint is wrong. Our party should propagate the communist ideological system at all times. Without the guidance of communist ideology, the Chinese revolution will definitely not succeed in any of its historical periods. It is, therefore, necessary to vigorously publicize communist ideology and carry out education in communist ethics while observing the current economic situation in society and the development level of

our labor productivity before we can formulate various specific policies that conform with objective reality. This requires us to take a broad and long-term view and do work on a solid basis. We will lose our orientation if we do not use communist ideology as our guide and do not cherish a lofty ideal and a great fighting goal. We cannot advance steadily and win victories in our revolution and construction if we do not proceed from the actual conditions in the country to formulate our policies. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out during the democratic revolution period that we should distinguish the propaganda of the communist ideological system from the practice of the new democratic action program. This guideline is still applicable at the present stage. The propaganda of communist ethics and the implementation of socialist policies are two things that should be distinguished from each other although they are interrelated, that is to say, we should implement socialist policies suitable for the level of development of the productive forces and at the same time carry out propaganda of communist ethics. We should not make these two things antagonistic, thinking that if we implement socialist policies we cannot publicize communist ethics, nor should we mix them up taking communist principles as the basis for formulating current policies. The blowing of the "communist wind" in 1958 was due mainly to "leftist" mistakes of the party's guiding thinking. We cannot attribute this "wind" to the propagation of communist ethics. In actual work at that time, the desire to score quick successes, gain high speed and attain high targets; the undue emphasis on things large in size and collective in nature; and the inappropriate demand for giving play to the communist work style resulted in blind rash leaps. The root cause of these mistakes was divorcing our thinking and action from the actual conditions in our country. Communist ethics do not have anything to do with these mistakes, so, we cannot discontinue the propaganda of communist ethics. In point of fact, many persons with the communist spirit were commended by us between the 1950's and early 1960's. The action we took played a very effective role and did not encourage left-deviationist thinking. How could it be possible to encourage left-deviationist thinking today when we publicize communist ethics under the guidance of the correct line formulated by the party Central Committee?

The standards of communist ethics are only applicable to communist party members but not to the masses--this is another reason against giving publicity to communist ethics. It is true that there still exist differences between industry and agriculture, town and country and physical and mental labor in socialist society, and that the people's ideological consciousness is also not exactly identical. Therefore, in conducting political ideological education, particularly in formulating comparatively specific "standards," "codes of conduct" and "conventions," we must proceed from reality, set forth different demands in accordance with different conditions and encourage everybody to proceed from different starting points to gradually strive for a fairly high level of ethics. However, we should not draw the conclusion that there can be different standards of ethics in our society and that the views and deeds of different persons can be measured by different standards. Following the establishment of the system of public ownership of the means of production in socialist society, the fundamental interests of the people as a whole are identical. All of us share the same ideal, faith, ethics and discipline. However, this does not rule out the fact that there still exist all kinds of influence of nonproletarian ethics in our society. But what we want to promote and put into a major leading role can only be the standard of communist ethics. We must educate all the people with communist ethics so that communist

ethics can gradually become moral standards which people conscientiously observe. The historical task of communists is to emancipate mankind as a whole, transform the old society, and transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world. The ultimate goal of communist party members is to achieve communism and devote their entire life to communism. Therefore, communist party members should not only possess communist ethics but should also use their own moral characters to encourage as well as arouse the broad laboring masses to struggle for achieving socialist modernization. As to socialist national social ethics, including codes of conduct and professional ethics stipulated in the constitution which all citizens must observe, they are relatively more concrete standards of conduct formulated on the basis of social economic development, the level of the people's consciousness and the nature of the people's work. They are the minimum moral requirements for citizens. These standards manifest the spirit of collectivism and they are in keeping with communist ethics in principle. Undoubtedly, strengthening the propaganda of communist ethics will certainly motivate the broad masses to observe social ethics better. The universal practice of social ethics and the rise of the moral level of the masses will lay a good foundation for fostering the people's communist ethical concepts in return. Therefore, the propaganda of communist ethics and the practice of social ethics help each other forward. Of course, it is certainly no easy job to possess a noble communist moral character, but it is not unattainable either. "Anyone can become a Yao or Shun." If we impart some new meaning to this sentence, we should say that with effort, anyone can gradually foster communist ethical concepts. A man's ability may be great or small and his contribution to society may vary but so long as he has fostered communist ideals and convictions and persists in cultivating and tempering himself in practice, he can become a noble man and a man with communist ethics. As a matter of fact, both in the past and at present, there are not only many outstanding communist party members and revolutionary martyrs who have sacrificed themselves for the realization of the communist ideals, but there are also many persons outside the party who, under the influence of the party, have fostered the communist world outlook and become stalwart fighters with communist ethics. This is quite evident to all. How can we close our eyes to these facts and stubbornly insist that communist ethics are only for communist party members?

Communist ethics are not generated spontaneously. They have to undergo a process of propaganda, fostering, propping up and developing. In order to realize communism, there must be highly developed productive forces, which include communist laborers with noble ethics. This kind of laborers can only be trained generation after generation in the course of building socialism. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels stated, "The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 271-272) Only by effecting these two ruptures can we have a gradual transition to communism. If anyone thinks that in the socialist stage, there is no need to publicize and cultivate communist ethics and that when communism is realized, all the people will suddenly become communist laborers, that is quite unimaginable.

In the new historical period at present, we must resolutely publicize communist ethics, mobilize the entire society to participate in the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, make special efforts to carry out propaganda and

education on communist ethics in close connection with activities to promote the "five stresses" and "four beauties" and arouse as well as encourage young people to act as vanguards in building a socialist spiritual civilization. Advocating communist ethics enjoys great popularity. So long as we keep on going, we will surely be able to establish a healthy atmosphere, suppress evil influence, further change social practices, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit which prevailed during the Yanan period, the period of the liberation war and in the early days after the founding of our country.

CSO: 4004/122

## PROMOTE THE WORKING CLASS AS MASTERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 29-31

[Article by Huang Minwei [7806 3046 0251]]

[Text] Led by the CCP, our country's working class has united the people of various nationalities over the whole country, experienced protracted and extremely arduous struggles, put an end to the dark old China and established the vigorous new China. Since the working class and other laboring people gained control over the state political power, they have basically and successfully accomplished the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production. Because the socialist system of the public ownership of the means of production has been established, the working class and all the laboring people now enjoy the status of being able to manage the country and being the masters of society. The current socialist modernization construction is the cause of the masses of people themselves. The achievement of socialist modernization will inevitably drastically help raise labor productivity, improve the livelihood of the working class and other laboring people, and lay a strong material foundation for as well as create adequate spiritual conditions for the cause of communism. Therefore, the broad masses of people, in particular each member of the working class, should display the spirit of the working class as masters of society, treat the cause of socialist modernization as they treat their own lives, exert efforts persistently and dauntlessly, and make their greatest contribution to and shoulder their full responsibilities for the accomplishment of this cause.

Regarding themselves as the masters of the cause of the people's revolution is a glorious tradition of our country's working class and broad masses of working people, and this is also a source of strength which enables us to gain victories in our cause. Right after the founding of the People's Republic, led by the party, our country's working class and other laboring people played their role as masters, struggled arduously, built up the country through thrift and hard work, and within 3 years they had cured the wounds of war, enabled the financial and economic situation to take a favorable turn, and created conditions which facilitated the state's carrying out of planned economic construction. Early in the 1960's, to overcome grave economic difficulties and rectify the grave disproportion in the national economy caused by the "Great Leap Forward," which lasted 3 years, the people throughout the country again played the role of masters, enthusiastically responded to the call of the party and implemented the eight-character policy of "readjustment, consolidation, replenishment and improvement."

After several years of effort, by 1963 the national economy had basically recovered. Even during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, because of the efforts of the workers who stood fast at their posts, the average rate of industrial growth still attained 7 percent. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular over the past 2 years, guided by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the broad masses of workers have been playing the role of masters, actively working and fighting to construct socialist modernization. Everywhere in our country the workers are enthusiastically striving to boost output, practice thrift and contribute to the four modernizations. On various fronts, advanced collectives and individuals have been continually emerging in large numbers. Last year alone, 2 million workers throughout the country had individually or jointly put forward a total of over 1,263,000 rationalization proposals, of which over 688,000 have been adopted, with the consequent creation of a value of over 1.9 billion yuan last year. Numerous facts have verified that both at present and in the past, promoting the working class and the laboring people as masters, under party leadership, is or was the basic insurance for the success of our cause. If the vast numbers of workers and working people fully bring their enthusiasm and creativity into play, we will be able to overcome all difficulties we might encounter in our advance.

Correctly understanding and exercising one's democratic rights are of decisive significance to the working class and other laboring people in playing the role of masters. In our socialist country, the workers have the right to participate in managing the country and various economic or cultural undertakings, as well as to supervise the state agencies and their personnel. These are the workers' most important and basic rights under the socialist system, and they are safeguarded by the constitution. It is one-sided and incorrect to interpret the workers' democratic rights as something which allows a minority of people to really master the right of management, while the vast numbers of workers can only enjoy labor, education, social security and so on according to the will of this minority of people. An important task of our party is to lead the people to practically exercise their rights as the masters, instead of bestowing a few democratic rights on them after gaining power on their behalf. Our party members and cadres are the people's public servants and are definitely not their masters. They should stand among the people, not above them. The leaders of our party and government should set a good example in abiding by and enforcing the laws which safeguard the people's democratic rights, so that the people can effectively exercise such rights. Each of our workers should also actively help create conditions for winning and exercising such rights. Each worker should have the right to take an interest in, voice opinions on, query, appraise, discuss and exercise supervision over all major affairs concerning the national economy and the people's livelihood, or all problems related to the immediate interests of the masses of people. Only thus can the status of the working class and all the laboring people as masters be genuinely and reliably safeguarded, and can they play the role of masters in dealing with the cause of socialist modernization.

Our country's NPC system can effectively enable the masses of people to exercise the right to manage political, economic and social affairs. Under present circumstances, the places where the workers and the masses can most extensively,



frequently and directly exercise their rights as masters are the enterprises and institutions. At present our country is practicing the system of worker congresses led by party committees. Many years' practice has verified that this system provides an effective organizational form in which the workers and the masses can act as masters and manage the enterprises and institutions. The worker congresses are the organs of power of the workers and the masses, who use them to manage the enterprises. Under the guidance of state planning and within the limits of the legally defined power of the enterprises to act on their own, these congresses have the power to decide on important matters, such as production management and business management at the enterprises, as well as workers' labor, wages, rewards and welfare. They have the power to elect, recall or propose the dismissal of the leading administrative personnel of the enterprises. They also have the power to examine and supervise the implementation of their resolutions by these personnel as well as these personnel's performance in work. By 1980, worker congresses had been established at over 36,200 grassroots units throughout the country, including over 33,000 factories, mines and other enterprises and 2,435 cultural, education, medical and health institutions or units. During the first half of last year, 33,225 democratic grassroots units in our country elected team leaders, group leaders or section chiefs; 11,186 democratic grassroots units elected heads or deputy heads of workshops; and 965 democratic grassroots units elected factory managers. We should conscientiously bring the superiority of this system into play, so that the workers and the masses can practically exercise their rights as masters.

However, we must understand that the rights of the working class and other working people as masters can be realized only and necessarily under the leadership of the Communist Party. The fact that our country's working class and working people have been able to become the masters of our country is related to the leadership of the Communist Party and to the socialist system. It is under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and through brave struggles, bloodshed and sacrifice of lives that our country's working class and working people have been able to build the socialist new China and to acquire the status of the masters of our country. Today, socialist modernization, marked by a high degree of democracy and civilization, can be achieved in our country only under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and by means of hard work, solid work and sustained efforts. The Communist Party is made up of advanced elements of the proletariat and is armed with scientific Marxist theory. It understands the laws of social development as well as the conditions, processes and general results of proletarian revolutionary movements. Its horizons extend beyond those of the workers and the masses. Only the Communist Party can represent the interests of the whole working class and lead them to completely emancipate mankind. Therefore, when the working class and other laboring people, who have already become the masters of our country, exercise their democratic rights as masters, they must practice the following four basic principles as in the past: adhere to the road of socialism; adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat; adhere to party leadership; and adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is because these four basic principles clearly stipulate the nature of our society, the system of organization of our state, the leading status of our party and the ideology that guides our revolution and construction. These constitute the basis on which we founded our state. We must not violate them. We must use the methods of criticism, education, or

even struggle if necessary, to deal with any attempts or tendencies to weaken, break away from, abolish or oppose these principles. We must acquire an attitude of being masters and must also shoulder the masters' responsibilities. All our actions and their consequences must be appraised according to the role of masters, and we must ask what actions are conducive to stability and unity, what actions facilitate the four modernizations, and what actions produce opposite results. We must definitely not do anything disadvantageous to stability, unity, production, construction or the cause of socialism.

Currently, our national economy is undergoing a period of readjustment. We must steadily carry out the four modernizations through national economic readjustment. This embodies the most important interests of the whole nation, and is a great task assigned to us by history. The current readjustment affects the overall situation and various aspects. It involves the interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals, and will inevitably bring about numerous practical and ideological problems. Our working class and other laboring people have always had the cardinal principles in mind and taken the overall situation into account. They will be able to correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the state, those of the collective and those of the individual. In the current readjustment, we should take the difficulties of our state as our own difficulties, understand and support the readjustment as masters should, and insure the smooth carrying out of the readjustment work. Those enterprises which should be developed must be developed well. Currently, the key task of the industrial and communications fronts is to grasp the production of consumer goods and to improve the market in light industrial products. Only thus can we satisfy the people's daily needs, and also withdraw our currency from circulation to stabilize commodity prices. We must also increase the production of and economize on the use of energy resources. In particular, we must boost coal production and develop the corresponding communications and transport. Each worker of these enterprises must work diligently, skillfully and in a down-to-earth manner. All tasks which can be accomplished by our efforts and which are warranted by objective conditions must definitely be accomplished. Moreover, we must try by all means to achieve high product quality, a great variety of products, low consumption of materials, larger output and frugality. We must really insure that certain enterprises are abandoned if necessary. The capital construction front must be reduced. A number of projects whose construction is in progress must be discontinued or postponed. Some enterprises must be merged with others or shifted to other occupations. Every worker of these enterprises must bravely face any difficulties, actively and satisfactorily do his work, as well as prevent and reduce waste and losses. Moreover, without asking for investment funds, without increasing circulating capital funds, and with the maintenance of equilibrium between supply, production and marketing, these enterprises can carry out proper productive and business activities to reduce the need for state subsidies. The workers of these enterprises should also take this opportunity to actively attend various full-time or part-time professional training courses, study classes or technical schools that offer short technical courses. They should vigorously raise their political, educational, professional and technical standards to adapt themselves to the needs of economic construction in the future. Our country's working class should help the state and the people to get over their difficulties, try by all means to fulfill or overfulfill state planning targets, and make greater contributions to the achievement of economic stability and equilibrium in financial revenue and expenditures throughout the country.

Because the cause of socialist modernization is the cause of our working class and working people themselves, we should exert greater efforts for this cause. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The establishment of the socialist system has opened a path for us to achieve our ideals, and the realization of our ideals depends on our hard work." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 386) It is impractical to think that socialist modernization can be achieved without arduous labor and solid work. It is not a correct attitude of our working class to merely put forward demands without doing practical work or to merely emphasize difficulties without overcoming them by means of real action. Since last year, the resolutions of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on taking action to render meritorious service to the four modernizations have promoted the boosting of output, the practicing of thrift, the raising of the workers' ideological level, and the carrying forward of the spirit of working in a down-to-earth manner, and have been supported by the party committees at all levels, the workers and the masses. At his own post, every worker must industriously, conscientiously and satisfactorily do his own work in a down-to-earth manner. We must resist the influences of the hired-hand mentality, which is characterized by such attitudes as "everything for the sake of money," doing no more than one is paid for and so on. We must not be afraid of hard work or fatigue. We must not choose whatever is to our personal advantage, nor pick easy jobs and shirk hard ones. Each of us should fully make use of our abilities to work for society. We must strive to learn scientific, cultural and technical knowledge, improve our capability and do our work superbly. We must develop a strong sense of responsibility, as we did during the initial postliberation period when we were healing the wounds of war and reviving the economy, or as we did in the early 1960's when we were overcoming various difficulties and developing the economy. We must carry forward the communist style of selflessness and love for our country, our collectives and our factories, love that is as deep as our love for our own families. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of submitting ourselves to the needs of the overall situation, observing discipline and doing pioneering work arduously. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's line, principles and policies have opened up a correct path for undertaking socialist modernization according to our national conditions. If we work and tackle difficulties and problems arduously, in a down-to-earth manner and with the attitude of masters under the leadership of the party, then our cause will definitely be successful.

CSO: 4004/122

## IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF READJUSTMENT AND STEADILY DEVELOP PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 32-35, 28

[Article by Qian Xinzong [0629 0207 1813]]

[Text] The strategic decision taken last December by the work conference of the party Central Committee to make further economic readjustments and to bring about further political stability is the continuation and development of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee as well as an important guarantee for the successful progress of the socialist construction. The following are my viewpoints and opinions concerning how to implement the policy of readjustment on the public health front.

### I

Readjustment in public health, by and large, consists of persisting in following the principle of being practical and realistic and taking actual conditions as the starting point under all circumstances, so that by degrees a solution can be found for the problem of internal and external disproportions in our public health work. Our public health work will thereby develop steadily along a sound and practical course.

No doubt, since liberation, under the guidance and care of the party and government, great achievements have been made in the field of public health. However, owing to the effects of the "leftist" guiding ideology our work was damaged, and for a long time we did not sense it. Actually, these effects not only occurred on the public health front but had a serious impact. The following were their main indications:

1. Unrealistic and hasty tasks, plans and targets were imposed. Our intentions were good, endeavoring to do something good for the masses of people, but we failed to do things in light of actual conditions and in line with our own capability. We did not pay adequate attention to the realistic side of things, and we were overanxious for quick results. As for the plans we made, some were useful, some were impossible to carry out at the time, and some were beyond our means to accomplish even in the future. Some plans should not have been realized at all in the first place, or they should not have been implemented in the way that was stipulated. We carried out the plans with much stress and difficulty. As a result, we produced only formalities, wasting manpower, supplies and financial resources, and dampening the enthusiasm of the masses.

2. Attempts were made to leave everything in the hands of the state. We have been doing this, even though it does not conform to the actual conditions of our country, because it is an indication of the superiority of the socialist system. Under the guidance of this erroneous thinking, we reduced the medical charges three times. Consequently, the hospitals lost a lot of money and suffered a decline in health standards. Besides, the medical and health funds provided by the state have not been ample and the state undertakings have been excessive. Consequently, a large part of the funds were expended for the purpose of guaranteeing wage payments for staff and workers, and funds devoted to the development of public health work have been meager. This can only hamper the development of our medical and health work.

3. It was thought that the more "public" the better, and the system of ownership by the whole people was emphasized one-sidedly. Numerous collective medical and health institutions were transferred to the system of ownership by the whole people. Institutions which were not run as whole-people ownership entities and doctors who had been allowed to practice privately were done away with. Because of the excessive and inflexible limitations of specific policies, our medical and health work has been following a narrower and narrower path.

4. The intelligentsia were always regarded as elements of the capitalist class, and thus they were targets of transformation. They were not only deprived of the respect they were entitled to for their know-how and labor and of the enhancement of their social position, but they were criticized and punished in political campaigns and were transferred to the countryside to be "tempered and strengthened" or "to be transformed." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," oppression and mistreatment of these people was especially serious. Now this situation has changed. However, the imprint of "leftist" influences on the minds of our people is quite deep.

5. The work method of "a clean cut with one stroke of the chopper" is practiced. For instance, without giving due consideration to differences in geographical regions and local conditions, the collective medical system is required to be put into effect in all rural areas.

The "leftist" guiding ideology, as mentioned above, is very harmful indeed. We must have a thorough cleaning up of it through the current readjustment programs. Of course, a thorough cleaning up of the influence of "leftist" ideology is not a simple and easy matter. The masses of comrades on the public health front have a deep impression of the destructiveness of the catastrophe brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but, generally speaking, they lack a good understanding of the influence of "leftist" ideology. The reason for this is as follows: On the one hand, there is the deep influence of the "leftist" ideology, which still plays a role in our daily work. On the other hand, over the long years, the viewpoints of the "leftist" ideology have been wrongly taken as something truthful, and it is impossible to change such a situation all at once. For this reason, we must earnestly study the principles of Marxism and the party line as well as its general and specific policies so that we may have a concrete analysis, study and cleaning up of the "leftist" influence and do our best to crack the problem ideologically and theoretically. It should be emphasized that the task of cleaning up the "leftist" ideology is mainly to be carried out among

the leading cadres, and it does not imply cleaning "layer by layer" or "standing up to a test for everybody." For the cadres and masses in general, it is a matter of education from the positive side and becoming more conscientious in carrying out the party line and its general and specific policies.

The purpose of eradicating the influence of the "leftist" ideology is to return our guiding thinking to the Marxist ideological course, to take things as they are and bring everything in line with actual circumstances, and to step by step bring about two "adaptabilities" in our public health work. The first is the adaptability to our national conditions and our national capabilities, that is to say, in view of the large size, immense population and poor foundation of our country, we must take into full consideration the actual standard of our financial resources, material supplies and technical force, rely on forces from all sides, and adopt diversified forms for the purpose of putting our public health work on a reliable foundation, thus enabling us to steadily advance. The second is the adaptability to the needs of prevention and curing of disease of the four modernizations. Currently, diseases in our country are numerous, the task of prevention and cure is a heavy one, and our capability is still very weak in many aspects of our public health work. While we bring about across-the-board readjustment and improvement, emphasis should be put on the strategic problems and the weak links so that internal coordination can be taken as the direction of our public health work development. Learning from foreign countries and importing foreign techniques must also be implemented in the light of the actual conditions of our country so that they can be useful and beneficial to our country.

## II

At present, the cadres in charge of public health work at all levels have indicated their support of the policy of the party Central Committee regarding the continuation of the maximum feasible development of our public health work in the process of readjustment. However, opinion varies in regard to how to continue this development. For some comrades, at the mention of development, they immediately demand more personnel, more organizations and capital construction on a large scale. Some comrades are of the opinion that carrying on development under difficult circumstances is of little significance. Hence, there is a lack of confidence. Both of these viewpoints are incorrect. That we are in difficulty is a fact, but this is only temporary. We believe that after readjustment, with the further development of production, the development of public health work will be very promising. During the period of readjustment, a large increase of funds and a large-scale capital construction are impossible. Under these circumstances, we must make clear in our guiding thought concerning the construction of our public health work that it is necessary to put the emphasis on readjusting, rectifying, substantiating and improving the existing organizations, and enhancing the capability of preventing and curing disease. That is to say, the main point is to enhance the quality and efficiency of existing public health organizations, and no excuse will be accepted for setting up new organizations blindly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping indicated clearly at the party Central Committee work conference: In the fields of science, education and public health that are to continue developing, rectification must be seriously undertaken, the management standard must be raised, the professional skills of the staff and workers must be improved, labor and work efficiency must be enhanced, the enthusiasm and

creativity of the staff and workers must be put into play, and wastefulness of all kinds must be reduced to the minimum. All these are in line with the actual conditions of our country.

As a result of the hard work of the past years, an initial network of public health facilities has been set up all over the urban and rural areas, a group of technicians has been trained, and experiences of guiding public health work have been accumulated. All this has provided a good foundation for further developing public health work. However, owing to the past influence of "leftist" ideology and the one-sided emphasis on speed and size without due attention to quality and results, many of our public health institutions were organized under conditions of lacking financial means, material supplies and the assurance of good techniques. They are, therefore, simple and crude. As a result of the destruction of the 10-year catastrophe, many public health entities suffer from inadequate staffing, obsolete equipment, and a serious lack of housing for medical and living purposes. Although the contradictions on the public health front are numerous, the urgent problem lies in assuring full staffing and adequate techniques, equipment and housing for existing institutions. During readjustment, this problem should first be taken care of so as to enhance greatly the quality of the institutions and the ability to prevent and cure disease.

In achieving full staffing and adequate techniques, equipment and housing, the chief aspect is full staffing in various professions so that the standard of medical skills can be improved. According to estimates of the total public health technical personnel in our country, 60 percent are those of the advanced intermediate level whose training was insufficient. Even in the case of our backbone technical personnel, which includes former graduates of medical colleges and professional training schools, there is the problem of their knowledge being out of date, and it is necessary for them to keep on studying. Therefore, for the present, we must assure good programs for the on-the-job training of existing personnel. At the same time, we must also do well in advanced and intermediate medical education so as to constantly provide the public health front with new high-quality technical personnel.

It is also very important to strengthen management and enhance management standards. Actually, this is an invisible investment yielding good results. In the past few years, public health institutions at various levels have been set up step by step, their rules and regulations perfected, and their work style and order rectified. As a result, their work in all respects has gradually been normalized, and the quality and efficiency of their work improved. This is especially so, after the strengthening of economic management, when attention is being paid to increasing incomes, cutting down on expenses and achieving economic results. This has further aroused the enthusiasm of the staff and workers. As far as the public health front is concerned, this is a great improvement.

We should further implement and insure the actual fulfillment of the party policies in order to give full play to the positive roles of doctors trained in Western medicine as well as those in traditional Chinese medicine and other medical personnel. Some "leftist" influence also exists in this area, and eradication of this influence should be continued. We must admit that we have some doctors trained in traditional Chinese medicine (including doctors of

various national minorities), some trained in Western medicine, and some trained in programs combining both, comprising three forces. Of our public health institutions, some are run by the state and some by collective entities. In addition to these, we have private practitioners. This is an objective reality of our country, which is in line with our country's policy and the level of economic development of our country at the present stage. As experience indicates, since our country is so vast, it is impossible for the state to take over all public health work. We must confirm in full the respective merits of our traditional, Western and combined medical forces, which are all needed by the people. They should be actively developed in accordance with their own special features and encouraged to learn from one another. With institutions owned by the whole people as the main force, diversified forms of institutions should be allowed to coexist so that full play can be given to collective-ownership institutions. As for the private practitioners, they should be regarded as a supplementary force, and the administration of their affairs should be strengthened. This is the only way we can speedily bring about the prosperity of medical science, undertake public health work in a better and livelier way and satisfy the needs of millions upon millions of our people in various respects.

During readjustment, we must do well in setting up the grassroots public health institutions in the service of our 800 million peasants. We must continue our work in trial points set up in "one-third" of all counties in our country, and sum up our experiences for the purpose of gradually making the county-level public health institutions technical and training centers for the rural areas. We should find a good solution to the problem of giving "barefoot doctors" equitable remuneration and improving the level of their professional skills. In the meantime, we should operate well the socialist hospitals, gradually construct these institutions according to the requirements of science, improve working conditions and improve their services.

Since the founding of our country, the development of our public health work has followed a rough and rugged path. We have learned to avoid the following: copying indiscriminately from foreign countries, periodic pronounced up's and down's in our work, the requirement of uniformity and "a clean cut with one stroke of the chopper." We learned the most important lesson from our failure to do things in conformity with the actual conditions of our country and from our lack of realism. Needless to say, it is not easy to have a deep understanding of our national conditions, nor is it possible to have such an understanding all at once. We must clean up the influence of "leftist" ideology, constantly study and sum up our experiences, and find a way in line with the actual conditions of our country along which we can steadily develop our public health work.

### III

Can readjustment be achieved in the public health sector? Can public health work be further developed during the process of readjustment, and can its problems in relation to economic disproportions be solved? The key link lies in the strengthening and improvement of party leadership.

In order to strengthen and effectively improve our party's leadership in the field of public health work, first and foremost, leaders at various levels must



have a full understanding of the significance of public health work. The socialist public health work is a component part of the construction of socialist modernization. Human beings are the most active and lively element of the production force. The very purpose of public health work is to "protect health and to keep the origin of all values, namely labor ability itself." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1 of 26, p 159) In terms of its broader significance, we can see that a person from his birth to physical maturity and healthful old age necessarily will experience birth, aging, illness and death, all of which are related to the services of the hospital. Consequently, public health work is directly related to the physique of our people, the strength of our national power and the propagation of our race. It is absolutely indispensable for safeguarding social material production and the reproduction of human beings. It is also a component part of the construction of the advanced socialist spiritual culture. The tasks of public health work are multifarious. Generally speaking, they comprise three major tasks: preventing and curing disease, and birth control. As our national conditions indicate, of our population of 1 billion, 800 million are in the countryside. China's economy, culture and standard of science and technology are comparatively backward. The task of public health work is very difficult. Our party has always kept in mind the importance of public health work. For the present stage of national economic readjustment, the party Central Committee and the State Council have clearly pointed out that the immediate frontline of public health must be strengthened step by step during the process of readjustment. This is a full expression of the great attention paid by our party and government to the protection of the people's health as well as to public health work. We hope that the party committees and governments at all levels will strengthen their leadership over public health work in accordance with the spirit of the party Central Committee. They should especially do so after the implementation of the new financial management techniques, whereby local public health work will be managed by local party committees and governments. Capital construction work associated with public health will also mainly be the responsibility of local authorities. This requires that local party and government authorities pay great attention to public health work so that a gradual increase in public health funds can be guaranteed with the development of the economy. Under the guidance of the state plans, the proportion of public health work in the economy will be readjusted step by step in accordance with the different conditions of various localities. When the readjustment of the proportion of public health work in the economy is well established, the broad masses of people will be benefited, and they will sense the concern of the party and government. This is also an impetus to strengthening economic construction. Leaders at all levels in the public health sector should constantly enhance their understanding of the significance of public health work and their sense of responsibility in relation to the party and the people, and do their tasks well. We should change the work style of leading cadres. We should study hard, make deep-going investigations and studies, keep in close contact with the masses, show care and concern for the people's livelihood, enhance the scientific nature of our work, avoid trite generalizations, and constantly improve our leadership ability so as to adapt ourselves to the changing situation. Besides, as public health work is a whole-people undertaking, involving extensive exposure, it is impossible to achieve good results by relying on the public health sector alone. We must strengthen unity and cooperation with various departments concerned under the unified guidance of the party in order to make unified efforts and do our work well.

Much is still to be done in strengthening and improving party leadership. The chief feature of this is strengthening and improving the political and ideological work of the party. This is the primary duty of the leading cadres and also the important guarantee for the political situation of consolidation, stability and unity. As Comrade Mao Zedong so profoundly told us: "Grasping ideological education is the central link in unifying the whole party in undertaking great political struggles. Without a solution to this, it is impossible to fulfill any of the political tasks of the party." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 1043) Only by taking Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding line, as well as the general and specific policies of our party, in educating, inspiring and arming the vast number of cadres and masses and in mobilizing people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness, can we enable the masses of the people as well as the cadres to struggle conscientiously for the party line. Can our leadership achieve good results? Currently, in the party's political ideological work, education in persisting in following the four basic principles is a task of great urgency. At present, a considerable number of professional and technical entities suffer from weak political and ideological work, and part of the cadres and masses are dubious and worried about the current readjustment and reforms. They lack confidence in the realization of the four modernizations. Among a small number of people there has even emerged the tendency of doubting and opposing the four basic principles and the tendency of bourgeois freedom as well as anarchy and ultra-individualism. Facing such conditions, some of our leading cadres dare not lay their hands on and interfere with the situation. We should pay great attention to this. The emphasis of our task is to rectify and prevent "leftist" thinking. However, attention should also be paid to the rightist trend. We must firmly implement the guideline of enlightenment, persist in the method of reasoning and carrying on firm and relentless struggle against all forms of tendencies toward denying and opposing the four basic principles, and justly and forcefully criticize and resist unhealthy trends and evil practices. In treating patients, is it not the practice of the traditional Chinese doctors to apply the principle of sustaining the vital energy and removing the evil influences? When we do political ideological work, we must insist on convincing people by reasoning. If reasoning is not given full play, the vital energy will not emerge and the evil influences will not be suppressed. We should carry on the glorious tradition of the party's political ideological work, take into consideration actual conditions, propagate extensively the party line and policies, and channel the thinking and actions of the masses of people as well as cadres to the party line enunciated at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the party work-conference.

Strengthening political ideological work is not only urgently needed for the realization of the readjustment task, but is also of long-term and strategic significance for the construction of the advanced socialist spiritual culture. Currently, a deep-going development of activities promoting civility in regard to the "five stresses" and "four beautiful's" is underway. This has been playing a very good role in strengthening political and ideological work and the construction of socialist spiritual culture. Much is encompassed in the scope of the "five stresses" and "four beautiful's." Taking sanitation as the starting point and making a breakthrough at this juncture is a good method indeed, because this is something very difficult to change, and it is visible and feasible with respect to mobilizing the participation of the maximum number of the masses of

people. Furthermore, it does not cost much. We must educate the vast number of cadres and medical workers in communist ideals, convictions, morals and sentiments through long-term, hard-working and meticulous political and ideological work. This will enable them to learn from Comrade Bethune, serve the people wholeheartedly without any thought of their own interests, be utterly devoted to others, be extremely warmhearted to the comrades and the people, be extremely responsible in their work, and constantly improve their skills, improve the quality of medical techniques and work so as to achieve better results in all respects. We must strengthen the propagation of and education in medical ethics and promote the cultured practice of the medical profession among the vast number of medical workers, particularly among young workers. Our country has always had a good tradition of medical ethics, but during the 10 years of turmoil, this good tradition and socialist moral concept were flagrantly devastated. We must restore and carry forward with vigorous efforts the good medical tradition through active work. As long as we are adept in inspiring, educating and enlightening our workers, in choosing models, upholding healthy tendencies, commending good people and good deeds, and in criticizing bad persons, evil deeds, and unethical and uncivil medical work styles, we will be able to initiate a new medical work style for the coming generation, put public health work at the service of our people for their good health, and make greater contributions to the construction of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004/122

## LEARN FROM SHANGHAI'S ADVANCED EXPERIENCES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 36-37

[Article by Wang Bingshi [3076 0393 4258], deputy governor of Jiangsu Province]

[Text] At the recently held national conference on industrial and transportation work, the State Council called on the industrial and transportation front to learn from Shanghai, from coastal areas and from the advanced. This call is of very important significance.

For historical reasons, some industrial cities along our coastal areas, particularly Shanghai, have always been characterized by fairly advanced technology and management and better economic results. It is because of its good foundation that Shanghai has been able to digest well and quickly import foreign technology and equipment. If all of our industrial cities are able to reach or almost reach Shanghai's present level in the not too distant future, the existing enterprises will be able to increase by a large margin the output of industrial products that are needed in people's lives and in state construction by making little or no investment in capital construction. Thus our socialist accumulation will be multiplied without having to add or only having to add a minimal amount to fixed assets.

Over the past few years, we have imported advanced technology and equipment from industrialized countries and these have played an important role in improving our backward technology. But all such technology and equipment require much money and some do not totally accord with our situation. Therefore it is of particular significance at present to issue the call to learn from Shanghai, coastal areas and the advanced. We can make full use of the superiority of the socialist system and organize the work of learning from Shanghai's advanced experience so that we will be able to quickly master advanced technology without having to spend or only having to spend a minimal amount of money. This is not only more practical but will also help the existing enterprises improve their economic results quickly.

The industry of Jiangsu Province does have a foundation, but if compared with that of Shanghai, it still lags far behind. For example, the original value of Shanghai's industrial fixed assets in 1980 was 20.8 billion yuan and the gross industrial output value in the same year was 62.6 billion yuan, with gross industrial output value of 300 yuan for every 100 yuan of fixed assets. The original value of the fixed assets of Jiangsu Province in 1980 was 17.6 billion yuan and

the gross industrial output value in the same year was 45.7 billion yuan, with gross industrial output value of 259 yuan for every 100 yuan of fixed assets. The profits of the province were even lower than those of Shanghai. For example in 1979, the state-owned industry in Shanghai made 22.5 yuan in profit out of 100 yuan in output value as compared to Jiangsu's 11.8 yuan, amounting to a difference of almost half. The textile, light and electronics industries in the province are fairly advanced but still lag far behind those in Shanghai. The original value of the fixed assets of the textile industry in Jiangsu is equivalent to 72 percent of that of Shanghai, gross output value is equivalent to 60 percent, foreign exchange from exports is equivalent to 50 percent and profits to 37 percent. The fixed assets of the province's light industry in 1979 was almost 80 percent of that of Shanghai, the accumulation in the same year was 37 percent of that of Shanghai, the productivity of the productive force was 30 percent and the annual accumulation created by each light industrial worker was only equivalent to 17 percent of a worker in Shanghai. The fixed assets, number of workers and enterprises and the equipment of the electronics industry in the province are mainly the same as those of Shanghai, but the quality, quantity and varieties of electronics products for daily use in the province lag behind those of Shanghai.

Why, when compared with Shanghai, do the economic results of the industry in the province lag behind those of Shanghai? According to our initial analysis, the following are the main reasons: First, Shanghai's industrial products are of high quality with many varieties. Second, Shanghai is good at constantly changing the structure of products and organization and readjusts its industrial structure to meet the changes in the market; consequently Shanghai's specialization in industrial production is much higher than Jiangsu's. Third, Shanghai has advanced technology and it is doing a good job in technically renovating its old enterprises. Fourth, the enterprises in Shanghai have advanced management that has resulted in low consumption of fuel and goods and materials. These enterprises have less funds and staff but their utilization rate of equipment and plants is high. Fifth, Shanghai has accumulated rich experiences in international competition. Sixth, the city is good in resorting to economic levers such as financing, taxes, credits and pricing in developing production. Seventh, the proletariat in Shanghai are highly conscious politically, they have high cultural, scientific and technical levels and they are good at carrying out research and technical investigations in conjunction with universities and research institutes. All these are Shanghai's advantages, and are Jiangsu's shortcomings.

As early as 1962 and 1965, the province organized activities in a planned way in learning from Shanghai that helped considerably improve the industry in the province. These activities were suspended during the 10 years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck. Nevertheless, enterprises in the province continued with their "nongovernmental" activities in grasping Shanghai's experiences. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the party Central Committee, the provincial leadership lost no time and issued a call to "learn from Shanghai and improve standards." Under the new situation over the past few years, the contents and methods of learning from Shanghai have changed and according to our view the following are the main contents and methods.

First, we must have a unanimous view on Shanghai. The industrial management departments and enterprises in Jiangsu Province have always been enthusiastic in learning from Shanghai and this is the main trend. But there exist some wrong views such as stressing that the province does not have enough conditions to learn from and catch up with Shanghai and consequently departments and enterprises do not have confidence and they are not decisive. On the other hand, some people underestimate difficulties and they want to catch up with Shanghai too quickly or they regard learning from Shanghai as a purely technical matter. All these problems must be gradually solved in the course of learning from Shanghai.

Second, the important method of learning from the city is to analyze and compare the same products and trades so as to find out about the differences. The province's textile industry, chemical industry and metallurgical industry have achieved better results in learning from the advanced, and the reason for these achievements is that they are good in carrying out investigations and studies so that they know the situations of the advanced to compare with their own. It means that, in this way, they analyzed economic and technical goals to find the differences in technology, management, equipment and even economic policies. Thus having compared their situations with those of the advanced, they are able to make improvements.

Third, work out the planning for learning so as to insure that measures will be taken. Following analysis and comparison and understanding the situations of both sides, it is necessary to work out planning so as to guarantee that measures will be taken. It is not difficult to learn from the advanced and in fact be able to catch up with them. The cotton spinning industry, yarn dyeing industry and wool spinning industry in Wuxi municipality have fairly good conditions and are planning to reach the level of Shanghai's related enterprises in the next 2 years or so. In 1979, the per 100 yuan in fixed assets of the textile industry in Changzhou created 14 percent less profit than Shanghai but in 1980 the figure was 4.9 percent higher than Shanghai's level in 1979.

Fourth, proceed from reality and give guidance according to specific classifications. The areas along the Shanghai-Ningbo railway with fairly advanced industry must primarily learn from Shanghai's advanced enterprises. The enterprises in the northern part of Suzhou must mainly learn from those in the southern part of Suzhou. The enterprises must be classified into three categories according to the quality of their products and their economic and technical goals. The first category must learn from Shanghai, the second category from the first, while the third category of enterprises must concentrate their efforts on readjusting so as to change their backwardness.

Fifth, learn repeatedly and advance step by step until advanced experiences are really grasped. In the past we sent many people to Shanghai to conduct studies and quite a number of people also came to our province for the same purpose. Various prefectures in the Suzhou administrative region have invited more than 5,000 retired workers and technicians from Shanghai. It requires repeated studies for an enterprise to solve technical and management problems. It must be pointed out here that the comrades from Shanghai are modest and prudent in learning and this spirit merits our emulation.

We have gained some experiences in learning from Shanghai but still we must pay attention to the following:

First, deepen our understanding of the importance of learning from Shanghai so as to increase our consciousness. The enterprises in Jiangsu Province are faced with a prominent problem of how to rapidly improve their economic results. We will make greater contributions once the economic results of the industry across the province reach or almost reach the level of Shanghai.

Second, proceed from reality and grasp Shanghai's experiences in an all-round way. In the past, we mainly learned from Shanghai's technical experiences. But now it is more important to learn from Shanghai's experiences in readjusting and reforming.

Third, learn step by step and honestly. While the advanced still have to learn, it is more important for the backward to do so. We must avoid the tendency of "a number of general calls but few concrete demands; many political slogans but few methods and measures; outward display of public opinion but few actual deeds and many articles but few results."

CSO: 4004/122

OUTSTANDING ABILITIES AND SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF THINKING--COMMENTS AFTER READING  
'SELECTED WORKS OF ZHOU ENLAI,' VOL 1

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 38-43

[Article by Zhang Jing [4545 4544]; passages within slantlines published in bold-face]

[Text] The outstanding abilities of a great person can be traced to the source of his theory of knowledge. During Comrade Zhou Enlai's whole career of revolutionary struggle, he demonstrated a high degree of wisdom and outstanding abilities. A principal reason for this was that he was able to grasp the scientific method of thinking of materialist dialectics. People can readily discern this from his deeds and practice. The publication of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" has led us to understand more clearly the source and development of the outstanding abilities of this statesman of the proletariat.

/Comrade Zhou Enlai's scientific method of thinking is seen first in his insistence on knowing things and restructuring things in their true colors and according to their inherent laws and in his opposition to any form of subjective assertion or regarding oneself as infallible./

In the revolutionary struggle, a revolutionary must learn the complicated things pertaining to the social structure. In particular, old China was a semifeudalist and semicolonial state. Its political and economic development was extremely unbalanced. It was interwoven with social contradictions. The struggle for national liberation and class struggle were intertwined, while many complex changes occurred in the class relations and in the camps waging the struggles. Under such conditions, in order to appraise correctly the whole situation and the relative strength of the contending parties, to distinguish clearly between friend and foe, and to formulate a guideline for action and struggle tactics which conform with the real situation and have a high degree of probable success, we must adopt a strictly scientific attitude, investigate and study penetratingly the problems concerned and avoid any degree of subjective assertion or regarding oneself as infallible. From the standpoint of epistemology, the opportunist commits the error of violating this rudimentary requirement of materialist dialectics. During the period of the second civil war, the principal errors of Li Lisan's line, just as Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out, were: In his analysis of the strength of the enemy he was inclined to concentrate on his weak points or to magnify certain weak points, but when estimating the strength of the



subjective force, he saw only the strong points and ignored the weak points. Concretely speaking, he considered imperialism and the ruling class as impotent and on the brink of downfall, whereas in his estimate of the revolutionary force, he magnified the growth of the Red Army and particularly exaggerated the development of the struggle of the workers in the cities in the belief that a large-scale armed insurrection could be organized immediately. It was precisely these estimates which entirely violated objective realities that led to his serious "leftist" errors. As one of the leaders of the central leadership at the time, Comrade Zhou Enlai was opposed to these "leftist" errors from the beginning. We can see from the article "The Basis of Lisan's Line and Theory" that, even before the formulation of Lisan's line, Comrade Zhou Enlai had insisted firmly that although there was a new high tide in the revolutionary movement, this did not mean that the time was ripe for directly staging the revolution. On the other hand, Comrade Li Lisan was of the opinion that the revolutionary high tide and the immediate stage for revolution were one and the same thing. Subsequent events showed that Comrade Zhou Enlai was correct. He was correct because he was able to start from reality and to analyze scientifically the objective situation of the moment as well as the subjective strength. From looking at the current situation, he not only came to understand the possible development and trend of current work but also knew clearly the kind of subjective possibility of carrying out the work. It was precisely on the basis of this thoroughgoing spirit of materialism and attitude of being practical and realistic that he remained clear-headed under the threatening condition of the erroneous line and managed to play an important role in rectifying the errors.

As for the basic problem of distinguishing between friends and enemies, neither "left" nor right opportunist elements inside the party made this clear for a prolonged period of time. Epistemologically speaking, this was owing to their method of thinking; they were guilty of a serious degree of subjectivism and one-sidedness. In the important articles "A Study of the Sixth National People's Congress" and "On the United Front," Comrade Zhou Enlai summarized systematically from the political standpoint the party's past experiences and also analyzed penetratingly, and with a high degree of methodology, the party's errors and lessons of "left" and right opportunism on various occasions. He pointed out: The enemies of the revolution are the imperialist and feudal elements. This has not changed during the entire revolutionary period of the new democracy. However, since imperialism was not confined to only one country and since there were diverse cliques and groups among the big landlords and big capitalists, and also since these enemies did not stand solidly together, changes occurred in the enemies' camps. These changes were manifested in the union and disunion among the imperialists and also among the various elements of the landlords and big capitalists. In particular, the people representing the various classes did not remain unchanged. Once changes occurred, people who had not been enemies before could well become enemies. Take Chiang Kai-shek for example. During the early period of the great revolution, he did to a certain extent play the representative role of the capitalist class in general, but after the 1926 "Zhongshan gunboat incident," he shifted over swiftly to the side of the big landlords and big capitalists. Wang Jingwei acted as a representative of the capitalist class in the early period of the "great revolution." In the middle period of the revolution he was still very progressive and was very close to the petty bourgeoisie, but at the time of the formation of the Wuhan government, he also shifted over to

the side of the big landlords and big capitalists. At the time of the anti-Japanese war, the changes in the enemies' camps were even bigger. This required the revolutionists to understand correctly the contradictory changes in the course of historical development, to be able at all times to know the enemies, to analyze the enemies, and to work out a correct guideline to defeat the enemies. Unfortunately, the opportunists did not act like this, and as a result, many errors were made. For example, people with viewpoints inclined to the right frequently took enemies to be friends or continued to take as friends those who had been friends yesterday but were actually enemies today. Similarly, people with viewpoints inclined to the "left" frequently took friends as enemies or took as enemies those who had been enemies yesterday but were actually friends today. After enumerating a large number of incidents attesting to the frequent changes in the enemies' camps and after making a detailed analysis of the errors committed by the "left" and right opportunists, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "All these errors show that the enemies' camps lacked unity, were not unanimous in their stand and suffered from vast changes. What we should do is to analyze carefully and make good use of Comrade Mao Zedong's guideline of striving for the majority, opposing the minority and breaking the enemies up one by one. In this way, we can avoid the 'leftist' and rightist errors." (see "On the United Front")

While the enemies' camps were complex and were frequently changing, the internal elements of the revolutionary united front were also complex, some being united while others were definitely not. During the period of the democratic revolution, the participants in the united front included not only the proletariat, peasants, petty bourgeoisie but also the free capitalists and even a portion of the big landlords and big capitalists. Comrade Zhou Enlai thus pointed out: "To understand clearly this composition of the ranks we must know how to analyze and how to cater to the great majority of the ranks, oppose and struggle against the minority who contend with us for the power of leadership. Not knowing how to do this will lead to errors." (see "On the United Front") However, the "leftist" and rightist opportunists simply did not know how to do this. For example, those with viewpoints inclined to the right relied neither on the proletariat nor on the peasants but on the capitalist class and even on the big capitalists, while those with viewpoints inclined to the "left" counted only on the proletariat to act as the vanguards in attack but had no confidence in the peasants, resulting in their own isolation. As for the petty bourgeoisie in the urban areas, those with viewpoints inclined to the right thought that relying on the petty bourgeoisie and workers in the urban areas alone would be sufficient to bring them victory, whereas those with viewpoints inclined to the "left" did not want at all even the petty bourgeoisie in the urban areas, believing that the intellectual elements were useless. Concerning the free capitalist class, which in effect should have been sought as the intermediary force, those with viewpoints inclined to the right erroneously counted on them, whereas those with viewpoints inclined to the "left" dismissed the possibility of uniting with them at all. In general, on the matter of the composition of the ranks, those with viewpoints inclined to the right made no differentiation between the left, center and right. They only talked about their unification and did not care to differentiate between them. This resulted in their ignoring the reactionary and fascist character of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. They thought that "alongside each other, they were of the same height, equally handsome and equally

good-looking." On the other hand, those with viewpoints inclined to the "left" insisted on making a distinction, refused to act in unison with others, believed only in the proletariat and their vanguards, isolated themselves from the populace, and declined to unite with even people of their own ranks.

The above illustrates that both in the enemies' camps and in our own ranks, that is to say, inside the united front, there are social elements of a complicated character. Like many complicated structures in the natural world, they have unity and coherence and are organized. The components of the whole structure communicate with each other and mutually infiltrate each other, but they also differentiate between each other, repel each other and are constantly in the process of evolution and change. Under certain conditions, elements belonging to the enemies' camps might possibly become friends with each other and vice versa. For this reason, a leader of the revolutionary camp and a statesman of the proletariat should, like a biologist, a chemist, and a physicist, be adept in dissecting and analyzing affairs and things, in repeatedly studying the character and special features of the component parts and the various elements of a composite structure and in accurately measuring, wherever possible, the strength and interaction of the individual components and various elements. Only in this way is it possible to comprehend well the structure and law of development of matter and things in order that subjective understanding and objective reality will be the same. Viewed in this context, a proletarian revolutionist and statesman should be a social scientist who employs scientific methods to study social affairs and should also possess the superior qualities of the biologist who conducts repeated experiments, strives for accurate results, and is practical and realistic. We can readily see that in the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Comrade Zhou Enlai firmly insisted on acting precisely in this way. His study of matter and things of the social structure (such as class relations, military strength, and so forth) can be taken as the model for social scientific research. His analysis of many people (such as Chiang Kai-shek) was in microscopic detail. Was it not this scientific method of thinking which enabled him to remain clearheaded even in a complicated and fast-changing environment and thus to exercise correct leadership in the revolutionary struggle?

In today's construction of modernization, we are confronting the same situation of a complexity of objective affairs and things and a criss-crossing of contradictions of various sorts. Any arbitrary decision made subjectively or by considering oneself as always being in the right is bound to be punished severely by the objective laws, and one must pay a high price for acting so rashly. This especially applies to work affecting the whole structure or the situation as a whole. In summarizing from our knowledge, the experiences and lessons over the past many years, the principal problem is our deviation to a certain degree from the basic principle of materialist dialectics calling for learning things and restructuring them on the basis of their original appearance and their inherent laws. Repeated setbacks notwithstanding, because of the guidance of "leftist" thinking for a prolonged period, it has not been possible to learn correctly from past experience. However, today, with the rectification of the "leftist" errors, the key problem is that in our various kinds of work we should truly recover the thoroughgoing spirit of materialism and the strictly practical and realistic attitude which Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai had insisted upon formerly. In whatever

we do, we must make a thorough investigation and study first, make repeated estimates, do careful calculations and strict budgeting, and prepare well-conceived plans. We must avoid the past errors of subjectivism of "being firmly determined despite ignorance of the real situation and secretly conceiving plans of various kinds." This is the prerequisite for the smooth development and solid progress of our construction of modernization.

/Comrade Zhou Enlai's scientific method of thinking is also exhibited in his conscientious application in work and struggle of the basic law of materialist dialectics, namely, the unity of opposites, and in his avoiding extremes and the one-sidedness and absolutes of metaphysics./

The unity of opposites is the basic law of materialist dialectics. It is also the fundamental method for use by our Communist Party leaders in seeking truth, in work and in struggle. Of the concrete methods of work, leadership and tactics, that which is good, effective and successful is nearly always in conformity with dialectics and is built on the foundation of this basic methodology of unity of opposites. Comrade Zhou Enlai had superb wisdom and leadership abilities, but the important feature was that he was able to grasp materialist dialectics and particularly this basic law of the unity of opposites, which he employed in the various kinds of work of knowing the world and restructuring the world and in his struggles, and which he transformed into a concrete methodology for the solution of special contradictions.

When talking about materialist dialectics, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Dialectics talks about the unity of contradictions." "A person is born with two ears with which he can hear; he is born with two eyes with which he can see white things and also black things; he is born with two nostrils with which he can smell. In hearing, one can hear the affirmative side and the negative side; in seeing colors, he can see the white color and also the black color; and in smelling, he can smell something that is fragrant and something that stinks. Therefore, the human body's function falls in line with the law of dialectics." Here, he used commonplace terms, but they were very penetrating because he grasped the most basic and most important part of materialist dialectics, namely, the law of the unity of opposites. What is most noteworthy is that he saw the law of the unity of opposites as the most reliable road in seeking knowledge and truth. He said: The Greek origin of the word "dialectics" is "carrying on a debate." In past history, many philosophers and statesmen liked to take part in debates since only in debates could truths be discovered. It was precisely under the guidance of this dialectical thinking that Comrade Zhou Enlai was at all times delighted to hear opposite views and to discuss problems dispassionately and calmly with other people. Despite his leadership position, he was never arrogant or overbearing, and although he had superior knowledge and talents he remained forever humble and cautious. In addition, precisely under the guidance of this dialectical thinking, he was always opposed to being arbitrary or dictatorial. He never allowed one person alone to have the say. He said: "What is meant by being dictatorial? It is that what I say is right and what others say is wrong. If so, then what more is there to argue about? If your views are sacred and inviolable, then who else can argue with you? Even though you yourself have many correct views, you must nevertheless listen to others' views, since in this way you can absorb others' good ideas and can

improve your ability to think." At the same time, in his opinion, not only must one be adept in listening to contrary views but also good at concentrating and analyzing, judging and discriminating between right and wrong. "There are also people who, hearing views on one side and then views on the other side, become panicky and don't know what to do. Originally they had some ideas of their own, but upon hearing what other people say they do not know what to do. In reality, while we should listen to views from all sides, we must also do some thinking on our own." ("Unite the Broad Masses of People in Their March Forward") In this way, Comrade Zhou Enlai made concrete use of the law of the unity of opposites in the course of learning and thinking. He converted it into a concrete tool for grasping knowledge and acquiring truth.

The unity of opposites, as a basic law of materialist dialectics, is seen in operation everywhere. Therefore, in any kind of work or struggle, it must be followed faithfully and put into operation if we want to achieve results and fulfill the objectives of the revolution. We can see the superb manner of Comrade Zhou Enlai's leadership tactics from his masterly grasp of materialist dialectics and concrete application of the law of the unity of opposites in the realms of politics, military affairs, economics and culture. For example, in politics he firmly insisted on the dialectical unity of democracy and centralization, that is to say, while boosting democracy and opposing the excessive centralization of power by the patriarchal system, he also came out strongly for centralization and insisted that only under the guidance of centralization should the democraticizing process exist. He pointed out that the term "patriarchal system" should not be used mechanically as a pretext to curtail the power and authority of the leadership organs and to serve as a cover for extreme democraticization. ("Directive From the Party Central Committee to the Former CCP Committee of the Fourth Army of the Red Army") In implementing the party's guideline, he strongly insisted on firmly adhering to the underlying principles but also providing for flexibility. Concerning the military tactics of the Red Army, he pointed out the irrevocable principle of splitting up the forces to conduct guerrilla warfare while maintaining centralized leadership. In selecting military commanders, he strongly favored the combination of bravery and wisdom. In regard to mass work, he pointed out that while we should educate the masses we should also learn from them. All the above tactics hinged on materialist dialectics and represented a concrete and lively application of the law of the unity of opposites.

It must be especially pointed out that, as a high-ranking leadership cadre, Comrade Zhou Enlai devoted an exceptional amount of attention to the dialectical unity of the general and the particular. This point was especially important to his leadership ability. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Irrespective of what work Communist Party members are engaged in, two alternative methods are open to them. One is the integration of the general and the particular and the other is the integration of the leadership and the populace." ("Certain Problems Concerning the Method of Leadership") We can also see that Comrade Zhou Enlai was firmly set on acting in this manner. In particular, as the struggle became more difficult, he insisted all the more on the dialectical unity of the general and the particular and of the principled and the concrete. During the period of the Li Lisan line, the leadership was seriously divorced from reality. The real conditions of the lower strata of the populace could not be reflected to the

leadership organs. The political slogans and tactics for struggle brought up by the leadership organs inclined to the "left" and were erroneous. As for leadership methods, there were only slogans of an empty and general nature. Besides, there was no effective individual guidance, except for urging the populace to make "massive efforts" regardless of whether there was sufficient support or an organized background for making such "massive efforts." For this reason, when starting to rectify the errors of the Lisan line, in addition to criticizing its "leftist" political slogans and struggle tactics, Comrade Zhou Enlai turned to education and guidance on the method of thinking and method of leadership. He resolutely pointed out that the leadership organs should become aware of the real situation of the lower strata of the populace before bringing up correct slogans and tactics. He added that slogans and tactics should not be general in character, with only the governing principle specified, but should be accompanied by a definite and concrete plan and methodology for execution.

Turning to the documents which Comrade Zhou Enlai drafted for the central authorities in connection with land reform and party reform, we notice that while general principles were specified, he also paid attention to distinguishing between the different localities and different categories. He made a concrete analysis of each problem and adopted concrete measures suitable to the local conditions in different localities and categories.

In promoting the copying of model experiences, Comrade Zhou Enlai adhered even more closely than ever to the dialectical method of the unity of the general and the particular and of the principled and the concrete. For example, in the circular "The Trial Organization of the Committees of Soldiers of the Armed Forces," which he drafted for the central authorities, he fully affirmed that the organizational pattern of the committees of soldiers which the Fourth Army had earlier tried out was in line with the promotion of democracy in politics, economics and military affairs and considered it a good measure to transform the democratic spirit of the new military reform movement into a normal democratic form of life under centralized guidance. However, he was not in favor of copying or promoting blindly the model experiences which had been effectively enforced in the past. He believed that "the army units should actually try them out first before we rule concretely that a structure is suitable for all sorts of conditions at the present moment." Hence, he thought it necessary to select certain companies with different conditions to serve as trial points. Here, the so-called different conditions referred to the proportion of captive soldiers in the composition of the specified army units, and to such factors as whether the number of new recruits was large or small, whether the administrative leadership was strong or weak, whether the relevant party committees were healthy or not, whether the units were located in the front line or in the rear, whether they were actually on the firing line or not, and so on. He was of the opinion that we must take the different conditions as a basis "to find out the law governing different types of work." In this article, Comrade Zhou Enlai brought up the five basic principles governing the organization of the committee of soldiers. Simultaneously, he clearly pointed out: "In the course of experimenting, the army units should take as a basis the actual conditions they have come across and make these basic principles become concrete or add new ramifications to them." Moreover, the article specified that the army units must report to the central authorities their views and the results of the experiments be they

good or bad (at any rate both the good and the bad sides must be cited), in order that such information may be summarized and an ultimate decision reached on it. This short (only 1,000 characters), concise and resourceful article drafted by Comrade Zhou Enlai centrally illustrated his leadership methodology and the work style of Marxism-Leninism. The background of this methodology and style was materialist dialectics. We can not only discern from the article certain special dialectical ideologies with a bearing on the general and the particular and on the principled and the concrete, but also perceive a certain dialectical spiritual quality which is positive and cautious and which embodies both revolutionary boldness and a realistic and practical spirit. It was precisely these special ideologies and this spiritual quality which formed the important aspects of the outstanding abilities of this statesman of the proletariat.

In short, his ability to conscientiously use materialist dialectics to analyze and solve problems was the basic reason for Comrade Zhou Enlai's ability to raise his leadership work to a high but still safe and secure level, touching at the same time all sides and also being penetrating. Over many years, there were frequently various errors in our work such as generalizing, too much anxiousness to do things at one stroke, one-sidedness and absolutism. Was this not because we had disobeyed the scientific leadership methods and work behavior which Comrade Zhou Enlai had firmly insisted upon? Was it not because we lacked Comrade Zhou Enlai's dialectic ideological specialties and his spiritual quality?

/Comrade Zhou Enlai's scientific method of thinking was also shown in his avoidance of vain talk and his concentration on actual deeds, in the conformity of his actions to his words, and in his firm insistence on putting into practice materialist dialectics solidly./

People have often said: Zhou Enlai was a man of action. This is true. However, we must note that there are two types of men of action. One type takes theories lightly; in particular there are those who ignore the guidance of scientific methods of thinking. People of this type might at times produce certain results, but because of their blindness in action they cannot avoid making certain mistakes or acting foolishly when handling alone or deciding on big and important problems. The other kind attach importance to theories, that is to say, they are men of action who give special attention to guidance by the scientific methods of thinking. Subject to the limitations of subjective or objective conditions, these people might also commit certain errors. However, generally speaking, their consciousness is fairly strong and they can learn to know and restructure things in accordance with their original appearance and their inherent law. Also, they can consider and handle problems in a dialectical manner. Hence, under most conditions they take the initiative in work, are adept in planning, arranging and doing operational research, employ correct methods and attain a high degree of success. Comrade Zhou Enlai was one of the latter type of men of action. Indeed, he was a Marxist man of action.

Comrade Zhou Enlai said there were two phrases which demonstrated the valuable character of this type of Marxist men of action: insist on truth and bring about truth; insist on direction and implement direction. (see "Learn From Mao Zedong") He believed that to be a good leader, many conditions are required.

The most important among them is a tenacious fighting spirit and the spirit to practice what one preaches; in other words, not only must there be theories but also must there be the means to put them into practice. In his opinion, Comrade Mao Zedong furnished a very good example: "Chairman Mao not only could insist on truth and gave pointers in regard to direction, but also formulated many concrete policies and tactics for finding truth and implementing principles thoroughly." What Comrade Zhou Enlai considered as the qualities a good leader must possess, he himself already possessed, and quite fully. What he proposed to learn from Comrade Mao Zedong, he himself had learned first and quite solidly. Concerning the methods of thinking, he not only insisted, in theory, on materialist dialectics but also was adept at turning it into a concrete form of leadership methods and work style, such as facing reality, going deep into the masses, doing investigation and research, and practicing personally what he taught. He was frequently on the frontline of revolutionary struggle, where he would "wait patiently for changes," in order to grasp the development and changes in the situation, the movements of the class enemies, and the real conditions of the enemy and secret agents, thus fighting tit-for-tat battles against the enemy. He thereby simultaneously obtained real and reliable data to enable the party to formulate correct guidelines and tactics. The old saying "How can you catch tiger cubs without entering the tiger's lair?" was carried out literally by Comrade Zhou Enlai. All the above fully demonstrates his thoroughgoing materialist spirit of practicing personally what he preached.

Comrade Zhou Enlai not only insisted, in theory, on materialist dialectics and on employment of the basic law of the dialectical method of the unity of opposites, but was also good at combining them with practice, thus evolving a concrete method for studying, analyzing and solving problems. His observation of a situation was always dialectical: he would note both the advantageous and the disadvantageous factors; concerning people and things he always avoided the metaphysical concept that once something was good it would always be good or once something was bad it would always be bad. We have already cited these instances above, but it must be pointed out that his deeply gratifying spirit of having his actions conform with his words and earnestly practicing what he advocated should forever be the model for our learning. When talking about materialist dialectics, did he not say that "in order to seek truth there must be debate" and that "no one should be dictatorial"? Did he not say, "If there are people who have divergent views to discuss and dispute with us, the truth will become all the more evident with more debate"? Indeed, this was exactly what he said and what he actually put into practice. Back in the old Chongqing days, on one occasion Comrade Zhou Enlai attended a discussion meeting on a script. After he had expressed his views, he said to the author: "Why did you not say a word? What are your views?" The answer was: "Sorry, no views. I fully agree with you." Upon hearing such obedient words, Comrade Zhou was highly displeased. With emotion, he said: "I do not like the fact that all at once you agree with my views. If this is the case, then what should we discuss? You must learn to bring up divergent and even opposite views. If all you do is agree with others' views, you will soon become lazy." To repeat, a leader should be good at listening to various kinds of divergent views. Only in this way can he get inspiration and see the problem from all sides. Are all leaders so wise and so correct? Able leaders are good at summarizing the correct views of the extensive masses of cadres and people. (see Zhang Ying's article "Literary



Struggles in Misty Chongqing," RENMIN WENXUE, No 1, 1977) From these words from Comrade Zhou Enlai's heart, we can see his humility and how he highly esteemed the views of the people. But what is even more important is that we can discern from this his deep faith in materialist dialectics and his willingness to practice what he preached.

Any ideology, theory or methodology derives its power from two conditions: 1) it must itself be scientific and correct; and 2) it must be put into practice, and what it teaches must be carried out. For Comrade Zhou Enlai, materialist dialectics has an enormous theoretical authority, because his concern about being in strict accordance with materialist dialectics, both in word and in deed, came not as a demand from the outside but as a very natural idea and custom and as a rule of action which he observed conscientiously. From this we can find the secrets of his wisdom of being above others and of the high caliber of his leadership talents. Some of our comrades also talked about materialist dialectics but they only gave it lipservice. They made no effort to put it into practice but even went so far as to go against it in actual deeds. Naturally, in this way, they had no way to add to their wisdom and sagacity, and the good name of materialist dialectics was in risk of being damaged. Materialist dialectics is the philosophy of the diligent and the hardworking and not the philosophy of lazy people. It brightens the road to knowledge and truth, but one must go on the road oneself and surmount the obstacles ahead. It also gives the direction of navigation to the shore of victory, but one must sail the boat oneself, hoist the sails, attend to the steering wheel and use the oars if necessary. Therefore, to grasp this scientific method of thinking that is materialist dialectics, we must copy Comrade Zhou Enlai's example, put materialist dialectics into practice and be Marxist men of action.

CSO: 4004/122

## VIGOR AND STEADFASTNESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 44-47

[Article by Sun Ruiguan [1327 3843 7687] in "Methods of Thinking and Work" column]

[Text] We must be both vigorous and steady in doing any work. This is a matter of principle and method. Currently, we are faced with the arduous tasks of further readjusting our economy and enhancing political stability and unity. It is quite essential to clearly understand the question of vigor and steadiness in the ideological context.

Let us first discuss vigor. A revolutionary must have the high aspirations of promoting the progress of society and going all out to make our country strong; the revolutionary courage and resourcefulness to get rid of the old, make way for the new and transform our country; as well as the indomitable will to persevere in fighting until the goals are attained. These are the noble qualities of the proletariat and constitute an important condition necessary for the forward development of the cause of socialism. Our country's achievements have been due to the fact that the vast numbers of party members and the hundreds of millions of our masses of people, imbued with revolutionary zeal, have given full play to their socialist enthusiasm and have waged extremely arduous and difficult struggles under the leadership of the party. People definitely must have some vitality. We must maintain revolutionary zeal and unflagging enthusiasm at all times.

However, to do our work well, we must pay attention to steadiness as well as to vigor. We must emphasize the dialectical unity of vigor and steadiness. At the party Central Committee's work conference convened at the end of last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly reminded us to pay attention to "steadiness" and "determination and steadiness" in our work. We should pay great attention to this point. We should closely and organically integrate vigor and steadiness. We should be both vigorous and steady. This is the correct attitude toward work. To be steady, our thought must be compatible with objective reality and we must base the planning, requirements, steps and other aspects of our work on objective and practical possibilities. Whatever we do, we must consider feasibility aside from necessity, we must act according to our capability, and we must proceed in an orderly way and step by step. Only thus can we achieve our aims.

Naturally, vigor is not tantamount to indiscriminately and "immediately responding to any call," or even to acting rashly under the guidance of wild fantasies. If we have great determination before we understand the situation clearly, formulate many methods before we know what is what, or go in for grandiose projects in an eager attempt to achieve many great successes, then we will only incur losses in our work. Similarly, steadiness is not tantamount to being hesitant, overcautious and deficient in initiative, or even to being reluctant to act when one is urged to do so, or being slack in work. Nothing can be achieved if we lack high aspirations, work perfunctorily with the aim of enjoying ease, or stick to old ways. We must draw a distinction between vigor and rashness, between steadiness and indolence. We must criticize any distorted views about vigor or steadiness. Otherwise, we will not have any correct methods of work.

What is right deviationist conservatism or leftist rashness in advance? We have an objective criterion to distinguish between these two categories, namely, objective and practical possibility. Correct methods of work will enable our subjective requirements to be compatible with objective and practical possibility. Right deviationist conservatism means lagging behind objective and practical possibility, while leftist rashness in advance means going beyond objective practical possibility. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "We should vigorously do what is objectively accomplishable through our efforts. If we do not do so, we will commit the error of right deviationist conservatism. We should also guard against surpassing the limits set by the conditions of reality, and we must not force ourselves to do what is objectively not accomplishable. Otherwise, we will commit the error of blind and rash advance." (XINHUA BANYUEKAN, No 5, 1956) When he summed up the experiences in implementing the first 5-year plan, Comrade Zhou Enlai reemphasized the need to incorporate vigor and steadiness in our methods of work. He said: "We should specify a rational rate of national economic development according to needs and possibility, put our planning on a basis of vigor and steadiness so that a relatively balanced national economic development can be insured." ("Documents of the Eighth CCP National Congress," p 117) Practice has verified that his views are completely correct. Only by basing our revolutionary enthusiasm on objective and practical possibility can we have correct methods of work and can we avoid committing "leftist" or right deviationist errors.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, in our socialist construction there have been many occasions of going after impractical high targets, high rates of development and high accumulation rates, and this leftist error of rash advance has caused tremendous losses to our country's cause of socialism and retarded our social development. During the first 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," we committed similar mistakes in our economic work. Some plans were too ambitious, certain targets were too high, and certain requirements demanded overly hasty achievements. Certain projects, including imported items, were grandiose but impractical. Some projects were started rashly. The capital construction front was overextended so that the burden on the state exceeded what it could bear. The results were imbalances in finance, credits, supply of material resources and foreign exchange inflow and outflow, so that the imbalances in the proportional relationships of the national economy, which had existed for a long time already, were aggravated, and the people experienced greater hardships

in their livelihood. From the viewpoint of work methods, these errors were due to the fact that we did not integrate vigor with steadiness and did not base our revolutionary vigor on steadiness and reliability. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the party's Central Committee, the party Central Committee has resolved to adopt the principles of readjustment, restructuring, rectification and improvement, and has emphasized that the key principle is readjustment. However, in implementing these principles, some comrades, including the leading comrades of some economic departments, have not freed themselves from the fetters of "leftist" ideology, not perceived the potential dangers, and not adequately realized the necessity and importance of readjustment. They have been slack in implementing the principles, have been hesitant and have remained reluctant to adopt decisive measures. Consequently, after more than 2 years have elapsed, the results of readjustment have been very unsatisfactory. One reason for this state of affairs is that people do not really understand that vigor must be integrated with steadiness, and that revolutionary vigor must be based on steadiness and reliability. We must remember the lessons of these experiences. Of course, when we learn the lessons of these historical experiences, we must also note that our past errors were mainly owing to impetuosity, rash advance or even rash action that was taken in disregard of subjective and objective conditions. Such impetuosity and rashness were completely different from revolutionary vigor. Therefore, when we criticize "leftist" errors, we must definitely not "give up eating for fear of choking," that is, negate revolutionary vigor.

How can we then be both vigorous and steady? How can we discover the correct methods of work?

Basically, we must proceed from actual conditions and work according to objective laws. Lenin said: "In his practical activities, man is dealing with the objective world and depends on it, which imposes constraints on his activities." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 200) Our work cannot proceed from subjective desires or from certain abstract principles, but must proceed from objectively existing facts. Our socialist construction takes place within the territory of China, and all our activities should be subject to the constraint of China, which is itself an objective thing. When we consider problems, formulate plans or do any other job, we must not divorce ourselves from China's real conditions and we must proceed from our national conditions. Hence there are two categories of problems. On the one hand, our country is a very backward one with a population of 1 billion, among whom 800 million are peasants. This objective situation requires us to vigorously bring the superiority of the socialist system into play and to speedily achieve the four modernizations in our country. If we forget this point, do not feel any sense of urgency, remain inactive and slack in our work, or attempt nothing and accomplish nothing, then we will be committing errors. On the other hand, our country's financial and material resources are limited, and we can only do things within the scope permitted by such resources. Therefore, we must assign different priorities to various items of construction. We must not launch a full-scale reconstruction and develop numerous industries simultaneously. We must not impatiently demand high speed in construction, rashly advance, eagerly hope for quick success and attempt to accomplish everything within a short time. In improving the people's livelihood, we cannot reach the sky in a single bound, undertake everything all at once and solve at a stroke all the problems which have remained unsolved over

many years. If we forget these points, we will also commit errors. During the first 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," we committed grave errors in our economic construction. An important reason was that our work was divorced from our national conditions, and when we formulated national economic plans, we did not proceed from actual conditions to adequately consider objective and practical possibility.

Considering the whole country, we have our own particular national conditions. When we consider a particular province or county, each has its own local conditions, and so on. We must proceed from these specific conditions to consider various problems in our work. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must proceed from the actual conditions in and beyond our country, or our province, county or region, and derive from these conditions the inherent, not imaginary, laws; that is, we must thus discover the internal relations of the things around us or their changes. Such laws or relations will serve to guide our action." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 759) Of course, if a locality or department wants to achieve success in its work, it must in the first place firmly implement the line, principles and policies set by the party Central Committee. However, it must integrate its implementation of these things of the party Central Committee with its own actual conditions, proceed from the actual conditions of the locality or department, seek truth from facts and suit measures to local conditions. This is also a decisive factor. Experience has verified that in many kinds of work, this is the key reason for success or failure. The scale of national construction must be compatible with our country's resources. An individual locality or department must also judge its own "forces" in any undertaking. It must realistically calculate its own human, material and financial resources. Its plans or undertakings must be compatible with its "forces." It must actively undertake anything which is accomplishable through its efforts. It must not force itself to do anything beyond its capability. Otherwise, there will be problems. Certain things should be and can be done from the viewpoint of a locality or a department but should not be done from the viewpoint of the whole country. Such things should be abandoned or postponed. If we practice decentralism and disregard the overall national situation and obstinately proceed to do these things, there will also be problems. To sum up, it is a basic requirement that we must proceed from actual conditions. Only if we do not practice subjective idealism and do not act merely according to good intentions, and only if we proceed in all cases from the actual conditions of our country, locality or department, can we be both vigorous and steady and can we have correct methods of work.

As early as during the second revolutionary civil war period, Comrade Mao Zedong had reminded the whole party of the question of methods of work. He said: "We must not only put forward tasks, but must also solve the problem of the methods of fulfilling them." He also said: "If we do not solve the problem of methods, tasks will only become empty talk." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 125) We are now in an epoch of drastic changes, and changes in the methods of work are an important problem that faces us. If we pay attention to making our subjective thinking compatible with objective realities, abandon the "leftist" methods of work of the past, and adopt the Marxist method of work that is characterized by both vigor and steadiness, then we can certainly gain new victories in the current readjustment and in the long-term four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/122

## SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE SYSTEM OF REWARDS IN ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 pp 46-48

[Article by Sun Zhen [1327 2823] in "Questions and Answers" column]

[Text] How Do We Assess the System of Rewards Which Enterprises Have Recently Been Following?

Over the past 30 years since the founding of the PRC, the system of rewards implemented by the enterprises has gone through setbacks and twists and turns. After the smashing of the "gang of four" in May 1978, the State Council issued a circular concerning the restoration of the system of rewards, which summed up the positive and negative experiences in this respect since the founding of the PRC, affirmed the necessity of implementing the principle "to each according to his work" and introducing the system of rewards, and pointed out the importance of perfecting enterprise management and strengthening ideological and political work. The content and conditions of rewards should be conducive to the solution of the principal contradiction in the production of enterprises, avoid the defects in the past of having too many conditions in the comprehensive rewards, confusing the primary and the secondary, and having a multitude of names in single-item rewards with an oversimplified content. As regards the retention and distribution of rewards, we should make a distinction between the arduousness of the production quotas undertaken by the enterprises and the workers and staff members and their fulfillment of the state plans, and between more work for more pay and less work for less pay. At the same time, proceeding from the overall situation, we should give due consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. After issuing the circular, the State Council repeatedly asked enterprises to link bonuses to production results. In offering bonuses, it must be stressed that production should be given priority, the advanced should be encouraged, egalitarianism should be opposed, overall considerations should be taken into account, and arbitrary distribution of bonuses should be stopped. Recently, many enterprises have acted upon the requirements of the State Council, made remarkable achievements in the implementation of the system of rewards, heightened the socialist labor enthusiasm of the workers and staff members, improved enterprise management and insured the fulfillment of state plans.

However, there are quite a number of problems in rewards work. Some enterprises have seldom correlated the distribution of bonuses with the results of production of their own units, and they have awarded bonuses even if production quotas have

not been fulfilled and even if losses were suffered in their operations, thus turning bonuses into additional wages for "insuring stable yields despite drought or excessive rain." Some enterprises have relied on bonuses to solve all problems and have increased the bonus distribution standard time and again instead of exerting big efforts to improve enterprise management and paying attention to ideological and political work, thus leading the masses to do "everything for money." Other enterprises have violated laws and discipline, employed trickery, concocted various pretexts, evaded supervision, privately divided up state property in disguised forms or raised prices without authorization, thus infringing upon the interests of the state and the consumers. They have done so for the purpose of offering more "bonuses." All the above-mentioned practices have not only caused the bonus system to depart from the right track of the principle "to each according to his work," to lose its role of encouraging the advanced, and to be harmful to the production of enterprises, but have also corrupted the minds of the workers and staff members, affected the unity among the workers and staff, and even wasted state funds, aggravating the tension in market commodity supplies. Although the overextended capital construction front was the main reason for the successive financial deficits in 1979 and 1980 and for unstable market prices, the excessive and arbitrary distribution of bonuses was also a factor that cannot be taken lightly.

The shortcomings in our reward system work should be corrected in good time but the bonus system should not then be negated, just as we should not "give up eating for fear of choking." Our present task is to strengthen leadership over rewards work, uphold the rational system of rewards, appropriately control the bonus distribution standard, oppose and stop the arbitrary distribution of bonuses so as to benefit the state revenues, stabilize market prices, insure the smooth implementation of the readjustment of the national economy and promote the healthy development of the four modernizations program.

#### Why Should the Distribution of Bonuses Be Controlled?

In socialist economic life, links such as production, distribution, exchange and consumption are interdependent and mutually restricting. Imbalance in any one of these links will affect the overall situation. The state's total volume of bonuses and the bonus distribution are based mainly on the volume of production, the state revenue, the availability of goods on the market, and the proportion of cash income and bonuses of workers and staff. Although bonuses come out of production costs or profits and do not need a special allocation of funds from the state, they will affect the amount of profits that should be handed over, thus having a direct impact on state revenues. The purchasing power derived from bonuses received by the workers and staff requires the supply of a corresponding amount of commodities from the market. If the increase of bonuses is not based on the greater increase of production, profits and supplies, state revenues will decrease, with the result that there will be no guarantee for reproduction of enterprises and there might be a shortage of commodity supplies. At a time when the growth of production is slow, market commodities fall short of demand, and there have been financial deficits for 2 successive years, excessive distribution of bonuses will affect economic stability as well as political stability and unity. This is the fundamental reason for the state to control the distribution of bonuses.

The state has all along controlled the distribution of bonuses. In the 1960's, the state stipulated that the amount retained for bonuses by general industrial enterprises should not exceed 7 percent of the monthly wages by state standards and that of key industrial enterprises should not surpass 10 percent. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the State Council stipulated that only after fulfilling the state plans in an all-round way could enterprises draw bonuses, and the amount retained for bonuses should not exceed 10 to 12 percent of the total sum of standard wages in their own units. It further stipulated that, taking an enterprise as a unit, the total sum of various bonuses of the year given to the workers and staff should not, in general, surpass the total 45-day wage sum of the workers and staff, and that of a few advanced enterprises should not surpass the total 60-day wage sum. In recent years, the state has again stipulated that enterprises already granted decisionmaking power could draw on a certain percentage of profits above fixed quotas for bonuses, and the amount retained may differ from department to department and from trade to trade. The two ongoing systems of rewards have both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages of the first system are that the quantity of bonuses is comparatively stable, and it is convenient for the state to balance revenues and expenditures and balance purchasing power and commodity supplies. Its disadvantages are that bonuses cannot be integrated closely with the production results of enterprises, and the enterprises often draw on the highest limit of bonuses. The second system, based on the retention of a portion of profits, can correlate the gains of the labor of the workers and staff with the results of their own enterprise operation and more effectively follow the principle of "to each according to his work." But the problem lies in the fact that there is a great disparity in equipment and technological and natural conditions among the various enterprises, and the prices of many raw materials and products and taxes are not rational. Therefore, the amount of profits of some enterprises cannot be decided fully by their own efforts. If no appropriate control is imposed on the bonus distribution standard of enterprises of this kind, unfairness, with irrational high's and low's, in dividing up bonuses among enterprises is bound to occur.

Some people have argued that since controlling the distribution of bonuses does not tally with the principle of "to each according to his work," this will affect the full mobilization of the labor enthusiasm of workers and staff and will harm the development of production. There is such a case in the realities of life. If there were no restrictions on bonuses, some workers and staff could surpass greatly the fixed labor quotas. On the other hand, if there were restrictions and the ideological and political work were weak, some people would not continue to work harder when they reached the top limit of bonuses on their fixed labor quotas. This situation does not show that controlling the distribution of bonuses is wrong, but rather that we must improve our management system. This is especially true in situations in which managerial skills are low, some fundamental management systems are imperfect, and fixed quotas, production plans and prices are not rational. If no restrictions are imposed on bonuses, some units and individuals might get bigger bonuses, but they would not necessarily make greater contributions to society. On the contrary, the enterprises which have strong leadership, a good working base, high managerial skills and comparatively advanced fixed quotas and production plans would not so easily allow the distribution of bigger bonuses, which would result in the irrational situation in which "fast cows are flogged" while the backward are encouraged. This runs



counter to the purpose of the system of rewards. Therefore, from the standpoint of the overall situation, appropriate control over the distribution of bonuses will result in better implementation of the principle "to each according to his work" and will benefit the most extensive mobilization of the socialist labor enthusiasm of the workers and staff. As regards controlling the distribution of bonuses, the enterprises which can get bigger profits above the state fixed quotas, thanks to their exceptionally good management of production and operation, will find it unfavorable to them. We hold that these enterprises should make allowances for the state's difficulties, take the interests of the whole into account and act strictly upon the state's unified regulations in doing everything. What is more, the surplus for rewards is still retained by the enterprises and can be used for the collective welfare. Thus the practical interests of the workers and staff will not be adversely affected. By controlling the distribution of bonuses, we do not mean to advocate the method of finding a single solution for diverse problems, ignoring the quantity of labor, the quality of operations and the amount of contributions, and equally drawing on and offering bonuses, thereby making bonuses fixed additional wages. But we do mean to deal with different cases in different ways and allow bonuses to fluctuate with the amount of the results of the production and operation of enterprises.

#### How Should the Arbitrary Distribution of Bonuses Be Stopped?

To solve the problem of stopping the arbitrary distribution of bonuses, first of all, we should clarify the terms "rational system of rewards" and "arbitrary distribution of bonuses." Generally speaking, the workers and staff who have performed tasks beyond fixed quotas and who have made outstanding achievements in other fields are awarded a certain amount according to the state's relevant regulations, to the principle of "to each according to his work" and to the principle of giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. This is called a rational bonus. By arbitrary distribution of bonuses, we mean the following cases: bonuses are still offered despite the fact that the main economic and technological targets are unfulfilled and that there are operational losses. Bonuses are offered by means of violating state policies, raising prices to seek unlawful profits, sitting idle and drawing on sales funds, using production costs for personal gain and illegally drawing cash. Larger bonuses are offered than stipulated by the state and the higher-level departments in charge of the work, although no illegal means are employed. Bonuses are offered on the pretext of promoting the sale of idle goods or making purchases of goods in short supply for enterprises. "Bonuses" are used in promoting relations among enterprises, or "bonuses" are requested by the higher-level departments responsible for the work of the enterprises under their leadership. Various material rewards are distributed by illegally apportioning state property under disguised forms. These practices must be opposed and stopped.

How should the arbitrary distribution of bonuses be stopped? First, the most fundamental way is to reform the economic management system. An irrational economic management system and the fact that enterprises have no independent economic accounting or definite economic responsibility or economic interests is bound to lead to "eating from one big pot." With regard to the distribution of bonuses, people prefer getting more than less, that is, the more the better, and they vie with each other for a constant increase in bonuses. Completely changing

the managerial method of "eating from a big pot" cannot be realized in a short time but requires unremitting efforts over a long period of time.

Second, the present urgent task is to strengthen management and rigorously enforce systems, that is, rules and regulations. The present unsound and imperfect system of rewards and managerial methods are one of the direct reasons for the arbitrary distribution of bonuses by some enterprises. Some regulations promulgated recently by the State Council concerning correctly implementing the system of rewards and resolutely stopping the arbitrary distribution of bonuses have worked out definite requirements and detailed rules on the nature, the role and position of, and the conditions for retaining and offering bonuses, the source of bonuses and the methods of distribution, the demarcation line between a rational system of rewards and an arbitrary distribution of bonuses, and the strengthening of supervision and inspection. We must earnestly implement these regulations, further adopt measures suited to the concrete conditions of our own localities, departments and units, and effectively stop the arbitrary distribution of bonuses.

Third, it is necessary to change the confused state of mind on the part of a few cadres. Some enterprise leaders regard bonuses as the sole means to improve the living standards of the workers and staff and look on bonuses as a "cure-all," believing that by offering bonuses and handsome rewards, all problems in production can be readily solved. The comrades with this mentality are apt to lead people to do "everything for money" and indulge in craving huge bonuses, instead of proceeding from the national overall situation to educate the workers and staff to put themselves in a correct relationship to the state and the collective; giving due consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual; displaying the spirit of being selfless, putting others before oneself, plain living and hard struggle and building up the country through thrift and hard work; exerting great efforts to increase production and practice economy, and making greater contributions to the country. Therefore, only when we clarify this confused state of mind, strengthen the understanding of the bonus system, and the ideological and political work can we give full scope to the positive role of the system of rewards and effectively stop the arbitrary distribution of bonuses.

Fourth, it is necessary to establish a powerful system of supervision and inspection. The pernicious influence of anarchism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet been thoroughly eliminated. Some enterprises have an insufficient understanding of the legal system, do not follow the rules and regulations and obey the laws, and even deliberately break rules and violate discipline. The leading departments lack strict supervision and inspection and effective measures to cope with the problems they discover, and they do not correct the unlawful practices sufficiently. Only when this situation is changed can we stop the arbitrary distribution of bonuses, overcome the shortcomings in rewards work, insure the healthy development of the system of rewards and give fuller play to the role of the system of rewards in the readjustment of the national economy.

CSO: 4004/122

## IT IS GOOD TO USE FEWER 'SUBSTITUTES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 81 p 49

[Article by Liu Peng [0491 7720]]

[Text] According to remarks by a film director, some film actors who lack certain skills often need "substitutes" to perform some actions. For instance, when an actor who knows nothing about playing the piano is required to act the part of a character playing the piano, a "substitute" who is good at playing the piano is used in a closeup; when an actor who is poor at calligraphy is required to act the part of a character who is to take up the pen and write vigorously, a calligrapher is used as a "substitute" in the shot, and so on and so forth. This will inevitably cause the separation of the face from the hands, some discoordination will emerge and the artistic results will be affected. Therefore, many youngsters in film circles who have ideals and high aspirations seize every minute to study diligently and train hard. They are determined to master various skills and to use as few "substitutes" as possible. This is truly gratifying.

There are also "substitutes" in our party and government institutions. They are the secretaries who draft speeches for the leading cadres. These secretaries are often kept busy day and night; they are so occupied they forget food and sleep. It has been the party's advocacy and fine tradition for a leading cadre to draft a speech mainly by himself and to use few "substitutes." Everyone knows that Comrade Mao Zedong not only drafted his own speeches, but also often wrote documents for the party Central Committee. He also contributed articles to the party's newspapers and periodicals. In this respect, he repeatedly required leading comrades at all levels to "use their own hands when drafting speeches or writing documents, instead of having this done by their secretaries." We also know that, through long revolutionary practice, many leading comrades have cultivated the habit of "using their own hands." The reports and speeches they make at meetings are always profound and vivid, because these reports and speeches are prepared and drafted by themselves, and are to be sufficiently discussed by the party committee or government. These reports and speeches can show sound judgment and reflect the political and vocational level the party committee or government concerned should possess. People have been made to feel that "listening to their words once is more impressive than reading books for 3 years."

There are also some leading comrades who work hard for the party's cause and who are not upset by complaints. They have proved themselves to be the "willing oxen" of the people. The only trouble is that they are not willing to use their own hands when drafting speeches, but are accustomed to having their "substitutes" do this. Therefore, when they speak from the rostrum at a general meeting, what they have to do is to "read paragraph by paragraph from the text" written by their secretaries. This is like the discoordination in the actions of an actor in a film. He was originally very capable and very lively when doing practical work, but now he is inflexible and stiff and lacks vitality; when he had casual talks with the masses, he could grasp what was in their minds, and what he talked about was very exciting, but now what he talks about is dull and dry and cannot strike a chord in people's hearts; he could talk about some work outside the meeting in a very honest and orderly way, able to stress the main points and giving people deep impressions, but now what he talks about is full of polite formulas and empty words, which makes it hard for people to grasp the points. In short, the speaker on the rostrum speaks "insincerely," and the listeners below are "drowsy." In form, a leading cadre is making a speech or a report. In fact, what is reflected is the level of his secretary. How can such a speech obtain the expected results?

Some comrades feel that it is difficult to use fewer "substitutes." In fact, the crux lies in whether they can persist in being "diligent." A leading comrade can acquire a certain theoretical and policy level and vocational knowledge through being diligent in study, diligent in investigation, diligent in reasoning and diligent in writing. In this way he can also have a clear idea of the new situation and new problems in the region and department of which he is in charge. After having discussions with the comrades concerned, he will carefully consider the experience to be summed up and the measures to be taken for solving problems, and will sort out the materials he has collected. Thus he will be able to draft a very good speech. Some comrades are very lazy in studying and considering problems, to say nothing of concentrating their efforts on writing articles. They will not be able to systematize and raise their perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. At the last moment, there is nothing they can do but rely on a "substitute." Therefore, to a great extent, "laziness" is behind the habit of relying on "substitutes." Being unwilling to "use one's own hands" means being unwilling to use one's brain, and the slow response of hands reflects the laziness of mind. The comrades who cannot go up to the rostrum and address a meeting without having the speech text written by their secretaries, especially the leading comrades who are in the prime of life, must develop the party's fine tradition, use fewer "substitutes" and instead use their own hands.

Naturally, by advocating the use of fewer "substitutes" we do not in the least mean that we advocate refusing the necessary help given by "substitutes," either to a film actor or to a leading comrade in the party or government. Needless to say, far be it from us to belittle the role of "substitutes."

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END

