

JPRS 78929

9 September 1981

Asia Library
The University of Michigan
University Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan
JPRS 78929
9 September 1981

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 14, 16 July 1981



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

CHINA REPORT
RED FLAG

No. 14, 16 July 1981

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

CONTENTS

The Working Policy of the Seventh National Party Congress (21 April 1945) (pp 2-9) (Mao Zedong).....	1
Satisfying the People's Needs Is the Lofty Mission of Socialist Construction (pp 10-18) (Contributing commentator).....	12
Without the Chinese Communist Party There Could Not Have Been the Emancipation of Chinese Women (pp 19-23) (Kang Keqing).....	27
Conscientiously Study the 'Resolution,' Persist in Seeking Truth From Facts (pp 23-27) (Jiang Hua).....	35
Have Profound Faith in the Party Central Committee, Unite To Work for the Four Modernizations (pp 26-30) (Tan Qilong).....	41
An Example of Summing Up Historical Experience--Studying the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC' (pp 31-39) (Shi Zhongqiang).....	49
Socialism Is Advancing Amid Practice (pp 40-48) (Wang Renzhi).....	63
Correction (p 48).....	77
A Clear Line of Demarcation Must Be Drawn on This (inside back cover) (Xiang Hongye).....	78

THE WORKING POLICY OF THE SEVENTH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS (21 APRIL 1945)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 2-9

[Report by Mao Zedong]

[Text] Comrade delegates: Today we can hold this very successful meeting. The time is very opportune. We have immense strength and, compared with the past, our party is unprecedentedly united.

What are the principles for our congress? The principles should be: Unite and achieve victory, or briefly, unity and victory. Victory is our goal, while unity refers to our front and our ranks. We need united ranks to defeat our enemy and achieve victory; our party plays the most important and leading role in our ranks. Without our party it is impossible for the Chinese people to attain victory.

If we just review the relatively recent history instead of going too far back, the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has a history of at least some 100 years. It has already been 105 years since the 1840 Opium War with the British. During these 100 years and more, there have been many drastic changes, the biggest of which has been the change from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. In the past there was no proletariat to lead the revolution. When the bourgeoisie first came into being, or when it had grown a little, or afterward, when it had become more mature and when the proletariat had not yet had its own vanguards, the consciousness of the proletariat was not high. The bourgeoisie enjoyed a dominant position in many aspects such as culture, economy and political experience, and it had its own political party, slogans and goals. The proletariat had none of these, and it could only follow the bourgeoisie. Only in the last 20 years or so has the proletariat had its own political party, slogans and goals.

In recent history the most famous Chinese struggles were the Opium War, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French war, the Sino-Japanese war in the 20th year of the reign of Emperor Guang Xu, the reform movement of 1898, and the Yihetuan movement, followed by the 1911 revolution. Our revolutions were aimed at opposing two things: One was oppression by foreigners; the other was oppression by the feudal system. Invariably the Chinese people hated these two things and wanted to rise up to oppose them. The Chinese people rose up and were knocked down, and again they rose up and were again knocked down. This process was repeated for almost 80 years. Under what conditions did the May 4th movement of

1919 take place? It took place after World War I. The history of mankind is said to be 500,000 years. This 500,000-year history can be divided into the history of barbarism and the history of civilization. The latter is only 5,000 years or a little more. Our Chinese history is rather long, but it is only between 4,000 and 5,000 years. If we count from the inception of the reign of the Yellow Emperor to the 1911 revolution, it is 4,609 years. If we add to this the 34 years following the 1911 revolution, the total is still only 4,643 years. In actual fact, the society during the so-called Yellow Emperor period was not a civilized one. The civilized society began with the slave society, and in China this should commence from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, according to reliable material. World War I occurred 5,000 years or so after the beginning of the civilized society. This world war broke out when the capitalism in the world progressed to the stage of the 20th century and contradictions arose among capitalists, resulting in fewer markets for them. Some capitalists had seized a wider market, while others had only a small market. For this reason, they went to war. This was the so-called imperialist era. The first war on worldwide scale in human history occurred in 1914. All comrades over 30 years old at this meeting must know and remember this. As I have said, this war was a reflection of the economic development of the world. When the world economy developed to that extent, this kind of problem occurred. This was what Marxists had earlier expected. This was a destructive and unjust war, a war detrimental to the interests of mankind and aimed at seizing markets. This was its negative aspect. On the other hand, however, it had its positive aspect. That is, the October Revolution took place in Russia, communist parties appeared in many countries, and the proletariat in many countries had its own vanguards. China was one of the examples. In the wake of the world war came an era of revolutions in the world. At first the October Revolution broke out in Russia. Then there were German, Hungarian and Italian revolutions, but they were all knocked down because the proletariat in these countries was still divided--there were communist parties and social democratic parties--and because there was a lack of sufficient proletarian consciousness. The only one which triumphed was the October Revolution in Russia. After World War I and the victory of the October Revolution, there was a change in the world situation and the orientation of the development of history. Although world history had developed and advanced for thousands of years, it was only after World War I and the October Revolution that it took on a new orientation. The slave society and the subsequent feudal and capitalist societies were all societies in which man exploited man. The new historical orientation following the October Revolution was to wipe out the system of man exploiting man. The Russians were victorious in this regard, and communist parties came into being in many countries. Our party was founded in 1921, and this year it has a history of 24 years. The Japanese Communist Party was founded in 1922 and the Indian Communist Party in 1920. This was the situation of some large countries in the Orient. Generally speaking, communist parties of other countries, such as France, Germany, Italy, Britain and the United States, were also established during this time. In 1919 Lenin organized the Third International.

Beginning with the May 4th movement, China underwent a change from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. The May 4th movement was launched by the masses when they went into the streets to oppose their enemies. At the beginning, the May 4th movement's participants were mostly awakened and

advanced students, but by 3 June a vast number of workers and businessmen in Shanghai had joined the students in the movement. Later, Hankou, Changsha and the Chang Jiang and Zhu Jiang basins were all drawn into the tide. China's most awakened personages, such as Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, took part in the May 4th movement. The May 4th movement had both a left and right wing, and Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao represented the left wing. At that time, there was no communist party in China, but many people already had communist ideas.

To the proletariat and other advanced people the world over, the October Revolution served as a lecture in communism. Although Marx and Engels founded the theory of Marxism in 1843 (3 years after the Opium War), in the 74 years from 1843 to 1917 its influence was mainly limited to Europe. Most people in the world did not know Marxism. Marxism was born in Europe, but its progress there was relatively slow. As for China at that time, the general public, with the exception of a few returned students, never even heard of Marxism. At that time, I myself did not know anybody named Marx ever lived. However, today any 14- or 15-year-old knows about Marx. Therefore, I say that today's comrades are very fortunate. In the past, even adults knew very little about the world. They knew nothing about imperialism or Marxism. In schools they only learned about a few bourgeois heroes like Washington and Napoleon, although people such as Liang Qichao and Zhu Zhixin did once or twice mention Marxism.¹ I also was told that someone translated and published in a certain journal Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."² However, I did not read it, and even if I did, I would have forgotten it anyway. Since Zhu Zhixin was a member of the Kuomintang party, I presume that the KMT was first to talk about Marxism. Anyway, in the past no one in China really understood Marxist communism. The roar of guns in the October Revolution traveled faster than an airplane. Did it not take longer than a day for an airplane to fly here from Moscow? However, the news of the October Revolution took only a day to reach China. The revolution took place in Russia on 7 November, and China heard about it on 8 November. At that time Russia's revolutionary party was called the revolutionary party of over-zealots. Although Marxism made slow progress for more than 70 years, it has made rapid progress since the October Revolution. It was because of this rapid progress that the Chinese people took on a new spiritual look by 1919. After the May 4th movement, the Chinese people rapidly learned the slogans of overthrowing imperialism and feudal forces. Did anyone know these slogans before the May 4th movement? No, no one did. Not until the birth of the Communist Party, the vanguard born of the Chinese proletariat, were such slogans and clear-cut programs proposed.

In 1921 our party held its first congress. Of the 12 delegates, those who are still alive and who remain Communist Party members (excluding turncoats such as Zhang Guotao and the like) are Chen Tanqiu, who is presently held by the Kuomintang in the Xinjiang jail;³ Dong Biwu, who has now flown to San Francisco;⁴ and myself. Two of the 12 delegates are traitors now in Nanjing: One is Zhou Fohai, and the other is Chen Gongbo. The congress was held in July, and because of this we now commemorate our party's anniversary on 1 July. The original plan was to hold the congress in Shanghai, but because the police wanted to arrest us, we had to go to the south lake of Jiaxing, Zhejiang and hold the congress on water. I do not remember if the congress issued a manifesto; at that time we had no clear understanding as to how many kinds of Marxism there were and as to

how world affairs should be handled. The so-called delegates were far less knowledgeable than you comrades who know so many things. There was a lack of knowledge about economics, culture, party affairs, rectification of work style and so forth. I was such a person at that time, and the other comrades were no better than I. At that time Chen Duxiu did not attend the congress because he was in Guangdong working as the director of the department of education. Our Chinese classic "Zhuangzi" contains this saying: "It begins as a simple thing and is bound to become big when it is about to finish." Now we have not "finished," but we have grown very big. The first line of the first page in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states that the Soviet Communist Party developed from a small group to a party of the whole Soviet Union. This is to say that it developed from a small Marxist group into a party leading the Soviet Union. Our process of development is also from a small group and will continue through base areas to the whole country. We are still in the stage of base areas and have not yet spread to the whole country. At the beginning we, too, had a very small group. I was given a form to fill out for the current congress. One piece of information to be provided is who introduced me to the party. I said that nobody introduced me. At that time we started by ourselves and knew very little. We were indeed young and ignorant and knew nothing about the world. However, the ensuing 25 years saw drastic changes. It was an earth-shaking era when the whole world underwent earth-shaking changes. In China the earth-shaking changes took place during these 25 years. In the rest of the world these changes took place during the 28 years following the victory of the Russian Communist Party. The 25 years of the Chinese Communist Party marked a period drastically different from the past. We must let the broad masses of people know this.

Since ancient times there have never been such a people and communist party. During these 25 years we started as a small communist group, went through the war of the northern expedition and became vigorous and strong. In the course of all this we were once knocked down to the ground; yet, we rose up and fought. That was called the agrarian revolution. From 1921 to 1927 the main event was the war of the northern expedition. The civil war period was from 1927 to 1937. Since 1937 we have been fighting the 8-year war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Seven years plus 10 years plus 8 years total 25 years. Although few of our comrades today have experienced all three periods, there are many who have experienced two of them. This refers to all comrades of the party. As for the delegates present here today, we have no such statistics and as yet have no idea as to which category most comrades belong, that is those who have experienced all three periods, two periods or only one period. During these 25 years we have experienced the 7 years from the founding of the party to the war of the northern expedition, 10 years of civil war and 8 years of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Our party has experienced untold sufferings and hardships and waged resolute heroic struggles. Since ancient times there has never been a group in China like the Communist Party. It has not hesitated to sacrifice everything, including the lives of many people, to realize its great cause.

The number of our party members did not exceed 60,000 in the 7 years of the first great revolution. Slapped down, they were all lying on the floor. In comparison, they were like a plate of eggs thrown on the ground: Many but not all of

them were broken and some were picked up to hatch chickens. This is a tremendous experience. After being fired upon, they became mad and did their work, and they did it pretty well. For example, they did a good job in striking down the feudal forces and imperialism. When Chiang Kai-shek colluded with the imperialists and feudal forces, we put forward a revolutionary slogan to strike down Chiang Kai-shek, and we fought him for 10 years. It is not wrong to fight Chiang Kai-shek, but different opinions arose on how to organize our ranks and on how to train them to shoot after they were organized. These different opinions were mentioned in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." Generally speaking, the opinions differed on these three problems: 1) Who are our enemies and who are our friends, 2) how to organize our ranks, and 3) how to fight. Regarding the differences on these problems, the opinions of some comrades were relatively correct and suitable to the conditions in China; on the problems on how to organize our ranks and how to fight, their opinions were comparatively good, but they were not perfect. Because our party comrades were scattered throughout various areas, most of them were not aware of this matter, except for a few who were arrested by the Kuomintang with a reward of a few hundred thousand yuan. Nevertheless, there may be similar opinions, either on one problem or another.

I have met Sun Yat-sen. There are comrades who are here today who have also met him. He died in 1925. I met him when he had already devoted 39 years of his life to the national revolution. He was almost 60 years old then. When the Kuomintang held its first national congress, our elder Lin,⁵ who is present here, was one of the participants. We attended the Kuomintang congress in the capacity of Communist Party members. Such party members are so-called "transparty elements," that is, they are both Kuomintang members and Communist Party members. At that time the Kuomintang organizations in various provinces were organized with our assistance and we had no alternative but to help because the Kuomintang did not know how to organize itself. It devoted 39 years to carrying out the national revolution without holding a congress. The first congress of the Kuomintang was held in 1924 after we joined the organization. We drafted its declaration and helped it do many things. One of its advisers was Borodin, member of the Russian Communist Party; another adviser was Qu Qiubai, CCP member who joined the Kuomintang. There was one good point in the person of Sun Yat-sen, that is, when he did not know what to do, we would look for us. He listened to all that Borodin told him. Sun Yat-sen called for "learning from Russia" because he suffered one defeat after another during the 39 years of his devotion to the revolution. When we called for striking down imperialism, the feudal forces, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry, many people opposed us, calling members of the Central Committee the 36 big dippers.⁶ Kuomintang-CCP cooperation was also extended to military affairs. At that time the principal military and party cadres consisted of both Kuomintang and CCP members. Chiang Kai-shek was commander of the 1st Army, with Comrade Zhou Enlai serving as our party representative; Tan Yankai was commander of the 2d Army, with Comrade Li Fuchun serving as our party representative; and elder Lin was commander of the 6th Army. The government was a coalition and military units were the principal component parts. This was so even before the coalition government was formed.

The victory of the northern expedition was a grand and spectacular event. However, our party was not doing a good job during the last stage of this period and

there emerged Chen Duxiuism. Chen Duxiu later opposed us, became a liquidationist heading the Trotskyist Chen clique and turned to the side of counterrevolution. Nevertheless, we can talk about Chen Duxiu today. He did make contributions. He was commander in chief during the period of the May 4th movement and virtually led the whole movement. Chen Duxiu together with the group of people surrounding him, Comrade Li Dazhao, for example, played an important role. From him we learned how to write in the vernacular, about using punctuation in writing, which was a great invention, and that Marxism existed in this world. We were students of his generation. The May 4th movement trained many cadres for the Chinese Communist Party. At that time Chen Duxiu was chief editor of the journal XIN QINGNIAN. People were awakened by this journal and the May 4th movement and later a few of them joined the Communist Party. Chen Duxiu and the group of people around him had imposed great influence on these people. It can be said that they called these people together and organized the party. I say Chen Duxiu is similar to Plekhanov of Russia in many respects. They both engaged in the enlightenment and created parties. However, Chen Duxiu did not resemble Plekhanov in ideology. In Russia Plekhanov did a good job in popularizing Marxism. Chen Duxiu did not. On the contrary, he even went so far as to express some incorrect views. However, he had performed meritorious deeds in creating the party. Plekhanov later became a Menshevik and Chen Duxiu became the Menshevik of China. After the war between Russia and Germany, Stalin grouped the names of Lenin and Plekhanov together in one of his speeches and his name was also mentioned in the history of the Russian Communist Party. Chen Duxiu would be mentioned again when the party history was written. As for Comrade Li Lisan, who had made "left" errors during the period of the civil war, he also had merits to his credit when he gained in joining Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the Anyuan workers' movement prior to the first great revolution and later in playing an important role in the Shanghai May 30th movement.

We will now talk about the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." The details of this resolution have already been discussed by the comrades. It was proposed that this issue be handed over to the seventh plenary session but not to the party congress so that the party congress would be held in unity and end successfully. This suggestion which has taken the whole party, the people of the whole country and the future of the party into consideration is a very good suggestion. The resolution was basically approved by the seventh plenary session yesterday and would be handed over to the new Central Committee to be set up after the party congress for revision and announcement.

The working principle of the congress is to unite and achieve victory, and the participants should have their eyes on the future, not on the past. Otherwise, the congress cannot proceed successfully. The participants should have their eyes on the 400 million people in order to organize our own ranks.

We have not yet achieved victory, our strength is still not powerful, and we still have many difficulties ahead. We have more than 900,000 troops. However they are not concentrated, but divided, and we can only carry on "sparrow warfare [a form of guerrilla warfare]." Though we have a population of more than 90 million at our base area, they are not concentrated either. They are also divided. Our enemies are still very powerful. We have the powerful Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang as our enemies. These enemies are not the same and one is waiting

at the front gate while the other is at the back gate. Therefore, we must be cautious and humble, not arrogant or impatient. We must guard against arrogance and rashness. Only by guarding against rashness, can we guard against arrogance. An ancient saying goes "A rich merchant hides his wealth and pretends he has nothing." Merchants with a lot of capital hide their wealth and pretend they have nothing. We must also act this way and remain modest. Our history teaches a lesson. That is, you cannot become big; you are comfortable when you are small because nothing will happen; but when you are big, you swell and your head swells to a large size; then you become arrogant and impetuous, and then extremely impetuous. Impetuosity and arrogance are connected. If you are arrogant, you will become impetuous. Those who are impetuous are bound to be arrogant, imprudent and sloppy. We have learned how to be prudent. When the resolution on the history of our party was drafted, it was examined many times. Members of the Central Committee read it many times but failed to detect its problems. Only after it was read and studied by all of you were problems discovered. In your discussions you forwarded many suggestions. This is very good, and this means working prudently. It is necessary to go slowly, because the sky will not fall. Since ancient times the sky has never fallen. Once upon a time there was a state called Qi, where people feared the sky might fall. So they worried about it every day. This is called entertaining imaginary fears. In the past few thousand years, there has never been an incident of the sky falling contained in any historical records. If the sky falls, it will not matter because a few tall comrades among us will hold it up. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" has been basically approved after repeated examination. It will be polished further after the new Central Committee is elected. But will there still be some loopholes in it? It is possible there will be. This will be known after 8 or 10 years when the history of the CCP is revised. If there are loopholes, there are loopholes. We should say that "this part of history is wrong and it has been omitted in the past and therefore it should be supplemented." This is not important. For example, in gathering firewood, the late starter will always catch up, if he works hard. We should deal with our predecessors in the same way. If there are loopholes, they must be plugged. The principle is that we should uphold the truth and correct our mistakes.

The history of the Russian Communist Party was published in 1938. The Soviet Union achieved victory in 1917, but the Central Committee did not publish the history of the Russian Communist Party until nearly 20 years later. It is evident that this was not an easy matter. It is even more difficult for us to include 25 years of history in this short resolution on the history of our party. Actually we are not revising the history of our party but discussing mainly the left-deviationist mistakes, the line suitable to the interests of the Chinese people, the line struggle both suitable and unsuitable to the interests of the Chinese people, and the struggle between proletarian ideology and petty bourgeois ideology in the history of our party. After several years of discussion, this question is now ripe for a solution and a resolution is written to solve it. As to the question in the period of the war of resistance, it will not be solved at this time since it is not yet ripe. From a future standpoint this resolution on party history still may have errors but the principle of curing the sickness to save the patient is not wrong.

Do the questions included in the resolution on party history concern a great number of people or a small number of people? I say they concern a great number of people and the whole party and people throughout the country. So we must be humble and prudent and not arrogant and rash. Since they are questions concerning a great number of people, they also concern us. Questions concerning a small number of people can be solved easily. For example, in nominating people it is not hard to nominate one or two names, but questions concerning a great number of people cannot be solved so easily. We must be very prudent in writing this resolution on party history.

We should do the same with regard to other questions. We must struggle heroically but we must also be humble and prudent. Historical lessons precisely want us to be humble and prudent. Some comrades were very impatient in the past hoping that the victory of the revolution would be won tomorrow. It is a pity that instead of victory, it had dragged on for 10 years. Having 300,000 party members and several hundred thousand troops, our heads were swollen with pride, and we became rash. Only northern Shaanxi was left in the end. Some people remarked that northern Shaanxi was not a good place because the soil and the people were poor. But, I say, without northern Shaanxi we cannot go to work in the field. I describe northern Shaanxi as two points: A temporary lodging point and a point of departure. The "seventh national congress" is being held in northern Shaanxi. This is an honor for the people in northern Shaanxi, which has become an experimental zone for all our work. All our work is being experimented on here first. We convene the "seventh national congress" here and solve historical questions here.

I would again like to talk about curing the sickness to save the patient. By curing the sickness to save the patient, we mean treating the sickness in order to save the patient. Originally a person is healthy, but germs invade the body and he falls ill and consults a doctor. He takes some medicine and is cured. It is not possible to save the patient without treating the sickness. It is also not possible to treat the sickness without caring for the patient. Leaning to one side or the other is no good and this must be corrected. All comrades should unite under this resolution on party history like one harmonious family as the resolution says. We once said: Unite as one. That is a figure of speech used in writing articles. We now say: Unite like a harmonious family. There are struggles within families but struggles in our new family must be resolved through democratic methods. We should treat our comrades as brothers and sisters so that they can find words of comfort here, take a rest here when they are tired and engage in the most cordial conversation. Speaking of making mistakes, it is not a matter that just involves one or two persons. Everybody makes mistakes. I have also made mistakes. Everyone has made some mistakes varying in degrees. The resolution attributes all good things to me. I have something to say about it. To describe me as a representative is all right, but if I were the only one, then this wouldn't be a party. We must realize that a contingent does not always stand neatly in line. That is why at times we must give orders to fall in line. Dress left dress, dress right dress, dress front. We must keep in line with the criteria of the Central Committee and the congress. Keeping in line is a principle, whereas deviations appear in actual life. We will shout orders about keeping in line whenever there are deviations. However, officers cannot strike soldiers. In other

words, cadres and party members must maintain correct relations. There are correct thinking and erroneous thinking among the people in a contingent and they are not always even. We must take a good attitude toward those comrades who have made mistakes. In a family, to take a family member's name off the family pedigree is very rare. Although it is not clear what Ah Q's family name was, no one has heard anything about his family name being taken off the family pedigree. It can be said that Ah Q put up a heroic struggle. His shortcomings are subjectivism and sectarianism plus stereotyped party writing and the utter lack of the spirit of self-criticism. While he likes to pull the scab right off a person's sore, he does not let others pull off his. As to dogmatism and stereotyped party writing, they are extremely terrible. A long bench [changdeng 7022 2923] must be called a long bench, not a strip bench [tiaodeng 2742 2923]; calling a long bench a strip bench would be committing an error in the line. Such subjectivism, such stereotyped party writing! However, the writer who wrote about Ah Q still liked Ah Q because the counterrevolutionaries executed him by shooting. Therefore, we must unite with those who had shortcomings.

Two isms are causing trouble within the party: one is dogmatism and the other is empiricism. It is mentioned in this resolution and I have been attacked on many occasions, but I think such references should be deleted. One reference says that the attack against the Luo Ming line [luo ming luxian 5012 2494 6424 4848] was meant for me--which is correct--but I still think that references like this should be deleted. I myself have made mistakes. For example, in an article I wrote in 1927, although it contained some Marxist viewpoints, I was wrong on the economic issue because I was unable to view the economic issue from the Marxist viewpoint. Furthermore, in my work over the last two decades and more, I have made many mistakes in various spheres including the military and political fields, as well as in party work. Just because these mistakes are not mentioned in the resolution, it does not mean that they can be written off because, according to historical facts, I did commit those mistakes. Here is another example: The resolution, which was written and rewritten many times, cannot have been this complete had it not been for the opinions contributed by everybody. Since we all came from a semicolonial society, our knowledge and capabilities are very limited. I would disagree if somebody should say that I am completely incapable and I know nothing about Marxism-Leninism. Ye Qing, a Trotskyite who used to be a communist, said that all that fellow called Mao Zedong knew was Maoism, which he said was a doctrine of the peasants and the petite bourgeoisie, and knew nothing about Marxism-Leninism. I disagree with this. He seemed to say that he knew a lot, or even everything, about Marxism-Leninism, and I knew nothing. Of course it is also not true that I know everything about Marxism-Leninism. When people hailed me with "long live," I said I was 52. While no one can, and should live 10,000 years, one is expected to do something. That is to say that one must continue to advance and mature. When we say we understand a little about Marxism-Leninism, we are also expected to do something and continue to advance. Since ancient times, there is nothing in the world, knowledge included, that is complete and that does not need to go on developing. The earth is developing, so is the sun. This is the way the world is. A world that has stopped developing is no longer a world. Nobody knows how many millions of years the universe has been in existence, but today it must be more progressive than before. The earth has generated living things, animals and mankind. Mankind, after hundreds of thousands of years, has also

produced a civilized society, a capitalist society and a socialist society, and we understand from Marxist thinking that the world will advance into a communist society in the future. After a new democratic society, China will continue to advance until classes, political parties including the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army can all be dispensed with. The sun and the earth will also cease to exist one day in the distant future. However, when old things are destroyed, something new will be generated. Those with a Marxist concept must see things from such an angle. But do we need politics today? Yes. What is politics? According to Sun Yat-sen: "Politics is everybody's affair." Scientifically speaking, his definition of politics is incorrect. His definition has only one revolutionary significance, which is anti-feudalist, because politics of the feudal society meant the emperor's autocratic rule, whereas the primitive communist society had people, but not politics. Politics came into existence during the slave society. In a sense, politics is class struggle. According to Engels, there are three types of class struggles: political, economic and theoretical. However, the last two types also have political significance. All Marxists should have such a viewpoint, which is completely revolutionary. Therefore, we must go through wars and class struggle, and go all out to develop and strengthen the Communist Party, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army.

Things in the world are invariably incomplete, but things are progressive just as a son would be better than his father and his own son would be better than himself.

Some comrades are very worried for they have not been elected representatives to attend this congress and therefore cannot attend, not even as observers. Actually there is nothing for them to worry about; but we should explain things to them. As for me, I did not care much about the first, the third and the fifth congresses as much as the second, the fourth and the sixth. Even in such cases I could not attend the even-numbered congresses. During the fifth congress, I was elected alternate member of the CCP Central Committee. As I was secretary of the agricultural committee, I presented a resolution concerning the peasants' movement, but that resolution was not approved by the party Central Committee, nor was it adopted by the fifth congress. Now the party is fairer than before, but there are still unjust things.

In other words, as things are not always perfect, a task thus lies before us to advance toward relative perfection and relative truth. However, no one will ever reach absolute perfection and absolute truth. Therefore, we must strive endlessly.

Now another "communist party" has appeared. That is an "emergency committee" organized by a number of renegades gathered by the KMT intelligence organ. They have issued a declaration and their slogan is "Down with Mao Zedong." The enemy will definitely make use of our resolution on party history after it is published. But we will still have to put out this resolution on party history regardless of whether they will use it or not. We should turn a deaf ear to any enemy incitements. It is possible that some people in the party under evil influence may attempt to arouse incitement. We should not be afraid of these instigations. We

have a principle in the party and among the revolutionary rank and file, that is, unity, unity on the basis of the principle.

As a whole, the party has made achievements in the past 25 years, achievements of considerable magnitude. We should continue to grasp firmly the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and uphold the spirit of self-criticism. In the meantime the whole party should unite like brothers and sisters, strive for nationwide victory and should never give up until victory is won!

FOOTNOTES

1. Liang Qichao mentioned Marx several times in XIN MINZHONG BAO 1902-1904 on which he served as chief editor. In January 1906, Zhu Zhixin published "Short Biographies of German Socialist Revolutionaries" in the second issue of MIN BAO in which he briefly introduced the life of Marx and Engels and the highlights of the Communist Manifesto and mentioned Capital. In the same year, he again published in the fifth issue of MIN BAO an article: "On the Parallel Between Socialist Revolution and Political Revolution" saying that since Mark, (meaning Marx), the theory on socialism has changed and gradually been put into practice and is now known to the world as scientific socialism.
2. The XIN SHIJIE semimonthly journal published in Shanghai in 1912 carried in serial form Engels' article: "The Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science" translated by Shi Renron. The title used in the translated version was "Idealist Socialism and Applied Socialism."
3. Chen Tanqiu was CCP representative in Xinjiang and director of the 8th Route Army's Xinjiang office. Arrested by warlord Sheng Shicai in 1942, he was secretly murdered in September 1943. Because of the lack of communications, it is reported here that he is "now being held by the KMT in a Xinjiang prison."
4. Referring to Dong Biwu, who participated in the Chinese delegation as a CCP representative to attend the UN Charter conference in San Francisco of the United States in April 1945.
5. Venerable Lin, meaning Lin Boqu.
6. The 36 big dippers: According to the Taoists, there are 36 big dippers in the big dipper constellation. The "Water Margin" named the first 36 chieftains in Liang Shan Po as the 36 big dippers. The second KMT Central Executive Committee had 36 members.

CSO: 4004/127

SATISFYING THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS IS THE LOFTY MISSION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 10-18

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people are striving for the realization of the four modernizations. To realize socialist modernization is, in the final analysis, to satisfy to the maximum degree the daily growing material and cultural needs of the people for the sake of the people's happiness. Lenin said long ago: Only socialism enables all laborers to live the best and happiest life, "and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole difficulty and the whole strength of Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 571) Now, when we are putting this truth into practice, we become deeply aware that satisfying the people's needs is not only the lofty mission of the socialist construction but also an extremely arduous task.

In the past 3 decades and more, we have made tremendous achievements in socialist construction but have also made serious mistakes. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, especially since the new eight-character policy of "readjustment, restructuring, rectification and improvement" with readjustment as the core was put forward and implemented, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the party, are striving to explore ways to better develop the socialist economy of our country so that the national economy can get on the right track of satisfying the people's needs. Obviously, this is a strategic change of great historic significance. However, a number of theoretical and practical problems still have to be solved in order to effect this change. Solutions to these problems depend on the efforts of the broad masses of cadres and people. Without a doubt, the Chinese people can solve these problems correctly. The reason why we are raising the following questions is that we hope to reach a fairly unanimous and correct understanding through studies and discussions, and find satisfactory and practical means to promote the smooth realization of this strategic change in order to better satisfy the people's needs.

Special Features of the Relations Between Production and Consumption Under the Socialist System

In order to better satisfy the people's needs, it is necessary to study the relations between production and consumption under the socialist system and grasp their laws.

Marx made a profound analysis of the general relations between production and consumption and brought to light the dialectical relationship between them. The word "consumption" referred to by Marx in the "Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" has two meanings: one is "productive consumption" and the other is "consumption proper," which is living consumption. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 93) Marx emphatically observed and studied the latter kind of consumption, and this is the meaning used in our analysis here. According to Marx' analysis, while production determines consumption, consumption also reacts on production. The former is mainly manifested in the following: 1) Production creates objects for consumption and thus determines the level of consumption; 2) production determines the pattern and structure of consumption; and 3) production gives rise to consumer needs. The latter, however, is mainly manifested in the following: 1) Consumption is a condition of labor reproduction, and it itself is therefore an internal factor of productive activities; 2) consumption turns a product into a reality and, with the consumption of a product, the productive action of producing this product can be regarded as finished; and 3) consumption is the motive force of production and without demand there would be no production, while consumption reproduces demand to push production forward continuously. There is a famous saying of Marx': "Without production there would be no consumption; but without consumption there would be no production either, since production would then be aimless." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 94) History has proved that this analysis of Marx' is entirely correct. The scientific theory he derived is also a criterion we should abide by when dealing with the relations between socialist production and consumption. In the past we did not adequately study the general relations between production and consumption and sometimes even neglected and violated some obvious principles. This is an important reason for errors in our economic work.

Not only do the relations between social production and consumption have their general laws, they also have their own specific laws under different social systems. Here, production relations play a decisive role.

The socialist production relations determine that the immediate aim of production is to satisfy the people's needs, thus linking consumption and production directly and getting rid of the contradiction inherent in the capitalist society of the tendency to expand production unlimitedly and the corresponding reduction in consumption by the masses of people. In any society, the ultimate aim of production is consumption, but the immediate aim of production is determined by the production relations in a given society. In a capitalist society, the immediate aim of production is to obtain as much surplus value as possible, and although in order to obtain surplus value, commodities should also meet the needs of society, the latter is only a means to realize the former. The capitalists always strive to limit the workers' personal consumption within the scope "necessary" to the reproduction of labor. They even directly rob the workers of their necessary consumption fund. Socialism, based on public ownership of the means of production, has eliminated the system of exploitation of man by man, and the happiness of the laborers becomes the only aim of all productive activities, thus making it possible to satisfy to the maximum degree the people's daily growing material and cultural needs on the basis of the development of production. Engels said: The socialist society "is able to secure for every member of society an existence

which is not only perfectly adequate materially and which becomes daily richer but also guarantees him the completely free development and exercise of his physical and mental faculties." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 307) Lenin also emphasized that the socialist society should "insure full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 54) Of course, achieving all these will depend on a high development of the productive force. But even in the initial stage of socialism in which the productive force is not yet developed to a high level, the society should also strive to satisfy the people's needs so that it is possible for all members of society to live a happy and cheerful life. This can bring into full play the initiative of the masses of people for production and give impetus to the rapid development of production.

This fundamental change in the relations between socialist production and consumption makes it possible to establish a benign cycle of mutual promotion of production and consumption within the socialist society and bring into play the function of production and consumption of mutually "creating the other side" as explained by Marx. It is impossible to achieve this in full under the capitalist system. Since World War II, although the high consumption policy practiced by a few capitalist countries has played a certain part in promoting production, this role has not always been positive. In addition, it is very limited and cannot fundamentally solve the contradiction between capitalist production and consumption. Japan has been regarded as having established the so-called "benign cycle" of production and consumption, but in fact there also exist profound contradictions between its production and consumption. Quite a few economists in Japan have also admitted the existence in the country of unequal income and wealth and other phenomena showing the wide gap between the rich and the poor. On the one hand, many people are unable to satisfy their minimum needs, and, on the other hand, there is a glut of commodities and production capacity. Each of the seven economic crises in Japan after the war lasted 7 months on average, production declined by 7.1 percent and the time of suspended economic growth as a result of economic crisis accounted for 28.9 percent of the entire 30 years.

As a result of changes in the relations between socialist production and consumption, socialist consumption itself has features which strikingly distinguish it from capitalism. Marx divided human needs into physiological, spiritual and social ones. The special features of socialist consumption are the all-round satisfaction of these needs.

There is a viewpoint at present which regards the "high consumption" in certain developed capitalist countries as an object or model for our socialist consumption. This is an incorrect viewpoint. True, the "high consumption" emerging in these capitalist countries on the basis of increased production since World War II plays a certain part in delaying the breaking out of the antagonistic contradictions between production and consumption, and there are certain general trends of consumption development (such as the change in consumption structure following the increase of income) reflected in them that we can learn from. However, it should be noted that capitalist "high consumption" inevitably brings with it a deep imprint of this exploitative system.

First of all, this kind of "high consumption" has been built on the basis of the irreconcilable class contradictions and the daily growing gap between the rich and the poor. On the one hand, certain increases in the income of the laborers do not change the basic fact of their being exploited and oppressed. Just as Marx said long ago: "But just as little as better clothing, food and treatment and a large peculium do away with the exploitation of the slave, so little do they set aside that of the wage-worker. A rise in the price of labor as a consequence of accumulation of capital only means, in fact, that the length and weight of the golden chain that the wage-worker has already forged for himself allow of a relaxation of the tension of it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 678) In fact, following this "high consumption" are the intensification of the degree of exploitation, the increase of the workers' debts and the further development of the void and depression of ideology, culture and morality. Therefore, "high consumption" does not bring a steady, happy life to the laborers. On the other hand, capitalist consumption has a parasitic feature. Capitalists wallow in luxury and spend money like water. This luxury and extravagance are built on the basis of the poverty and misfortunes of the laborers in their own countries and the countries of the Third World. Second, capitalist "high consumption" is not only followed by "high waste," it also has the abnormal feature of being unable to bring true happiness to the laborers. Satisfying consumption needs is only a means of obtaining high profits. So long as they can make money, capitalists can produce and sell anything without giving a thought to the social consequences. Furthermore, in order to grab profits, the big companies can, by relying on their monopoly position and making use of advertisements and other mass media, "persuade" the consumers and impose on them the "needs" which are indispensable to high profits but are not beneficial at all to human life. Consequently, in the capitalist countries, any trade, from the production of clothing and food for cats and dogs to the production of lethal weapons and the sale of gambling paraphernalia and narcotic drugs, can become an important industry. Year after year the society puts more and more manpower and material resources into the products that can only satisfy the favorite hobbies of the bourgeoisie or help the big enterprises to make profits, causing extremely big waste. Finally, human needs are varied. They cannot be satisfied by relying on material products only. The material enjoyment in some capitalist countries cannot be regarded as low, but the people do not have any happiness to speak of. This is because happiness not only depends on material conditions but also on social conditions, surroundings, relations within the community, family relations, spiritual civilization as well as one's health, ideology and spirit and so on. In the capitalist society, morality degenerates and relations between men are drowned in the ice-cold water of egoism. It is very difficult to realize the security, self-respect, intercourse with other people, self-realization and other "high-quality needs" which the capitalist economists dwell upon with great relish. The increased capitalist production of material products depends on heavier exploitation. This cannot but result in high tension in one's physical power and spirit and in sharp contradictions in social relations. All this has caused that part of the labor force in the capitalist countries which enjoys a fairly high income to generally feel, nevertheless, that they are not happy. Many people do not know what are the prospects for capitalism, nor do they know what is the purpose of life. Once they lose their objective in life, they fall prey to feelings of hopelessness, depression, pessimism and passivity and mere pursuance of material enjoyment. In addition, economic crises constantly

emerge, inflation becomes more serious and various kinds of social problems such as unemployment, bankruptcy, drug abuse, indebtedness, family breakup, juvenile delinquency, excessive drinking, rape, murder and theft come one after another. Naked monetary relations, pornographic books and periodicals propagating sex and violence, decadent music that makes one depressed or mad, and the fear of unemployment, sickness, old age and robbery depress one's spirit. In recent years, some bourgeois scholars have even put forth the idea that the "abundant" material life under the capitalist system does not promote the realization of the common objective or promote the happiness of the public. It has conversely brought about a number of social calamities. How can a socialist society regard this "high consumption" as an objective to pursue?

Another opinion equates happiness with a high level of material enjoyment and denies that under the present conditions our country can make the people live a cheerful and happy life. This opinion is also open to question.

Under the socialist system, the highest objective of satisfying to the maximum degree the people's material and cultural needs lies in a free and all-round development for everyone. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to have an extremely high development of the productive force and an extremely big increase in the people's income. This will be a very long process. But it cannot be said that only after reaching this level will it be possible for the people to live a happy and cheerful life, and that before this happens we can do nothing and accomplish nothing. As a matter of fact, in a socialist society, production will gradually develop and the people's livelihood will gradually improve. This process of development and improvement is one in which the laborers create a happy life for themselves through labor and struggle. So long as we are provided with certain material conditions, it is possible to insure that the people will have a life of plenty without fear of want, as well as a fairly good social condition, surroundings, relations within the community and family relations, and will build a high level of spiritual civilization so that the physiological, spiritual and social needs of everyone can be satisfied and so that everyone will be full of hope for the future. This has not been accomplished by any society in the past.

The socialist society has provided us with the possibility to build up rational relations between production and consumption, but possibility is not tantamount to reality. In order to transform this possibility into reality, it is also necessary for people to pay attention to this problem and, in accordance with the demands of objective economic laws, handle it well. During the first 5-year plan, our country paid fairly close attention to the relations between the development of production and the increase in consumption which promote and condition each other under the socialist system, and handled these relations fairly well. As a result, production developed fairly smoothly and the people's life also improved fairly quickly. This shows that, through people's efforts, it is entirely possible for the socialist society to establish a benign cycle of production and consumption.

Consumption Pattern of China's Socialism

The consumption pattern (including the level, structure and means of consumption) of a country in a certain stage of development is a component part of this country's way of life. The consumption pattern is not only determined by social system and economic development but also by geographical surroundings, resources, cultural traditions, customs and habits as well as the national situation. Therefore, owing to different conditions in a country, the consumption pattern of every socialist country has its own special features. We should not only study the general relations between production and consumption under the socialist system and grasp their universal law, but also study the specific condition of China's production at the present stage and of other factors affecting consumption, and grasp the specific laws of production and consumption and establish the consumption pattern of our own country.

We did not adequately study the problem of consumption patterns in the past. It is imperative to pay special attention to it now. It is necessary to organize suitable manpower and, through conscientious investigation and study, make clear the trends and special features of the development of the people's material and cultural life in the next several decades, forecast the development of our country's production and consumption in the next 5, 10, 20 and 50 years and decide on the socialist consumption pattern of our country. It is necessary to make efforts to present as quickly as possible the results of research which have both a scientific basis and guiding significance in practice and regard them as our basis in drawing up construction policies and economic plans.

The most important factor affecting consumption patterns is the economic situation of a country. With this fundamental starting point, it is possible to handle well the relations between production and consumption. In this respect, it is especially necessary to pay attention to the following situation in our country at present: 1) Big population and large consumption. There are 1 billion people in our country. If there is an increase of 12 million people every year, and we calculate 250 yuan per capita for individual consumption and social consumption, it will be necessary to increase consumer funds by 3 billion yuan every year. Given 500 jin of grain ration per capita, it will be necessary to increase grain by 6 billion jin, and given 25 chi of cloth per capita, it is necessary to increase production by 300 million chi. These conditions call for extreme caution in handling the relations between production and consumption. Comrade Chen Yun said, "Ours is a country of 1 billion people, of which 800 million are peasants. It is in such a country that we are carrying out construction." "We should fully realize this point and see this difficulty. There are still not many people who have truly and soberly realized this point." 2) We have a poor foundation and our standards are low. At present, our productive force is not yet developed, agricultural labor productivity is very low and industrial labor productivity is not high. At present, our country's proportion of marketable grain is about 15 percent and each agricultural producer can provide only 80-odd yuan of surplus agricultural products every year. Such a small amount of surplus agricultural products cannot satisfy the daily needs and other needs of the population in the cities and towns. It is therefore necessary at present to import a certain quantity of grain, cotton and other agricultural products every year. The consumption

level of the people of our country is also rather low and a large number of peasants are still rather poor. Education is not developed and the cultural and scientific levels of the people are not high. This condition determines that we should pay very close attention to the improvement of the people's material and cultural life. However, we should also see the limitation of the effect of the production level on the consumption level, and should never put forth excessive or unreasonable demands on consumption without considering the objective production condition. 3) At present we have fairly great difficulties economically and financially. Owing to the long-term interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the mistakes in our guiding thought and specific work, the economic structure of our country at present is very irrational. There is a serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy and there is a financial deficit. In the past few years the state has worked very hard to increase the people's income. This was essential, although it exceeded our financial and material capabilities. In the course of readjusting the national economy and overcoming the economic difficulties over the next few years, the people's income should not be increased by too much; otherwise, the financial deficit will increase and inflation will be aggravated. Although we should, in accordance with necessity and possibility, strive to improve the people's life, we cannot expect to have a fast and big increase in the consumption level in a short time. In line with this condition, it is especially necessary to spend less money, do more work, raise the quality of our products and other services, and enrich the cultural and recreational activities so that the people can really benefit from them.

Owing to special features in the economic and other aspects of our country, we should by no means imitate indiscriminately the consumption pattern of other countries. Here, there are different aspects: One is what other countries have done but we should not do. A few developed countries have produced small cars on a large scale since World War II and have thus formed the life pattern of a "car civilization." As a result of the ever-growing energy shortage in recent years, the "car civilization" has caused serious problems in social life. This has been a headache for most people. When solving the problem of transportation, we cannot take the same track. In the light of our country's condition, not only should we not produce small cars in large numbers, we should also not produce motorcycles in large numbers. It would be better for our country to do a good job with regard to public transport vehicles and develop very effective quality bicycles. A few countries in the West have taken the road of consuming large amounts of energy both in production and in everyday life. Judging from our resources condition and on the basis of economic rationalization, our country should not do things the way Western countries have done them. Our resources should first of all be used to insure the fundamental needs of the people's lives. This is a policy that should be made clear. Another aspect is what we should do but do not have the conditions to do at present. For example, the residential conditions of a few developed countries have improved a great deal. Our country is now trying its best to improve the living conditions of its inhabitants, but, limited by its economic condition, it has not been able to reach the level of the developed countries. Still another aspect is what we have surpassed or can possibly surpass other countries in. For example, the long history and culture of our country has bequeathed to us a rich and varied legacy in the aspects of material life and

cultural life consumption. We should retain and promote these aspects so that the people's life is varied and colorful.

According to preliminary studies, the socialist consumption pattern of our country will have the following characteristics in the coming period:

First, there will be marked changes in the consumption structure. In the light of the specific conditions of our country, the order of the main items required by the consumption of the people is roughly: 1) food; 2) clothing; 3) shelter; 4) daily necessities; 5) transportation; 6) education; 7) health and welfare; and 8) recreation. Some of these requirements occupy a bigger proportion while others occupy a smaller proportion; some increase faster and others slower; and some are at a standstill for a certain period and then later increase. In a word, they will increase periodically, sooner or later, faster or slower. On the basis of the development of production and the continued increase of the people's needs in material and cultural life, changes will take place in the consumption structure. An inkling of this can be seen from the practice of the more than 3 decades since the founding of the PRC. In the retail value of our country's consumer goods from 1952 to 1979, the proportion of food decreased from 56.5 percent to 50.2 percent; the proportion of clothing increased from 19.3 percent to 23.7 percent; the proportion of utensils increased from 20.9 percent to 22.1 percent, and the proportion of fuel increased from 3.3 percent to 4 percent. As for food commodities, the proportion of grain and oil dropped drastically while the proportion of sugar and wine rose. As for clothing commodities, the proportion of cotton cloth fell while that of chemical fiber products increased. As for consumer goods, durable goods increased at a high rate but the general daily necessities increased at a rather slow rate. However, the demand for medium-grade and new products has increased. Naturally, judging from the whole country, owing to the fact that a certain number of peasants are still living a rather poor life, many of the inhabitants are not so well off, and for a certain period of time, food will continue to occupy a primary position in the composition of consumption, but its proportion will drop while quality will improve and varieties will increase. In addition, a considerable number of inhabitants in town and country urgently need an improvement in their living conditions. At the same time, following the improvement in the living standard, the needs of the masses for commerce, services, and communications and transportation will also increase. It should also be noted that, at present, the masses urgently need to study culture, science and management in order to enrich their cultural and recreational life. Therefore, following the rise in the level of material life, the proportion of education, physical exercise and recreation in the people's consumption will increase.

Second, there will be the correct combination of individual and collective consumption. Referring to the socialist society's common enjoyment of the means of subsistence, Marx said, "From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society (referring to the capitalist society) and it grows in proportion as the new society develops." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10) Welfare measures such as free medical services, free education, social security as well as rent allowance for individual consumption and other kinds of allowances enjoyed by the laborers in our country are at a fairly high

level in comparison with the development of production, their total amount being equal to income from salaries. Without a doubt it will grow gradually in proportion to the development of the economy. However, we should act according to our capabilities with regard to collective consumption. It is impossible to do things in excess of objective conditions. The methods of collective consumption should also be conducive to the development of production and the practice of strict economy and help to give full play to the individual initiative of the laborers.

Third, there will be the increase and rational use of spare time. The rise of economic and cultural levels of society brings with it two positive results: one is the increase of social products and the other is the increase of spare time. Spare time means the time at the free disposal of workers, and is the time used by the workers for enjoyment and further growth. Given the present level of productive forces in our country, we cannot but maintain a fairly long work day and, what is more, the poor development of commerce and service trades makes it necessary for the laborers to spend more time doing housework so that there is comparatively little time at their disposal. In the future, following the development of the economy, spare time will increase steadily. At the same time, society should assist in the development of all kinds of service trades and cultural and educational undertakings so that the spare time of workers can be utilized rationally.

Fourth, there will be diversification of consumption. Owing to the fact that our country has a vast territory and many nationalities, the economic and cultural development of various nationalities and areas are very imbalanced and, owing to the difference between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between manual and mental labor, there will always be differences in the level, structure and means of the socialist consumption of our country under the system of "to each according to his work." Economic workers should pay close attention to these differences.

Fifth, the people will live a life of comfort but without waste. Marx said: All thrift boils down to saving time. He also regarded the law of saving time as the principal economic law. A socialist society should strive to practice economy in production and to obtain material benefits in consumption. The economic effect that we require includes not only the economic effect of production but also that of consumption and the structure and means of rational consumption. This is an important condition in raising the economic effect of consumption. The people of our country have a fine tradition of being industrious and thrifty in managing a household, and we should always maintain and carry forward this tradition. The per capita gross national product of our country at the end of this century will still be at a low level compared with those of the economically developed countries and therefore, the marginal increase in income level cannot be very big. However, we should strive to satisfy relatively well the people's needs under the condition of a fairly low income level and establish a socialist consumption pattern which is comfortable but not wasteful and inexpensive but substantial, rich and varied so that the people of our country can live a cheerful and happy life.

In considering the long-range perspective in the development of consumption in our country, we should soberly notice that our socialist society has opened the way for the establishment of an incomparably happy and glorious life for the laborers. However, we should establish a happy life with our own hands. The party and the government are making every effort to raise the consumption level of all laborers. But the rate of increase in the consumption level depends, in the last analysis, on the actual increase in production. A considerable increase in production can only be accomplished by the hard work of all laborers. At present, there are some people who, owing to the past trauma or other reasons, entertain passive or even harmful sentiments toward life. They blame everyone and everything but themselves, and they do not temper their will and work with a desire to make the country strong. They impose various demands on the society and, if they dislike something even slightly, they feel that society has treated them unfairly. They do not ask themselves what contributions they have made while the people of the whole country have been waging collective struggles to overcome the difficulties and develop the economy. Obviously, this idea is wrong; it is conducive neither to the realization of the objectives of socialist production nor to the raising of their own consumption level.

With regard to consumption there is also a question of the correct guideline. As we all know, the people's choice of the way of life and consumption pattern is related to the viewpoint they hold in evaluating social practice and the measures (concept of value) they put into practice. However, experience also shows that people are unaware of their own methods of consumption and tend to be affected by the methods of consumption of other people. The exemplary role of consumption acts on the individual and often acts on a country as well. At the moment the people of our country urgently need to raise the level of material and cultural life. It is necessary to make every effort to satisfy reasonable needs. But it is imperative to provide guidance concerning those unfavorable tendencies which will possibly appear or have already appeared. For example, some people in some places go in for ostentation and extravagance during weddings so that they go heavily into debt. This does not bring convenience and comfort to life; on the contrary, it brings difficulties and worries. Take another example: It has become a regular practice in some places to give dinners and send gifts, which not only increases people's economic and spiritual burdens but also encourages the evil practice of squandering and wasting. There also exists the phenomenon of vulgarity and frivolity in recreational life. All these will by no means be favorable but harmful to providing a truly happy life for the people. Society should never let these things go unchecked. In accordance with the present consumption level and the practical needs of the people of our country, it is first of all imperative to satisfy the people's basic necessities of life--"food, clothing, shelter, expenses and transportation"--as the most important problem to be solved in developing the economy and raising the consumption level. Second, it is necessary to develop those products favorable to the construction of socialist material and cultural civilization, such as certain durable consumer goods and educational, scientific research, health and welfare undertakings. It is also necessary to stress developing those undertakings which bring conveniences to the people's lives, such as public utilities, commerce, service trades, pre-school education, and collective welfare and cultural undertakings. On the basis of popularization, it is necessary to raise standards selectively. In a word, it

is not only necessary for us to organize production according to the needs of the people, but also necessary to correctly guide the people's needs. In this way we can handle well the relationship between production and consumption.

Rationalize the Industrial Structure and Do Our Best To Satisfy the People's Demands

We have studied the relations between production and consumption under socialist conditions and the socialist pattern of consumption in China. It is necessary then to apply our scientific understanding to guide our economic work.

After the founding of the state, we scored great achievements by correctly handling the relations between production and consumption. However, because we deviated from the purpose of socialist production and there was a tendency of "production for production's sake," the industrial structure has been irrational for a long time. The main problems in the industrial structure were: agricultural production fell far behind industrial production; light industrial production could not satisfy the demands of the urban and rural people to improve their living standards; heavy industry developed alone without the relevant development of agriculture and light industry; the shortage of energy resources was accompanied by serious waste; communications and transportation became a weak link in the national economy; and the development of commerce, service trades and education and science did not suit the development of the national economy. The main consequences of these problems were: The economic effect was reduced, the people's living standard was not improved as it should have been along with the development of production, and their socialist enthusiasm was dampened.

Why have we for a long time made mistakes which deviate from the purpose of socialist production? What should we do to overcome these mistakes and better satisfy the needs of the people? Solving these problems will be of great significance to the smooth development of our socialist economy.

There were some objective causes for our failure to handle well the relations between production and consumption. Our country entered the stage of socialism with a poor productive force as the basis and considerably more accumulation was needed in order to consolidate the socialist system and develop the productive force rapidly. In the meantime, national defense construction was imperative since our country faced the danger of imperialist and social imperialist aggression. Under such circumstances, it was certainly difficult to handle well the relation between production and consumption as well as the relation between accumulation and consumption.

However, our failure to handle well the relation between production and consumption was chiefly owing to subjective causes. Since there was for a long time the "theory of rash advance" in economic construction and we did not have a profound understanding of the conditions of our country, the following problems appeared in our past strategy of economic development: 1) We blindly sought high targets, especially in heavy industry; 2) we one-sidedly gave priority to the development of heavy industry and practiced "taking steel as the key link," which resulted in industry squeezing out agriculture and heavy industry

squeezing out light industry; 3) we blindly expanded the scale of capital construction and neglected to give full play to the role of the existing enterprises; and 4) we engaged in high accumulation, which resulted in accumulation exceeding consumption. These problems in development strategy led to serious irrationality in the industrial structure. As a result, our production could not satisfy the demands of the people.

Shortcomings in the system of our economic management were another important cause for our failure to handle well the relation between production and consumption. We practiced for a long time a highly centralized system with administrative management as the main organ, which excluded the market mechanism. This system dampened the enthusiasm and initiative of both enterprises and staff workers. In some cases when the leading organs made mistakes in economic policies, the enterprises had no choice but to obey orders. There was no mechanism to automatically satisfy the demands of the people. All these things were unfavorable to the realization of the purpose of the socialist production.

In order to overcome the past shortcomings and mistakes, we are now carrying out the eight-character policy with readjustment as the central task. The chief purpose of readjusting the national economy is to rationalize the industrial structure step by step and make it conducive to the realization of the purpose of socialist production. At present, besides resolutely curtailing the capital construction front, it is necessary to work hard to produce more products that are in short supply in the national economy, especially consumer products. This is the key link in the realization of the task of readjustment.

In developing the production of consumer goods, it is primarily necessary to consolidate and strengthen agricultural production which is the foundation of the national economy. As has just been pointed out in the consumption structure of our people, food is of primary importance, consisting mainly of agricultural and sideline products; clothing is secondary, and most raw materials are acquired from the agricultural sector, and a good part of goods for daily use are also provided by the agricultural sector. All this means that the key to improving the people's living standard is to promote agriculture. In recent years, since we have implemented the correct policy of "first depending on policy and second depending on science," our agricultural situation has been very good. But this does not mean that our problems in agriculture have been solved. Instead, we must realize that the agricultural problem is still the main problem today. Thus, it is necessary to uphold the correct policy and appropriately solve the continuously emerging new problems in order to achieve a constant and steady growth of agricultural production. In developing agricultural production, we must pay great attention both to increasing the output of grain products and to developing comprehensively farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery as well as a diversified economy. It is necessary to handle well their reciprocal relations in line with local conditions and different seasons. In the meantime, it is also necessary to restore and maintain the ecological balance. This is not only the key problem in increasing agricultural production at present but also a matter which will affect our descendants, and it cannot be taken lightly.

In developing the production of consumer goods, it is also necessary to greatly develop the production of the light and textile industries. The investment needed for the light and textile industries is small and results will be obtained quickly. Their products will not only meet the needs of the market but also will help to withdraw currency and increase financial income. Along with the development of agriculture and the increase of the peasants' income, more and more light industry and textile products are needed in the countryside. Thus, developing light and textile industries is also an important concern in meeting the demands of the peasants and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. In the readjustment of the past 2 years, although the light and textile industries were developed to some extent, this development was somewhat aimless in the previous period owing to insufficient study of the demand and consumption structures. We must overcome this blindness in development, and in view of the dislocation of supply and marketing, put into effect plans and measures for increasing both production and income item by item by first selecting several products that have a good market and then promoting the gradual development of high-speed light industry and textile production.

Coordination between departments is necessary in order to promote the production of consumer goods. All businesses and trades must serve the development of consumer goods and actively support the development of agriculture and the light and textile industries. It is necessary for heavy industry to get on the right track of serving agriculture and the light and textile industries. In the final analysis, this is the right track for satisfying the demands of the people so that heavy industry can also have a healthier development. In the machine building industry, it is necessary to change from chiefly serving capital construction of heavy industry to serving the existing enterprises of all walks of life in the technical transformation centering on economizing energy and serving the light and textile industries in tapping potentialities and making innovations and reforms. In the meantime, we must actively develop in a planned way the production of electrical appliances for daily use. Other heavy industrial departments, such as the metallurgical and chemical industries, must readjust their production orientation or make the necessary organizational changes as to meet the need for the production of more consumer goods and the need for the technical transformation of the national economy. Undertakings in such fields as communications and transportation, commerce and service trades, science and education and so on must also play an active role in developing the production of consumer goods, agriculture, and the light and textile industries. In the process of supporting the production of consumer goods, all businesses and trades are at the same time making readjustments in accordance with the goal of socialist production. By so doing, a rational economic relationship will be established among and within the departments, and a rational industrial structure will also be set up step by step to satisfy the needs of the people.

In order to satisfy the needs of the people, it is also necessary to develop the commercial and service trades and endeavor to raise the quality of services. Owing to the neglect over a long period of time, the commerce and service trades in our country are not flourishing. There are very few service points, and networks and services are poor, which is inconvenient for the people. The development of the commercial and service trades, which are labor-intensive undertakings,

will be favorable to solving the problem of employment and will be the main way in the future for the productive force in towns and cities to obtain employment. In the future, we must chiefly adopt the collective ownership system in developing the commercial and service trades and, in the meantime, allow the existence of individual economy.

In our present national economy, serious irrational phenomena not only exist in the industrial structure but also in the organizational structure. Our economic base is not so very poor after more than 30 years of construction, but owing to the irrationality in the industrial and organizational structures, potentialities are not brought into full play. According to Marx, there is expanded reproduction both by extension and intension. In the past, we mainly relied on expanded reproduction by extension, which was necessary when the industrial foundation was poor. Now, since we have already established a sound industrial base and there are great potentialities within the industrial enterprises, we must mainly rely in the future on expanded reproduction by intension. Thus, we must readjust the organizational structure in industry while readjusting the industrial structure, and, in accordance with the principles of coordination among specialized departments and economic rationality, carry out an overall reorganization in industry step by step and fully tap the potentialities of all existing industrial enterprises.

The industrial reorganization of our country is being carried out under the condition that the reform of giving more decisionmaking power to enterprises has been widely implemented in the main enterprises. Its basic form should be various joint undertakings among enterprises on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis which are favorable to all participating units. But this industrial reorganization cannot be conducted without the powerful guidance of plans and administrative intervention. Without an impetus from above to below, there would be no joint undertakings. At present, it is necessary to do experiments in reorganization among trades, starting in the major cities and keeping the whole country in mind. It is necessary to break down the barriers between different trades and departments. Around the brand-name, high-quality products which are competitive both at home and abroad, we must organize companies, and establish main factories or joint undertakings under a unified plan, with the factories producing brand-name products as the center. This will promote the production of these products by changing the production structure, coordinating specialized units, popularizing and applying new techniques, and attaining better economic results.

In short, by implementing the eight-character policy centering on readjustment, we shall be able to establish step by step a relatively rational economic structure, which will enable our socialist economic construction to get onto a new track for achieving better economic results and for satisfying the needs of the people. The main signs of this are: the proportional relations between and within different branches of the national economy, as well as all links in social reproduction, are generally well coordinated. The social manpower and the material and financial resources are used in a relatively rational way, and the economic superiority of all local districts are brought into fuller play under the principle of rational distribution. The development of production directly results in the improvement of the livelihood of the people and the two promote

each other. Finally, the social production relations including economic systems are more suitable for the development of the productive force. In this way, we will be able to achieve a coordinated development and a steady increase in the economic effect and bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system. The people will also obtain more material benefits.

* * *

We must strive for the realization of the lofty mission of our socialist construction to meet the needs of the people. After decades of hard work, we are sure that we will build up a Chinese-style socialist material and spiritual civilization. We must learn from the strong points of other countries and, at the same time, avoid duplicating their weak points. The socialist material and spiritual civilization we are now building should be full of variety and color and be superior to capitalist and social imperialist countries. Under the leadership of the party, and by developing the spirit of patriotism and the spirit of everyone working hard for the prosperity of our country, we are certain that we will be able to build a lofty, Chinese-style socialist material and spiritual civilization with our untiring hands and intelligence. We are determined to attain this goal, and we must be confident that this goal will be attained.

CSO: 4004/127

WITHOUT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY THERE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE EMANCIPATION OF CHINESE WOMEN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 19-23

[Article by Kang Keqing [1660 0344 3237]]

[Text] Sixty years have passed since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Over the past 60 years, our party creatively applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and construction, and thus developed the great Mao Zedong Thought. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the party has led the people throughout the country to advance wave upon wave, continue to fight in spite of setbacks, arduously carry out all undertakings, and eventually turn the extremely decadent and moribund, semicolonial, semifeudal old China into the prosperous socialist new China, thereby making splendid historical contributions. Here, I would like to look back at the road which Chinese women have taken in the past 60 years under the leadership of the party.

In old China, since the feudal dogma of "only women and persons of low positions are hard to educate" was prevalent, women were treated like slaves. They were tightly bound by the four thick ropes of political power, clan power, religion and the authority of the husband, and were deprived of all rights and any status. In one of Lu Xun's short stories, he depicted his leading character's life as one of "living in humiliation and dying in misery," and that was the destiny of hundreds of thousands of poor laboring women in those times. In contrast, women in new China are highly appreciated for their contributions in holding up "half the sky." This vivid description reflects on the one hand the important role which the broad masses of women in our country are playing in revolution and construction and, on the other how they are respected by all circles in society. The realization of the equality of men and women is indeed a vivid example of the superiority of the socialist system. A period of 60 years is merely an instant in the span of human history; how could the women of our country undergo such a drastic change as being liberated from the miserable conditions and humiliating status that had bound them for thousands of years? This was because of the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which correctly directed the emancipation of women; because of socialist political and economic system, which opened up the broad road to the emancipation of women; and because of the courageous struggle and arduous work of the broad masses of women, which won them the respect of society. It is because of all this that the cause of emancipating Chinese women could achieve such brilliant victories. That is the direction we have taken!

I

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guiding thought. Marxists, who believe the great truth that history is created by the masses, have always regarded women, who had been repressed to the lowest social strata, as a great revolutionary force. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out many times that when the power of women was mobilized, revolution and construction would be achieved; otherwise it would not. During the years of revolutionary war, he said, "Women form half of the population. The economic status of laboring women and the fact that they are in the particularly oppressed status not only proves that women are in real need of the revolution, but also that they are a force which will affect the destiny of the revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," northeast edition, p 568) In the period of socialist construction, in appealing to the whole party and the people throughout the country, he said, "Women form a great reserve of labor power in China. This reserve should be tapped in the struggle to build a great socialist country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, pp 252-253) He also presented a vivid analogy on fully mobilizing women in socialist construction by comparing the power of women to one of the two hands of a person which function together. Like two hands working together, the power of women is also necessary.

Comrade Mao Zedong also clearly pointed out that the emancipation of women could only be accomplished by achieving the proletarian revolution and socialist construction, and that close attention must be paid to the immediate interests of women by mobilizing and organizing them. I can still clearly remember that after 1930, in the successive investigations conducted in Xinwu, Xingguo, Caixixiang and Changgangxiang, Comrade Mao Zedong made detailed surveys of such problems as women's livelihood, production, political activities, armed struggle and so on, as well as such problems as children's livelihood, education, and the activities of the children's corps and so on. He also looked into the work of women's organizations. He pointed out that the correct way to undertake the tasks of representative assemblies of women workers and women peasants is first to strive to solve problems concerning the immediate interests of the masses of women, and then integrate this work with political mobilization by motivating and organizing the masses of women. Comrade Mao Zedong set a good example in going deep among the masses of women to carry out investigations and studies, and in motivating and mobilizing women.

It is under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that our party has persisted in closely combining the women's emancipation movement with the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and construction, and making it an inseparable part of the whole struggle. Since its first national congress, our party has repeatedly placed the promotion of the women's emancipation movement on its important work schedule. The resolution concerning the women's movement, drawn up at the second national party congress, emphatically declared, "The Chinese Communist Party believes that women's emancipation must coincide with labor emancipation. Only when the proletariat has seized political power can women be really emancipated." At the same congress a department of women was set up and Comrade Xiang Jingyu was named its first head. In the past 60 years, whether during the period of the new democratic revolution or the period of socialist revolution and construction, our party always put forth concrete tasks,

guidelines and policies for the women's movement in accordance with the general tasks, and led women to vigorously struggle to complete the party's general tasks and realize the emancipation of women. "The decision concerning the guiding principles for women's work at present in all bases of resistance against Japan" drawn up by the party's central authorities in 1943 and "the decision concerning women's work at present in the rural areas in the liberated zones" in 1948 directed women's work in the bases of resistance against Japan and the liberated zones during the period of the new democratic revolution. The guideline reiterated in these two decisions, namely, that women's work should center on production, is still valid now during socialist construction even long after nationwide liberation.

In the 28 years before nationwide liberation, the revolutionary path our party followed was a special one which led to the eventual seizure of political power throughout the country by establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and by surrounding the cities from the countryside. Following this path, the party mobilized the masses of women and gave full play to their special skills in supporting the revolutionary war. During these 28 years, the masses of women made many great contributions to land reform in the bases, to agricultural and military supplies production on the cultural and educational front, and to the construction of the party. In those war-ridden years, the masses of women displayed extraordinary courage: they armed themselves with red-tasselled spears to support the front; mothers encouraged their sons and wives encouraged their husbands to join the people's army; they made shoes for the army and gave their support to the army men; and many of them devoted their precious lives to rescuing and protecting the sick and wounded. All these moving examples still remain fresh in our memories. It was because of this tremendous army made up of the broad masses of men and women that our party won the great victory of the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China.

During the war years, the party pushed forward its policy on the equality of men and women, safeguarded women's rights and interests, and enforced the principle of freedom of marriage wherever the people's army advanced and set up a base. The mass women's organizations of various types functioning as links between the party and the masses of women played active roles in motivating women to carry out the policies and decisions of the party. While at the same time, a great number of women cadres came forth on various fronts. The practice of equality of men and women and freedom of marriage was gradually fostered in revolutionary bases and liberated zones, the feudal tradition of looking down on women and respecting men was gradually weakened, and the independent status of women in the society and family was given a more solid foundation.

II

The Chinese people stood up and the Chinese women changed from slaves into masters of the country as soon as the People's Republic of China was founded. As the party and government were closely concerned about the immediate interests of women, all laws of old China which had bound and enslaved women were abolished. In old China, where the feudal system had existed for thousands of years, women were the greatest victims of feudal oppression; the practice of arranged

mercenary marriage adversely affected the people, in particular the masses of women. Therefore, the marriage law of the People's Republic of China was the first law worked out by the people's central government and signed by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1950, and it aimed at banning feudal arranged mercenary marriages and establishing an equal and harmonious new marital and family relationship. In February 1953, the central authorities of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government launched a month-long campaign to enforce the marriage law. The basic aim was to educate the broad masses and cadres so they would make a clean break with feudal ideology and put an end to the feudal marriage system. A small number of serious criminals who had raped, ill-treated and persecuted women, and those who had infringed upon the freedom of marriage and hence caused grave consequences, were punished according to the law. After the 10-year upheaval was ended, the new marriage law of the People's Republic of China went into effect in January 1981. Besides this, rules which guarantee women's rights have been attached to a series of laws and regulations which have been promulgated. The constitution, the marriage law and other laws of new China insure that women share equal rights and interests with men in various fields such as politics, economics, culture, and social and family life. Marriage, families, mothers and children are protected by the state.

As the socialist political and economic system has opened a broad road to the emancipation of women, the long-suppressed revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of women has been aroused, and their wisdom and abilities, which had been neglected for so long, can now be displayed. Heroines, exemplary women, women specialists, and women of action are emerging everywhere; they are highly respected and appreciated by society. Today, under the party's leadership, women who used to be overlooked and enslaved in the past are making great contributions to socialist construction by upholding the principle of being industrious and thrifty in building the country, managing a household and running all undertakings.

After nationwide liberation every woman received her allotment of land as every man did at the completion of the land reform. Their enthusiasm in participating in agricultural production was enormously aroused, and more and more able-bodied women in rural areas began to engage in field work. Some of them even began to learn how to use new types of farm implements and apply new cultivation techniques in farming. A great number of women cadres fostered during the land reform movement led the broad masses of women to take part in productive labor and in political and cultural activities, and paid attention to problems involving the immediate interests of women and helped to solve them. Many women core members took the lead in organizing productive mutual aid groups and cooperatives and in gradually following the socialist road. With the successful realization of agricultural cooperatives, the economic life of the broad masses of women underwent changes during the land reform. Women became new-type socialist peasants just like men. As the principle of equal pay for equal work for both men and women was enforced step by step, women's economic status was raised. The relatively rational division of labor between men and women made it possible for women to take part in labor which conforms to their physiological characteristics, and provides opportunities for them to learn from their male counterparts and from

scientific and technical personnel in order to raise their technical level. To develop production, the organizations concerned strove to solve step by step and in various ways such problems as labor protection for women, housework, the nurturing of children and so on. Some women were even trained to take leading posts on the agricultural front. As women's productive enthusiasm was raised higher and higher, the fields they worked in were expanded tremendously. All these changes have helped to raise agricultural and sideline production, to promote diversified economy, to increase peasant families' income and to support the state's industrial construction.

The agricultural policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, in particular the introduction of various forms of the production responsibility system and payment according to work, have provided advantageous conditions for displaying women's special skills, developing a diversified economy and household sideline production, steadily improving technology and production specialization, and broadening production diversification. With the introduction of the production responsibility systems, men and women commune members have been divided into groups according to their specializations. This has led to a more rational allocation of women laborers and facilitated their participation in planting, breeding, weaving, gathering, and food processing, in the service trades, in commune- and brigade-run industries and commercial enterprises, in cultural and educational undertakings, in the scientific cause and in the public health services, thus boosting the rural economy. Since the payment for labor has been directly related to work, the principle of equal pay for equal work without discrimination between men and women has been further enhanced. Since production duties have been well defined, and bonuses issued for overfulfilling assigned tasks, everyone is willing to strive for high outputs and bumper harvests in their respective specializations. Therefore, women's consciousness in acquiring cultural, scientific and technical education has been greatly raised, and core technological women specialists of all kinds are gradually developing. Of course, with new circumstances, new problems will emerge which will require our attention.

In the cities, along with the development of socialist construction, the number of women workers in our country has increased from 6 million at liberation to 30 million at present. In the textile and light industrial departments, the number of women workers is over 60 percent of the total. In public health, culture and education, industry and communications, finance and trade, science and technology and so on, women are also playing important roles. In order to meet the requirements of socialist construction for the four modernizations, our country is striving to raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole Chinese nation and foster an enormous scientific and technological contingent. This provides more favorable conditions for educating women, and thus will lead to a rapid rise in the number of qualified female personnel.

Right now, in city and countryside people are launching a campaign to raise democratic and harmonious new-type families, which advocates loving the country (collective), becoming rich through work, family planning, unity and mutual aid, observing discipline and abiding by the law; in other words, a campaign to promote "five good" families. This is an important aspect in insuring the

political and ideological education of women and in developing a socialist spiritual civilization, which is vital in further enhancing the already very good situation of stability and unity and in doing well in the construction of the four modernizations. Therefore, we must combine this campaign with the activities to promote the "five stresses" and "four beautifuls" and continue to develop them persistently and in a deep-going way.

In motivating and organizing women to take part in socialist construction, we have already achieved great successes, and given full play to the great superiority of the socialist system. However, we have also suffered setbacks. During the period 1958-1960, being overanxious for quick results, we blindly motivated all women to participate in social labor irrespective of their physiological characteristics. We hoped to achieve in a short time the complete socialization of housework and basically fill children's education with social content. Practice has proved that this policy and its implementation were divorced from the actual production level and the desires of the masses. In the 10-year turbulence of the "Cultural Revolution," the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, which plotted to usurp the leadership of the party and the state, seriously harmed the whole country as well as the women's front. In those days, the results of women's work achieved in the previous 17 years were completely negated, and women's organizations at all levels were forced to cease functioning. Many women leading cadres, women model workers and women intellectuals were persecuted. Women's socialist initiative was severely suppressed, the work to improve the welfare of women and children suffered, and feudal ideology and customs which had oppressed women were revived. All these activities proved to be catastrophic to women. However, they also taught us a lesson by negative example: women's emancipation cannot proceed without the correct leadership of the party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Whenever the whole revolution and the construction cause suffers setbacks, or takes the wrong road, the cause of women's emancipation is affected. We should learn a useful lesson from this.

III

To realize the grand alliance of women is a very important step. The women's emancipation movement has always been pushed in accordance with the general task of the party and the concrete tasks, principles and policies of the women's movement and with the efforts of the broad masses of women workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities, and through the unity of women of all nationalities, all strata and different religious believers.

In the past 60 years, we first of all placed emphasis on the integration of women workers and peasants with women intellectuals. I still clearly remember that the first teachers who introduced me to the cause of the revolution were a group of young female students who came to my native place to conduct propaganda activities in 1925. The integration of women intellectuals with women workers and peasants, together with the socialization of women laborers, helped to strengthen the unity of women intellectuals and women laborers and to speed up the cause of the revolution.

In the past 60 years, we have achieved quite a few successes in expanding and strengthening the united front. During the first revolutionary civil war period, KMT-Communist cooperation was established for the first time. During the war of resistance against Japan, KMT-Communist cooperation was established for the second time and the national united front of resistance against Japan was set up. After nationwide liberation, we continued to strengthen the united front and carried out the principle of peaceful persuasion and transformation through unity. Under the guidance of the above-mentioned general principles, we have extensively united with women of all walks of life and all strata, including the bourgeoisie, capitalists, overseas compatriots and so on. We have also expanded and strengthened the women's united front. All these undertakings greatly contributed to pushing forward the new democratic revolution before the founding of the republic, and to boosting socialist revolution and construction and speeding up the revolutionization of women of the upper stratum after the founding of the republic.

Today, we must further develop the revolutionary and patriotic united front, expand and strengthen the unity of women, in particular the unity with women compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and with overseas women compatriots, and with women of the upper stratum of all minority nationalities; we must work with them to smoothly carry out the construction of the four modernizations and realize the glorious reunification of Taiwan with the motherland.

IV

In looking back on the road Chinese women have traveled over the past 60 years, we can clearly see that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would neither have been a new China nor the emancipation of Chinese women. It was only socialism that saved China, and only socialism that liberated Chinese women. The victory of the socialist cause in our country is the result of the side-by-side struggle and arduous labor of the broad masses of both sexes. In this sense, we can say that women's emancipation depends on women's struggle. Women can only "seek emancipation through struggle and equality through work." Just as Lenin said, "The liberation of workers should be the workers' own business. In the same way, the emancipation of women workers should be the women workers' own business." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 73)

All the successes the Chinese people of all nationalities have achieved under the leadership of our party in the past 32 years have laid a solid foundation for further advancement. The tortuous road we have traveled has provided us with much experience, both positive and negative. People today and the generations that follow should take up the responsibility of carrying forward and enhancing the glorious revolutionary traditions, uphold the four basic principles, closely unite around the party Central Committee, and strive to turn our country step by step into a modern powerful socialist state which has a high degree of democracy and civilization, and hence accomplish the further emancipation of women.

At present, women throughout the country and women's federation cadres are conscientiously studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." In the course of this study, we will surely be spurred on to unite more closely and do our part for the realization of the

four modernizations. We all know that the cause of communism which the revolutionary pioneers started and strove for all their lives cannot be completed in only one or two generations. Therefore, we must not only pay close attention to the tasks at present but also keep the future in mind. A long march needs runners to carry on; likewise, the construction of the four modernizations needs a reserve force. That is to say that the cause of communism needs successors. Therefore, we women comrades should work together with our male counterparts in fostering the over 300 million children and youths to maintain the lofty ideals of communism, to be moral, to be well educated and physically fit, and to be determined to devote their lives to the people, the state and mankind. In this way, we can be assured that the cause of communism will be handed down from generation to generation and that the revolution will remain forever young. This is a grave strategic task which is both arduous and glorious. We must strive unremittingly to carry it out.

CSO: 4004/127

CONSCIENTIOUSLY STUDY THE 'RESOLUTION,' PERSIST IN SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 23-27

[Article by Jiang Hua [3068 5478]]

[Text] During the splendid festival celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, the CCP Central Committee published the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This was a major event of enormous real significance and far-reaching historical significance in the political lives of the whole party and the whole Chinese people. In a solemn scientific attitude, the "resolution" reviewed our party's history of struggle during the 28 years before the founding of the PRC, comprehensively summed up the experience and lessons in the socialist revolution and socialist construction carried out by the whole Chinese people under our party's leadership during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, realistically and appropriately appraised the historical role played by great leader and teacher Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese revolution, fully expounded the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding ideology, and further pointed out the correct path of socialist modernization corresponding to the conditions of our country. The "resolution" is a historical document resplendent with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It will invariably lead to greater unity in thinking within the party and among all the Chinese people and push our country's socialist cause to flourish with each passing day. With its incomparable correctness and profound ideological content, it will shine forever in the great annals of the CCP and the PRC.

Since its founding in 1921, the CCP has covered a glorious militant course of 60 years. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party led the whole Chinese people in winning a complete victory of the new democratic revolution after fighting against extreme hardships and difficulties for 28 years. After the founding of the PRC, it continued to lead the whole Chinese people in winning great achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The path of the past 60 years has been uneven, developing rather smoothly some times and obstructed by serious setbacks at other times. Studying the "resolution" makes us understand more clearly that each victory or setback in the party's cause was inseparable from whether the party's guiding ideology at that time tallied with the dialectical-materialist ideological line of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts in doing everything. The party's cause developed triumphantly

whenever the party proceeded from the reality of the Chinese revolution, realistically estimated the situation and the subjective and objective conditions at that time and drew up and carried out correct principles and policies; otherwise, the party's cause would take a tortuous path, meet with setbacks and suffer damages and losses. As the mistakes made by the party during the period of the new democratic revolution, the mistakes occurring several times during the 32 years after the founding of the PRC and, in particular, the serious leftist mistake of the "Cultural Revolution," a mistake comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, were caused by the adoption of a guiding ideology which went against the principle of seeking truth from facts, and by the divorcement of the subjective from the objective and theory from reality. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee has penetratingly summed up experience and lessons, rectified the leftist mistakes and, by proceeding from the current situation of our country and seeking truth from facts, laid down a number of major principles and policies, thereby creating favorable conditions for our various tasks. Seeking truth from facts is the core of the ideological line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The "resolution" is another example of our party's method of handling a problem of a political nature by persisting in seeking truth from facts. It is also a concrete manifestation of our party's strong vitality and high combat effectiveness in upholding the truth, correcting its mistakes and preserving its vitality.

Since the founding of the PRC, enormous achievements have been made in people's judicial work under the party's correct leadership. This played a tremendous role in consolidating the political power of the state which is under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and in facilitating the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During the period between the founding of the PRC and 1956, people's judicial work developed healthily and quickly on the basis of the principles of the socialist legal system. During the decade from 1957 to the eve of the "Cultural Revolution," people's judicial work mainly adhered to the correct orientation and achieved remarkable results. However, the serious faults and errors in the guidelines and policies in the party's work during this period could not but be reflected in people's judicial work and cause some defects and mistakes in people's judicial work. During the "Cultural Revolution," the socialist legal system was completely sabotaged by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the people's judicial organs were disrupted and the masses of judicial cadres were persecuted. As a result, in the administration of justice, the distinction between the people and the enemy was confused and the line between guilt and innocence was blurred, resulting in a great number of cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed. Of course, some achievements were made during this period. They were not a fruit of the "Cultural Revolution" but an outcome of the struggle against the leftist mistakes and the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques by the masses of judicial cadres who were loyal to the party and the people, loyal to the facts and loyal to the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist cause. In October 1976, our party smashed the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and put an end to the "Cultural Revolution," which was an internal strife bringing serious disaster to the party, the state and the whole Chinese people. In 1977 and 1978, people's judicial work was resumed but some mistakes occurred as

a result of the influence of the erroneous "two whatevers" policy. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978 marked a crucial turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. It began to conscientiously and comprehensively correct the leftist errors of the "Cultural Revolution" and earlier. It decided on the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one in looking forward to the future. It stressed the task of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. Seven important laws including the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure were adopted by the first session of the Fifth NPC, which was subsequently held later. The CCP Central Committee promptly issued instructions calling on all party members to firmly guarantee the realistic implementation of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure. These indicated the beginning of a new period of development in the socialist legal system and people's judicial work in our country. In the past 3 years, guided by the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, people's judicial work continued to rid itself of the influence of the erroneous leftist guiding ideology and at the same time surmounted interference and constantly advanced along the correct path of persisting in seeking truth from facts and acting according to law. Taking the requirement of "faithfully abiding by the laws, rules and regulations, serving the people's interests and keeping to the facts," put forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, as the criterion, the masses of judicial cadres adhered to the fine tradition and work style of making investigation and seeking truth from facts and firmly enforced the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other laws. Generally speaking, criminal cases and civil disputes were handled correctly, legally and promptly, the criminals punished and the people protected. This played an active role in upholding social order. Of course, a very small number of cases were not handled properly. Led by the CCP Central Committee and persisting in taking the facts as the base and the law as the criterion, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court smoothly tried and passed sentences on the 10 principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. This was a great political victory won by the whole Chinese people. In the past 3 years, under the direct leadership of the local party committees at various levels, the people's courts at all levels in the country acted according to the decision made by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on the redress of wrongs suffered by those who had been unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged, and conducted a general review of the criminal cases which were handled and decided during the "Cultural Revolution," thereby correcting the verdicts on many unjust, false and wrong cases. Those who had been wronged and their family dependents were properly placed and duly compensated. This promoted stability and unity in society, aroused the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and exerted good influence politically. This also was a great achievement won in people's judicial work by firmly carrying out the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Reviewing people's judicial work carried out since the founding of the PRC, we can arrive at this basic experience on both the positive and negative sides: Trial of cases should persistently adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts as consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Conscientiously study the "resolution," sum up the experience in people's judicial work, firmly carry out the line and general and specific policies laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. This has decisive meaning in further strengthening people's judicial work.

To carry out people's judicial work by adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must study the new conditions and solve new problems by taking the actual situation of our country into consideration. In our country, both the state power under the people's domestic dictatorship and the socialist system have been consolidated and strengthened on an unprecedented scale after going through a course of construction and development in the past 32 years. In Chinese society, the contradiction which chiefly took the form of class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited has mainly turned into the contradiction among the working people. After the extermination of the exploiting class, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within a certain sphere. With the change in the conditions of classes in society, great changes have taken place in the conditions of offenses. These changes find expression chiefly in the fact that, among criminal cases, the number of counterrevolutionary criminal cases which sharply reflect class struggle has greatly diminished, and most of the cases involve ordinary crimes; that among the criminals, a very small number of them are counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who are remnants of or appendages to the exploiting class, and the overwhelming majority of them belong to the working class; and that the majority of the criminals are youths and teenagers. The causes of crimes also differ from those of the past. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques held sway for many years, poisoning a great number of people ideologically. In particular, the youths and teenagers were poisoned most deeply and a few of them took the criminal route. With the implementation of the two major policies of relaxing restrictions at home and opening the door to foreign trade, our country's economy is in a rarely fine situation. However, some new problems have cropped up. Some unstable elements have been corrupted by decadent bourgeois thinking and have gone astray. Tempted and bought over by foreign anti-socialist forces, a few elements who are discontented with reality have fallen into the quagmire of counterrevolutionary crimes. These factors destroy social stability and should not be underestimated. Some new conditions are also manifested in civil disputes. There has been a rather big increase in the number of disputes over ownership of farmland, forests and houses, which seldom happened in the past, and the trend shows that such disputes will continue to increase. There has also been a marked increase in the number of financial disputes over contracts. These new conditions and characteristics are actual problems on which people's judicial work should be focused. We should proceed from the objective reality and our country's actual conditions, apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in making careful investigations, and find the correct policy and method for solving these problems. Only thus can people's judicial work correspond to the new situation and continue to develop.

To carry out people's judicial work by adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must realistically conduct a trial and arrive at a verdict by keeping to the facts. The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge tells us that correct knowledge means the correct reflection of the objective reality in the

sphere of subjective consciousness. As far as a trial is concerned, the correctness of a verdict is primarily determined by whether the judge's knowledge of the case reflects the facts of the case. The facts of a case exist objectively. They exist independent of man's recognition. They do not change when they are exaggerated or suppressed. The responsibility of a judge is to correctly view the facts of a case through the legal proceedings and to handle each case approximately according to this correct view and the state's laws. Seeking truth from facts and keeping to the facts of a case is the political and ideological quality which a judicial worker must have.

In people's judicial work, the principle of seeking truth from facts is identical with the policy of strictly acting according to law. Taking the facts as the base and the laws as the criterion, punishing those who are guilty and exonerating those who are innocent, and imposing heavy punishment on those who have committed serious offenses and light punishments on those who have committed minor offenses--this requires the application of the principle of seeking truth from facts. Our struggle against the criminals who jeopardize stability and unity in society must follow the principles of the socialist legal system and be carried out within the sphere of the law. The "resolution" points out: "It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve our constitution and laws and insure their strict observance and inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, insuring order in production, work and other activities, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation like that during the 'Cultural Revolution' must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere." Knowing how to use the law as an instrument to fight crime is a new lesson which we must learn as quickly as possible in the course of developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system at present and in the future. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to insure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with." "Procuratorial and judicial organizations must maintain their independence as is appropriate" and "they must guarantee the equality of all people before the people's laws and deny anyone the privilege of being above the law." Practice of judicial work in the past 3 years shows that these principles put forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are entirely correct. Practice also shows that strictly acting according to the law creates favorable conditions for the people's judicial organs to fight crime and does not impede the fight against crime and that acting according to law does not and cannot possibly tie the judicial cadres hand and foot but really plays the role of a strong rope tying up the criminals. The seven laws adopted by the second session of the Fifth NPC have been enforced for only a year or so and have produced such enormous results, bringing a completely new look to people's judicial work. At present, we should continue to stress the principle of strictly acting according to law. We must make still greater efforts to insure all-round implementation of the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other laws, decrees and regulations.

The "resolution" pointed out that the principles and methods of proceeding from reality, conducting investigations, combining theory with practice, seeking truth from facts and testing truth by practice, as contained in Mao Zedong Thought represent the ideological line which we must uphold forever. This Marxist ideological line guarantees that the party's cause will win one victory after another. Our judicial workers must, by conscientiously studying the "resolution," go further to put our thinking on the right track and, in the course of carrying out judicial work, uphold the four basic principles and persist in seeking truth from facts and acting according to law, so as to accomplish our tasks with better results. Answering the call of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we must rally round the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, work concertedly and undauntedly, and make all-out efforts to attain the great goal of gradually transforming China into a powerful modern socialist country with democracy and civilization of a high level as put forth in the "resolution."

CSO: 4004/127

HAVE PROFOUND FAITH IN THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, UNITE TO WORK FOR THE FOUR
MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 26-30

[Article by Tan Qilong [6223 7893]]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, which is of great historical significance, was convened and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" was adopted. The session has readjusted and strengthened the leadership of the party Central Committee. The "resolution" profoundly sums up the positive and negative experiences of our party, and scientifically expounds the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. It will play a great historical role in unifying the understanding of the whole party and the people throughout the country and summoning up their resolve to go all out to build a powerful modern socialist country. The readjustment and strengthening of the leadership of the party Central Committee has reflected the common desire of comrades of the entire party and people of various nationalities throughout the country, accords with the basic interests of our party and socialist cause and is a basic guarantee for the implementation of the party's correct guiding principles. I wholeheartedly and resolutely support the "resolution" and the important decisions adopted by the sixth plenary session and the guiding principles and policies worked out by the party Central Committee since the third plenary session. While celebrating the 60th anniversary of the birth of our party, I, a communist who has lived and fought for the party for more than 50 years, could not but let thoughts fill my mind. I felt that I had a lot to say. To put it in a nutshell, I hope that the comrades of the whole party will have profound faith in the party and, under the unified leadership of the Central Committee, follow the basic guiding principles adopted since the third plenary session and unite as one to march forward.

Reviewing the party's history of unflinching and arduous struggle over the past 60 years, I fully realize that the failure or success and the victory or setbacks of the party's cause depend on the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and the comrades of the whole party uniting as one and working in cooperation with the masses to strive for the realization of the correct guiding principles of the party Central Committee. In 1927, due to the leadership of Chen Duxiu's right-deviationist capitulationism, the stormy and heroic great revolution

suffered defeat under the enemy's surprise attack. At that time, I was young and did not experience this in person. During the second revolutionary civil war period, the bitter lesson resulting from the left-deviationist adventurism headed by Wang Ming which made our party's cause suffer serious setbacks still remains fresh in my memory. The setbacks that resulted from Wang Ming's leftist mistakes caused heavy losses to the workers' and peasants' Red Army founded by Comrade Mao Zedong and other comrades, the revolutionary base areas and the revolutionary forces in the white areas. A great number of outstanding comrades and millions upon millions of people gave their precious lives. The Zunyi conference put an end to the domination of the left-deviationist adventurism inside the party and established the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the party Central Committee. From then on, the revolution took a turn for the better and was out of danger, and marched from victory to victory. In particular, through the Marxist ideological education and rectification movement, the whole party, under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, attained unprecedented unity and unification, the revolutionary cause forged ahead and brought about changes day after day, and the enemy was smashed. During a period of 10 years or so from the "7th party congress" in 1945 to the "8th party congress" in 1956, we defeated the Japanese aggressors, overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and founded the People's Republic of China based on democratic dictatorship. After that, we basically accomplished the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and turned new democracy into socialism. This was a period of growth and prosperity in the history of the party, in which the party's cause advanced by leaps and bounds. At that time, although our cadres and masses lived a hard life, they had peace of mind and worked wholeheartedly. During the 10-year period from 1957 to the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the party led people throughout the country to carry out overall and large-scale socialist construction. The party achieved great results and accumulated important experience in leading socialist construction. However, due to serious mistakes in guiding principles, we suffered setbacks and followed a tortuous course. Later, owing to Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes of initiating and leading the "Great Cultural Revolution," our fierce and malicious enemies--the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques--seized the chance to sneak into the core of leadership of the Central Committee and used the portion of power they had usurped to carry out counterrevolutionary and conspiratorial sabotage activities. They brought enormous losses to the socialist cause and great suffering to the party and people. However, due to the unflinching struggle of the party and people, we succeeded in crushing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Our party corrected the leftist mistakes in its guiding thought. All this has fully shown that a party like ours which is nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has withstood the trials of long-term and severe struggle is indomitable. It is able to lead the people throughout the country to push the revolution forward.

Like the Zunyi conference, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was another turning-point in the history of our party. It put an end to the situation that occurred during the 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," when the work of the party stagnated. We began to comprehensively and conscientiously correct the leftist mistakes and completely bring order out of chaos and engage in thorough reform. In so doing, the guiding principles of the

party got onto the right track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Engels said: "A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 418) Two years or so after the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has followed the principle of seeking truth from facts to conscientiously sum up positive and negative historical experience. When the party and state have just recovered from serious illness, the party Central Committee has shouldered a strenuous task of carrying out construction and reform and formulating a series of important strategic decisions. All this has brought vigor and vitality to the development of our socialist cause. We have scored rapid progress and enormous success of world renown in the fields of economics, politics, science, culture, education, military and foreign affairs. Of course, at the turning-points of history, not all comrades can completely understand and accept a series of correct guiding principles and policies at one go. In the process of implementing the guiding principles and policies adopted by the third plenary session and upholding the four basic principles, we encountered interference and obstruction. Some people within the party and in the society once lacked confidence and cast doubt upon us. However, facts have taught us extensively, and great practice has substantially proved the correctness of the line of the party Central Committee. The party's guiding principles are taking root in the hearts of the people day by day. Effective results have been achieved after the implementation of various policies, and the initiative of various quarters has been aroused. An excellent situation seldom seen since the founding of the People's Republic of China has occurred in the economic field. The present political situation is the most stable since the 1960's.

Like other places throughout the country, the situation of Sichuan Province is also good and developing rapidly. The rural areas got the chance to recuperate, and bumper harvests have been gathered in for several years running. We have made encouraging progress in the readjustment and reform of industry. Our production has gradually increased and our markets are getting lively. We have stabilized public order and considerably improved people's living standards. People's mental attitude is getting better and better. All this results from the resolute implementation of the guiding principles and policies of the third plenary session. I have been working in Sichuan for more than 1 year and have visited a number of places. I was really glad that great changes have taken place in many units. Many cadres and masses talked about this with great emotion. There is a production brigade in the mountain area of Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture. During the 10 years of chaos, every commune member got an average of 200 to 300 jin of grain a year. The amount of grain increased to 800 jin last year, and the production brigade sold more than 200,000 jin of surplus grain to the state. I asked the party branch secretary of the production brigade: What do you think of the situation? He replied cheerfully: "The fact that we have enough to eat means a good situation. The fact that we have surplus grain means that the situation is excellent." He added: "We are living a better life year by year. The leadership of the party Central Committee is completely correct!" These sincere and honest remarks of this comrade of Yi nationality show that the broad masses of cadres and people in our province wholeheartedly support the guiding principles and policies of the third plenary session and resolutely trust the leadership of the party Central Committee. Their support and trust are neither blind nor superstitious. They are fully based on scientific grounds.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it has upheld the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the present specific conditions to work out guiding principles and policies that conform with our national conditions. The practice of seeking truth from facts is the fundamental proposition and starting point of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is also an ever-victorious magic weapon of our party. The correctness of a guiding principle or policy is, in the final analysis, determined by whether it is in accord with reality and based on real conditions. If we deviate from the basic principle of seeking truth from facts, we are bound to commit leftist or rightist mistakes. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has stuck to the principle of seeking truth from facts and paid attention to the practice of investigation and study. We have repeatedly stressed that ours is a country with a population of 1 billion and 800 million peasants. We are carrying out construction in such a country. The series of strategies, tactics and policies worked out by the party Central Committee are based on this national condition. As far as the work in rural areas is concerned, after drawing the lesson of leftist ideology and policies which fettered the peasants' initiative over a long time in the past, the party Central Committee has readjusted economic policies for rural areas; the readjustments include reducing state purchase quotas of public grain, increasing the purchase prices of agricultural and sideline products, appropriately increasing commune members' private plots, encouraging and supporting the development of domestic sideline occupations, enlivening rural market fairs, respecting production teams' decisionmaking powers, assisting and leading peasants to pursue various responsibility systems of linking remuneration to output in light of local conditions, vigorously developing diversified economy in rural areas, which has been encouraged recently, strengthening economic and cultural construction in towns in a planned way and further promoting the rural economy and so on. All these policies and measures have enabled us to give greater play to the advantages of collective economy and individual enthusiasm of commune members and to rapidly restore and develop agricultural production. The fact that we have stabilized the peasants, the majority of our population, is a matter of decisive significance and has politically further strengthened the worker-peasant alliance. It is obvious that the present rural economic policies are entirely different from the leftist stuff such as "transition in poverty" which exceeded the development level of the productive forces, subjective "arbitrary orders" and the egalitarian practice of "eating out of a big pot" and so on. They have also made a clean break with rightist ideas which negate the collective orientation and depart from the socialist road. Peasants in our province generally praise them as "the most successful policies since the cooperative movement" and "policies which will make our country and people rich." All this has shown that the guiding principles and policies adopted by the third plenary session are truly in accord with our national condition, conform with the will of the people and enjoy popular support. The party Central Committee has explicitly called on various localities and party organizations at basic levels to solve their own problems in accordance with specific and local conditions. In so doing, party organizations and party members in various localities, production teams and workshops will be able to give play to their creativity and initiative, instead of indiscriminately copying the experience of others and "doing things in a rigid way regardless of specific conditions." I believe that it is a matter of vital importance to adopt an overall viewpoint to understand the basic national condition of our country. It is equally important

to understand the conditions of the localities and local units. This practice embodies the universality and particularity of contradictions and reflects the relations between generality and individuality. If we conscientiously act in accordance with the instructions of the central authorities, we will be able to integrate subjective understanding with objective reality, so that the correct guiding principles and policies adopted by the central authorities will be truly implemented and constantly developed and improved, and turned into powerful material strength by the practice of the party and people.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it wholeheartedly works for the interests of the people and firmly believes and relies on the masses, and its heart and the masses' heart beat as one. Working for the interests of the people is the principle of our party. The objective of socialist production is to unceasingly satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the whole people. However, for a fairly long period in the past, these basic concepts became dim in our minds and we even did some erroneous and stupid things. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has again regarded the interests and needs of the people as the starting point and end result of its action when considering all matters. It has placed the people's food, clothing, shelter, transportation, education, medical treatment, culture and so on on the agenda. The problem of food and clothing and well-being of 800 million peasants is a matter of primary importance which the party Central Committee always pays attention to and takes care of. While gradually improving the living standards of the peasants, the Central Committee attaches equal importance and shows concern for the livelihood of people in towns and cities. In the past, we accumulated a lot of problems in this respect and the masses encountered a number of difficulties which should be solved urgently. The party and government have done what they can and adopted a series of effective measures to build more houses for residents, solve the problem of employment, increase salaries and welfare, improve market supplies and strengthen urban construction and so on, so that state personnel and people in towns and cities can improve their material and cultural life to varying degrees. While gradually improving people's living standard in accordance with practical needs and possibilities, the party has also looked far ahead and aimed high to formulate long-term plans for our country's economy, politics, culture and society, and energetically encouraged us to build socialist spiritual civilization. It has also truly told the people about the difficulties which cannot be solved for the moment, and actively guided the masses to carry forward the spirit of hard struggle and building up our country through thrift and hard work and to handle well the relations between developing production and improving living standards on the one hand and the relations between the interests of the state, the collective and the individual on the other. The party has also linked temporary with long-term interests and integrated present development with future objectives. In so doing, the broad masses of people truly have something to hope for, are full of drive, summon up all their vigor, establish the sense of responsibility of being the masters of their own affairs and greatly enhance their initiative in production. All this represents the solid foundation and internal motive force for the vigorous development of the socialist modernization in our country.

We have profound faith in the party Central Committee because it has restored and carried forward the fine tradition of democratic centralism and collective leadership. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work in restoring normal inner-party democratic life and reforming and improving the leadership system of the entire party, including electing and setting up the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, working out the guiding principles for inner-party political life and the draft of the new party constitution, issuing instructions on "less propaganda for individuals," electing additional members of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, establishing the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, abolishing the existing lifetime tenure system for leading cadres and gradually making the cadre force at all levels younger, more educated and professional and so forth. These important measures, which have increasingly improved the party's democratic centralism, have not only politically insured the strong power of the party Central Committee and its high work efficiency, but also organizationally prevented the recurrence of over-concentration of individual power, arbitrary decisions by individuals and the personality cult. After attending various plenary sessions and work meetings convened by the party Central Committee in these past few years, I personally feel that the party Central Committee is good at listening attentively to the opinions aired by participating comrades, including those presented by comrades from various areas, and encouraging people to speak without any inhibitions, instead of adopting the practice of "what I say goes" and "rule by the choice of one man alone," the party Central Committee is also good at correctly pooling the wisdom of all people, being sagacious and resolute, and making judgments and decisions that conform to reality under complicated circumstances. After attending those meetings, I also have an impression that the political situation encouraged by Comrade Mao Zedong during his lifetime in which "there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness" is being realized in our party's life. It has radiated vigor and kept alive the fervor of youth. Our party's cause is without parallel in history. It is always unavoidable that there are various kinds of defects, shortcomings or even mistakes in our party's work. However, after attaining perfect democratic centralism and fully exercising collective leadership, we can insure that the party will make correct decisions under most circumstances and that the correct guiding principles and policies of the party will be implemented. Even if there are shortcomings and mistakes, we can promptly discover and correct them and avoid severe setbacks. This is the reason why the broad masses of party members and people have profound faith in the Central Committee and full confidence in the future of our party and country.

Lenin said: "The best way to celebrate the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate attention on its unsolved problems." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, Part 2, p 603) During the period from the third to the sixth plenary sessions, the party's correct guiding principles and policies took root among the masses and we scientifically summed up historical experiences. Our socialist motherland is thriving and prospering. The main revolutionary task of the entire party is, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, to work with one heart and one mind and carry out the four modernizations wholeheartedly. To accomplish this task, I believe that the most important thing for us to do is first of all to call on the comrades of the entire party to conscientiously study

the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and other documents adopted by the sixth plenary session, continue to eradicate the leftist influence and other erroneous ideology and merge our understanding and actions in the spirit of the sixth plenary session and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." Each and every Communist Party member should proceed from the basic interests of the party and state and, under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, uphold the four basic principles, resolutely follow the unified leadership of the party Central Committee, strictly observe party discipline, unconditionally implement the party's decisions and cherish the unity and unification of our party as his or her own eyes. It was not easy to achieve the situation of unity and stability, and we should cherish it. We should draw lessons from those historical problems and regard them as our motive force for our common struggle in the future. We should avoid endless quibbling over them. Otherwise, our unity and progress will be hindered. Apart from that, it is a long-term and arduous task to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power. We should possess not only lofty ideals, but also fighting will that defies personal danger and the spirit of hard struggle and solid efforts. Whether we are building material or spiritual civilization, we should start by taking the first step, do a solid job and progress step by step. Communist Party members should set an example with their own conduct to carry forward the party's fine traditions and work style initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and disdain various unhealthy tendencies and the bad practice of only issuing verbal calls without taking personal action. They should become men of action of socialism. They should, in their different posts, maintain close ties between the party and the masses and do good turns for the masses wholeheartedly. Each and every locality and unit should take measures to do several good turns for the people every year in a planned way. By so doing, the situation will be gradually improved and the four modernizations expedited. Furthermore, we should promote and train outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. This is an imperative task of strategic significance. We, the veteran comrades, should perform our solemn duties and do a good job in passing on experience, giving help, setting an example and firmly grasping the selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres. We should avoid the practice of only issuing verbal calls without taking personal action. We should live up to our own words and do our job conscientiously. Middle-aged and young comrades should be bold in shouldering heavy tasks, study hard and enhance their ability through practice, so that our cause will be carried forward resolutely.

At the party's "seventh congress" in 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to promote the spirit of the "old man who removed the mountains" to win victory in the democratic revolution. After the basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong again called on comrades of the whole party to "learn from the foolish old man who removed the mountains to reform China." In the new Long March of carrying out the four modernizations and making the Chinese nation thriving and prosperous, we should continue to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of tenacious struggle, work with one heart and one mind, keep on fighting in spite of setbacks, unite with the masses and work hard and do a solid job. We should work hard from one generation to another, unceasingly overcome various

difficulties arising on the road of advance and initiate the road of socialist modernization in line with our national condition. Let us unite closer around the party Central Committee and march on triumphantly with full confidence along the correct line adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

CSO: 4004/127

AN EXAMPLE OF SUMMING UP HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE--STUDYING THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 31-39

[Article by Shi Zhongqiang [4258 0112 3123]]

[Text] Since the founding of the PRC, our party has led the Chinese people in traversing a great but uneven historical road for 32 years. The party's theories, line, principles and policies have been repeatedly tested in practice. We have won tremendous victories, but we have also suffered serious setbacks. We have accumulated rich experience and have tasted the fruits of bitter lessons. After smashing the "gang of four," especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many comrades seriously summed up the history since the founding of the PRC from different angles and in different ways and expressed many inspiring, courageous and profound views which were of great help for the party in comprehensively summing up historical experience. It can be said that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has concentrated the correct views of the whole party and has made use of all good results of the past few years in summing up historical experience.

In a famous poem describing the Lushan Mountains, Su Shi, a great poet during the Song Dynasty, wrote, "Peaks and mountains of different heights are seen everywhere. You will not be able to know exactly how the Lushan Mountains look as you are in the middle of them." Many comrades suffered during the "Cultural Revolution." When they recall their painful experiences in the past, they are easily affected by their emotions and exaggerate the seriousness of the mistakes made since the founding of the PRC. They have been unable to make an objective and just appraisal. This is quite understandable. However, Marxism requires us to shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality in approaching problems and to keep a cool and sensible head and a scientific analytical attitude in strictly examining history. Comrade Mao Zedong once said in Yanan: In looking at problems, we must first look at them objectively and not subjectively; second, we must look at them all-sidedly and not one-sidedly; third, we must look at the essence and not the phenomena. These three sentences were a brilliant generalization of the Marxist method of cognition and are also basic methods for us to use in analyzing questions in the history since the founding of the PRC. The recently published "resolution" used precisely this Marxist method to sum up profoundly the historical experience and lessons since the founding of the PRC. It is a model in summing up historical experience by the party and is also a great Marxist historical document.

Take the Stand of the Masses of People and Correctly Understand the Historical Achievements Since the Founding of the PRC

"Historical activities are the undertaking of the masses." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 104) This is a basic viewpoint of historical materialism. Not only were ancient historical activities the undertaking of the masses of people, the contemporary socialist historical activities are also the undertaking of the masses of people. This is even more so in socialist countries. In our country, after the seizure of political power in 1949, the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals and other laborers became the masters of the country and the creators of the new socialist life. All creators of this new life take part in this great undertaking. Everything that our party and leaders of our party do is also for this great undertaking and they play the role of leaders and organizers in this great undertaking. Therefore, in recalling history, we should first of all look upon the history of the past 32 years of our country as the history of the struggle for socialism of the masses of people, the history of the struggle of the masses of people themselves and not merely a record of the merits and faults of a certain leader. Much less should we set leaders of the party against the masses of people. In summing up history, only if we take the stand of the masters of the country, have the broad masses of people in mind and are not biased by wounds of personal misfortunes can we avoid being misled by a variety of superficial phenomena, grasp firmly the essence of historical development and look at problems relatively objectively.

In summing up the historical experience since the founding of the PRC, the "resolution" based itself precisely on the basic concept that the masses of people are the creators of the history of new China. It looked upon the party's undertaking as the people's undertaking and looked upon the revolutionary practice of the broad masses of people as the main body of historical activities. It took the revolutionary practice of the broad masses of people as the standard for appraising history and judging rights and wrongs. So it made logical conclusions in keeping with popular feelings in summing up the history since the founding of the PRC. The conclusions are objective and have brought to light the actual features of the process of our country's historical development. These conclusions are positive and will inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of people in making further contributions to the cause of socialist construction.

The "resolution" pointed out that, on the whole, the history since the founding of the PRC was one of our party leading the people in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction and in scoring tremendous achievements under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The "resolution" generalized the major achievements of our party in politics, economics, culture, national defense, foreign relations and so on. These achievements are objective facts which any unbiased person will recognize. Of course, these achievements are preliminary, especially the economic achievements. They still fall very short of the people's expectations, and there is really no reason for us to be conceited. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" rode roughshod, they closed the country to international intercourse, had too high an opinion of themselves and mistook the backward for the advanced. We cannot do such foolish things again. However, if, with the continuous increase of international intercourse, with the continuous exposure of our

weak points and backwardness and with a deeper understanding of the influence of mistakes and setbacks in our work on the national economy and the people's livelihood, we belittle or negate our achievements and talk as if our country has no saving graces or is in a complete mess, this would also be wrong. Compared with some industrialized countries, our country is backward in some aspects but there are various causes for this and we should make specific analysis. There are great differences in historical conditions and natural conditions between our country and these industrialized countries. If we compare in an oversimplified way things that should not be used for comparison, it will be difficult to arrive at correct conclusions.

We do not oppose making comparisons. We are for making rational comparisons between objects with similar objective conditions so as to help our analysis of problems with inspiring comparisons. It is fair and reasonable to compare our country with India because there are many similarities between us. We won our independence or liberation after World War II, have ancient civilizations, have large populations and are poor and backward large countries. The difference is that one is under the socialist system and the other is under the capitalist system. In making this comparison, we can see from one aspect which of these two social systems is superior and how our people are constructing our country.

(Ramaswami), an Indian economist, came to visit our country last year and made a comparison of the historical development in the past 30 years or so between India and China. According to data provided by this specialist, in 1949, China's conditions were worse than those of India but in 1980 the situation was reversed because these two big countries had chosen different roads. For example: China produced 330 million tons of grain and India produced only 140 million tons and India had 30 million hectares of arable land more than China; China produced 33 million tons of steel and India produced only 8 million tons; China produced 600 million tons of coal and India produced only 120 million tons; China produced 106 million tons of petroleum and India produced only 12 million tons; China generated 282 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity and India generated only 103 billion kilowatt-hours. Viewed from the people's standard of living, the average income of China based on the population, according to this specialist, was 200 percent to 300 percent higher than that of India. Although the standard of living of the richest Indians in the upper social stratum which accounted for 10 percent of the population was much higher than that of the Chinese people, the standard of living of the Chinese people was higher than that of the remaining 90 percent of the Indian people. In addition, according to statistics concerned, the rate of increase of industrial production in our country from 1949 to 1979 was 4,000 percent and that of India was only 400 percent; the rate of increase in our country's agricultural production was 270 percent and that of India was only 120 percent; in 1979, the total output of national production per capita in China was \$260-270 and that in India was only \$183; the grain output in China per capita was 332 kilograms and that in India was 201.2 kilograms. Of course, it should be pointed out that India has its strong points. Many things in the Indians' efforts to increase grain output, to develop modern industry, science, technology, education and so on in the past few years can be used for reference.

Comparisons have all along been relative and have their limits. We cannot rashly try to make a comprehensive conclusion based on this. But one thing is certain in this comparison: The differences in economic development and in other aspects caused by different social systems between China and India are very great. This shows in one aspect that we should not underestimate achievements scored in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC and that we should not belittle ourselves. There are no grounds for being pessimistic or underestimating our own capability. The "resolution" said that our achievements were "the product of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party and people, the manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system." The correctness of this conclusion in the "resolution" can be clearly seen from the above comparison. The reason why we affirm these achievements in a practical and realistic way is not to show off or to propagandize but to affirm the great creative force of millions of people and to affirm the socialist road which the people of our country have firmly taken. They are things we have accomplished and the foundation for making further progress. We should treasure by a hundredfold the achievements we have already scored and strive to develop these achievements.

Look Dialectically Upon the Historical Setbacks With a Historical and Analytical Attitude

In affirming the achievements, the "resolution" admitted without mincing words that in the past 32 years, our party made mistakes in its guiding principles and the country suffered grave setbacks. How should we view these historical setbacks?

First, judged from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, it is not unusual to have had historical setbacks. Mankind's history has never been as smooth as one would wish but has developed in a zig-zag. Since Marxists understand the objective laws of historical development and can take into account the emergence of the most complicated and most fantastic setbacks, they avoid as many detours as possible to reduce the losses to the revolution. However, Marxists are in fact after all men and are not imaginary gods and cannot change the law of historical development in spirals and advancing wave upon wave. In practice, it is quite impossible to avoid all detours and setbacks. We must change the concept of avoiding all detours and setbacks in our understanding. Lenin said, "To think that the world's history will develop smoothly without any big leaps backward is not dialectic, not scientific and not theoretically correct." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 851) The world's history is a history of tortuous advancement and the history of the development of socialism is the same. In its development of over one century starting from the publication of the "Communist Manifesto," the scientific socialist movement has undergone many setbacks. For example, it experienced several ups and downs in the First International, the Second International, the Third International and the historical period that followed. The strength of socialism sometimes expanded and sometimes contracted. Up until now, the socialist revolution has won victory only in a few countries. Have not crises of political upheavals and economic collapses even occurred in several countries where socialism has won victories? In some countries, socialism even failed after its initial success. Compared with those countries, the development of socialism in our country should be said to be relatively solid. The socialist

system still stands lofty and firm even after such a great internal disorder as the "Cultural Revolution." This fully shows the great vitality of our country and also shows that historical setbacks after all cannot reverse the direction of the progress of history.

Second, the setbacks our country suffered occurred in the process of advancement in probing socialism. Our country was formerly a large and backward semicolonial and semifeudal country which had not undergone a complete stage of capitalism and whose level of productive forces was relatively backward. However, tempered in the long-term revolutionary struggle and educated with scientific socialism under the party's leadership, the masses of people urgently demanded the rapid eradication of poverty and backwardness in our country and were determined to take the socialist road to realize this. This is not something imposed upon the people but is the people's own choice. This choice is correct and is not "ultra-revolutionary" at all. As pointed out by Stalin, "Socialism may serve (and is already beginning to serve!) as the banner of liberation for the millions who inhabit the vast colonial states of imperialism." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 5, p 283) Of course, it cannot be denied that it is unprecedented in the world's history to build socialism in a country like ours and many problems we encounter were not envisaged by classical Marxist writers. Being without experience, we have to grope our way forward. Consequently, we sometimes succeeded but we were bound to make mistakes at other times. Our guiding principle for socialist transformation was correct and we succeeded in finding a unique way for victoriously realizing the socialist transformation of our country. After the socialist transformation was basically completed, we hoped to find a good way to correctly handle various social and political contradictions within the socialist society, to rapidly eradicate our country's economic backwardness and to find a way to build socialism which was suited to our country's national conditions. However, we were not ideologically prepared for the newly emergent socialist society which came so quickly and we did not seriously study class struggle which still existed within a certain scope and other social and political contradictions after the socialist transformation was basically completed. So when some new problems appeared in the process of development, especially after some serious political incidents occurred, our party failed to remain cool-headed and did not carry out objective and scientific analysis on these new and complicated social phenomena but became accustomed to sticking to old experience and mistook problems which no longer involved class struggle as class struggle, looked upon class struggle within a certain scope as overall class struggle and mechanically used large-scale violent struggle methods. This led to the mistake of magnifying class struggle committed in the antirightist struggle in 1957 and eventually developed into serious mistakes such as the "Cultural Revolution" which affected the whole situation and lasted for a long time. We lacked experience and did not carry out enough scientific study of the magnificent cause of building socialism on a nationwide scale. We did not have a clear understanding of the basic characteristics of our country's economic development and our national conditions in other respects, exaggerated the function of subjective will and subjective efforts, overlooked the objective laws of economic development, were overanxious for quick results and were impatient to make rash advance, resulting in defects in economic construction since the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958. These defects and setbacks undoubtedly brought misfortune to the people but we should

distinguish setbacks occurring in the process of our party's probing socialism from crises caused by exploiting class ruling cliques' ruthless oppression of the people and snatching surplus value to the greatest extent. These two are essentially different and should not be lumped together. Only by drawing a clear line of demarcation on this basic point can we correctly understand the historical setbacks in our country.

Third, we should make specific analysis on different mistakes and setbacks. Mistakes and setbacks that appeared since the founding of the PRC were not exactly the same. The "resolution" made a deep analysis of these mistakes and setbacks and distinguished one from another: 1) Mistakes affecting the overall situation were distinguished from partial mistakes. The mistake affecting the overall situation was mainly the "Cultural Revolution." All other mistakes such as magnifying the antirightist struggle, the socialist educational movement in towns and countryside and criticism in the ideological field carried out before the "Cultural Revolution" occurred only within a certain scope and did not affect the whole situation. 2) Mistakes in guiding principles were distinguished from work done by the broad masses of cadres and people. The fundamental guiding principle of the "Cultural Revolution" was completely wrong. However, we should affirm the tremendous efforts to put an end to the mistake of the "Cultural Revolution" that were made during the period when Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Xiaoping were in charge of the routine work of the Central Committee in succession. Nor should we obliterate the fact that during those 10 years, the broad masses of cadres and people persisted in their work and persisted in production under very difficult conditions so that although the national economy suffered great losses, it still developed and our socialist construction was not interrupted. 3) Mistakes which were not thoroughly corrected were distinguished from mistakes which were not corrected. Mistakes before the "Cultural Revolution," with the exception of a few which we were not conscious of, were all corrected to a certain extent. It is not correct to say that there were no corrections made at all. In politics, we reexamined the cases of most of the comrades who were wrongly criticized in the "campaign against right-opportunism" and rehabilitated them and removed the political label of being "rightists" put on most of them in 1962. As for economic mistakes, we took a series of measures to start correcting them in 1958 but the work was interrupted by the "campaign against right-opportunism." Starting from the winter of 1960, our party made tremendous efforts to correct the leftist mistakes in rural areas and decided to adopt the policy of "readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards" for the national economy, and the national economy was relatively smoothly restored and developed. Of course, the correction made at that time was not thorough but we should not deny our party's efforts in correcting mistakes of which it was conscious. Mistakes vary in their seriousness and refusing to correct mistakes and correcting mistakes once one is conscious of them are two different matters.

Fourth, we should not take a pessimistic attitude toward mistakes and setbacks. Everything has a dual nature. Mistakes in themselves are not good but if we understand our mistakes and sum up the experiences and lessons, the mistakes will become precursors of correctness and will be of some value. Our major setbacks on several occasions, especially the serious setbacks of the "Cultural Revolution," fully exposed the past shortcomings in the system and mistakes in the guiding

ideology and policies, and thus our party's understanding of these things became clearer and clearer. The series of correct decisions made by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee were the outcome of a deep understanding of the mistakes and of the summing up of experiences and lessons. As pointed out by the "resolution," our party has gradually mapped out the correct path for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions. It is based on the summing up of the negative as well as positive experiences since the founding of the PRC, and particularly of the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution." We must change the prevalent metaphysical view toward mistakes and setbacks, which sees only the aspect of their direct destructiveness and overlooks the aspect of their being able to change into something of value under specific conditions. To learn from mistakes is not merely empty talk and only those who probe can understand its profound meaning. Historical disasters are bound to be compensated by historical progress. The negative education of the "Cultural Revolution" will surely compensate us in our understanding and mastering the laws of development of the socialist society so that we will score greater achievements in the course of building socialism.

Distinguish Between Rights and Wrongs and Achievements and Errors; Scientifically Appraise the Historical Role of Comrade Mao Zedong

In appraising historical questions since the founding of the PRC, the most central and most fundamental question is how to appraise the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong. When the question of the historical appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong is correctly resolved, we should be able to do a good job of summing up the experiences and lessons of other significant historical questions. This is because he was always the principal leader of our party and state ever since the establishment of the PRC. All significant work was actually carried out under his leadership. Achievements were scored under his leadership, and mistakes were made under his leadership. No significant achievements and mistakes and rights and wrongs could be separated from his role. Therefore, the "resolution" has placed the appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong in the most important position.

Comrade Mao Zedong is a great historic figure. The revolutionary cause he carried out and the revolutionary theories he put forth have in fact left a profound and indelible mark on both the history of China and on world history and have produced tremendous and far-reaching influence. All our large numbers of revolutionaries have grown up under the nature and guidance of his thought. He opened up a new epoch of study and literary writing. Until now, our frequently used scientific, political language was mostly developed by him. Despite the fact that he made serious errors during his later years, he scored together with his comrades-in-arms a lot of great historical meritorious achievements in the history of China. It is certainly a very difficult task for his comrades-in-arms, students and successors to make a scientific appraisal of such a great historic figure. However, to be responsible to the people and to the party's cause, it is necessary to make an appraisal of his achievements and errors and rights and wrongs. With a respectful and a cautious attitude, the "resolution" has strived to distinguish Comrade Mao Zedong's correct aspect from his erroneous aspect so that our party's appraisal of him is objective, honest and fair.

First, it has both fully affirmed his historical meritorious achievements and seriously pointed out his historical errors. The "resolution" pointed out: Although Comrade Mao Zedong "made gross mistakes during the 'Cultural Revolution,' if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes." On the basis of the close relations between the history of the development of the CCP since it was founded 60 years ago and Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities, the "resolution" discussed his great meritorious achievements rendered to the founding of the PRC and the development of the socialist cause. At the same time, it also discussed the mistakes he made in the guiding principles of our party's work after socialist transformation was basically completed. It did not hide his mistakes because of his great meritorious achievements, nor did it underestimate or obliterate his great meritorious achievements because of the gross mistakes he made during his later years. It was completely correct for the "resolution" to say that his achievements outweighed his errors. This was because first, the weights of his achievements and errors were different. Take for example his meritorious achievements in leading the founding of the socialist new China. He in fact opened a new epoch in the history of the Chinese nation. On the other hand, however, the "Cultural Revolution" did not cause our new China to become once again old China. Second, the lengths of time of his achievements and errors were different. Comrade Mao Zedong was the principal representative of the Chinese revolution for half a century ever since he opened the road to the Jinggang Mountains. It was generally acknowledged that he scored great achievements during the first 40 years, and it was only during the last 10 years that he made gross mistakes. Third, the historical influences of his achievements and errors were different. His meritorious achievements were factors that should play a long-term role; and the Chinese people will advance for generations along the road opened up by him. As for his mistakes during his later years, they were gradually corrected after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. As a matter of fact, they were corrected by following or developing the correct thinking he advocated in the past. Therefore, it was really no exaggeration when the "resolution" said "his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes."

Second, it has made clear the nature of his mistakes, and drawn a clear line of demarcation with the evil of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Comrade Mao Zedong made gross mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution." We should not ignore or cover up the seriousness of his mistakes, because that would lead to even more serious mistakes. However, as was pointed out in the "resolution," Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were, after all, the mistakes made by a great proletarian revolutionary. It is thus very important to distinguish Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes from the evil of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Otherwise, we would still be confusing right and wrong and thereby confusing enemies and friends. The distinction between the two was quite obvious. First, their objectives were different. In launching the "Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong constantly maintained that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were necessary for saving China's socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was in fact where his tragedy lay. On the other hand, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and members of their cliques vainly attempted to usurp the supreme power of the party and state, overthrow China's people's democratic dictatorship system and destroy socialism and our party. Second, their activities

were different. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong did not change the erroneous principles of the "Cultural Revolution" in the overall situation, he somehow accomplished many good deeds. Examples were: He protected some leadership cadres of the party and renowned figures outside the party; led the struggle that smashed the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique; made significant criticisms and exposure of Jiang Qing and others and thereby prevented their ambitious scheme of usurping the supreme leadership power of the party and state from succeeding; constantly and vigilantly paid attention to upholding China's security and formulated correct foreign policies; and so forth. Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's two counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques brought calamity to the country and the people. They were guilty of the most heinous crimes and were public enemies. Their evil and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were two questions of different natures and they simply should not be mentioned in the same breath.

Third, it has pointed out the responsibility for the mistakes, while emphasizing the analysis of the circumstances and roots of the mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong should bear primary responsibility for the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution," and this was clearly stated in the "resolution." However, Marxism holds that no significant and complicated historical phenomena is accidental. As for such a significant and complicated historical phenomenon, we must neither simply dismiss the issue just by affixing the responsibility to someone, nor should we explain the issue based only on some personal qualities and features. We should in fact emphasize analysis of historical circumstance. During the period of the rectification of incorrect work style in Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out when he summed up the party's historical experience: "In dealing with questions of party history, we should lay the stress not on the responsibility of certain individual comrades but on analyzing the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the content of the errors and on their social, historical and ideological roots." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 892) Comrade Mao Zedong's words were meant to exhort other people at that time, and now we should assume this same attitude toward him. On the basis of this spirit, the "resolution" not only pointed out the subjective factors for Comrade Mao Zedong making mistakes during his later years (such as developing an arrogant attitude, divorcing himself from practice and from the masses, departing from collective leadership, acting more and more arbitrarily and even putting himself above the CCP Central Committee), but it also analyzed the complicated historical conditions for the development of this phenomenon, the domestic reasons and international background for his launching the "Cultural Revolution" and making the mistakes as well as the ideological, social and historical root causes. By domestic reasons, what was meant was mainly that Comrade Mao Zedong saw some contradictions in the course of development of socialism and also the dark side existing in the body of our party and state. His mistakes were that he did not correctly analyze problems, confused right and wrong and enemies and friends, and he should not have tried to solve these problems by launching the "Cultural Revolution." By international background, what was meant was mainly that the leaders of the Soviet Union expanded the ideological dispute between the two parties into political confrontation between the two countries, thus forcing us to carry out an international struggle against revisionism. His mistakes were that he led the international struggle against revisionism into our own country and our party and confused it with the divergence of views within the party. The ideological

root of his mistakes was that he misinterpreted certain tentative ideas and views of classical Marxist writers and turned them into political dogmas, thus forming a set of erroneous theories concerning the class struggle in the socialist society. Moreover, he himself also regarded those theories as a development of Marxism-Leninism and struggled to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The social and historical roots of his mistakes mainly referred to the very long feudal history of our country and the influence of the pernicious influence of autocracy to our party's ideology and politics. As a result of them, we were unable to quickly institutionalize and legalize democracy within our party and in state politics and social life. They became the soil for the growth of arbitrary actions and the personality cult within the party. Once the "Cultural Revolution" was launched, it was therefore very difficult to stop it.

Fourth, it has emphasized the scientific nature of Mao Zedong Thought, and distinguished this scientific theory from Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years. It has always been a question of great concern among the people how Comrade Mao Zedong upheld Mao Zedong Thought while committing mistakes during his later years. The "resolution" solved this problem. In connection with a summation of the historical experience of China's socialist revolution and construction, it made a comprehensive and systematic exposition of Mao Zedong Thought and emphasized that Mao Zedong Thought is a scientific guiding thought suited to China's situation and a scientific theory on China's revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes during his later years, on the other hand, "obviously deviated from the track of Mao Zedong Thought, which signified an integration of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolution." Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years did not belong to the content of Mao Zedong Thought; and upholding Mao Zedong Thought certainly does not include Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years. It is very important to strictly distinguish the two. It has pointed out clearly to us the direction for upholding Mao Zedong Thought in the future. The content in different aspects of Mao Zedong Thought discussed in the "resolution" is in fact the specific content of our upholding Mao Zedong Thought. In upholding Mao Zedong Thought, we must not only uphold these correct principles and conclusions that have been tested through our long history. What is more important is that we must make use of its stand, views and methods and continuously study and solve the new situations and new problems emerging in our practice so as to enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought with new principles and new conclusions that are in keeping with reality.

Fifth, it has discarded "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," but maintained that it is necessary to uphold the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous views during his later years were once generalized to form the so-called "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The "theory" was neither in keeping with Marxism-Leninism nor in keeping with China's actual situation. The "resolution" both analyzed its theoretical fallacies and also pointed out its harm in practice. This "theory" brought pain and calamity to the Chinese people and they still remain fresh in the people's memory. We must resolutely discard it. Because of this "theory," a special meaning was

given to the term "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." That is to say, it specially meant the revolution in which one class overthrows another. Therefore, this term should no longer be used. What should be pointed out is that despite the fact the "Cultural Revolution," which Comrade Mao Zedong launched on the basis of this "theory," was completely wrong and that it was in no sense a revolution, yet the kind of revolutionary enterprising spirit which he developed over the long period of revolutionary struggles should never be negated. Discarding "the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and using no more the concept of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" does not mean writing off the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. We must not only at the present moment carry forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit and carry out arduous revolutionary struggles for the realization of socialist modernization, but we must in the future also carry forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit and carry out even more arduous revolutionary struggle for the realization of the grand ideal of communism. We should never waver on this because it is determined by the nature and tasks of our proletarian revolutionary political party. The "resolution" has clearly and strictly distinguished between the two and pointed out: "In this new historical period, the whole membership of the CCP and the whole people must never cease to cherish lofty revolutionary ideals, maintain a dynamic revolutionary fighting spirit, and carry China's great socialist revolution and socialist construction through to the end." This is indeed a solemn declaration of our party in continuing to hold aloft our revolutionary banner and carrying forward our proletarian revolutionary spirit.

The "resolution" has made a penetrating and specific analysis of different aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong. It has resolutely rejected his mistakes and warmly protected what is correct, thereby scientifically appraising his position in history and correctly upholding his bright image. This analysis by the "resolution" has fully manifested our party's high level of Marxist theory.

Proceed From Reality, Solemnly Change Some Important Presentations of Historical Questions and Carry Out New Historical Generalization

In summing up historical experience and in making an appraisal of history, we should examine and test past historical concepts and past presentations of historical questions besides analyzing historical events and clarifying historical achievements and errors. Lenin said: We must understand that the whole thing now is practical work. "Theory is vitalized by practice, corrected by practice and tested by practice." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 398) Historical practice is the court for testing historical theory. All past historical understandings must be based on reasoning. Correct understandings will be upheld, mistaken ones will be corrected, incomplete ones will be supplemented and unscientific ones will be made scientific so that all new understandings will be established on exact expressions of the actual historical processes as they occurred. The "resolution" did precisely this. In recalling the history of the party's development, it changed some presentations of historical questions commonly used in the past and made new historical generalizations on some important questions.

1. The term "people's democratic dictatorship" was formally used again. The concept of the people's democratic dictatorship was a great creation by our party in the long-term struggle to find a form of political power for the Chinese revolution and it was also an important content of Mao Zedong Thought in integrating basic Marxist tenets with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. In the past, when we said that the people's democratic dictatorship was in essence the proletarian dictatorship, there were two meanings: one was that the system of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country was in essence the proletarian dictatorship and was in conformity with Marxist theory on the state and that any doubt about its nature was wrong. The other was that the state system of the proletarian dictatorship had taken the concrete form of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country and this was a kind of the proletarian dictatorship of the Chinese pattern. Therefore, these two concepts were used simultaneously before the "Cultural Revolution." During the 10 years of chaos, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk abandoned the term of "people's democratic dictatorship." This historical setback has helped us by negative example to further clarify that the term "people's democratic dictatorship" is a scientific term suited to our country's conditions because the expression itself already clearly and correctly includes the two aspects of the people's democracy and the people's dictatorship. It helps us understand correctly the nature and function of our country's political power and is conducive for us to guard against any distortion or one-sidedness in practical work.

2. It clarified that the period from the inception of the PRC to the basic completion of the socialist transformation was a period of "transition from new democracy to socialism." Although this way of presentation was basically the same as that of the past—"the time from the founding of the PRC to the basic completion of the socialist transformation is a transitional period"—it expressed more clearly the characteristics of this historical stage. The past presentation only indicated "a transitional period" without mentioning a transition from what conditions to what conditions. Marx and Lenin looked upon the stage after seizing political power as "the transitional period from capitalism to socialism." However, our country did not undergo a complete capitalist stage. It developed capitalism only under semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and the revolution it carried out was a new democratic revolution. Only after it had won victory did it carry out the socialist revolution. The "resolution" generalized this stage as "the transition from new democracy to socialism" and it reflected more precisely the characteristics of our country's historical development.

Of course, admitting that there was a period of new democracy after the founding of new China does not imply that new democracy was an independent social form. Nor does it imply that socialist revolution could not be carried out during this period. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: This is a form resulting from the historical characteristics of the Chinese society and "this form suits a certain historical period and is therefore transitional." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 636) Taken as a whole, new democracy is not socialism but its politics, economy and culture "all contain an element of socialism, and by no means a mere casual element but one with a decisive role." (Ibid., p 665) In his report "On the Process in Formulating the 'Draft Resolution of the Common

Program of the CPPCC' and Its Characteristics" given shortly before the founding of the PRC, Comrade Zhou Enlai said that new democracy was a transitional stage. As a matter of fact, after the general line for the transitional period was put forth in 1952, the tasks of the socialist revolution were carried out in an all-round way and the principal internal contradiction became the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Therefore, the idea of completely separating new democracy from socialism is wrong. Besides, admitting that this stage is a transitional period from new democracy to socialism is not contradictory to calling new China a socialist country. As pointed out by Lenin, on the one hand, this implied our "determination to achieve the transition to socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 310) And on the other hand, it was "because we had taken this road, and our words would not be merely empty ones." (Ibid., Vol 26, p 436) When we say that in the transitional period our country was a socialist country, we mean its essence and orientation of development as well as the socialist economic components which played important roles. When we say that in this period our country was a new democratic country we mean certain characteristics of its form of political power and the existence of five kinds of economic components. This is the result of stressing different aspects from different angles and there is no fundamental difference in nature.

3. It clarified the principal contradiction to be resolved by socialism. The "resolution" said: "After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production." This statement had absorbed the fruit of the resolution made at the 8th CCP's national congress and was in line with Stalin's generalization of the socialist basic economic laws. The socialist basic economic laws are actually the principal contradiction to be resolved by the socialist society. The reason is that after the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, the principal task of the party and the state is to concentrate its strength to develop the social productive forces and to meet people's material and cultural needs. No matter whether we are talking about basic economic laws or the principal contradiction, what we want to generalize is the same. Only the way of expression is different.

There are two evident advantages in the "resolution's" way of expression. First, it has straightforwardly revealed the fundamental motive force which promotes the development of the productive forces in socialist society. Viewed from historical materialism, man's first historical activity was to make production satisfy the needs of subsistence. The history of man's society, in essence, was a history of continuously satisfying his own needs. However, in the class society, this was alienated and the needs of a portion of the people were sacrificed for the needs of another portion of the people. In the socialist society, with the elimination of the exploiting classes, the contradiction between production and needs appears in more direct form and pushes the socialist society forward. Productive forces are actually man's capability in conquering nature and meeting his needs. Therefore, the principal contradiction as stated in the "resolution" directly reveals the motive force for developing the socialist productive forces. Second, it has explicitly explained the purpose of socialist production. Societies

of a different nature have different purposes of production. A capitalist's purpose of production is to squeeze to the greatest extent surplus value from the workers. In the socialist society, since the system of exploitation has been destroyed and laborers have become the masters in production, the purpose of production is no longer to meet the needs of a small minority of exploiters but to meet the needs of the broad masses of laborers, thus meeting the needs of the whole society. The statement in the "resolution" has explicitly expressed the purpose and urgency of developing production. This is conducive to overcoming various kinds of erroneous understandings about the purpose of socialist production that have occurred in practical work and to raise our consciousness of the strategic shift of the focus of the work of the party and the state.

The attitude adopted by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" in summing up the experience since the founding of the PRC is extremely solemn. It has not glossed over any major problems. It is impossible for a political party of any other class in the world to do the same. It fully shows that our party is worthy of being a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and a party which serves the people wholeheartedly. In studying the "resolution," we should fully understand this dauntless spirit of our party in strictly dissecting itself and seek unanimity of understanding of historical questions based on the spirit of the "resolution." We should no longer be confused by minor matters. The whole party should answer the call of the "resolution," unite closely together, continue to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains and strive to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist country.

CSO: 4004/127

SOCIALISM IS ADVANCING AMID PRACTICE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 pp 40-48

[Article by Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037]]

[Text] A new chapter in our country's history started with the founding of the PRC. Over the past 30 years and more, the hundreds of millions of our people have rapidly cleaned up the filth and mire left over from the old society, established a new socialist system, and promoted and worked to achieve the greatest social progress in our country's history. The central force which points out the orientation of this course of history and which exercises leadership over this historical progress is the Chinese Communist Party.

For 28 years our party had led the people to wage extremely arduous struggles and to gain victory in the new democratic revolution. The inevitable trend subsequent to this victory was a move toward practicing socialism. To practice socialism in a country such as ours, in which lived nearly a quarter of the world's population and whose economy and culture were backward, was undoubtedly a very arduous and complicated cause. The CCP had to be guided by Marxism-Leninism, to exert efforts to get to understand the laws governing socialist revolution and construction under the conditions prevailing in our country, and to explore ways of advancing through practice. In the course of such endeavors, it was difficult to avoid mistakes of one kind or another, including very serious mistakes. However, the basic actual results were that our party succeeded in leading the people to exploit the political and economic conditions created by the new democratic revolution and thus to bring about the transition from new democracy to socialism in a step-by-step manner; our party accomplished, both in the field of theoretical buildup and in practice, the arduous task of instituting the socialist system in our country; and moreover, it has explored, step by step, a correct path of socialist modernization construction that is compatible with our national condition. It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC": "The history of the CCP subsequent to the founding of the PRC can be summed up as follows: Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our party has led the people of all nationalities in our country to wage socialist revolution and carry out socialist construction, and has achieved enormous success." This conclusion is scientific and conforms with reality.

With the accomplishment of the new democratic revolution, the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratism was overthrown, and our new state regime embodying the people's democratic dictatorship was established. The working class, which exercised firm control over leadership during the new democratic revolution, naturally took a leading position in the newly established regime. The working class ascended to become the ruling class and its political party, the CCP, became the ruling party. Other classes and social strata which took part in the new democratic revolution, including laboring classes and nonlaboring classes, also joined the new regime to help manage state affairs. Thus, a state regime was formed which embodied the people's democratic dictatorship, which was led by the working class, which was based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which united the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The broad masses of people became the masters of our country and society.

When our party was establishing the people's democratic dictatorship, it clearly pointed out that the historical tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship included not only the accomplishment of the new democratic revolution (including confiscating bureaucrat capital, carrying out land reform, and so on), the suppression of resistance of reactionary classes and counterrevolutionary elements, the defense of our country from subversion and possible aggression by foreign enemies, and the safeguarding of the fruits of revolution, but also the provision of guidance and education for the people with regard to taking the socialist road and eliminating the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes, so that finally communism might be achieved. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Achieve socialism and communism through the People's Republic, abolish classes and enter a world of great harmony." After the founding of new China, with the launching of socialist transformation, the people's democratic dictatorship began to embody a socialist state regime, that is, a state regime marked by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That the dictatorship of the proletariat should take the form of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country is a scientific conclusion drawn by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong by creatively employing the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the light of our country's actual situation. In our country, because the working class constitutes a minority of our total population, it will be unable to undertake the historical mission of building socialism without establishing a firm alliance with the vast numbers of peasants. In our country, during the period of socialist revolution, on one hand the national bourgeoisie earn profits by exploiting the working class, and on the other hand, they support our constitution and are willing to accept socialist transformation. Their contradictions vis-a-vis the working class belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Proceeding from our country's actual situation, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong held that under the condition that the exercise of leadership over state power by the working class and its party is insured, and under the condition that state power will surely be used to implement the policies of the working class and to fulfill the mission of the socialist society, our country's dictatorship by the proletariat can and should allow a wide range of classes and social strata, including the national bourgeoisie, to

participate in exercising political power, and we should take only a very small minority of enemies who oppose socialist revolution and disrupt socialist construction as the object of our dictatorship. Practice has proved that by taking the form of the people's democratic dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been extremely successful in our country. The people's democratic dictatorship enables our state regime, which embodies dictatorship by the proletariat, to be backed by the broad masses, to unite all forces that can be united, to isolate counterrevolutionary forces and consequently to reduce the obstacles to socialist revolution and construction, and to insure the smooth development of the socialist cause.

Our party has led the people of all nationalities in our country to make unremitting efforts to perfect and consolidate our state regime, which embodies the people's democratic dictatorship. We have established people's congresses at various levels over the whole country, so that people can exercise their right to manage state affairs through the representatives they elect. In regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities, national regional autonomy has been practiced and large numbers of cadres of minority nationalities have been trained to manage their own affairs. According to stipulations of the law, the state public security, procuratorial and judicial organs take strong measures against sabotage by any criminal activities of counterrevolutionaries and criminals, defend the socialist system, and safeguard the people's basic rights from being infringed. The PLA has developed and become stronger. The navy, air force and other service arms have been established. They have defeated armed provocations by foreign aggressive forces on many occasions and have safeguarded the security and independence of our country. Because of the institution and consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, the features of our country and society has undergone drastic changes that are obvious to all.

There have been mistakes in the implementation of, and setbacks in the development of, the people's democratic dictatorship, which is a new socialist political system. The lessons of such experiences have basically been summed up in the "resolution."

To correctly persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and dictatorship over our enemies, we must scientifically assess the contradictions and class relations in our society. Shortly before the founding of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote such works as "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and so on, which showed that our party accurately and thoroughly understood the new contradictions and tasks it would face after the victory of revolution on a nationwide scale. Thus, the healthy development of the people's democratic dictatorship over a number of years after its institution was assured. Not only was the people's democratic dictatorship carried forward, but effective dictatorship over the enemies was carried out. After the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had basically been accomplished, in 1956, in the light of the new situation, the eighth national party congress put forth the well-known correct analyses and stipulations on the tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship and matters concerning the contradictions in our society. In his work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," which he

wrote in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we must correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and we must correctly handle all contradictions. However, Comrade Mao Zedong later exaggerated the gravity of the genuinely existing class struggle, and put forward the erroneous slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link," which later developed into the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Consequently, we ourselves were confused with the enemies in many situations, class struggle was extended, and finally the protracted, serious mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," which affected the overall situation, was committed. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, the people's fierce enemies, taking advantage of our leftist mistakes and the power they had usurped, flaunted the banner of "overall dictatorship," vigorously practiced feudal fascism, deliberately trampled on the people's democracy, frantically persecuted cadres of all nationalities, the masses and people of all circles, and seriously disrupted the people's democratic dictatorship.

The occurrence of such a distressing situation and the failure to promptly put an end to it were closely related to the imperfection of our country's socialist political system. The feudal society lasted for a very long time in our country's history. Our country is economically and culturally backward. Feudal autocracy is very deep-rooted; its pernicious influence on ideology and politics cannot be eliminated overnight. Circumstances of protracted, cruel and intense warfare had turned our party leadership system into one marked by a high degree of centralization of power. (This was necessary during wartime.) After achieving nationwide victory, this system did not undergo changes necessary according to the changes in circumstances. The working class had been in control of state power for a short time, had not accumulated sufficient experience to become mature, and had been unable to insure democracy in our country's political and social life by means of systems and laws. Under the constraint of such social and historical conditions, our socialist political system naturally could hardly be perfect. To enable the people to acquire real, adequate and effective power of managing state, economic and social affairs, we must continue in our practice to improve and formulate various categories of regulations and systems, and this will take a considerably long period.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has summed up the historical experiences on the people's democratic dictatorship, and has been creatively performing a great deal of arduous work in construction and reform. Our party has reaffirmed the basic fact that exploiting classes as such have died out, but class struggle still exists within certain limits. Our party has emphasized that we must do a good job of integrating democracy for the people with dictatorship over the enemy and of integrating democracy with centralization. Based on the correct analysis of the objective situation, and according to the basic principles of the people's democratic dictatorship, our party and state have been vigorously improving our leadership system and cadre system, developing socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, safeguarding the people's democratic rights, and cracking down on sabotage by class enemies. Our state power, embodying the people's democratic dictatorship, is advancing at full speed along the correct course.

II

The triumph of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal new democratic revolution and the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship signalled the end of the semifeudal, semicolonial society in our country, and signalled our country's transition from new democracy to socialism.

Right after the founding of new China, there were three basic economic sectors. The first was the state sector, which developed on the basis of confiscating bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises, which were in control of the lifeline of the national economy and which dominated the entire economy. The second comprised the individual economy, whose elements were peasants and handicraft workers. In the rural areas, the individual economy of the peasants was overwhelmingly predominant. The third was the private capitalist economy, which accounted for a considerable share of industrial production and circulation of commodities. In 1952, these three economic sectors were respectively responsible for 19.1 percent, 71.8 percent and 6.9 percent of the national income. Although the individual economy accounted for the largest proportion of the national income, it was at the crossroads, because it could be attached to and transformed into either the socialist economy or the capitalist economy. Therefore, at that time, the principal contradictions in our country were between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the basic way to resolve these contradictions was to rely on the leading political and economic position of the working class, to adopt many forms of transition and the method of advancing step by step, to transform the individual economy through the cooperative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts, to peacefully transform the capitalist economy through state capitalism, and to enable our country to develop from new democracy to socialism.

The individual peasant economy developed rather quickly after the abolition of feudal land ownership. However, the individual economy could not easily adopt agricultural machinery or other new technology, could not resist natural disasters or achieve sustained expanded reproduction, and was incompatible with the needs of the vast numbers of peasants for continual improvements in livelihood and with the requirement for industrialization set by the state. Peasants who were poor or not well off were enthusiastic about taking the socialist road because they wanted to improve their livelihood and avoid being exploited again. The rapid development of socialist industries and the continually increasing aid from the state to the peasant economy constituted an important material prerequisite and motivation for leading the peasants to take the road of collectivization. Under this condition, according to the principles of voluntary action, mutual benefit, demonstration by models and state assistance, our party led the peasants to establish on a wide scale producers' mutual aid organizations, which embodied rudimentary features of socialism. Such organizations later developed into semisocialist elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives characterized by the contribution of land as shares that earned dividends and by centralized operations. Such cooperatives further developed into fully socialist advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives characterized by collective ownership of principal means of production such as land. This path, opened by our party, of

*Don't think so
small why not
back in
only 50s*

carrying out socialist transformation step by step enabled the peasants to gradually enhance their socialist consciousness through their own experiences and enabled them to gradually get accustomed to collective production, and therefore helped avoid losses brought about by sudden changes, such as a decline in production and so on. This proved to be a tremendous success unprecedented in the global history of socialism.

During the initial postliberation period, private capitalist industry and commerce achieved a definite growth and played a positive role in the recovery and development of the entire economy. However, because they inherently aimed to make profits, the conflicts of interests between the capitalists on one hand and the workers of private industrial and commercial enterprises and the whole nation on the other hand became increasingly prominent. Private capitalist industry and commerce were also incompatible with the planned development of the national economy. To transform the capitalist system of private ownership was an inevitable requirement for social progress. The peaceful transformation of the capitalist system of private ownership was possible in view of our national conditions, because our working class was strong politically and economically and the bourgeoisie were willing to accept socialist transformation. Immediately after the liberation of the whole country, our party and government took firm and forceful measures to centralize the management of fiscal and economic affairs, to stabilize prices, and to establish the leading role of the state-owned economy in the realm of circulation.

From 1953 on, our state began to monopolize the purchase and marketing of grain, cotton, cotton fabric, and so on, thus severing the link between urban capitalism and the countryside. Because the state-owned economy was in control of major industrial raw materials, wholesale business and products markets, the capitalist economy was forced to depend on the state-owned economy and to accept state capitalism in its lower forms, such as undertaking processing work at the instruction of the state, ordering goods according to state plans, subjecting purchases and marketing to state monopoly, selling on behalf of the state, and so on. In the realm of production, mainly because the enthusiasm of the working masses ran high, the state enterprises far surpassed private enterprises in raising labor productivity, lowering production costs, improving product quality, and so on. In its competition with the state-owned economy, the private enterprises were in an inferior position in production and operations, so that it was difficult for them to continue to exist. This situation did not change noticeably even after they had accepted the lower forms of state capitalism, such as processing goods on behalf of the state, ordering goods according to state plans, and so on. Therefore, they were forced to accept higher forms of state capitalism, such as joint state-private ownership or the subjecting of entire industries to such ownership. Marx' and Lenin's tentative idea of buying out the bourgeoisie after the seizure of political power by the proletariat was realized through various forms of state capitalism pioneered by our party.

The basic accomplishment of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of socialist public ownership constitute the most profound leap in our country's historical development, a leap of fundamental and long-term significance. First, the abolition of systems of

80 1. 16

exploitation and the elimination of exploiting classes led to the disappearance of antagonistic contradictions and conflicts among members of society. The means of production were no longer a means for a minority of exploiters to fatten themselves on the sweat and toil of the working masses; the working people became the owners of the means of production; and labor was performed to enable all workers, including the individual, to enjoy ever-increasing material and spiritual wealth. These changes gave rise to good conditions for bringing the workers' enthusiasm, initiative and creativity into play. Second, thanks to the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production, the contradiction between the trend, inherent in capitalist society, toward the indefinite expansion of production on the one hand, and the relative small amount of consumption by the masses of people on the other hand, was eliminated; cyclical economic crises, unavoidable in capitalist societies, were radically eliminated; and extensive fields of activity were opened up to make possible the sustained development of production. Third, the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production put an end to the anarchy in production that had prevailed under conditions of capitalist private ownership. Consequently, the state could guide the entire national economy in a planned way, and also consciously readjust the proportional relations between various national economic sectors or between various links of social production. It became possible to proceed from overall, long-term interests to rationally utilize various natural resources and means of labor. It became possible to allocate and concentrate necessary financial and material resources on a nationwide scale to carry out those undertakings we had to assign priority. To sum up, the establishment of the socialist economic system enabled us to master extensive possibilities and enabled social production to develop rapidly, steadily and in a coordinated way.

It was impossible to reach the goal of exploiting all favorable conditions created by the socialist economic system at one step. In a given period of time, the extent to which we could turn possibility into reality was subject to the influence and constraint of many factors. One very important factor was whether people correctly understood the laws of development of socialist society, and whether people followed socialist principles and proceeded from our country's actual situation in establishing various specific systems, principles and policies. The resolution of these questions could not be divorced from practice. Only continued practice could enable our understanding to develop from not being comprehensive to being relatively comprehensive, and enable our systems to develop from being imperfect to being relatively perfect.

In the process of transforming old production relations and establishing new socialist production relations, our country's productive forces not only remained undisrupted but even developed. This situation gave rise to an erroneous view that if we continued to transform production relations, we could continually push the productive forces forward. During the last 1 or 2 years of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, our work was already overly impatient and crude, and it was highly necessary for the newly established production relations to undergo a process of perfection and consolidation. However, we persistently went after "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership," impatiently effected the transition from small collectives to large collectives and then to the state-owned economy, and repeatedly

took measures to restrict or even forcibly put an end to the urban and rural individual economy, which we regarded as a "capitalist tail," but which should have been allowed to exist. Thus, the transformation of production relations was divorced from the level of development of the productive forces. In dealing with socialist industrial, agricultural and commercial enterprises, we should have perfected systems and methods of distribution according to work done in the light of different circumstances. However, we criticized distribution according to work done as a "bourgeois right" and attempted to institute the "system of payment in kind," so that egalitarian practices, based on the understanding that rewards were independent of the quality or quantity of work done, developed on a considerably extensive scale. In planning for and managing the entire national economy, our systems were marked by overconcentration of power, excessive and overly rigid centralization, denial of the requisite independence of enterprise activity, abuse of state power to make direct decisions and exercise administrative intervention, and neglect in applying the law of value and the market mechanism. All this dampened the enthusiasm of workers and production units, deprived the economy of vitality and flexibility, and hindered the bringing of the superiority of the socialist economic system into play. Such erroneous views and practices were sometimes corrected to greater or lesser extents, and they sometimes recurred. The harmfulness of some erroneous views and practices remained undetected for many years, and they were not corrected as they should have been.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, by realistically summing up practical experiences, we have cleared up past ideological and theoretical misunderstandings, and have adopted a series of effective measures in matters of principles, policies and systems to readjust and perfect socialist production relations. Our party has declared that a great variety of economic sectors and economic forms are allowed to coexist under the condition that the socialist publicly owned economy is overwhelmingly predominant. In dealing with the countryside, we respect and safeguard the decisionmaking powers of production teams. We have introduced various systems of job responsibility with rewards linked to output, expanded the commune members' private plots, and developed family sideline occupations and country fair trade. In dealing with urban areas, we have conducted experiments on expanding the enterprises' decisionmaking powers, and have thus enabled the enterprises to exercise some power in planning, making arrangements, marketing products, distributing profits, using funds and so on, and have thus established a relatively close relationship between how the workers perform their work and their economic benefits; and we have developed some collectively owned enterprises which are formed voluntarily and which assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses, and we have also restored and developed a number of individually run production units in various trades such as handicrafts, retailing, catering, service and repair. In practicing the planned economy, we have also begun to pay attention to the role of regulation by market mechanism, vigorously integrated the requisite administrative means with various economic methods, and preliminarily reformed the management systems related to fiscal matters and loans, capital construction, circulation of commodities and foreign trade. Our principles, policies and measures of reform have markedly promoted the development of production. We must conscientiously study the new circumstances and new problems emerging in the course of implementing our

need not be low-level

principles, policies and measures of reform. [We must continue to sum up practical experiences, perfect the specific forms of those production relations that are compatible with the requirements of the development of the productive forces, perfect management systems governed by such production relations, and bring the superiority of the socialist economic system into play to an ever-increasing extent.]

III

[The basic aim of reforming the old superstructure and production relations and establishing the socialist political system and economic system is to develop the social productive forces and to improve the people's material and cultural life.] Since liberation, led by the party, the people of all nationalities in our country have carried out magnificent socialist construction and achieved great successes never achieved in old China for thousands of years.

In old China, the economy was very backward and the people lived a life of extreme poverty. Although China had traditionally been known as a major agricultural country, for long periods of time its agricultural production remained at a medieval level. Natural disasters were frequent. People's minimal basic needs for food and clothing could not be satisfied. Modern industry, communications and transportation accounted for a very small percentage of the entire national economy. Compared with the advanced world standards at that time, China's technological standard was very low. Moreover, the industrial composition and regional distribution of industry were to a serious extent stamped with the brand of a colonial economy. Before liberation, the highest annual output figures of various products were: grain, merely 150 million tons; cotton, 850,000 tons; steel, merely 923,000 tons; coal, 62 million tons; electricity, 6 billion kilowatt-hours; and cotton yarn, 450,000 tons. The already extremely backward economy was seriously devastated by many years of wars started by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The decreases in the output of major products in 1949, compared with the highest preliberation levels, were: grain, 24 percent; cotton, 48 percent; steel, 83 percent; coal, 48 percent; electricity, 28 percent; and cotton yarn, 26 percent. Such was the shambles handed down to us from old China. After more than 30 years of construction, our country has developed from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agricultural country of a considerable standard, independent and relatively complete industrial and national economic systems have been established, and the people's living standard has generally been raised.

The conditions for agricultural production in our country have markedly changed because of the labor and accumulation of the vast numbers of peasants and also the strong support of industry. Some 460 million mu of low-lying land, land liable to waterlogging, saline-alkali land and sloping land have been treated and transformed. The area of irrigated farmland has increased by 370 million mu. Flooding along major rivers has been preliminarily brought under control. Before liberation, there was almost no agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizer or electricity. By 1980, we had 745,000 large or medium-sized tractors, our irrigation and drainage power-driven machinery totaled 74.65 million horsepower, the amount of chemical fertilizers applied totaled 12.69 million tons, and the amount

of electricity consumed was 32.1 billion kilowatt-hours. In our country, a relatively comprehensive variety of industries, which embodies an increasingly more rational geographical distribution, has been established. Traditional industrial sectors, such as light industry, textile, metallurgy, coal mining, electricity and so on, have greatly developed. Certain industrial sectors, such as automobile making, shipbuilding, aircraft manufacturing, petrochemical industry, electronics industry and so on, have grown out of nothing. While production in coastal regions has grown, industry in inland regions and regions inhabited by minority nationalities has developed even more quickly. The proportion of the value of the industrial output of inland regions in the value of national industrial output has grown from less than one-fourth in 1949 to one-third. Considering our country's communications and transportation, not only have there been great increases in the mileage covered by various means of transport by rail, by road, by water or by air, but there has been a change in distribution--an extension to inland and border areas. The framework of a railroad network, a highway network and an air transportation network, extending over the whole country, has been formed. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, except Xizang, are traversed by railroads. All except 2 of the 2,000 or more counties in our country are accessible by road. Civil aviation routes link some 80 large and medium-sized cities. At present, compared with the initial postliberation period, the output of principal industrial and agricultural products, the volume of goods transported by rail or by road, the total quantity of social commodities purchased and sold through retail outlets, and the total volume of import and export trade, have increased by several times, or by over a dozen times, or even by scores of times. Technological standards of production in various trades and industries have been raised. Achievements in nuclear technology and in technology related to artificial earth satellites and carrier rockets illustrate our progress in science and technology. With the development of our economy, the national average consumption by the people has increased from 76 yuan per capita in 1952 to 224 yuan per capita in 1980, and if price rises are taken into consideration, the increase still reaches nearly 100 percent.

The successes in new China's economic construction are naturally unparalleled by those of old China. Moreover, they are very prominent if viewed in the global context.

First, the rate of our country's economic development is higher than the rates in the majority of foreign countries. If the index of agricultural production is taken as 100 for 1952, then, in 1979, the index registered 249 in our country, 166 in the United States, 184 in Britain, 200 in France and 164 in Japan. If the index of industrial production is also taken as 100 for 1952, then, in 1979, it registered 1,734 in our country, 290 in the United States, 202 in Britain, 385 in France and 1,622 in Japan. The average per capita area of farmland in our country is much smaller than the world average, and in absolute figures our total area of farmland is only the fourth largest in the world. However, our country's grain output (318.22 million tons) is the second highest in the world, and our output of cotton (2.71 million tons) is the third highest. Our country's output of industrial products was originally very low, but now the output figures for some products are among the highest in the world. The positions in the world of various products are: cotton yarn (output: 2.93 million tons), 1st; raw coal

(output: 620 million tons), 3d; steel (output: 37.12 million tons), 5th; electricity generation (output: 300.6 billion kilowatt-hours), 7th; and crude oil (output: 105.95 million tons), 9th.

Second, although our country's economic and technological standards lag behind those of economically developed countries, compared with the majority of developing countries, our country has acquired a relatively good material and technological foundation. According to analyses by some foreign economists, the proportion of industrial output in our GNP is nearly 100 percent higher than the average figures for low-income countries in the world, and nearly 25 percent higher than that for countries in the middle-income range. Because a relatively complete industrial system has been established in our country, the variety of machinery and equipment produced by our country is considerable, and our degree of reliance on imports is low. In these respects, our country has surpassed the majority of developing countries.

Third, it should be particularly pointed out that although our per capita national income is still at a very low level on the global scale, the livelihood of the people in our country is better than in other low-income countries of the same order, and is even better in certain respects than in countries in the middle-income range. In many developing countries, economic growth divides society into two opposing extremes. In our country, in distributing consumption funds among various social groups or various individuals, necessary differentials are maintained, but excessive differences are avoided. The satisfaction of the basic daily needs of our population of nearly 1 billion, such as food and clothing, is insured. The overwhelming majority of children of school age can receive basic education. Nearly all people who are able to work have their own jobs. Basic medical care is provided to urban and rural residents. The proportion of secondary and primary school pupils in the total number of youngsters who should attend schools is approximately 100 percent higher in our country than the average figure for low-income countries, and substantially higher than the average figure for countries in the middle-income range. The death rate in our country has dropped from 18 per 1,000 shortly after liberation to 6.2 per 1,000 at present, much lower than the figures of 15 per 1,000 for low-income countries or 11 per 1,000 for middle-income countries. According to information from surveys conducted in some localities, the life expectancy of our country's population is about 68 years, that is, 18 years higher than that of low-income countries or 7 years higher than that of middle-income countries. The death rate and life expectancy are very important comprehensive indices which reflect a country's socioeconomic conditions and its people's living standard. In these respects we have obviously made great progress.

Over the past 30 years and more, our country has not taken a smooth path in its economic construction. During the first 8 years, the recovery and development of our economy was very fast. Later, we met with setbacks and took a tortuous path in the course of progress. The things which brought about gravely harmful effects on economic development included not only the political upheaval owing to the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the divorcement of our transformation of production relations from the level of the productive forces, but also mistakes of rash advance and mistakes of impatience for success in formulating guiding

principles for economic construction. The main content of such mistakes were: going after unrealistically high growth rates; setting overly high targets for production; carrying out construction on a scale surpassing the burden our country could shoulder in view of our resources, particularly in the case of heavy industrial construction; and also maintaining an overly high accumulation rate, which hampered the development of agriculture, light industry and scientific, educational and cultural undertakings and which adversely affected improvements in the people's material and cultural life. Leftist mistakes in the guiding principles for economic construction were prominently reflected in the 3 years of the "Great Leap Forward" starting in 1958, the overly extensive and impatient building of industries in inland regions after 1970, and the setting of overly ambitious development goals in 1978. These mistakes resulted in grave disproportions in the national economic relations, a highly irrational economic structure, and very poor economic results, so that we could not achieve the greater successes in economic development that we should have been able to achieve.

[The repeated occurrence of similar mistakes indicates in itself that it is owing to deep-rooted causes. We lack experience in socialist construction. We did not adequately understand our national conditions and the laws governing economic development. When we achieved some successes, we began to become hot-headed and to neglect scientific validation of our economic plans, policies and measures, and so on. All these things were important causes of our mistaken impatience for success. Moreover, we should not neglect the objective conditions for our country's economic construction when we analyze our mistakes. Although a superior socialist system has been established in our country, the level of our economic and technological development differs vastly from that of developed capitalist countries, so that we have always been in a constrained and passive position.] Hostile foreign forces have constituted a threat to us; domestically, the people have been living in poverty; and numerous problems urgently need to be solved. This is the soil in which germinate the seeds of impatient, rash thinking and practices. We were overly impatient for success in the past mainly because we wanted to rapidly change our situation of poverty and backwardness, to enable our country to become strong and prosperous as quickly as possible, and to bring about radical improvements in the people's livelihood. Consequently, we gave a great deal of consideration to the need or development, but little consideration to possibility. When our party discovered mistakes in practice, it always took resolute measures to correct them. In the winter of 1960, we put forward and implemented the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, replenishment and improvement," and corrected the mistakes of the "Great Leap Forward" in our practical work, so that our national economy was able to continue to develop. In the spring of 1979, our party resolved to implement the principle of "readjustment, reform, rectification and improvement." We have achieved marked success over the past 2 years and more.

The formulation and implementation of the eight-character principle of "readjustment, reform, rectification and improvement" were based on the systematic and in-depth summing up of the mistakes in our economic work since the founding of the PRC. Therefore, compared with the first readjustment, our current readjustment is of more profound and far-reaching significance, and it signifies a radical change in the guiding principles for our country's economic construction. We must

not only put an end to the disproportion in economic relations and insure the stability of the overall economic situation, but also proceed from our national conditions to bring about major changes in things concerning economic and social development such as strategic principles, strategic targets, economic models, modes of development, and so on, and to seek a new road that involves less investment and a lower accumulation rate, that brings about better benefits and also greater material benefits for the people.

Ours is a country with a population of nearly 1 billion. More than 80 percent of our population live in the countryside. Agriculture still basically relies on manual labor. The labor productivity and the proportion of products sold as commodities are very low. Our farmland is inadequate. Many natural resources have not been thoroughly explored, and the exploitation of many other natural resources will be difficult to accomplish in the near future. The scientific and educational standards of the whole nation are low. We lack the knowledge and experience necessary for running, managing and organizing a socialized economy. Therefore, our country's modernization construction will be a long-term, complicated and arduous endeavor. It is groundless to be pessimistic, to despair or to lack confidence in our country's modernization construction, but it is also unrealistic to expect quick success or miracles in the near future. We must establish strategic thinking and strategic principles with long-term construction in mind. We must have ambition, high aspirations and revolutionary vigor, but we must also work within our capability, proceed in an orderly way and step by step, and achieve the goals of modernization step by step and in stages.

At present, the fact that the living standard of the people in our country is low, that our science and technology are backward, and that social service undertakings are not well developed is basically because of the underdevelopment of our economy. However, because the people's living standard is low and funds are inadequate, it is impossible and inappropriate for us to emphasize the development of productive construction in a certain period, and to postpone the improvement of the people's livelihood or the development of various social undertakings related to the people's livelihood until our economy has reached a certain level of development. That is, we must not divorce ourselves from the development of production in striving for improvements in livelihood or planning for the development of social undertakings, but neither must we disregard the practical requirements of improving the people's livelihood and enhancing social development in planning for the orientation and scale of economic development. In determining development targets, we must give consideration to both productive construction and the people's livelihood, to both the development of our economy and the development of social undertakings, so that all these things can be closely integrated and can promote one another.

Our country has a large population and abundant labor resources. However, our large population leads to great consumption. Moreover, we lack funds and technological forces. In light of this situation, we must vigorously establish an industrial structure whose central feature is the production of increasing quantities of consumer goods and which embodies the coordinated development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. We must vigorously develop agriculture and light industry. We must readjust the service orientation of heavy

industry, so that heavy industry changes from excessively serving itself to more extensively and more satisfactorily serving agriculture, light industry and the people's livelihood. Proceeding from such considerations, for a considerable number of years to come, we must take the development of labor-intensive industries and products which save energy, materials and raw materials as our key task; we must establish a technological structure that appropriately integrates a small amount of advanced technology, a vast amount of intermediate technology and a considerable amount of manual operations; and we must not one-sidedly go after automation and mechanization, or go after those categories of advanced technology which involve huge consumption of funds, and in particular those categories which save labor.

Our country has established a substantial material foundation and has very great potential. However, our financial resources and capability to undertake construction are limited. In light of this situation, it will be possible and necessary for us to gradually change over to relying mainly on expanding reproduction by intension to achieve development in the future, instead of, as in the past, relying mainly on expanding reproduction by extension, investing huge sums to build many new factories and to increase production. Therefore, when we readjust the entire industrial structure, we must simultaneously reorganize the enterprises according to the principles of coordination among specialized enterprises and economic rationality, and we must rationalize the organizational structure of the enterprises. We must carry out in a planned way and step by step the renewal of equipment and technological transformation of the existing enterprises, and gradually raise the level of modernization of the enterprises. We must vigorously and steadily reform our economic systems, and fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the grassroots enterprises and the broad masses of workers under centralized planning. That is, we must change our industrial structure, reorganize the industrial enterprises, transform our backward technology and reform our economic systems.

After more than 30 years of construction, we have accumulated in the course of practice plentiful experience, both positive and negative, and we have discovered and have been taking a road of economic construction that is compatible with our national conditions. It can be anticipated that if we advance along this road unwaveringly, our future economic development will be more sound and fruitful.

Viewed from the long stream of historical development, a period of 30 years and more is just a twinkling. Our profound social changes and brilliant successes over such a short period of time, changes and successes which our party has led the people to achieve, will surely leave a glorious page in history and will surely be praised by people. Our party's mistakes, which have been or are being corrected, will surely be analyzed in the perspective of history and assessed fairly. Our current task is to base ourselves on the successes we have achieved, to keep firmly in mind the lessons which we should learn, and to continue to promote the progress of our cause of socialism. Numerous problems remain to be solved and various kinds of difficulties remain to be overcome. Our burden is heavy and the road is long. We must adhere to the four basic principles, maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit, and wage persistent and dauntless struggles. We will certainly be able to gradually build our great motherland into a modern socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 p 48

[Text] Owing to the fact that they were not calculated on the basis of constant prices, some of the statistical figures in the third paragraph on page 17 of issue No 12 of this year's RED FLAG should be corrected. In 1980, the increase in the total industrial and agricultural output value compared to that of 1949 should be 15.1 times, of which the increase in total industrial output value should be 45.2 times and the increase in total agricultural output value should be 2.8 times; the increase in national income compared to that of 1949 should be 7.8 times, and the per capita national income increase compared to that of 1949 should be 3.9 times. Moreover, in the fifth paragraph on the same page, the 1980 output of the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed, and rapeseed--should be 6.234 million tons, an increase compared to that of 1949 of 1.68 times. [This correction is made to the RED FLAG commentator's article entitled "We Are Forging Ahead Along the Great Socialist Road."]

CSO: 4004/127

A CLEAR LINE OF DEMARCATION MUST BE DRAWN ON THIS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 81 inside back cover

[Article by Xiang Hongye [0686 1347 2814]]

[Text] When we criticize the erroneous idea of "basing everything on money," some comrades ask the question: Since we are not allowed to base things on "money," is there still any need to talk about the socialist principle of material interests? In the view of these comrades, it seems that when we stress the principle of material interests, we should simultaneously pay equal attention to basing everything on "money," and when we criticize the idea of "basing everything on money," we should not stress any more the principle of material interests. In this way, they have confused working "for money" with the socialist principle of material interests. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between the socialist principle of material interests and "basing everything on money."

First, the socialist principle of material interests is an important law of the publicly owned economy and is determined by socialist production relations. It reflects the substantial characteristics of the socialist economic system and also an important basis for formulating the principles and policies of socialist production, distribution and consumption. But "basing everything on money" is carried out within the economic system of private ownership. It reflects the substantial characteristics of the capitalist system. In capitalist society, it serves as the "gospel" for capitalists. Capitalists do not run enterprises, set up banks and engage in business simply for the word "money." Their aim in doing all these is to seek the greatest amount of profit, earn more "money" and have their capital steadily increase. However, as for the vast majority of hired workers and laborers, the word "money" means slavery and exploitation. This is because they sell their labor as a commodity to capitalists; they barter their labor for money," which is in form of wages and does not equal their labor, and they use "money" as the means to pay for the means of livelihood. Thus it can be seen that the idea of "basing everything on money" has at all times not been an idea inherent in the minds of the working people and not an idea that benefits them. In socialist countries, the growth of this idea can only have a corrosive and destructive effect on the working masses and the socialist relations of production.

Second, different from the idea of "basing everything on money," the socialist principle of material interests refers to the position of socialist laborers ~

with regard to the products of their labor. Upholding this principle means upholding the unity of the interests of all the working people and the personal interests of each individual laborer, the unity of overall social interests and the individual interests of each enterprise, unit and department, and the unity of the immediate interests and the long-term interests of the laborers. This is because in a socialist country, owing to the public ownership of the means of production, the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are closely related. The interests of the state and the collective are the source and mainstay of the personal interests of each individual laborer. Only when the country is rich and powerful and the collective economy develops, can the personal interests of each individual laborer be improved and constantly raised along with the general improvement of the state and the collective. However, the personal interests of each individual laborer is the starting point and basis for the state and the collective to develop policy and implement it. That is to say, so long as consideration is given to both the interests of the state and the collective and of the individual, the socialist principle of material interests will be in effect. But the idea of "basing everything on money" leads people to a situation in which they only think of themselves without any thought of the collective and the state, only concentrate on a part and neglect the whole, and only think of their individual interests or of those of a small group to the detriment of state plans, policies, decrees, rules and regulations; thus, individuals infringe upon the interests of the state and the collective by appropriating the property of the state and the collective. If the interests of the state and the collective are infringed upon, will there be anything to talk about in the realm of the socialist principle of material interests?

Third, the socialist principle of material interests is in keeping with the socialist principle of distribution "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," while the idea of "basing everything on money" is antagonistic to this socialist principle of distribution. The socialist principle of distribution takes labor products supplied to society by laborers, that is, "from each according to his ability," as a prerequisite and requires that this labor act as the yardstick in the distribution of labor products. This is because if the laborers do not work in the manner of "from each according to his ability" for society, then society will be unable to provide the laborers with sufficient material products; at the same time, owing to the low level of productive forces in socialist society, the possession of material interests by the laborers, in the final analysis, is determined by the amount of labor they provide to society. But "basing everything on money" first does not lead people to setting their sights on increasing the wealth and property of the whole society, but instead leads individual laborers to seek only personal gain, to increase their share of the ever-increasing labor products, thus causing the phenomena of people setting their sights only on "money," using "money" as the criterion for evaluating everything, and working according to the amount of "money" they receive--"money" becomes the basis for everything. Second, it does not require people to observe the principle of distribution that takes labor as the yardstick; instead, it lures people into seeking personal gain by hook or by crook in order to get more with less labor or even reap without sowing. By using this idea in order to get more "money," some people use every possible trick, do shoddy work and use inferior materials, benefiting themselves at the expense of

others and seeking private gain at public expense. If this situation is allowed to develop at will, then the socialist principle of material interests will in fact cease to exist. Under the condition that there is no real increase in the total amount of social products, some people will possess excessive wealth and property and the others will inevitably receive no economic benefits. Therefore, we must uphold the socialist principle of material interests and never "base everything on money."

CSO: 4004/127

END

