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CHINA REPORT

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No. 24, 16 December 1982

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

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SOME QUESTIONS THAT MERIT OUR ATTENTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 2-7

[Article by Editorial Department]

[Text] At present, there are several important questions which merit the attention of all comrades of the party. If all party comrades have a unanimous understanding of these questions, they will be able to concentrate their energy and work with concerted efforts to push forward the entire cause of socialist modernization.

The First Question Is, What Is the Most Fundamental Task of the Whole Party at Present and in the Future?

Reviewing our development in work over the past few years, we should ask, where did we come from and where do we go from here? How far have we come since the smashing of the "gang of four"? In conclusion, we brought about a change in the chaotic situation. This was our first achievement. Second, we restored to order things which had been thrown into disorder in the past. This was our second achievement. So, where do we go from here? First, we should promote the national economy; second, we should promote the building of spiritual civilization. We have already scored two achievements, and we are now going to fulfill the other two targets. This is our strategic ideology and is a major affair of our country.

Promoting the national economy and the building of spiritual civilization are two inseparable targets of struggle which supplement the development of each other. We must struggle for the realization of these two targets. We must stress methods in order to struggle. We will not be able to fulfill our targets if we adopt wrong methods. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: In order to cross the river, we must solve the problem of using a boat or a bridge. In the light of this, we see that methods are of great importance. Similarly, the correct methods, the correct means and correct measures are all very important. However, we must not mix up targets and ends with methods and means. The methods and means are not an end but are the bridges or boats for realizing an end. For instance, our economic readjustment is not an end; and we must not treat readjustment as our end. We only carry out readjustment for the purpose of promoting the economy. We are making use of the method of "readjusting, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading," in order to promote our national economy. Our end is to promote the national economy. Another example is criticism and self-criticism, which is only

an important method but not our end. Our end is to strengthen party unity and enhance the party's combat effectiveness. In our actual life, many comrades usually regard methods and means as an end. This is a misconception, and we must always pay attention to it.

All our departments and all our work must struggle for realizing the two great goals of promoting the national economy and promoting the building of spiritual civilization. Now, it is necessary to remind all our party comrades of our two great goals and remind them to work closely around them. Everything must be subordinated to the two great goals, and everything must serve the two great goals. This is what we call working with concerted efforts and concentrating all energy to struggle for the building of the four modernizations. Otherwise, no matter what you do, it means promoting decentralism, routinism, and selfish departmentalism. Therefore, all work fronts and party committees at each level cannot forget our fundamental target or forget the fundamental interests of the party and the people. However, some of our comrades always forget this question. They only see partial and immediate matters and cannot realize the overall situation or have a more profound understanding of things. What is considered a relatively higher ideological level? The answer to that is always remembering our target of struggle.

The Second Question Is, What Is the Target That We Demand in Promoting the National Economy? And What Are the Major Demands?

It is impossible for us to suddenly promote the national economy. The national economy will not be promoted by leaps and bounds in a short period of time in the future, particularly in the coming 1 or 2 years or during the sixth 5-year plan period. There are a lot of factors, both subjective and objective, accounting for this. However, the objective factors are the principal ones. The CCP Central Committee is very determined to forbid the pursuit of high quotas and forbid forcing any areas or departments by assigning high production quotas. This point has been made very clear. However, at the same time, the whole party must also understand that the national economy must be developed at a certain speed in the future. In the words of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, we must have a practical speed which can be attained by means of hard efforts. This is a good remark of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's which explains the relationship between quantity and quality. On the one hand, there must be a demand for a certain quantity and on the other, there must also be strict demands for quality. Comrade Zhao Ziyang recently also made a good remark on stressing economic benefits. His remark bore the same significance as that of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. This clearly shows that the kind of speed which fails to fulfill demands of quality and does not take economic benefits into account is a sham speed. If the quality of the products is below average and the products cannot be sold, the more production, the worse the situation will be. This is what we call a sham speed. We made many such mistakes in the past and the lessons taught have been bitter. Nevertheless, we should also realize another aspect. There will not be any real economic benefits without a certain speed or without a certain quantity of production. If productivity is kept low and not much produce is on sale in the markets, how can one say that they bring about economic benefits when production is totally divorced from demand? As Marxists, we uphold the theory of integrating quality with quantity; we must not mechanically separate quantity from quality, and benefit from speed or set one against another.

What speed can we attain in developing the national economy in the next few years? As for agriculture, we are confident so long as we work in accordance with the present principles and proceed along the present path, the speed of development is very likely to exceed the average annual growth rate of 4 percent fixed during the sixth 5-year plan. For instance, there were 1,622 brigades in 1979 where the per capita income from collective distribution exceeded 300 yuan, and there were 5,569 similar brigades last year, an increase of 2.4 times above the 1979 figure. And the number of similar brigades is expected to increase this year. Many counties have doubled or increased by several times their agricultural output over the past 2 or 3 years. Many counties have doubled their production in a year, some doubled their production in 2 years, while others increased their production by more than 3 times in 2 or 3 years. In Shazhou County in Jiangsu Province, the total output of commune and brigade enterprises increased by 2.7 times in 3 years, and agricultural and sideline products also increased by more than 1.5 times. In Fengyang County in Anhui Province, grain production was so abundant that no one would steal the grain even if it was placed at the door outside the house. RENMIN RIBAO once carried a newsletter entitled "Laughter of People in the Home Village" in which touching scenes of increasing production and income in Feixi County in Anhui Province were vividly portrayed. The family of three mentioned in the newsletter had a total income of 1,500 yuan and the per capita income was 500 yuan. The head of the household humorously said: "I have anticipated the demand put forth by Chairman Hu." In Maduo County in Qinghai Province, the per capita income from collective distribution was above 460 yuan last year. In Haicheng County in Liaoning Province, the agricultural output was increased to 270 million yuan from 170 million yuan and the total output of commune and brigade enterprises to 220 million yuan from 120 million yuan; the average per capita income of the commune members was 300 yuan. So long as we do not make mistakes and implement the right policies, it is possible for the income of the peasants to be increased by 100, 200 or 300 percent in the coming few years. All of us must pay attention to this question: Agriculture is taking the lead at present and is in the ascendant. Agriculture must speed up development of both industry and commerce. We must not underestimate this question, otherwise we will be thrown into a passive situation.

Then, to what extent can industry grow? So long as we work hard, industry can grow at or above the rate of 5 percent, which is a practical and genuine 5 percent. Under the premise of guaranteeing quality and stressing economic benefits, a faster speed is advantageous while a lower speed is disadvantageous. If we maintain a very low speed and do not strive to attain a higher speed which can be attained by means of arduous efforts, we will cause five disadvantages. First, we cannot meet the people's demand, and in particular, the demands of the peasants. At present, the purchasing power of the people and particularly those in the rural areas has been largely increased. By the end of September, the savings of rural inhabitants amounted to more than 48 billion yuan, showing an increase of 12.5 billion yuan over the same period last year. Second, we cannot solve the financial problems. We can increase financial revenue only when production is increased. When the country's production is increased by 1 percent each year, financial revenue will be increased by 1 billion yuan and more. Third, it will be harmful to enhancing morale. Fourth, it will be harmful to improving the broad cadres' level of management and administration. Fifth, it will be harmful to the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Of course, we are taking an approach

toward speed and of seeking truth from facts. If a higher speed cannot be attained, we should not force ourselves to do so, for even if we force ourselves to do so, we might not be able to succeed. This is what we call "more haste, less speed." We must on the one hand seek truth from facts and on the other, go all out. Going all out means trying every possible means to tap potential. Each place should compare its present production with its best record, that of its neighbors, and that of foreign countries which possess similar conditions. The potential lies in the comparison of these three things. In Changzhou municipality in Jiangsu Province, the total population is 380,000 and the industrial output scored was 3.8 billion yuan. People there summed up their experience as four thousands: Trying thousands of ways, crossing thousands of crags and torrents, saying thousands of words and undergoing thousands of trials and tribulations. This is a good remark which illustrates the spirit of going all out and tapping potential.

The Third Question Is, What Is the High Degree of Socialist Spiritual Civilization That We Are Going To Build?

The building of socialist spiritual civilization, whether at the present stage or in a certain period of time in the future, demands that we work hard in the following four aspects:

First of all, our party must possess the best work style among all proletarian ruling parties throughout the world. Up until the 1950's our party could be said to be the one which possessed the best work style and had a good reputation because of its good work style. Our party is one which takes wholeheartedly serving the people as its sole aim, and upholds unity and observes strict discipline. It is vigorous and bold in struggling for the interests of the nation and its people and possesses the three great work styles of integrating theory with practice, working in close connection with the masses and unfolding criticism and self-criticism. Over the past few decades, our party has established a great prestige and image among the people. However, it is pitiable now that our present party work style has become corrupt due to sabotage during the 10 years of upheaval. So long as we restore our proper party work style, people throughout the country will learn from us. Thus, the entire social mood and appearance will change.

Second, people of all nationalities, at all levels and people belonging to different social groups throughout the country must have a high degree of unity and unanimity in ideology, politics and morality. We must maintain close national unity, unity between the army and the government, unity between the army and the people, unity between the workers and peasants, unity between cadres and masses, unity between the party and the masses and unity between party and non-party which will not be put to rout or broken up. There are a lot of nationalities in such a big country as ours; and some places fail to maintain a harmonious situation regarding relations between nationalities. This has been brought about by history and is a consequence of insufficient education. Our People's Republic has been formed as a result of revolutionary wars, and the army enjoyed great prestige among the masses. However, the army's prestige was infringed upon during the "Great Cultural Revolution," leading to misunderstandings between the army and the people. Hence, the reputation that the army enjoys now is not as

good as in the 1950's. Besides this, various problems also exist in the relations between the workers and peasants, the urban areas and rural areas, the cadres and the masses, party and nonparty and between various places. All these problems can only be solved by means of arduous efforts for a relatively long period of time. If relations between people of all nationalities, at all levels and those belonging to different social groups throughout the country are promoted, and if all people are closely related and mutually dependent and help each other, our country will surely be invincible and will not be defeated by any force or enemy. If we depart from the close unity between people of all nationalities, at all levels and those who belong to different social groups throughout the country, we will not be able to talk about a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization.

Third, our country must on the one hand possess a high degree of democracy and on the other, strict discipline and good social order. At present, our country's democratic life, our legal system and discipline are far from being perfect. We must incessantly improve them. Only by so doing, can stability and unity and a lively political situation be consolidated and developed to a greater extent.

Fourth, we must also have a rich and colorful cultural life, a beautiful environment and sanitation. We must not neglect making the environment green and beautifying it; neither must we neglect sanitation. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in the 1950's: We must change prevailing habits and customs and transform China. We should not hold afforestation as a minor affair; it is greatly related to the health of all people and the mental outlook of the whole Chinese nation. It is wrong to look down on these things or not do a good job of them.

In promoting the building of spiritual civilization, we must always grasp these four aspects and must start from the central organs. We must grasp them with both our hands, grasping material civilization on the one hand, and spiritual civilization on the other. Promoting the national economy means grasping material civilization. Analyzing the relationship between the two, the economy forms the basis for spiritual civilization. An effective economy lays a foundation for the building of spiritual civilization. When building of spiritual civilization forges ahead, the people will have a better mental outlook and will make greater efforts, which will in turn push forward the development of material civilization. Therefore, we must not separate material civilization from spiritual civilization. Many of our cadres are one-sided; those who are engaged in political and ideological work usually do not understand production, and those who are engaged in economic work are never concerned about spiritual civilization. In the future, no matter what kind of work we are doing, it is necessary to grasp spiritual civilization well.

The Fourth Question Is, What Is the Enhancement of Revolutionary Vigor That We Forcefully Advocate?

Enhancing revolutionary vigor has been put forth by the CCP Central Committee and was directed against certain comrades among our cadres who were lethargic. Advocating enhancement of revolutionary vigor now, we of course should not repeat the erroneous methods which were used in the past. In the past, it seemed that the mention of enhancing revolutionary vigor would mean telling lies and promoting

high production quotas, or giving false information, reporting only the good news and hiding all bad news. The enhancement of revolutionary vigor that we talk about today should be manifested mainly in studying the new situation, solving new problems, devising new methods and making a breakthrough. The situation varies every day and there are new problems every day. If we just work in accordance with the old regulations and conventions, we will not be able to devise new methods or make a breakthrough. To enhance revolutionary vigor, we must still do a better job in our studies. We must read books, including books on theory, history, science, technology, business management; however, we should not read behind closed doors. Although sometimes we must read some books behind closed doors, we should not indulge in it, because it is not of utmost importance. Primarily we must make arduous efforts, go deep into reality and have a thorough understanding of Marxism, modern science, modern technology and modern business management on the basis of integrating theory with practice. Comrade Mao Zedong was correct in calling on us to learn from actual practice. Although learning from actual practice is not the sole approach, it is certainly the principal one.

It is necessary to have a correct understanding of enhancing revolutionary vigor. We must carry out specific analyses when we judge whether a person is vigorous or not; we must not indiscriminately accuse people of being lethargic. Some comrades have become old and are not physically energetic enough for vigorous activities, although they are still mentally enthusiastic. Regarding these people, we should not say that they are lethargic; they are physically weak, as they are influenced by the law of nature. We must take good care of these comrades who have made contributions to the revolution; we must look after both their political treatment and their livelihood. The current problem is that we have not been treating retired comrades well but have been taking very good care of those at their posts. It seems that we have turned things upside down. We should do things in an opposite way: demanding that those at their posts do a good job of their work and taking good care of those who have retired from their posts. Things will not work out as desired if we reverse this relationship. Once at work, people should do a good job at their work until the day they cannot work. By then, they should retreat to the second front. Retreating to the second front means they will be taken good care of by the party organizations. Thus, we will be able to distinguish between right and wrong. This is a question that should be clearly explained.

Some comrades who made mistakes, including serious mistakes, in the past are lethargic because they shoulder heavy burdens. Regarding this, the idea of the CCP Central Committee is to deal leniently with those comrades who made mistakes or serious mistakes in the past and in particular with those who made relatively great contributions to the revolution after they had examined their mistakes to a certain extent. A great number of comrades made mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Both subjective factors and historical conditions accounted for the mistakes, but in a certain sense, the historical conditions are the major factors. Therefore, dealing with them leniently seems to comply with objective reality. Certainly, dealing with them leniently does not mean taking no action against these comrades or dealing with them too leniently. However, adopting the principle of leniency toward the comrades is conducive to bracing up those comrades who made numerous mistakes in the past. Adopting this policy means encouraging our entire party to work in accordance with dialectics, looking at

questions from a dialectic point of view and educating the cadres with dialectics. We must understand that mistakes, under certain conditions, can be transformed and similarly, so long as the comrades who made mistakes in the past conscientiously work and correct their mistakes, they can be transformed into good comrades. On the other hand, those comrades who are relatively correct may also be led astray or become hopeless under certain circumstances. Therefore, we must draw the attention of the comrades who did not make any mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution" to the fact that if they do not maintain vigilance, they may make mistakes. There have been numerous examples of people going from right to wrong because they thought they were always correct and were not heedful enough.

In some cases, some comrades who are energetic and are bold in thought and deed slack off after a certain period of time. What is the factor accounting for this? In order to get the answer, we must carry out specific analyses of these comrades. Perhaps, some of them slack off because they have been isolated and made fun of. In some places where unsavory trends are practiced, those comrades who are bold in airing their views and doing new things are usually isolated or attacked. There are really some people who like to nitpick other more active comrades and engage in finding trivial errors. Of course, minor problems should also be pointed out. However, minor problems should be solved simply; we should not make a fuss over them or complicate them. Therefore we should help those comrades who are good on the whole but have a few minor problems, under the premise of supporting them, and encourage them to make greater efforts and do a better job in their work. We must primarily support those who are bold in grasping work and working in accordance with the party's policies. Simultaneously, it is necessary to help them to overcome minor faults, and we must not attach primary significance to their minor faults. Otherwise, we are in fact infringing upon their morality and infringing upon the revolutionary vigor of the broad masses of cadres. We must pay attention to this point.

Some other comrades are lethargic because they have no confidence, or rather, do not have full confidence in the future. For instance, what is the root of the unsavory trends which exist among some party members and cadres? The root is that they are very calculating. Then why are they so calculating? It is because they think collective interest is unreliable. They do not believe that the state and the party have any prospects and think that they are unreliable. RENMIN RIBAO has carried an article "Political and Ideological Work Must Strengthen People's Confidence" which merits the attention of our comrades who are engaged in political and ideological work. Our propaganda and ideology must always strengthen people's confidence. How can a revolutionary make revolution if he lacks confidence? If we strengthen people's confidence by conducting more propaganda, fewer people will be so calculating; otherwise, there will be more people engaging in such activity. We do not mean that when we do a good job of propaganda, we will be able to prevent everybody from being calculating, but, at least, there will be fewer people engaging in such activity. We should also draw our attention to another problem. There is really a small number of people engaging in promoting severe individualism. They even hate socialism to the marrow of their bones. Although there is only a small number of such people, we cannot neglect them because they exist now and will continue to do so. It is heard that the "gang of four" is going to wreak vengeance; can they do it? The answer is no. However, there will be troublemakers.

We must criticize the troublemakers and must punish according to law those who have committed serious offenses. Our party organizations at all levels, masses' organizations at all levels, trade unions and CYL committees must strengthen ideological education on these questions. They must, in particular, promote education in the prospect of, and confidence in, revolution. We must help the masses and in particular, the youths, to enhance their awareness, enhance their pride of being a citizen of the PRC and strengthen their confidence in the bright prospects of the socialist motherland.

The Fifth Question Is, What Is the Marxist Mass Standpoint?

The mass standpoint is one of our party's fundamental stands and viewpoints. We have been repeatedly taught about this by Comrade Mao Zedong over the past several decades. After the "Great Cultural Revolution," many of our party comrades in fact only had a vague understanding of the mass standpoint and the mass line. The situation has gradually improved over the past few years. However, there is still a large number of party comrades who do not have a correct understanding of the mass viewpoint and who should be reeducated.

First of all, our party serves the purpose of seeking the interests of the people. Besides the people's interests, our party has no other interests. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: Our party takes wholeheartedly serving the people as its fundamental goal and we must wholeheartedly serve the people. Our party members and cadres absolutely cannot seek personal privileges by making use of their powers. Regarding this, many comrades have not maintained sharp vigilance, and the situation or party work style has not yet been improved in many places. We must repeatedly stress our party's fundamental goal. This goal is decided by the nature of our party as a proletarian pioneer force.

Second, we must always be concerned about the hardship of the people, hear the voice of the masses, consult with them and try our best to do good things for them. Although there have been improvements in this respect over the last few years, they are far from being sufficient. Simultaneously, we must pay attention to this phenomenon: when talking about adopting the mass standpoint and doing good things for the masses, many comrades demand money from the state. It seems that they can only manage things with financial support from the state; otherwise they can do nothing. Some cadres even represent certain backward ideas among the masses and "fleece" the state. Here we mean that in some factories, mines and enterprises and in the communes and brigades in the rural areas, a small number of basic level cadres grasp every opportunity to demand money from the state, flaunting the banner of representing the people's interests. This is an erroneous act which infringes upon the interests of the state and violates the overall viewpoint of taking the interests of the state, the collective and the individual into consideration, which is consistently advocated by our party. Regarding this question, we must carry out education and criticism within the party. We must point out that in doing this, these people are not representing the masses; that the broad masses never approve of this and that they are only representing the erroneous demands of a very small number of backward people among the broad masses. Currently, we must pay attention to this phenomenon. We must carry out education for the cadres, and in particular, the basic-level cadres in taking the interests of the state, the collective and the individual into consideration. Our

principle is to simultaneously take the interests of the three into consideration and not to violate the interests of the state and the collective by one-sidedly emphasizing the interest of the individual.

Third, there is another important viewpoint. Representing the interests of the masses, we are not only concerned about the masses' immediate interests but more importantly, we must also be concerned about the masses' long-term interests. Striving for development in production is where the masses' fundamental interest lies. Therefore, we can only gradually promote the masses' livelihood on the basis of developing production. We must not satisfy the masses' immediate interests by means of methods which infringe upon their long-term interests. In addition, we must arouse the enthusiasm of the masses to personally work for their well-being. We call this working for our well-being by ourselves. In saying this, although it does not mean that we can promote our well-being all by ourselves, we can run better and more welfare projects by mobilizing the masses to grasp them with the guidance and support of the state. Our party, trade unions and CYL committees should pay attention to this question. In short, regarding the question of the mass standpoint, we must have a correct and comprehensive Marxist viewpoint.

The Sixth Question Is, What Is the Principal Task of the Leading Organs?

Comrade Mao Zedong said when he was in Yanan that the leading organs had two great tasks to handle: the first one is to understand the situation and the other is to master the policies. He also said: We will have no right to speak if we do not carry out investigations; and if we do not understand the policies, we will not be able to make correct decisions on policies. Honestly speaking, our party has been suffering great losses over the past few decades because we have not had a thorough understanding of the situation. Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes himself in his late years because he did not understand the actual situation. This was a very important factor and was a matter of understanding. Comrade Mao Zedong was quite right in saying in "Strategy of China's Revolutionary War" that: "A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions; his correct decisions stem from his correct judgments; and his correct judgments stem from thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering over and piecing together various kinds of data gathered through reconnaissance." He used the word "reconnaissance" here because he was talking about war. Generally speaking, "reconnaissance" means investigations. Correct understanding stems from investigations and from pondering over and piecing together the data gathered through investigations. This is the most fundamental prerequisite for each level and each leading department to lead work.

Investigations have been relatively more popular over the past few years. However, speaking of the party as a whole, insufficient investigation is still a common problem. On the other hand, most of our investigations are unreliable because the data is usually passed from a lower level to a higher level. For instance, many statistical figures have been invented by the cadres at lower levels and were later reported to the higher levels which believed the figures without doubts. Because the data itself is inaccurate and unreliable, no correct judgments can be made based on it. Therefore, our method of work is to advocate repeated investigations, repeated inspections, independent thought and independent

judgment. In other words, it means we must do four things, namely, investigation, study, inspection and supervision. We must treat investigation, study, inspection and supervision as the principal tasks of our leaders at all levels and personnel of all leading organs. We must carry out investigations prior to giving orders.

The shape of China looks like a cock. All is bright when the cock crows. China was liberated and brightened up when the cock in China crowed for the first time. The cock in China crowed for the second time 32 years later, bringing about both merits and flaws. Now, the cock of China is going to crow for the third time for 20 years until the end of this century. The first crow lasted for 28 years, the second crow for 32 years and the third crow will be for another 20 years. In crowing the third time, the cock of China will bring about a strong socialist China, a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized China. Will the third crow resound through the skies? This has to be answered by the whole party, by our 20 million cadres, by our 39 million CCP members and 48 million CYL members, by the 100 million ranks of the working class and the 1 billion people of all nationalities. The Chinese Communist Party, which possesses glorious revolutionary traditions, and the Chinese people, our broad masses of party members and CYL members, workers, peasants and intellectuals are bold and hardworking. We will be able to shoulder the great task entrusted to us by history and will victoriously fulfill our goal.

CSO: 4004/17

CONSOLIDATE ACHIEVEMENTS, MAKE STEADY PROGRESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 8-10

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] In his report at the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang stated that we have made outstanding achievements in economic readjustment and our national economy has embarked on a path of steady growth. This is a major success.

Last December, when the CCP Central Committee made the important policy decision of carrying out further economic readjustment and achieving greater political stability, some people at home and abroad doubted whether this goal could be attained. Now, after 1 year's efforts, we can all see that our goal has been attained, and the overall political and economic situation is much better than anticipated. This is mainly manifested in: 1) the lively and vigorous political situation of stability and unity which has been further consolidated and developed. This is a prerequisite for ensuring smooth economic construction; 2) elimination within a very short period of time of serious financial deficits and achievement of a basic balance between state revenue and expenditure, and, on the whole, the goal of economic stability has been basically attained; 3) a most favorable situation whereby agriculture is taking the lead and is in the ascendant and a situation whereby agriculture is promoting industry and commerce; 4) readjustment, reorganization and certain reforms are developing in depth and width and the relationships between various components has become more and more harmonious. The successes we have scored have clearly proved that the policy decision of the CCP Central Committee is entirely correct. At the same time, they have also proved that our socialist system has tremendous superiority and that it can overcome any difficulty by utilizing its inherent strength. Without the socialist system, it would have been impossible for us to score these striking successes within such a short time.

In his report, Comrade Zhao Ziyang also stated: "Although we have scored striking successes in economic readjustment in the past year, it should be noted that the latent dangers in our national economy have not been completely eliminated. The basic balance between revenue and expenditure this year is not yet a stable one because it has been achieved mainly by curtailing financial outlays. Therefore, more arduous work is needed for a fairly long period to enable us to maintain basic financial and credit balances, increase the production of consumer goods to

keep pace with rising purchasing power and to keep prices essentially stable so that the economy can develop harmoniously and the financial and economic situation can take a fundamental turn for the better." This is a practical assessment based on facts. According to this assessment, we earnestly should still implement the policy of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading all our economic work.

Practice has shown that the tasks of economic readjustment and economic restructuring are much more arduous than we thought. For example, in readjustment, we have to further adjust the proportional relationships between industry and agriculture, between light and heavy industry, and between accumulation and consumption. We also have to adjust the structure of products, technology, enterprises and organizations and to adjust industrial composition and economic composition in order to rationalize the economic structure. Therefore, the contents of readjustment are much more extensive than we thought. In restructuring the economic system, including an overall restructuring of the forms of ownership, the forms of planning and management, the forms of operation and the distribution forms in agriculture, industry and finance, there are many theoretical and practical problems to study and solve. We lack experience in this respect and can only advance steadily. It should be noted that as far as economic structure is concerned, with the development of readjustment in depth and width, the characteristics of restructuring become more and more apparent and restructuring and readjustment will promote each other and finally merge. In 1979, we planned to complete the readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading of the national economy within 3 years. Now it seems that 5 more years or so are needed to fulfill this task.

Putting forth the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading resulted in a fundamental change in the guiding policy for our country's economic construction. This is a matter that affects the overall situation and concerns the state's long-term interests. We must raise our consciousness of this matter and adopt effective measures to eliminate all factors that cause instability, to consolidate our achievements and, on this basis, to strive for steady progress and the healthy development of the national economy. At present, we can clearly see the general development of our country's economic construction at the present stage and for the future. After making readjustments for the past 2 years and especially in the past year, the proportional relationships between industry and agriculture, between light and heavy industry, and between accumulation and consumption have been changing from serious disproportion to harmony, and the whole national economy has embarked on a path of steady development. Within the next 5 years or so, if we can properly further readjust the economic structure, and at the same time, gradually carry out an overall restructuring of the economic management system, it is certain that our national economy will embark on a new path suited to our country's national conditions, with a more appropriate speed, with better economic results and with more real benefits for the people. To advance steadily this way may seem slower, but in fact it is not. As long as we can really gain a firm foothold, accumulate strength and lay down a good foundation for the next stage, the "staying power" in the development of our country's national economy will be greater and greater. It can be anticipated that the speed of development in the Seventh 5-Year Plan will be higher than in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The speed of development in the 10 years that follow may

be even higher. By the last decade of this century, there will be a great opportunity for us to initiate a new period of vigorous economic development. By that time, we will proceed again from a new starting point and will certainly join the ranks of the more economically developed countries. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report has already shown us the bright prospects. We must have this lofty aspiration. We must have full faith, go all out, have a down-to-earth work style and advance steadily. We must establish a strategic approach to long-term construction and attain our magnificent goal step by step. In this, the theory of quick victory, pessimism and despondence have no place.

How should we carry out our economic work at present? Comrade Zhao Ziyang put forth 10 principles for economic construction in his report. The central idea running through these 10 principles is achieving better economic results and this is the crux if our national economy is to embark on a new path. Centering on this point, in agriculture, we must rely on correct policies and on science. We must adhere unwaveringly to the path of socialist collectivization and public ownership of land and other basic means of production and adhere unwaveringly to the system of production responsibility in a collective agricultural economy. This will not be changed for a long time to come. In industry, we must give prominence to the development of consumer goods industries and further adjust the service orientation of heavy industry so that the production of the two major categories--the production of the means of production and the production of the means of subsistence--can develop harmoniously. In the whole national economy, we must strengthen the energy industry and transportation so as to coordinate the mining industry with the processing industry. At the same time, we must carry out technical reforms step by step in key units and make maximum use of existing enterprises. In the economic system, we must actively and safely carry out all-round restructuring step by step. We must have a correct understanding of the relationship between a planned economy and regulation by the market mechanism and handle it correctly. In particular, we must carry out all-round consolidation and necessary restructuring of existing enterprises by stages and in groups. We must put into practice and perfect the economic responsibility system step by step and in a planned way. In building a spiritual civilization, we must develop education, science, culture, literature, art, health work and physical culture more extensively and quickly. We must raise the scientific and cultural levels of all working people, strengthen the development of intellectual sources and give full play to the role of science and technology in the national economy. In the people's livelihood, we must proceed from the concept of everything for the people and make overall arrangements for economic construction and the people's livelihood. Gradual improvement in the people's livelihood must be based on the growth of production, and it should not exceed the rate of increase in labor productivity. In relations with foreign countries, we must persist in the open-door policy, develop economic contacts and cooperation with other countries in the world and increase our capacity for self-reliance. In finance, we must pay special attention to creating wealth, accumulating wealth and utilizing wealth. We must carefully maintain the balance between state revenue and expenditure and between credit receipts and payments. In addition, we must also correct unhealthy trends in the socioeconomic field, struggle against criminal activities which sabotage economic construction, carry out restructuring of administrative organs, starting with the State Council, and so on. These 10 principles sum up the positive and negative experiences of economic work in the 32 years since the founding

of the PRC, embody many important ideas about economic construction put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, reflect the new situations and new experiences in our country's socialist construction, and manifest positive results by bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology for economic work. Our country is a developing country; moreover, it is a developing socialist country. Our economic construction must be suited to our country's national conditions. We must blaze a path of socialist construction which has the characteristics of our country. That these 10 principles have been put forth, shows precisely that our party's understanding of our country's national conditions and the laws of socialist construction is deepening. We believe that these principles will play a long-term guiding role and a tremendous driving role in our country's future economic construction, and they will continuously develop and improve in the course of practice. We must earnestly implement these guiding principles in the practical work of all localities and all sectors.

The road is clear and the policy has been formulated. At present, an important matter is that the broad masses of cadres should maintain their revolutionary spirit, improve their methods of work and work style and do all their work well. The key link for doing our work well is to carry out better investigations and studies. Only when we are clear about the situation can we have strong determination and correct methods.

As early as 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Viewed from the whole party, our knowledge of socialist construction is quite inadequate. For a period of time to come, we should accumulate experiences, study hard, gradually deepen our understanding of it through practice and become clear about its laws. We must make painstaking efforts and earnestly carry out investigations and studies on it." ("A Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee") Since then, nearly 20 years have passed and great changes have taken place in our country. Yet this speech of Comrade Mao Zedong's is still of great guiding significance to us. Today, we are carrying out the modernization of our country and we are faced with many complicated problems that demand immediate investigations, studies and solutions. Practical experience in past years has proved that if we adhere to the work style of seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigations, we can solve problems we encounter more smoothly and we can make swift progress in all our work. On the other hand, if we slacken investigative work, are content with reading reports and listening to reports, pick up hearsay knowledge and make cursory observations even when we investigate, and make judgments and decisions on the basis of some materials that are one-sided and not in conformity with facts, deviations and mistakes are bound to occur in our work.

When we say maintaining our revolutionary spirit, we mainly mean that we should arduously study new situations, solve new problems, look for new methods and make new breakthroughs. We must improve our methods of work and work style, and must advocate making repeated investigations and repeated verifications, thinking on one's own and making judgments on one's own. Many leading comrades have already set an example for us in this respect. Both Comrade Hu Yaobang and Comrade Zhao Ziyang spend much time each year going deep into the reality of life and earnestly making investigations. The 10 principles for construction put forth by Comrade Zhao Ziyang this time are precisely based on systematic and thorough investigations. Therefore, we find them very agreeable and in conformity with

reality. What excuse can other comrades working on different fronts give for not going deeply into the forefront to make thorough investigations, to understand the constantly changing objective situations and to solve the various practical problems facing us?

In addition to investigations frequently carried out by leading comrades and the broad masses of cadres at different levels within the scope of their own work, we should also arrange, in a planned way, for theoretical workers, people doing practical work and scientific and technological work in specialized fields to carry out systematic and thorough investigations of important problems in our country's construction, to make analyses and draw scientific conclusions on various economic policy decisions, economic plans and economic measures and endeavor to make our policy decisions, plans and measures conform better with reality and make them more effective.

Strategically we are revolutionary optimists, but tactically we must attach importance to difficulties, analyze them and find ways to overcome them one by one. If we keep up our revolutionary spirit, seek truth from facts, pay attention to studying new situations and continuously solve new problems, we will certainly overcome all difficulties and advance toward new victories.

CSO: 4004/17

RELAXING POLICY RESTRICTIONS DOES NOT MEAN GIVING UP LEADERSHIP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 11-12

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]]

[Text] Since the third plenary session, as we have begun to set to rights things which had been thrown into disorder, to relax restrictions on policies for rural areas, and to arouse the enthusiasm of peasants for production, the situation in rural areas has been steadily improving. What does relaxing policy restrictions mean? In principle, relaxing policy restrictions means to correct leftist mistakes, emancipate the mind, handle things in a practical and realistic way, improve production relations so as to keep them in line with the development of productive forces, and establish the decisionmaking right in operations and management so as to arouse the enthusiasm of peasants for production. One of the main ways of doing this is to implement various forms of the responsibility system in operations and management, to link remuneration to output so as to give play to the principle of distribution according to work, and to promote a diversified economy. Starting from this basis, we will be able to give full play to the superiority of the collective economy.

Relaxing policy restrictions does not imply that we should take a laissez-faire attitude toward the present tendency of diverging from collectivization among some peasants who think that it was wrong to have promoted socialist transformation in rural areas and implemented agricultural collectivization. Such thinking is completely wrong. What then was actually wrong with our practices in the past? The core of the problem was that we went too fast for a period of time in the course of collectivization, impractically seeking for the realization of the ideal of "large in size and collective in nature," and thus violated the rule that production relations must conform to the nature of productive forces. On the other hand, owing to various mistakes and inappropriate measures in developing policy, management and practical work, both the productive forces and the production relations were harmed to varying degrees. For example, by depriving production brigades of any decisionmaking power, by instituting an irrational labor administrative system, by practicing egalitarianism in distribution, by having a one-sided work style in production, by abolishing the diversified economy, and by imposing "exorbitant taxes and levies" on peasants, an upsurge of unhealthy tendencies arose among cadres. All these malpractices rendered many production brigades poor. (Of course this was not the case in all production brigades; some production brigades are well run by the collective management

system and peasants are satisfied with their situation. This is because they did not encounter severe problems in this aspect or they succeeded in resisting the above-mentioned malpractices.) Under these circumstances, it is imperative to improve operations and management. Practice over the past few years has shown that the production responsibility system is the correct way to eliminate all past malpractices and help the collective economy to prosper. We should not regard the system as a measure of expediency to solve temporarily the problems concerning the peasants' livelihood, but rather as an important measure to reorganize the collective economy in terms of operations and management. Therefore, in enforcing the production responsibility system, we must keep to the direction of collectivization and uphold public ownership of the land. There should be no doubt about this. In order to uphold this policy, we must relax policy restrictions; and in order to relax policy restrictions, we must uphold this policy.

In the production responsibility system, there is one aspect where things should be done under unified management and there is another aspect where tasks can be completed by assigning production quotas to each household. "Production quota assignments" should be guided by "unified management," and "unified management" should be practiced on the basis of "production quota assignments." Doing everything under unified management and rejecting all production quota assignments has been proved impracticable by facts. The collective economy will no longer be collective should production quota assignments be carried out without unified management. In what cases should unified management be applied and in what others should production quota assignments be applied? How should we practice unified management and how should we carry out production quota assignments? What forms should we adopt? All these things depend on the specific conditions in different areas, brigades and jobs in different periods of time. There are various systems, such as the system of assigning responsibilities to each laborer and linking remuneration to output under unified management; the system of assigning contracts for specialized production in connection with output and remuneration, the system of specifying management quotas and assigning contracts for small projects, the system of fixing output quotas based on the household and assigning the land to each household in exchange for fixed levies, and so on. Any of these systems can be adopted according to actual conditions, and a production brigade can institute different forms of the responsibility system for different jobs. In short, we should adopt, in accordance with the local conditions, whatever forms of the production responsibility are supported by the masses and increase production. No jumping on the bandwagon or demanding "uniformity" is allowed. The system of assigning the land to each household in exchange for fixed levies is only one of the forms. This form can result in a relatively big increase in production in some production brigades and teams that depend on the state for production, grain and funds, in some relatively poor areas, outlying districts and areas which suffer from natural calamities. However, even this system does not deny unified management while giving play to the principle of assigning production quotas to individual households. Actually, the spirit of "unified management" is contained in the upholding of public ownership of the land. So, the implementation of the contract system can also be regarded as a kind of "unified management." There are also a few measures of "unified management" other than these (for example, the unified administration and exploitation of certain water conservation facilities and forests, and so on). The system of assigning land to each household in exchange for fixed levies does not mean "to divide the farmland and work

on one's own"; still less does it mean "to return farmland to the original owners."

Production teams and brigades implement the responsibility system on their own in order to correct the malpractices of the past. This never means that we should abandon leadership. On the contrary, it adds to our task of practicing leadership. In principle, our major responsibility is: in light of the party's line and guiding principles adopted since the third plenary session, in particular the policies concerning the rural areas, conscientiously make investigations, look into the desires of peasants, grant decisionmaking power to production teams and brigades, correct the leftist mistakes committed in the past which harmed both productive forces and production relations, and lead the masses to enforce various forms of the production responsibility system which conform with local conditions, so as to enliven the collective economy, further boost production and improve the people's livelihood. Moreover, following the development of productive forces, we must lead the masses to further improve the forms of the production responsibility system in practice, seek new management forms for the collective economy, develop various forms of economic integration such as specialized management, joint management between households, joint management between collective and commune members, or joint management between teams, between brigades and between communes, or even between commune- and brigade-run enterprises and state-run industrial and commercial enterprises, and so on. At present, in promoting agricultural production, we depend first on policies and second on science. As the practices of relaxing policy restrictions and improving production relations have obtained good results, we must gradually devote our attention to advocating science and technology, so as to open up a new path for the modernization of agriculture. All these are major arduous tasks before us.

In enforcing the production responsibility system, our cadres can never take a laissez-faire attitude and abandon leadership, or jump on the bandwagon and demand any new type of "uniformity" regardless of local conditions. In certain production brigades and teams which have already adopted the system of assigning contracts for specialized production in connection with output and remuneration, and which possess fairly good conditions for production and enjoy high economic revenue and common accumulation funds, there is no need to promote the system of fixing output quotas based on the household or assigning land to each household in exchange for fixed levies (of course, they still can make use of the strong points of these systems). In some places, in promoting on their own the system of assigning farmland to each household in exchange for fixed levies, the masses divided the collective wealth, abandoned machines and equipment, and left their forests and orchards in a terrible state. This was definitely wrong. In certain places, when some people fabricated rumors to mislead people, saying that the "land will be returned to its original owner" and so on, no one dared refute them. All those places in which such things occurred also encountered a certain degree of instability. Such circumstances, which are extremely unfavorable to the enforcement and amplification of the production responsibility system and to the development of production, require our attention.

There are several reasons why people abandon leadership. Some people take a laissez-faire attitude toward the enforcement of policies because they themselves implemented a series of "leftist" policies in the past and simply do not

understand the line, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session, or they consider that the line, guiding principles and policies run counter to their own interests. We strongly oppose such an attitude. Actually, there are only a few persons who think this way. Others, being afraid of making mistakes, or betting on a wrong trend, lost their confidence and shirked responsibility. They let the masses do as they pleased and forgot their status as communists and leading cadres. From these comrades we cannot hear any true information--they only provide leading comrades with news they think will be agreeable to the latter. These practices have an adverse effect. Apart from the above two kinds of people, some other people are always at a loss about what to do when faced with problems, because they lack experience. We should differentiate the cases of abandoning leadership and handle them according to each specific situation. We should strengthen the political and ideological education of both peasants and cadres.

We have never said that peasants can shake off the leadership of the party. As communists and leading cadres, we can never abandon the responsibility of leadership. The question is how to turn the wrong leadership practiced in the past into correct leadership. As nearly 3 years have passed since the third plenary session, in all aspects, in particular in cases concerning rural areas, we have not only set up a whole series of correct guidelines and policies, but have also accumulated many successful experiences. Now, we are relatively clear about what is right and what is wrong. Therefore, we can no longer plead inexperience as an excuse to evade our leadership responsibility.

As we stress the strengthening of leadership, we should on the one hand continue to emancipate the mind, and firmly and persistently enforce various forms of the production responsibility system, and, on the other hand, conscientiously sum up experiences, and solve in good time all new problems emerging in the course of implementing the responsibility system, so as to improve the system in line with the development of production. We must comprehensively and precisely propagandize the party's line, guiding principles and policies to the masses. Wherever a problem emerges, the leading comrades must clarify the following point: Relaxing policy restrictions in no way means abandoning leadership. The implementation of the production responsibility system does not mean assigning production quotas to each household without unified management; still less does it mean the dividing up of farmland and allowing individual farming.

It is the common responsibility of the leading comrades and the masses, and foremost of all the responsibility of the leading comrades, to uphold public ownership of the land and the collective road and to firmly and persistently improve various forms of the production responsibility system.

CSO: 4004/17

ACTIVELY SUPPORT AND APPROPRIATELY DEVELOP INDIVIDUAL ECONOMY IN CITIES AND TOWNS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 13-16

[Article by He Jianzhang [0449 1696 4545]]

[Text] In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "Changes and improvements in socialist production relationships must be suited to the condition of the productive forces and be beneficial to the development of production. The state-run economy and collective economy are the basic economic forms of our country. Individual economy, within a prescribed scope, of the laborers is a necessary supplement to the economy under the public ownership system." The productive forces of our country have not yet reached a high stage of development and our commodity economy is still undeveloped. Hence, with the existence of multieconomic constituents and multi-operational forms, it is inevitable that, for a relatively long period of time, individual economy in cities and towns will be able to play an active role within a prescribed scope. To refute its active role, to adopt strong measures against it or to eliminate it altogether is erroneous, and is not beneficial to the development of the socialist economy.

The existence and development of individual economy in our cities and towns has taken a tortuous path. According to statistics, in 1953, there were, in our cities and towns, some 9 million laborers practicing individual economy. In 1955, the movement to organize industrial cooperatives reached the climax of its development. By the end of 1956, over 90 percent of the people engaged in handicraft production had been organized into cooperatives, and the socialist transformation of handicraft workers practicing individual economy had been basically completed. Between the years 1958 to 1960, many of the handicraft cooperatives were merged or reorganized. Some switched to the use of machines in production and were elevated to the rank of cooperative plants. These cooperative societies and cooperative plants were under the direct leadership and control of the local authorities. The workers were given fixed wages, and their profits were remitted to higher-level leadership organs for unified disposal. The salaries, wages and welfare benefits of the staff members and workers were fixed and adjusted by the leadership organs in a unified manner, in accordance with the principle that they must be slightly lower than those available in state-run enterprises of the same category. These types of cooperative undertakings and cooperative plants, which were uniformly responsible for their own profits and losses, were usually known

as "big collectives." In reality, they differed little from state-run enterprises in the localities. Our socialist transformation of small stores and peddler stands also followed the process of their being organized into cooperatives, that is, being organized into cooperative small units or cooperative stores. Commencing in 1958, the great majority of cooperative small units or cooperative stores were merged into state-run commercial operations. In the socialist transformation of the individual economy, the backward and dispersed small producers were organized in order to expand their production and operation capacity. From 1953 to 1956, handicraft trade production increased each year. In 1956, the gross output value of the handicraft industry amounted to 11.7 billion yuan, an increase of 16 percent over that of 1955, the year immediately preceding the basic completion of cooperativization. Generally speaking, the socialist transformation of the individual economy was a success. The only problem was that in the later stages the steps taken were a little hasty, the work was done haphazardly, and errors of a partial nature were made. The principal error was that of blindly concentrating on production and business operations. Comrade Chen Yun, addressing the first session of the eighth party congress, pointed out: "In the course of the cooperativization of the handicraft industry, merging and the unified computation of profits and losses were carried out much too hastily. This was disadvantageous to the handicraft industry. As a result, compared with the period of self-management, the quality of some of the handicraft products deteriorated and there was a reduction in the number of varieties. As a result of merged management, some of the handicraft service trades caused much inconvenience both to the residents and to the handicraft producers." Somewhat similar conditions were seen in the socialist transformation of small merchants and peddlers. To rectify these deficiencies and errors, Comrade Chen Yun suggested a series of correct transformation measures. He clearly pointed out: "The condition of our socialist economy will be thus: in industrial and commercial management, state-run and collective-run operation will constitute the main body of industry and commerce, but there must be a definite number of individual-run operations attached thereto. These individual-run operations are supplementary to state-run operations and collective-run operations." Following this readjustment, in 1964, the number of workers practicing individual economy rose again, to 2.27 million.

However, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," individual economy, then considered the "tail of capitalism," was greatly reduced. By 1978, the number of workers practicing individual economy was reduced to 150,000. In this way, commerce in cities and towns was made up of state-run enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people and "large collective" enterprises. Little remained of the individual economy.

Actual practice has shown the incorrectness of this policy of deviating from the concrete condition of our productive forces and forcibly eliminating the individual economy. It resulted in the following peculiar situations: much work but nobody to do it; many idle people and no work for them. Many difficulties were caused in people's lives. According to information supplied by relevant departments, in Beijing in 1956, there were 42,000 units of individual merchants and peddlers, of which 13,270 units were of the family-store type and 28,810 were peddler stands. At that time, a complete variety of trades and businesses were represented, each with their special features, such as tailor shops, small eating

places, roving peddlers, craftsmen who came to houses to do repair work, and pedicab drivers, who would come at a moment's call. Some even offered 24-hour services. Thus, there were many conveniences for the populace. But, following the abolition of individual economy, the number of services in the commercial network was drastically reduced. In the initial period of liberation, Beijing had a population of over 2 million. It has now grown to 8 million, an increase of 3 times over the original figure. However, the commercial service points dropped from over 70,000 to some 8,000 a reduction of over 80 percent. Thus, people have been confronted with many difficulties, such as finding a place to eat, getting around, having clothes made, getting repairs done, and so on. As a matter of fact, in cities and towns the handicraft trade, business houses, eating places, tailor shops, repair shops and other service trades still require much labor input and, besides, for the convenience of the residents, the services must be rendered separately and in diverse forms. The individual economy is especially suitable in this respect. For this reason, under the current situation in our country, we need to develop society's production, enliven the market, meet the various livelihood needs of the populace in cities and towns and in the countryside, and increase employment. Thus, in addition to vigorously developing the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people and the collective economy, we should actively support and appropriately develop the individual economy as a supplement to the socialist economy under the system of public ownership.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the adoption of liberalized economic policies at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the individual economy has regained its legal status. The constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted at the Fifth National People's Congress, clearly empowers the state to permit nonagricultural individual workers, under the unified arrangements and control of basic-level organs in cities and towns or in the countryside, to engage in activities within legally permitted limits. Up to December 1980, the number of workers practicing individual economy in the whole country had been restored to 810,000, and further progress has been made this year. In the light of conditions in various localities, appropriately restoring and developing the individual economy plays a definite and active role in enlivening economic life.

First, points in the commercial and service networks can be rapidly increased, thus making them convenient for the public. It is known that in 1979, in setting up commercial establishments, catering trades and service units under the system of ownership by the whole people, the capital requirement for each staff member or worker was over 16,000 yuan. With the shortage of capital, there are difficulties in solely relying on the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people to greatly increase the number of points in commercial and service networks. On the other hand, the individual economy does not require much capital. Except for a few cases which might require small loans from the state, the great majority of cases do not require state investments. Besides, each household constitutes a point or unit. There are many family shops and they are widely scattered. Their operators work their way through streets and alleys, bringing services to the door. Moreover, the service hours of individually operated units are relatively flexible. All these facets offer great conveniences to the broad masses of people and particularly to staff members and workers.

Second, the revival and development of various kinds of traditional handicraft products and distinctive local flavors or tastes are enhanced. Some minor commercial and edible goods never or seldom seen over the past 10 or 20 years reappeared on the market. For example, in November 1978, Wang Shuying, a resident of Beijing municipality, received permission to reopen an individual brush-making store. She is able to make brushes for industrial use to various specifications. Her products are well received by the users. Many users and grocery stores have placed orders for her brushes. In Guangzhou municipality, a store known as "Ku Su Zhoushengji" used to produce "Grandad's Chicken" (a kind of fried chicken), which was well-known to people in Guangzhou and to the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. The store was closed in 1959. It was reopened in July 1979. Its products are well-received by people in Guangzhou and in Hong Kong and Macao. Three Hong Kong merchants have approached the store seeking to establish joint ventures.

Third, the door of employment is opened wide, thus contributing to stability and unity. According to a survey of 3,000 individually operated units in Guangzhou municipality, 30 percent of these units were run by youths awaiting employment who are 30 years old and below, and 68 percent by youths above 30 years old who had been awaiting employment and idle people in society, as well as people who had returned from the countryside. Besides, among them were some incapacitated or disabled people who had been rejected for employment by enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people or by collective enterprises and who had been a heavy burden to both society and their families. Following the revival of the individual economy, they can engage in enterprises within their capacity and become workers on their own. All this not only creates wealth for society but also eliminates many factors leading to instability.

Finally, the mode of running enterprises under the individual economy is relatively flexible and, in general, the service attitude of the operators is comparatively good. Their existence and development serve to overcome the bureaucratic behavior of certain state- and collective-run enterprises and help to improve the standard of management and the quality of service.

Naturally, we must be clear-headed and remind ourselves that allowing the individual economy to exist and grow necessarily has certain drawbacks. For example, we should mention malpractices by people running individually owned units such as seeking only profits, offering substandard goods, cheating in weights, constantly raising prices on various pretexts, engaging in speculation and profiteering, evading taxes and so on. But the point is: in real life, nothing has only advantages and no disadvantages. What we should do is to weigh the advantages and disadvantages and make the departments concerned formulate appropriate policies, decrees and rules so as to strengthen control, and not "give up eating for fear of choking."

But there is still some misunderstanding about this problem. Some comrades believe that reviving and developing the individual economy is "retrogressive" and "retracing one's steps." They are afraid that capitalism might spread unchecked. Many youths awaiting employment do not like operating an individually run unit, because the individual worker is low in social status, and, economically, lacks a stable income. Some might temporarily engage in such undertakings but

decline to apply for a proper business license for fear that this might jeopardize their future chances of working in a concern owned by the whole people. Besides, in management and operation, the individual economy does encounter certain practical difficulties. All these problems should be carefully studied and solved, both in theory and in practice.

Should we consider the revival and development of the individual economy as "retrogression"? In comparison with the past policy of rashness and adventurism, which attempted to swiftly eradicate the individual economy and establish a uniform socialist public ownership economy, it certainly does represent a step backward. Nevertheless, under the conditions of the socialist public ownership economy's failure to satisfy the various needs of the populace and its inability to entirely absorb the newly increased labor force of the whole society, and also under the conditions of handicraft labor being broadly available and, in particular, the relevant commercial enterprises and service units being suitable for diverse operations, then the individual economy does play a definite and active role in the economic life of the entire society. Recognition of this fact and being brave enough to rectify the past erroneous "leftist" policy should indeed be considered as a step forward. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The criteria for whether the role played by the policies of China's various political parties in their implementation among the Chinese people is good or bad, big or small, depend, in the last analysis, on whether or not these policies have helped, and if so to what extent, in the development of the productive forces of the Chinese people and on whether they have restrained or liberated the production forces." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 1028)

This is also our standard to judge whether the current policy of restoring and developing individual economy is correct. Obviously, it would be an unrealistic fantasy to disregard the actual condition of the backwardness of our productive forces and to attempt overnight to eradicate the individual economy and realize a unified socialist economy under the system of public ownership. It would bring much hardship to the economic life of the entire society. This has been fully verified by actual practice over the past 20 years and more in our country.

Will permitting the individual economy to exist lead to an inundation by the flood of capitalism? Such a concern is hardly necessary. Ours is a socialist country. We are now appropriately developing a little individual economy with the precondition that state- and collective-run economies enjoy absolute superiority. Political power is in the hands of the proletariat, and the state has full power to examine, approve and control the scale and extent of the individual economy and its development. Generally speaking, we should allow the individual economy to appropriately develop in those industries or trades in which the state-run economy or the collective-run economy do not operate or operate only to a limited extent, as a supplement to the socialist economy. In other words, the logical premise for the existence and development of the individual economy is that it must be beneficial to the socialist economy. If it is found that the development of the individual economy is harmful to the national economy and to the people's livelihood, under ordinary conditions the state can use economic levers such as credits and loans, taxes and prices to guide it in the direction of fulfilling the needs of society. In this regard, we have rich experiences of our own. In

the early 1950's, the individual handicraft trade accounted for over 20 percent of the gross value of the entire industrial output. Over 90 percent of privately owned commerce and the catering trade had not undergone socialist transformation. About 15 percent of the financial revenue of the state was derived from remittances from the individual economy. At that time, we were still able, by means of enforcing our economic policy and various economic measures including competitive tactics, to make the individual economy play a beneficial role in the revival and development of the national economy. Subsequently, it was subject to socialist transformation. At present, the socialist economy is enjoying absolute superiority, and the individual economy is a very small part of the national economy (in the financial revenue of the state, remittances from the individual economy amount to less than 1 percent). Under such conditions, the individual economy can only be subsidiary to the socialist economy. There is no danger of its getting out of control and leading to an inundation by capitalism.

Having now understood that it is necessary at the present juncture to actively support and appropriately develop the individual economy, we must correspondingly revise the relevant regulations and control measures aimed at suppressing and even eliminating the individual economy, and earnestly protect the economic and political interests of law-abiding individually run undertakings. In the "Certain Policy Regulations Relating to the Nonagricultural Individual Economy in Cities and Towns" decreed by the State Council, there are clear and detailed rules relating separately to such matters as the nature and operating scope of the individual economy in cities and towns and measures to support and protect its development. The state encourages and supports individually run units to engage in those trades and industries which society needs and in which the state-run and collective-run economies have not participated at all or have participated only to a limited extent. This enables the individual economy to carry out its role of making up for omissions and deficiencies. These regulations stipulate that in cities and towns all young and strong persons who are bona fide residents of the cities and towns can apply for permission to take part in individually run undertakings. Among the retired staff members and workers, those who have special technical skills or management experience currently are urgently needed by society, and those who can teach apprentices may also apply for permission to engage in individually operated undertakings. Individually run units, if necessary, and with the permission of the relevant industrial and commercial administrative and control departments, may hire one or two assistants. Those units which are highly technical in nature or which have special technical skills may take on over two but not more than five apprentices. In order to enable the individual economy to display its special feature of flexibility in operation, it is allowed, under the unified control of the relevant departments, to adopt multiple operational forms: some may produce their own goods and some may do processing work for others; some may engage in "self-production and self-marketing"; some may entrust the marketing of their products to others; some may act as agents, marketing goods for state-run enterprises; and some may purchase goods on their own and market them. Individually run units may set up their own stands or pick their own locations. They may be roving peddlers of goods, working their way through streets and alleys. If the raw materials or goods needed by the individually run units belong to categories which are supplied according to a unified plan, the relevant departments should follow the principle of unified planning with due consideration for all concerned and make the allotment rationally, and should not

discriminate against them. As for planned commodities in short supply, the individually run units must procure them themselves. Individually run units may open accounts in banks in accordance with the prescribed rules and apply for bank loans. The normal operating activities and normal income of individually run units must be strongly protected. Tax rates levied on them that are too heavy or irrational must be adjusted. In particular, when the units first start business, they should be accorded tax exemption or tax reduction facilities. Those units which are needed by the broad masses of people but are truly in difficulties, or have very small profit margins, may apply for tax exemption. Aside from the various taxes which, according to law, the units must pay to the taxation departments, what other fees, to which departments and on what basis these fees should be paid, should be uniformly prescribed by the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Outside of the above, no other department or unit may, under any pretext, levy any other kinds of fees on them.

Individual operators are independent workers in the socialist society. They enjoy the same political rights and social status as workers in establishments under the system of ownership by the whole people or under the system of collective ownership. Individual workers who are self-employed not only should not be discriminated against but should be encouraged. In addition to giving them various kinds of facilities for their operational activities, politically they should be accorded equal treatment. For example, they should be given the same treatment as all other people in such spheres as military enlistment, schooling, party membership, youth league membership, and so on. The length of their trade service should be computed from the date of their approval to start business and continue through the years they are engaged in active business. In the rather prolonged period of the stage of socialism, the existence of the individual economy is unavoidable. Only by adopting a firm policy can we protect and promote its development.

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ACTION IS IMPORTANT IN THE RECTIFICATION OF PARTY WORK STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 17-19

[Article by Feng Jixin [7458 4763 2450]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in Gansu, acting in accordance with a series of instructions from the party Central Committee, have done much work in rectifying party work style and improving party discipline. Definite results have been achieved in this respect. Recently, in particular, we have dealt relatively severely with several major cases. This has played a relatively satisfactory role in checking unhealthy trends and promoting what is right. People inside and outside the party generally say: "With things going on this way, the party has prospects. So does the state." Now, party style is gradually improving. Relations between the party and the masses have shown continuous improvement. We should be fully confident of promoting a proper party style.

Of course, the rectification of party work style involves a process. Due to perverse actions on the part of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of turmoil, the party's fine style was seriously damaged giving rise to various unhealthy practices. Basically changing this situation will take a lot of doing and a great deal of effort. This, coupled with a period of negligence in doing ideological and political work, has made the rectification of unhealthy practices within the party all the more difficult. Therefore, we must continue to direct intensive and proper efforts toward the rectification of party style. This remains a serious task confronting party organizations at all levels in our province.

Action is the key to the rectification of party style. The party Central Committee is very firm in its determination to rectify unhealthy practices within the party. Apart from formulating the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," it has drawn up many concrete rules. It has also handled a number of cases, setting examples for us. At present, the main thing is that party organizations at all levels must resolutely change the situations of a lot of talk and little action and of not practicing what one preaches. They must take practical measures and solve problems, one by one, in a down-to-earth manner.

Our province's experience in the past 2 years has shown that to achieve a breakthrough in rectifying unhealthy practices, we must first start with leadership,

and then go from one level to another. As far as the whole province is concerned, we must first begin with the provincial CCP committee. The standing committee of the provincial party committee is the command post of the party in the whole province. Whether or not the style of the "leading group" of the standing committee is correct has a great influence on party organizations at all levels of the province, on party members and on the masses. Only if the standing committee of the provincial CCP committee sets a good example, can it righteously lead in solving the following problems one by one. Guided by the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Life" and the relevant rules and requirements concerning remuneration for high-ranking cadres and by the spirit of joining the people in fighting amidst hardships, we have worked out several rules: We must abolish the system of special supplies for high-ranking cadres and subject them to the same ration standard applied to all the people. No leading cadres at the provincial level can be provided with the services of government workers in their homes. The leading comrades of the departments, committees and offices of various organs of the standing committee of the provincial CCP committee, the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government must go to and from work in shared cars or otherwise must pay for the use of a private car. While working at lower levels, we must not seek special privileges in the form of entertainment. We must pay for tickets to plays and movies. We must improve the way meetings are held. All medium-sized and small meetings held by the provincial CCP committee must be so arranged that some of the relevant participants can be provided with living quarters and food by the provincial party organ itself, in order to reduce expenses. These rules have been acted upon by the various comrades of our standing committee. The masses have made favorable comments on this. Many committees at the prefectural and county levels have successively followed suit and have set strict demands on themselves.

In rectifying party style, we cannot just rely upon party organizations at one particular level. Party organizations at all levels must act together and people at all levels must hold themselves responsible. There are two problems here that must be properly solved: 1) All problems at a certain level in the province should be dealt with by people at that level in a down-to-earth and responsible manner and cannot be shifted to a higher or lower level. 2) Higher-level party organizations must seriously help and direct lower-level party organizations and resolutely support them in fighting unhealthy trends. The aim is to prevent loss of contact between higher and lower levels which would make problems more complicated. In a higher middle school examination held in the Wuhui Prefecture of our province in 1977, somebody cheated. This aroused great dissatisfaction among the masses. Because the cheater was the son of a principal responsible comrade of the prefectural CCP committee, the prefectural CCP committee felt it was a knotty problem. The matter was ignored for several years. In light of this situation, the provincial CCP committee directly sent people to make an investigation. These people joined the prefectural CCP committee in studying the matter and in dealing with the relevant persons accordingly. With the provincial CCP committee's help, the prefectural CCP committee solved this problem; this was actually a case of supporting and helping the prefectural CCP committee carry out its work. The prefectural CCP committee also, in this way, found the courage to help solve problems at the level of the county CCP committee. In Minqin County of this prefecture, several incidents occurred in which commune members destroyed forests and cadres built private homes by occupying state and collective property. The

masses objected greatly to this and the actions had a very bad influence. But because certain leaders at the county level were connected with these cases, the cases were completely ignored. With adequate support behind them, the responsible comrades of the prefectural CCP committee found the courage to tackle the matter. They helped the county CCP committee call an enlarged meeting to carry out criticism and self-criticism. The relevant leading cadres made self-criticism. Thus, several cases were dealt with severely. Compensation was paid where it was deemed necessary. Those who broke the law were punished according to the law. The cadres and the masses responded well. They said: "It is not that unhealthy practices cannot be overcome. The problem is whether the leadership has the determination to take up the matter. So long as the higher levels take the lead and show determination, there is no problem that cannot be solved."

Experience tells us that rectifying unhealthy trends is permeated with struggle. The handling of a case is often beset with interference from many quarters. As some people correctly say, "three barriers" must be removed and "three trends" resisted. The so-called "three barriers" refers to the barrier to investigation, the barrier to discussion and the barrier to action. Some matters are originally quite serious and the masses are loud in their call for action. But as the investigation drags on, what is a serious matter often becomes a trifle and what is a trifle is forgotten. Some problems can only be clarified after investigations. But as the leading group fails to achieve a consensus in discussions, these problems are allowed to slide and end up being forgotten. Some problems have been clarified and a unanimous view on action has been reached. But certain people stand in the way of action. The so-called "three trends" are the trend toward intercession, the trend toward letting things slide and the trend toward the reversal of a verdict. When some cases are to be investigated and acted upon, "well-meaning" people of all kinds show up pleading for mercy and even use their authority to exert pressure. Some people have been found guilty in proven cases. But for fear of offending others or involving themselves, some leaders purposely use various excuses to justify their letting these cases slide. Some cases have been dealt with, but the accused feels dissatisfied and makes appeals everywhere in an attempt to reverse the original verdict. He often has contacts behind the scenes. In the face of these "three barriers" and "three trends," if we are not firm in our determination, if we do not adhere to the principle of doggedly following party policy, and if we do not handle cases impartially, we cannot solve our problems. Therefore, leading cadres at all levels must abandon all selfish ideas and personal considerations. They must dare to adhere to party principles and to act according to party policies. A deputy director of a vehicle office of the communications bureau in our province abused his authority and embezzled state money to repair his house. Over 12,000 yuan was used for this purpose. During the period of this repair job, he also threw parties, gave gifts and falsified reports on projects completed. The masses reported this matter to the higher levels several times and demanded severe punishment. The provincial discipline inspection committee made repeated investigations and found the case to be true. Several leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee also looked into this matter several times. But no action was taken. The matter dragged on for 3 years 8 months. Why was it so difficult to solve this not so complicated problem? The main reason was that individual leading comrades of the communications bureau were indulgent toward this person's mistake, turned a deaf ear to the voice and opinions of the masses, and assumed an irresponsible attitude toward higher-level

instructions and criticisms. We took hold of this typical case. The provincial CCP committee directly intervened and followed the case up, all the way, dealing with it in a severe manner. The matter was made known throughout the province. This caused a great shock both inside and outside the CCP committee and played a stimulative role in overcoming unhealthy practices inside and outside the party. Now, many units are seriously studying those cases which have long been shelved and which have been left in their hands by the higher levels but have not been acted upon. They are earnestly handling these cases according to the party's policy. Many facts have made us realize that so long as the leadership has the determination, the masses have confidence. So long as the leadership can overcome obstacles, do several good things well in a down-to-earth manner and stick it out, party organizations at all levels and the masses of party members and people will show increased confidence and courage in fighting unhealthy practices. Thus, what is right can be upheld and what is evil and unhealthy can be overcome.

From experience, we have realized that in overcoming unhealthy practices within the party, we must grasp the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and carry out active ideological struggle. Criticism and self-criticism in itself is the party's fine tradition. For a long period of time, under the influence of "leftist" guiding thought and especially during the 10 years of turmoil, this fine tradition of the party was disrupted. Criticism and self-criticism became synonymous with fault-finding, wielding the big stick and making accusations. This still interferes with normal inner-party life. In the face of unhealthy practices, the party organizations of some units and especially some leading cadres have demonstrated great weakness and dare not carry out criticism. There even appears the following abnormal phenomenon: Those comrades who work energetically, who cherish a proper work style and who dare to fight unhealthy and unorthodox practices often get no support and find themselves isolated. Some people who eat the bread of idleness, including those "good old men" who do not distinguish between right and wrong and "gossips" who like to tell tales, become very popular and gain advantages everywhere. If such a situation is not changed, party style cannot be put right and the party organ will suffer corrosion, thus weakening the party's fighting power.

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, we must first start with leading cadres at all levels. Now, many people inside and outside the party are keeping an eye on our leading cadres at all levels. They want to be sure that these people guiding them pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, have the sincerity and the determination to correct their own shortcomings and mistakes, and can firmly grapple with various unhealthy practices. If the leading cadres at all levels are full of misgivings and are afraid of vengeful counterattacks from criticizing the higher levels, afraid of strained relations from criticizing colleagues, afraid of losing votes from criticizing the lower levels and afraid of losing face from a self-criticism, then how can the trust of the masses of people be won? This year, at several enlarged meetings of cadres, our provincial CCP committee openly made a self-criticism of the lack of close attention being paid to the handling of cases in the past. It also cited a number of units that performed well, criticized by name some units that performed poorly, and announced decisions on some major cases. This approach had a profound effect upon CCP committees at all levels. For a period of time recently, many units of organs directly under the province called enlarged meetings of CCP committees and CCP

groups. The leading cadres examined the problems of laxity and weakness and aroused party members and the masses to expose any unhealthy practice in their own units. They stepped up the investigation and handling of major problems among themselves. The previous oppressive situation of not daring to criticize, not daring to take charge and not daring to fight has begun to be changed.

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, we must learn from previous experiences and lessons, pay attention to the methods of criticism and grasp the proper methods of criticism. We must adhere to the guideline of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." We must seek truth from facts and be friendly toward people. In our approach to erroneous ideas and actions, we must correctly distinguish their nature, and determine whether they are serious or not, and refrain from exaggerating facts, carrying a struggle too far and making a habit of freely meting out punishment. Of course, those people who act against the four basic principles, run afoul of law and discipline, behave badly and are incorrigible must be resolutely dealt with. Those who commit offenses under the criminal law must be held responsible by the judicial organ.

The problem of party style is, in the final analysis, one of party spirit. For many years, due to disruption by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups and due to the invasion of bourgeois egoism and remnants of feudal ideas, some party members relaxed their training in party spirit. Their revolutionary will gradually sagged. Their concept of the party and sense of the revolutionary cause wilted. In the face of unhealthy practices, they lacked the power to resist. Therefore, in basically rectifying party style, we must adhere to the principle of first building up the party ideologically, strengthen the party's ideological and political work in a down-to-earth manner, and raise the theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and political consciousness on the part of the masses of party members. This represents the most fundamental effort in building our party and also the most fundamental measure for rectifying party style. Now, some people have promoted unhealthy practices and sought special privileges. The fundamental problem is that they have relaxed in efforts to transform their world outlook. They have private interests uppermost in their minds. They have forgotten that our party is a proletarian political party promoting the welfare of the great majority of the people and have forgotten that a Communist Party member must wholeheartedly serve the people instead of serving his own ends. Therefore, in rectifying party style, we must pay attention to ideological education. In the past few years, we have organized the masses of party members and cadres to study the theory of party building and to study the "guiding principles" and the revised draft of the party constitution. We have achieved definite results in this respect. At present, the masses of party members and cadres of the whole province are studying the "Resolution on Certain Problems in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This is of great significance in strengthening the building of the party in the ideological and political fields, the building of the party organizationally and the building of the party in regard to its style. It is to be stressed that through study, we must unify thinking and actions. Especially in the course of study, we must take reality into consideration, remold our world outlook, cherish communist ideals, promote the revolutionary spirit of being selfless and altruistic and of fearing

neither hardships nor death, strengthen the sense of organization and the sense of discipline, maintain party unity, and resolutely resist and rectify various unhealthy trends. We deeply believe that so long as the leadership at all levels really pays serious attention to this matter, adopts effective measures in a down-to-earth manner, and shows the spirit of having nothing to fear and an indomitable will, a proper style can surely be maintained.

CSO: 4004/17

COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MARXIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

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[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]]

[Text] Like the whole of Marxist philosophy, the Marxist theory of knowledge is a continuously developing science. With the increasing expansion and deepening of the practical activities of transforming the world by the proletariat and the revolutionary people and the progress of the natural sciences, the Marxist science of knowledge will inevitably be enriched and developed.

Marx and Engels created the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Under the new historical conditions, Lenin developed this great instrument of knowledge of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. Under the historical conditions of the semifeudal and semicolonial society in which conditions were extremely complicated and interwoven with contradictions, in the process of leading the Chinese people to wage protracted and extremely hard and difficult revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong made outstanding contributions to the development of Marxist philosophy and in particular to its theory of knowledge and dialectics.

For a long time, there have been two tendencies, namely, either magnifying or belittling the importance of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Marxist theory of knowledge and to, it can be said, the whole Marxist philosophy. They should be corrected. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Marxist theory of knowledge is a matter of science, and it is essential to take a scientific attitude toward this matter.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has made an appropriate and accurate appraisal of the question of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Marxist theory of knowledge by adopting a Marxist, serious and scientific attitude. The writer of this article is going to talk about his own understanding after studying this question and pass it on to you comrades.

Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Marxist theory of knowledge involve two aspects, namely, the basic principles and the application of the basic principles.

As for the basic principles, Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Marxist theory of knowledge mainly include the following four aspects:

1. He emphatically expounded the view that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is the dynamic, revolutionary theory of reflection and stressed that full scope should be given to man's conscious dynamic role, which is based on and is in conformity with objective reality. Man's conscious dynamic role is also termed man's subjective activity and is the function of man's subjective consciousness that reflects and transforms the objective world. Marx clearly pointed out that there are two erroneous views, namely, the metaphysical materialist concept and the idealist concept on the question of the dynamic role of consciousness. He said: "The main defects of all materialism in the past--including Feuerbach's materialism--were that they did not regard things, reality and perception as man's perceptual activities and as practice, and gain a subjective understanding of them, but instead understood them only from their objective or directly perceived forms. The result was very often that idealism, contrary to materialism, developed the dynamic aspect, but in abstract terms only. This is because idealism does not understand the genuinely practical and perceptual activities themselves." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 16) Metaphysical materialism affirms the decisive role of matter on consciousness, but does not recognize the dynamic role of consciousness and regards the reflection of consciousness on the objective world as an inactive and passive reflection, an activity similar to looking into a mirror. Thus, it is impossible for metaphysical materialism to give a scientific answer to the essence of man's knowledge. Metaphysical materialism denies the dynamic role of consciousness, and thus gives idealism the opportunity to exploit this to its advantage. Under the prerequisite of negating the decisiveness of matter, idealism energetically magnifies and builds up the role of consciousness and advocates the different forms of determinism of consciousness. This, in essence, distorts the dynamic role of consciousness. On the question of the theory of knowledge, Lenin opposed the idealist line of "from thought and perception to matter" and adhered to the materialist viewpoint of "matter and its pattern or reflection in man's mind," and repeatedly maintained that "consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best an approximately true (appropriate, perfectly clear and unambiguous) reflection of it." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 332) While elaborating on the question of the theory of knowledge, apart from upholding the materialist theory of reflection, Comrade Mao Zedong put special stress on the word "dynamic." In his "On Practice," he talked about "the dynamic role of knowledge" time and again. What he meant by "dynamic" was the dynamic role, or what people generally term subjective activity. In his "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively and accurately clarified the meaning of subjective activity. He said: "Ideas, and so forth, are subjective, while deeds or actions are the subjective translated into the objective, but both represent the dynamic role peculiar to human beings. We term this kind of dynamic role 'man's conscious dynamic role' and it is a characteristic that distinguishes man from all other things." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 445) In his "On New Democracy" published later, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly summarized the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge as "the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality." This summarization is scientific. It gives prominence to the most essential and fundamental characteristic of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge--the standpoint of practice and dialectical method. This indicates in

a clear-cut way that, on the basis of upholding the materialist theory of reflection, the Marxist theory of knowledge has avoided and overcome the two basic defects of the metaphysical materialist theory of knowledge--departure from practice and lack of dialectics. It was certainly no accident that Comrade Mao Zedong put special stress on the dynamic role of knowledge and on giving play to man's subjective activity. For a long time, our party carried out revolutionary struggles in the most difficult and complicated circumstances in which the enemy's strength far outstripped ours. Only when these objective circumstances were realized, the objective reality respected and the fullest scope given to man's subjective activity, could the revolutionary forces overcome difficulties of all kinds, defeat the strong enemy, and develop and expand the revolutionary cause continuously. The development of the conscious dynamic role, whether it is developed correctly and whether it is developed fully, is especially important. This condition naturally finds expression in the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong and his expositions and summarizations of the principles of the theory of knowledge.

2. Basing himself on social practice, he comprehensively and systematically expounded the dialectical materialist theory on the source, process and purpose of knowledge, and on the criterion of truth. Looking at this question in isolation, namely, the source, process and purpose of knowledge, and the criterion of truth, there have been expositions on them in the basic principles set forth by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marx and Engels drew practice into the theory of knowledge. Marx held that practice is "man's perceptual activities." He further said: "Whether man's thought has objective truthfulness is not a matter of theory, but a matter of practice instead. Man must prove the truthfulness of his thought in practice, namely, the reality and strength of his thought, in other words, the temporality of his own thought. The controversy on whether or not thought departing from practice has its reality is a matter of pure scholasticism." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 16) Engels pointed out: "The most fundamental and the closest basis of man's thought is precisely the changes of the natural world brought about by man and not the natural world itself alone. Man's intelligence develops in accordance with the activities of how man learns to change the natural world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 551) To agnosticism and other absurdities in philosophy, "the most convincing refutation is practice, that is, experiments and industry." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 221) Lenin said: "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 230) "The standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 142) "It is necessary to take the whole of human experience as the criterion of truth." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453) Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions lie in the fact that in his "On Practice," basing himself on practice, he strung together the questions of the theory of knowledge on the source, the process and the purpose of knowledge, and on the criterion of truth, and integrated them with the activities of the proletarian party and with the reality of the struggles waged by the revolutionary people and in forms which were easy for the great number of party members, cadres and masses to accept. He elucidated the principle that practice is the foundation of knowledge in a systematic, detailed and popular way.

3. He pointed out that correct knowledge can be arrived at and developed only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Marx said: "Some of the simplest rules can be arrived at after a process leading from the details of the idea to the increasingly thin abstraction." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 103) Engels pointed out: "Our different sensory organs can give us absolutely and essentially different impressions. Therefore, the attributions learnt through our senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch are absolutely different.... Just as I accept all these different perceptual impressions, process them and synthesize them into a whole, these different impressions are brought about by the same object which is manifested in its general attribution, thus helping us understand it." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 553) He went on to say: "In our minds, we raise specific objects from the individual to the particular and then from the particular to the universal stage." (Ibid., Vol 3, p 554) Lenin said: "Not only is the transition from matter to consciousness dialectical but also that from sensation to thought, and so on." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 314) "The thought of concepts being transformed into reality is profound: very important for history." (Ibid., Vol 38, p 117) Lenin clearly pointed out: "From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice--such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." (Ibid., Vol 38, p 181) Expanding this important idea of Lenin's on the dialectical path of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong held that from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge and then from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice--these are the two leaps in the progress of cognition, and he made a detailed analysis of this process of cognition, particularly stressing that social practice is the foundation for realizing these two leaps in the process of cognition. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole dialectical materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 273) These phrases can be summarized into a formula: practice-knowledge-practice. Later Comrade Mao Zedong summarized this process into the process leading from matter to consciousness and from consciousness back to matter. This summarization of Comrade Mao Zedong's brought to light the general process of the development of mankind's cognition.

4. He pointed out that truth exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it and that truth is inexhaustible. In the past quite a few philosophical treatises and theses said that Comrade Mao Zedong had developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on relative truth and absolute truth. It must be pointed out that it is inaccurate to speak in such general terms. In his "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong elaborated on the basic principle of relative truth and absolute truth which had been expounded by Engels in his "Anti-Duhring" and by Lenin in his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism." Comrade Mao Zedong's new contributions to the Marxist-Leninist theory on truth were that he elaborated on the laws of development of truth and pointed out that truth develops through its struggle against falsehood. He said: "What is correct invariably develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist by contrast with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with them. As soon as something erroneous is rejected and a particular truth accepted by

mankind, new truths begin to struggle with new errors. Such struggles will never end. This is the law of development of truth and, naturally of Marxism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 390) He also said: "There will always be wrong things and ugly phenomena. There will always be such opposites as right and wrong, good and evil, beauty and ugliness. The same is true of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. The relations between them are those of the unity and struggle of opposites. Only by comparison can one distinguish them. Only by making distinctions and waging struggle, can there be development. Truth develops through its struggle against falsehood." (Ibid., Vol 5, p 416) For a proletarian party and a revolutionary people, this exposition not only provides the basic principle of relative truth and absolute truth but also the understanding of the unity of opposites of truth and falsehood, and also gives them the ideological weapon for upholding and developing truth and for avoiding and correcting mistakes.

In the application of the basic principles of the Marxist theory of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong made even more brilliant contributions with his creative theoretical and practical activities.

Marx pointed out that philosophy is the "spiritual weapon" of the proletariat. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 15) Engels called materialist dialectics "the best implement of labor and the most powerful weapon." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 239) Lenin also said: "Marx' philosophy is a consummate materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 443) To genuinely translate into reality these important ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, it is far from adequate to merely put the theory of knowledge in the category of theory and expound it, and there should be some important links and a series of work to do in integrating the theory of knowledge with the practical activities of the proletarian party and the masses of people. One of Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant contributions is the unique theoretical contribution he made to the proletarian revolutionary cause lies by drawing the theory of knowledge into the activities of a proletarian party in formulating and implementing its line, principles and policies, and turned it into the party's ideological line, into a series of scientific work methods, methods for leadership, and work style and leadership style, such as investigation and study, proceeding in all cases from reality, the mass line, experimenting on everything, the integration of typical examples with the work as a whole, and the method of "dissecting a sparrow" and of "one divides into two," thereby enabling the theory of knowledge to break out of the categories of theoretical expositions and theoretical polemics and integrate itself with the practical activities of the proletarian party and the masses of people. Thus, the Marxist science of knowledge is especially full of vitality and demonstrates its great practical value.

In applying the Marxist theory of knowledge to the analysis of the erroneous opportunist tendencies within the party and the revolutionary ranks, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, and by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." ("Selected Works of

Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 272) The ideologies of those people who commit leftist mistakes bypass a certain stage in the development of the objective process and take the ideals that might be realized in the future as policies to be forcefully carried out today, thus departing from the present practice of the great majority of the people and from the present reality. The ideologies of people who commit rightist mistakes cannot advance with the changes in the objective situation and invariably remain at the former stage. This exposes in detail the cognitive roots of both leftist and rightist mistakes. On the basis of this analysis, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our conclusion is the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing, and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies, whether 'left' or right, which depart from concrete history." (Ibid., Vol 1, p 272) It is undoubtedly an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Practice" in the Marxist theory of knowledge, the party's ideological and theoretical building, and the effective overcoming of both leftist and rightist mistakes to apply the Marxist theory of knowledge to the analysis of the various characteristics of opportunist ideologies, to arm the whole party and correct the party's ideological line with the standpoint of the unity of the subjective and the objective, and of theory and practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong closely integrated the Marxist theory of knowledge with investigation and study. Starting from his revolutionary activities, he always paid attention to using the Marxist theory and method and conducted serious investigations and studies of China's social reality. In the process of combating the erroneous tendency toward making Marxism a dogma and deifying Comintern resolutions and the experience of the Soviet Union, which prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party mainly in the late 1920's and the early 1930's, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized that investigation and study is the first step in all work and unequivocally proposed that one has no right to speak without investigation. On the eve of the rectification movement in Yanan, he affirmed that subjectivism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, a manifestation of impurity in party spirit. These brilliant theses helped people to break the shackles of dogmatism and greatly emancipate their minds, thereby, in proceeding from China's national condition, opening up the correct path of the Chinese revolution and laying the ideological foundation for enacting and implementing the correct principles and policies for the victorious realization of this path. With the advance of China's revolution and construction undertakings, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly demanded that the whole party attach importance to investigation and study, stressed that the conclusions that the party derives from any case must be the end product of investigation, stressed that one must make an analysis of specific conditions and proceed from the specific reality of different regions and different conditions in deciding the tasks for the localities at that time and the methods for fulfilling these tasks, stressed that one must have a good idea of how things stand and pay attention not only to the qualitative limit of things but also to the quantitative limit of things. Thus, the materialist cognitive line, namely, the principle of from matter to thought and of proceeding in all cases from reality, is vividly manifested in practical work through the important link of investigation and study. Comrade Mao Zedong's theses and methods on investigation and study are still of great vitality today. The earnest study of these expositions is beneficial for our leading cadres to more conscientiously go deep into the realities of life, immerse themselves with the

masses in the socialist modernization program, and continuously explore and grasp in practice the objective laws of development of the socialist economy, politics and culture; and is conducive to restoring and developing the fine traditions and work style during the stage of revolutionary war and the early period of the founding of the PRC, and to fundamentally combating bureaucratism and going to the subordinates and grass-roots units to solve practical problems and improve efficiency.

Comrade Mao Zedong closely united the Marxist theory of knowledge with the mass line. Marx and Engels long ago said that historical activities are the cause of the masses, and that the emancipation of the working class is a matter for the working class itself. Lenin also said: "Socialism cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 269) The party's mass line in all its work, which has come into being through the application of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the people are the makers of history, is the distinct creation of the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong during the revolutionary struggles full of difficulties and setbacks. The mass line embodies the unity of the historical materialist standpoint and method, and also the unity of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, historical materialism and dialectics. The masses of people are the masters of history, the main body of social practice. As the vanguard of the working class, the party exists and fights for the interests of the people. But it always constitutes only a small part of the people, so that isolation from the people will render all the party's struggles and ideals devoid of content and make it impossible for it to succeed. Therefore, all the activities of communists are on behalf of the masses and are aimed at serving the interests of the people, and they should rely on the masses in everything. This is the basic standpoint of historical materialism. Based on this standpoint, the concept of "from the masses, to the masses" was put forward as the basic line, basic method for leadership and work method which runs through all work. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed that, in all our work, the leadership can only form correct ideas by adopting the method of "from the masses, to the masses." This means concentrating the scattered and unsystematic ideas of the masses through study and turning them into systematic ideas, then going to the masses to propagate and explain them and turning them into the ideas of the masses so that the ideas are preserved, carried through and translated into action, and testing the correctness of these ideas in the practice of the masses; then concentrating again the ideas of the masses and going to the masses so that the ideas are preserved in and carried through again. In the process of concentrating and maintaining ideas, it is imperative to adopt the method of combining the general call with particular guidance, that is, it is necessary to form general ideas from among many particular types of guidance and to test the general ideas among many specific units, then concentrate new experience and formulate new directives to widely guide the masses. The concentration of ideas from the masses is largely equivalent to the process of leaping from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge and equivalent to the process of proceeding from the particular to the general. The maintaining of ideas among the masses is largely equivalent to the process of leaping from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice and equivalent to the process of returning from the general to the particular. Thus, in the history of the development of the Marxist theory of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong for the first

time organically combined the dialectical materialist theory of reflection with the dialectical principle of the particular and the general and historical materialist mass viewpoint, and unified the three concepts of "practice-knowledge-practice," "particular-general-particular" and "masses-leadership-masses." Of course, the three sectors are certainly not mechanically equivalent, but they are essentially identical. The dialectical materialist line of knowledge is the ideological foundation for the mass line, and the mass line is the concrete application of the dialectical materialist line of knowledge.

Comrade Mao Zedong really turned the Marxist theory of knowledge into a powerful weapon for the proletarian party and the masses to scientifically understand the world and transform the world in a revolutionary way through the ideological line which should be followed by the whole party and through a series of work methods and methods for the leadership to turn philosophical principles into the social practice of thousands upon thousands of people under the leadership of the party, thus substantially enriching and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge.

At present, our party and people are making concerted efforts in struggling to build a powerful modern socialist country which is highly democratic and highly cultured, on the basis of having scientifically summed up the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC. For us to consciously implement the principles and policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and to correctly and continuously grasp the new situation, study new problems and find solutions to new contradictions and do a good job in various types of work, it is undoubtedly of vital significance to study assiduously the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong's and to grasp the weapon of the theory of knowledge in the process of realizing this great historical cause.

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AN INEXORABLE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT--A DISCUSSION ON SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE IN OUR COUNTRY

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[Article by Hua Shi [5478 4258]]

[Text] Some 25 years ago, our party, acting in accordance with the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and the actual condition of our country, in only several years transformed the individual agriculture and the handicraft trade into the collective ownership system, and also transformed capitalist industry and commerce into the system of ownership by the whole people. In this way, the system of exploitation was eradicated and the society of our country entered a new stage--the stage of socialist society. This was an historical miracle and was the most penetrating and greatest social reform in our country.

The achievements in the socialist transformation of our country have been glorious. Experiences in this connection should be accumulated. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and with due reference to historical and realistic conditions, the broad masses of theoretical and practical workers have deliberated on the question of the socialist transformation of agriculture and made some relatively good points. However, we cannot help noting that the views expressed in some articles are open to discussion. For example, some writers have expressed the view that the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country deviated from the level of development of the productive forces and from the peasants' degree of consciousness, that it went against the so-called Leninist idea of alliance with the capitalist class and that it was a product of historical idealism. In our opinion, that is an important question of principle. We must thrash out the right and the wrong of it through discussions. If such an erroneous viewpoint is not clarified, people's confidence in the newly launched socialist modernization program will be shaken. In this article we shall give our views on this question.

I

One of the principal reasons some comrades have said that the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country was a product of historical idealism was that we had no material foundation for doing this. In their opinion, when the socialist transformation of agriculture was carried out in our country, the level of the

productive forces was rather low, and the necessary material conditions were basically lacking. Thus, they conclude that our socialist transformation of agriculture was purely "a change in production relations which deviated from the level of productive forces." Is this really true?

At the time of the founding of new China, our country's economy was extremely backward and the level of the productive forces was relatively low. Thus, the principal task at that time was to swiftly effect the recovery and development of the national economy, and there was no suggestion of carrying out an overall socialist transformation. After 3 years of difficult struggles, by 1952, the financial and economic condition of our country had basically taken a turn for the better and the stage of recovery of the national economy had come to a close. At that time, our country had centralized the control of economic lifelines fairly well. Production of the major industrial products was as follows: pig iron, 1,929,000 tons; steel, 1,349,000 tons; coal, 66.49 million tons; electric power, 7.26 billion kwh; and cement, 2.86 million tons. The gross value of our industrial output amounted to 41.5 percent of the gross value of the national industrial and agriculture output, and the gross output value of modern industries was 64.2 percent of the gross value of the total industrial output. This shows that, by that time, our country's productive forces had already reached a definite level for socialization. This situation not only provided all the absolutely necessary material conditions for the realization of socialist transformation but also urgently required a swift rise in agricultural production in order to meet the needs of the development of industrial and agricultural production. Unfortunately, the isolated, scattered, conservative and backward agricultural individual economy at that time obviously could not satisfactorily cope with the demand for industrial and agricultural development. It had already hindered the development of the productive forces of agriculture and had also impeded the realization of socialist industrialization. There was only one way out of this situation, namely, agricultural cooperativization. This furnished the key to our realization of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Undoubtedly the successes achieved in land reform liberated to a large extent the productive forces of agriculture and promoted the development of agricultural production, but this development was soon restricted. Under the individual economy, owing to the scattered use of land and other means of production, labor productivity was rather low, capital accumulation was extremely small, and there were great difficulties in expanding reproduction. Whenever there were natural or manmade calamities, even simple reproduction could not be maintained. At the same time, following the prolonged existence of the individual economy, a growing disparity between the two extremes was unavoidable. Thus, because of the disparity in the production conditions and labor power among the households, a small number of peasants became rich to varying degrees. Among them, some became members of a new exploiting class. In contrast, other peasants could not withstand the attacks of certain natural disasters. They gradually became more impoverished and ultimately joined the ranks of the exploited. The situation actually developed in this way. Soon after the land reform, the phenomena of the purchase and sale or rental of farm land and of hoarding, speculating and profiteering were daily increasing, as a result of which the development of agricultural production was retarded. From 1949 to 1952, the growth rate of grain and cotton production in our country was relatively high, but after 1953, the growth rate of grain

production dropped drastically, and in 1954 grain production increased by only 1.6 percent over that of 1953. Over these several years, cotton production not only did not increase but actually decreased. Fundamentally, this stagnant state of agricultural production was owing to the limitations of the agricultural individual economy. It can thus be seen that without transforming production relations which are unsuited to the productive forces, agricultural production cannot develop swiftly.

Agriculture is the foundation of the entire national economy, and industry and agriculture depend on each other for their existence. The development of socialist industry must depend on agriculture for the supply of grain, raw materials and other agricultural products. It must depend on extensive markets in the rural areas. It must also depend on agriculture to accumulate a portion of the capital funds. The slowing down and eventual stagnation of agricultural production necessarily affects the growth rate of industrial production. In 1952, the country had a bumper agricultural harvest, and in 1953, the growth rate of industrial production was accelerated. In 1953 and 1954, agricultural production was on the downturn; correspondingly, in 1954 and 1955 industrial production declined. This shows that great contradictions were increasingly evident between the scattered and backward small-scale farm economy and socialist industrialization. It shows that without carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture, socialist industrialization basically could not be realized. The history of the world shows that there are only two roads to industrialization, namely, the road of capitalist industrialization and the road of socialist industrialization. Taking the former road would result in the bankruptcy of the broad masses of peasants. Could we possibly take this road? Would the division of the peasants into two extremes be suitable for taking the road of socialist industrialization? Is it conceivable that socialist industrialization could be built on top of a never-changing individual economy?

To judge whether a revolution involving changes in production relations is correct and necessary is not a purely theoretical problem. Rather, it is a practical problem. In other words, to judge whether socialist transformation was necessary and whether it "deviated from the level of productive forces," we must see if it really promoted the development of agricultural production. Concerning this point, the answer can be clearly seen from statistics showing that during the period of agricultural cooperativization the gross value of agricultural output increased yearly, the output volume of various agricultural products increased rapidly, and the income of the peasants increased gradually. For example, the gross value of agricultural output in our country was 48.39 billion yuan in 1952. It was increased to 55.54 billion yuan in 1955, to 58.29 billion yuan in 1956, and to 60.35 billion yuan in 1957. Compared with those of 1952, in 1957 grain production increased by 19.8 percent; cotton, 25.8 percent; large domestic animals, 9.6 percent; pigs, 62.5 percent; peasants' income 27.9 percent; and so on. Moreover, since the socialist transformation of agriculture, agricultural production has been steadily rising. In 1980 as compared with 1952, the gross volume of grain production increased by 105.9 percent and that of cotton output increased by 107.7 percent. The production increase of these two items basically helped to solve the food and clothing problems of 1 billion people. That our country, occupying only 7 percent of the world's total acreage of cultivated land, can feed and keep alive one-fourth of the world's population is an exceptional accomplishment. The

achievement of this goal mainly depended on the collective economy established during agricultural cooperativization. Seen in this light, the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country has enabled agricultural production to develop and has continually raised the standard of living of the people. How can it be rashly criticized?

Lenin once said that in analyzing any social problem, we must place it within a definite historical context. This is the absolute demand of Marxist theories. To deviate from concrete historical conditions, to discuss abstractly and in isolation the role of the development of productive forces in the changes of production relations and to neglect to consider, under given conditions, the role of changes of production relations in promoting the development of production is decidedly not the attitude of historical materialism and certainly cannot bring about a correct understanding of the necessity of carrying out socialist transformation of agriculture in our country.

II

The implementation of the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country not only had a definite material foundation but also was the earnest demand of the hundreds of millions of peasants, particularly the poor and middle income and lower income peasants who make up the great majority of the peasant masses. It reflects the extreme socialist enthusiasm they have. Yet some writers have failed to see this enthusiasm on the part of the peasants. They have actually described the peasants in our country as "natural agricultural socialists" who "beneath the surface do not believe in socialism." They even go on to say that "what they wanted was the establishment of an ideal kingdom which upholds egalitarianism and is ruled by a benevolent despot and not a social system established according to scientific socialist principles." Obviously, these viewpoints are extremely erroneous.

Peasants as small-scale producers have a dual character, and this is universal. Lenin once made a penetrating analysis of the dual nature and dual function of the Russian peasant. He said: "On the one hand, the unprecedented poverty and bankrupt condition of the poor peasants, the many remnants of corvee economy and the various forms of remnants of the serf system fully explain the deep-going origin of the peasants' revolutionary movement and also explain the depth of the revolutionary nature of the peasant masses. On the other hand, be it in the process of revolution, in the character of the various political parties or in the various schools of thought, the inner contradictions of the class structure of the peasant masses are manifested as are their petit bourgeois character and the conflict between their inward desire to become property owners and their desire to become proletariats." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 11) Although this analysis refers to the Russian peasant, it applies just as well to the Chinese peasant.

The peasants in our country are the most reliable allies of the proletariat. They played an immense role in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. If we had relied on the proletariat alone without the active participation of the tens of millions of peasant masses, our democratic revolution could never have triumphed. The participation of the broad masses of

peasants in the democratic revolution was different in nature from peasant uprisings in history. Because of the party's leadership and indoctrination, they carried out the struggle self-consciously and in an organized manner. They threw themselves into the great currents of democratic revolution, and from beginning to end followed the guidance of the party's political program, lines, principles, and policies. They spent their lives in the people's armed forces under the people's government and took part in the peasants' self-defense corps, the militia, peasants' associations, poor peasants' leagues and other revolutionary organizations. They were steeled in the revolutionary wars, in land reform and in the various kinds of political, economic, cultural and ideological struggles. How can we speak of these peasants with the general description of their participation in the democratic revolution bearing the socialist agricultural ideology which had egalitarianism as its special feature? To do so would not only be defaming the broad masses of peasants who had made great contributions to the democratic revolution, but also negating the great historical feat of the democratic revolution itself, which was led by the party and embodied the peasants' war as its principal and special feature.

The broad masses of peasants in our country took an active part not only in the democratic revolution but also in the socialist revolution. In the early period of the founding of our republic, in a series of documents on agricultural cooperativization, the party Central Committee made a scientific analysis of the special features of the emancipated peasants and pointed out clearly: peasants have two types of production enthusiasm, one for individual economy and the other for mutual aid and cooperation. In other words, peasants as laborers can take the road of socialism, while peasants as private property owners can spontaneously turn to capitalism. But of these two types of enthusiasm, the one which goes on the socialist road takes the lead. This conforms with what Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must believe: (1) the broad masses of peasants are willing to take gradually the socialist road under the party's leadership; (2) the party is capable of leading the peasants on the socialist road. These two points are the substance and the main aspects of things." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, pp 180-181)

Why should it be put this way? The reasons are: First, peasants in our country suffered deeply from the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The depth and enormosity of their hardships have seldom been seen in other parts of the world. They received the party's indoctrination in the prolonged revolutionary struggles. In particular, peasants in the liberated areas and in the old base areas were influenced by the party's socialist ideological propaganda work. Thus, they are fully aware that overthrowing the three big mountains was but the first step in their emancipation and liberation, and that not until the stages of socialism and communism have been reached can they be really completely liberated. Second, the process of land reform carried out by the party was in reality a process to raise the peasants' consciousness. In taking part in the land reform struggles, the broad masses of peasants received the full effects of the class indoctrination on "who provides the support." They realized that in order to protect the fruits of the successes in land reform and to evade exploitation and to jointly become affluent, they must organize themselves and undertake cooperativization. For this reason, they were willing to take the socialist road, which is devoid of exploitation. They were

unwilling to take the painful capitalist road, on which one harms others to benefit oneself. Naturally, this does not mean that the peasants do not have their own weak points. On account of the backward production methods of small-scale rural economy and the limitations arising from the lack of cultural and scientific knowledge, they have unavoidably harbored narrow, selfish and absolutely egalitarian ideas as well as such passive and backward desires as a spontaneous inclination toward capitalism. But this does not reflect their inner nature and their main way of life. If we were to play up this special aspect of the peasants and conclude that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants embraced spontaneity itself, then we would be negating completely the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants.

The socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of peasants of our country was not only shown in the agricultural cooperativization movement; they have also retained it to this day. They were unanimous in praising the implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system. This was another indication of their socialist enthusiasm. At present, in certain localities the systems of assigning farm output quotas to each household and assignment of full responsibility for task completion are in practice, and this has caused people to become concerned that these systems might slide toward individual farming. What they wish to get rid of is not the socialist collective economy itself but those forms of management and distribution which do not involve the responsibility system, including giving blind directions, "eating from one big pot," and indiscriminate transfer of resources, which embodies egalitarianism. Now many localities have been carrying out various forms of the responsibility system and have really aroused the enthusiasm of the peasants. This is because: First, the responsibility system itself is what socialism by its very nature calls for. It links responsibility, rights and interests. In a society under the system of private ownership, the glaring feature is separation of individual interests from social interests, whereas socialism consists of the joining together of individual interests and social interests. Second, the responsibility system fittingly implements the socialist principle of distribution calling for "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." For this reason, the peasants' support for the implementation of the various forms of the responsibility system is an indication of their enthusiasm for taking the road of socialism. Furthermore, among the peasants, demands for newer forms of combination and cooperation have continually emerged. It can thus be seen that the broad masses of peasants have not harbored any dissident tendency against socialism and that their belief in the socialist public ownership system has not been shaken.

As for the allegation that the peasants in our country are "natural agricultural socialists," this is an analysis that lacks an historical background. Seen from the Marxist viewpoint, agricultural socialist ideology influenced the peasants differently according to different historical conditions. In a long-standing feudal society, because the production relations of the small-scale farm economy are not of an advanced type and because of the lack of a guiding scientific ideology, the peasants, in opposing the oppression and exploitation by the landlord class, frequently used as their weapon the agricultural socialist ideology embodying the special feature of egalitarianism. Although this was a fantasy which could not be turned into reality, at that time it still filled a definite role in seeking the road of advance. For example, the "heavenly kingdom's land

system" formulated by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom may be cited as having comprised the most influential agricultural socialist ideological trend in the history of our country. However, following the infiltration of Marxism into our country conditions changed fundamentally. From beginning to end, in the prolonged revolutionary struggles, our party has persisted in indoctrinating the peasants with Marxism, mobilizing them, organizing them and making use of this advanced revolutionary ideology to continuously overcome the various backward ideas of the peasants. The result was that the political understanding of the broad masses of peasants rose continuously. There emerged among them millions of great warriors imbued with the communist ideology. Some of them shed their blood or died for the revolution. Some did leadership work at various posts in the party, the government or the military. Some, though engaged in ordinary work, still displayed the role of vanguard warriors. It can be seen that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and not agricultural socialist ideology, guided the actions of the broad masses of peasants. True, occasionally certain peasants were still influenced by the absolute egalitarian thought left over from the past. But, after all, this was only a casual phenomenon and did not occupy a leading place in their ideology. Precisely for this reason, the millions of peasants in our country were self-consciously and willingly swept into the great tide of agricultural cooperativization. Up to 1956, 87.8 percent of the peasant households in the country had joined the advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives. Including those who had joined the elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives, 93.3 percent of all peasant households were members of the cooperatives. These facts clearly indicate that the vast majority of peasants in the country have been inclined to socialism and are not so-called "natural agricultural socialists."

III

The great successes we achieved in the socialist transformation of agriculture were inseparable from the alliance between the working class and the peasants and the alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie. People believed that, in regard to the problem of alliances during the period of socialism, our party had gone against Lenin's ideas. In their opinion: "To enter into an economic alliance with the capitalists against the peasants' small-scale production is Lenin's important strategic thought." "Unfortunately, we did not pay great attention to, or understand, this thought of Lenin's." "During the period of socialist transformation, our alliance with the national bourgeoisie should be 'in name' and not 'in fact.'"

As far as we know, Lenin never said such words as "entering into an economic alliance with the property owners in opposition to the small-scale production of the peasants." On 20 August 1921, in an article entitled "Old Errors and New Forms in a New Era," Lenin wrote: "Back in the spring of 1918, the communists were in favor of entering into an alliance with state capitalism to oppose the spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie." "We need the proletarian countries to enter into an alliance with state capitalism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 557, 560) From these quotes, we can see that Lenin's idea concerning an alliance with state capitalism to oppose the spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie was obviously not the same as the so-called "entering into an economic alliance with property owners to oppose the small-scale production of the peasants."

First, state capitalism is not the same as "capital or property owners." In a socialist country, state capitalism is a type of capitalist economic formation under the state's control. It is capitalism under the leadership and supervision of the working class. By means of it, the state can carry out the socialist transformation of private capitalism, while property owners are capitalists who own capital and exploit the surplus labor of the workers. Second, the spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie are also not equivalent to "peasants' small-scale production." The spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie refer to the capitalist inclination of those peasants engaged in speculation and profiteering, while the "peasants' small-scale production" refers to an entire peasant economy or agricultural individual economy. It can thus be seen that the so-called Lenin's "important strategic thought" was actually the fabrication of some writers and not really Lenin's thought.

Why should Lenin bring up at that time "entering into an alliance with state capitalism to oppose the spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie"? In Russia after the October Revolution, the economy was in dire straits and there was a general shortage of foodgrain and other material resources, owing to the ravages of prolonged warfare as well as to imperialism's interferences and blockade and its support of the counterrevolutionary armed uprisings. At the same time, rich peasants and certain well-to-do peasants grasped this opportunity to engage in speculation and profiteering in grain on a large scale and sabotaged the state's policy on collection of surplus grain. At that time, Lenin suggested the utilization of state capitalism to restore the development of the productive forces as an important direction in the implementation of a new economic policy. However, in reality, Lenin's plan was never consummated, because it was never accepted by the capitalist class in Russia. This was similar to what Lenin said in 1923: "In Russia, state capitalism never made much progress." (Ibid., p 686)

Nevertheless, when Lenin mentioned an alliance with state capitalism, he did not overlook the problem of an alliance between the working class and the peasants. On the contrary, he repeatedly emphasized the importance of this problem. For example, in June and July 1921, Lenin pointed out: "The highest principle of despotism is protection of the alliance between the proletariat and peasants in order to enable the proletariat to maintain their leadership role and the authority of the state." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 477) Again in March 1922, he said: "The worker-peasant alliance, bestowed to us by the Soviet government, is where the strength of the Soviet government lies." (Ibid., Vol 33, p 218) Lenin believed that the conclusion of an alliance between the proletariat and millions of small and very small peasants had an importance equal in degree to such important affairs of the state as the state's control of the major means of production and the proletariat's taking over the power of the state. It "comprises all that is needed for the building of a complete socialist society." (Ibid., Vol 4, p 682)

During the period of the socialist transformation of agriculture, our party all along paid great attention to the problem of the two alliances and developed and propagated Lenin's thought relating to them. At the time, Mao Zedong said: "At present, we have two alliances: one with the peasants and the other with the national bourgeoisie. Both of these alliances are very necessary to us."

("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 197) However, the status of these two alliances is not the same. The alliance with the peasants is the principal and basic one and occupies first place, whereas the alliance with the national bourgeoisie is secondary and occupies second place. The alliance with the national bourgeoisie enabled us to procure more industrial goods to exchange for agricultural products, to overcome the peasants' inclination to sell their grain sparingly and also to counter the spontaneous forces in the countryside. The alliance with the peasants enabled us to procure grain and raw materials for industry and restrain the capitalist class, thus blocking the capitalist road and the attempts of the capitalist class to set up free markets, freely procure raw materials and freely market their industrial products. Thus, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "At present, in this economically backward country of ours, both of these alliances are necessary." (Ibid., p 198) This was precisely the reason why, following the founding of our republic, we did not take over the enterprises of the national bourgeoisie but, instead, adopted the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming them and why through a series of transitional forms from elementary to advanced state capitalism, we have successfully accomplished what Marx and Lenin had envisaged as the peaceful buying out of the capitalist class. It was a gigantic creation of our party and Comrade Mao Zedong. To say that our alliance with the capitalist class was "in name and not in fact" was obviously contrary to historical fact.

* * *

Based on the above, it would seem entirely groundless for some people to put the label of historical idealism on our party for its implementation of the socialist transformation of agriculture. It cannot be denied that in the socialist transformation, there were the following defects: rash demands made during the transformation, inclination to do things at one stroke, rough work, too rapid changes, oversimplified and unified forms and methodology, and so on. On account of these defects, certain problems were left behind and remained outstanding for a prolonged period of time. However, these errors were owing to insufficient experience, lack of understanding of the national condition of our country, or incorrect estimates resulting in a gap between theoretical understanding and actual practice. These errors were radically different in nature from those of historical idealism. If we were to make a comprehensive survey of the entire course of the socialist transformation in our country, we would come to the conclusion that basically it conformed to Marxism, the national condition of our country and the objective economic laws, that in its progress we had not deviated from the lack of scientific socialism, and that, in a word, it had been a success.

In order to speed up the development of our country's four modernizations, it is extremely important to sum up the experiences and lessons from history. But in our treatment of history we must adopt a calm and scientific attitude. We must objectively and correctly describe the true historical process and depict the progress of history. If we do not start from China's real conditions in studying a problem, if we ignore the triumphant accomplishment of the Chinese revolution and also ignore what Lenin said before and after the October Revolution in Russia, and dogmatically propagate that socialism must be built on the foundation of highly developed socialized large-scale production, and if we believe that because of its economic backwardness socialism should not and could not be

realized in China, then naturally we would be skeptical of the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country and be prone to negate the great accomplishments made after the socialist transformation. This view would entirely ignore the great historical practices and accomplishments over the past several decades of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people. It would also be casting doubt on the basic theories of Marxism and its impact on actual life. The use of the erroneous method of dogmatism in research on historical problems would only transform the historical mirror of realities into a distorting mirror and would only provide "theoretical" ground for the liberalization trend of thought of the capitalist class. It could not possibly be a helpful source of reference for the people at large.

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FIRMLY AND CORRECTLY CARRY OUT THE POLICY OF DEALING HEAVY AND SWIFT BLOWS
ACCORDING TO LAW

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 31-33

[Article by Wang Guiwu [3769 2710 0063]]

[Text] In view of the present situation in which criminal activities are relatively rampant and seriously endanger public security, the CCP Central Committee has put forward a policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law on the criminals who have committed homicide, arson, robbery, rape, set off bombs and other major active criminal offenses. By dealing heavy and swift blows according to law, we mean distinguishing criminal from noncriminal activities; correctly defining the nature of criminal offenses and charges in accordance with both the stipulations of the general provisions of the criminal law on criminal offenses and criminal responsibilities and the stipulations of the specific provisions of the criminal law on criminal offenses and charges; sentencing criminals to heavy penalties within the limits defined in the specific penal provisions of the criminal law; improving work efficiency within the scope of the time limit of handling legal cases stipulated in the law of criminal procedure; and striving to wind up legal cases as quickly as possible so as to produce good results in striking timely blows at major active criminals. Practice has proved that this policy is correct and effective and is welcomed by the vast numbers of cadres and masses. The phenomena in which criminal activities are not dealt with effectively or in good time arouses the dissatisfaction of, and criticism by, the masses.

However, there have been divergent views and misunderstanding on this correct policy, and in the process of its implementation, this policy has been affected by some unhealthy habits and work style. As a result, the role of this policy has not been fully brought into play. This demands further study and discussion.

Some comrades doubt the necessity of putting forward the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law. They hold that since we have the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure, it is quite enough to comply with and carry them out. What is the use of formulating another policy, one of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law? They also worry that the implementation of this policy will interfere with law enforcement. We hold that this argument is the result of a failure to understand the relationships between the party leadership and the enforcement of law and between the situation, policies and the enforcement of law, and also is the result of unconsciously regarding the law as an isolated

phenomenon. Our party exercises leadership both over the enactment of laws and the enforcement of laws. One important facet of the party's leadership over political and legal work is the need to formulate, based on the situation of struggle at various times, principles and policies suited to specific conditions so as to guide the correct enforcement of laws. The situation determines the tasks as well as the principles and policies. This is known to all. But some comrades take exception to the practice of taking the situation into account in implementing the law. They fail to understand that the law has not only strict standards and relative stability but also an appropriate elasticity so as to be able to adapt itself to the immense variety of legal cases. In various stages and circumstances, the fluctuations in the number and types of legal cases of all kinds are not standard, and their harm to society also varies. For this reason, it is necessary to set the key targets of attack on the basis of the various different conditions and in accordance with their degree of urgency. Thus, it will be possible to concentrate strength in order to crack down on the most flagrant criminal activities, to more effectively protect the interests of the state and the people, and to more quickly safeguard the stability of social order. This instructed work of overall importance cannot be fixed by the law itself, because the situation of struggle changes and even the wisest lawmakers are unable to foresee the future situation of struggle. Only the party leading organs can make a comprehensive survey of the overall situation and grasp and guide it in good time. At present, the reason why our party has put forward the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law is that the major active criminals belonging to the above-mentioned six categories have seriously endangered society and the interests of the masses of people. Without exercising severity in penalizing them, the safety of the life and property of the people cannot be effectively protected and the political situation of stability and unity cannot be guaranteed. Failure to punish them promptly, dilatoriness in dealing with them and letting things slide will greatly reduce the effect of punishment. The severity being exercised promptly should be carried out within the limits of law. It should be subject to the limits of law and of legal procedure. This is not contradictory to, but actually in conformity with, acting in accordance with the law.

There are still some comrades who regard the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law as the "idea of imposing severe penalties." This argument is one-sided and wrong. It is known to all that the policy of combining punishment with leniency toward counterrevolutionaries and other criminals is an important criminal policy of our party and state. This policy has been included in China's criminal law and has become one of the principles of the criminal law. When putting forward the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law in punishing the major active criminals, the CCP Central Committee proposed that the offenders who voluntarily surrender and confess their crimes should be dealt with leniently according to law so as to promote the division and collapse of the criminal elements, and proposed that in regard to youngsters who have taken a wrong step in life, a policy of educating, rehabilitating and remolding them should be adopted. We should take care of and cherish them as parents treat their sons and daughters, doctors treat their patients and teachers treat their pupils, and guide them into becoming people of a new generation. The three aspects mentioned above are united and inseparable and meting out heavy punishment is not the one and only aspect. We must not grasp the aspect of severity

being exercised promptly in an isolated way and accuse it of being the "idea of imposing severe penalties." This criminal policy of both leniency and severity, each helping the other, embodies brilliant dialectical ideas and has great power. It is one of the valuable spiritual assets of the party and state. In the past, we used this policy to effectively strike at and destroy the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals, and in the future, in the light of reality, we will better use this policy to serve the further strengthening of social order and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

Dealing heavy and swift blows according to law at major active criminals naturally plays an admonishing role by puncturing the arrogance of criminal offenders, by putting an end to the abnormal situation in which good people are afraid of evildoers, and by bringing about a situation in which evildoers are afraid of good people and of the law. However, we must not think of this as intimidation. We do not rely on bullying methods to solve the crime problem. The reason why the criminal law of the exploiting classes represents intimidation is that those who constitute the minority of the people exercise dictatorship over the majority and are intrinsically weak. They have to rely on terrorism to maintain their reactionary rule. Our people's democratic dictatorship is a dictatorship over the minority by the majority and has an extensive and solid mass foundation. It is not worthwhile for us to consolidate state power by relying on intimidation. We can gradually reduce and even eliminate the social causes of crimes and eventually reach the goal of wiping out crime by relying on the superiority of the socialist system, by carrying out the revolutionary transformation and construction of society, and by building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. In terms of criminal policy and punishment methods, we have never adopted, but rather resolutely opposed, any retaliatory punishment. Even for such a heinous crime as intentional murder, China's criminal law stipulates a range of penalties of great elasticity: "sentence the offenders to capital punishment, to life imprisonment or 10 years' or more imprisonment; sentence the offenders whose offenses are relatively light to 3 years' or more but below 10 years' imprisonment." (Article 132 of the criminal law) It is not necessary that "those who commit homicide must die." We have all along adhered to the policy of executing fewer people. Apart from a handful of offenders who have committed the most heinous crimes and who must be executed or must be sentenced to capital punishment, the majority of offenders who have been sentenced to imprisonment, put in custody or under surveillance should be reformed through ideological education, productive labor, persuasion and setting examples, in the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism, into new people who earn their living through honest labor. This is determined by the historical mission of the proletariat to transform society and mankind. Even offenders who must be sentenced to death but do not need to be executed should be given a last opportunity to repent and should be sentenced to capital punishment with a 2-year suspension. These offenders may be subject to a program of reform through labor to see how they behave. China's law of criminal procedure stipulates: "The carrying out of the death penalty should be made public but the execution should not be carried out in public." None of this has anything in common with the retaliatory idea of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

As mentioned above, the targets for heavy and swift punishment are restricted in scope and specific. Not all offenders should be indiscriminately dealt heavy and

swift blows. To repeat, the targets for heavy and swift punishment according to law are only those who have committed murder, arson, robbery, rape, bomb blasts and other major active criminal offenses, and the scope must not be expanded at will. Dealing heavy and swift blows must not be regarded as "the boat rising with the tide," i.e., that it is a matter of course. We must not think that heavy punishment should be dealt to criminal offenders who are not in the six categories. We must deal with them in different ways in the light of different cases and according to the stipulations of the criminal law on meting out heavy punishment and extending leniency, and center on striking at the principal offender, the habitual offender, the instigator and the offender whose case is flagrant. We must extend proper leniency to the offender who has confessed his crimes and rendered meritorious service while serving his sentence, thus helping to divide the criminal elements. We must not mete out heavy punishment indiscriminately.

The prerequisite for dealing heavy and swift blows according to law is that they be "according to law." Arbitrary acts outside the law are not allowed. By meting out heavy punishment, we do not mean meting out lopsidedly heavy punishment. We do not mean sentencing all offenders, without distinction, with heavy penalties up to the maximum penalty, or with heavy penalties exceeding a proper limit, and do not mean that the heavier the punishment, the better. Within the limits of legal punishment and in keeping with the principle of meting out punishment commensurate with the offense, we must try to mete out heavy punishment in a fair, reasonable and legal way. A truth that is excessive becomes a falsehood. In handling affairs, we must not go to extremes.

In dealing heavy and swift blows according to law, the criminal procedure and system stipulated by the law should be observed, paying attention to the protection of the person's rights in a lawsuit, including the accused's right to a defense, right of appeal, right to apply for case dismissal, and so on. To increase efficiency in handling legal cases, we must start with the improvement of work methods and proficiency in applying the law, and not ignore or simplify the legal procedure or system and not take any hasty action.

In regard to all illegal acts, the state's legal organs for supervising law enforcement (the people's procuratorate) and the judicial organs at a higher level are held responsible for the examination and correction of these acts. The masses of people have the right to supervise and criticize and the litigants are allowed to make an appeal and to lodge complaints.

In short, we must unswervingly, correctly and accurately implement the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law and try our best to strengthen public order. At the same time, in the process of struggle, it is necessary to enhance the legal consciousness of the cadres, encourage the civilized spirit of observing the socialist legal system and be good at using the weapon of law to strike at criminal offenses.

For a long time, owing to the influence of the "leftist" ideology and the practice of launching political movements, there has existed among some cadres the unhealthy tendencies of belittling the legal system, doing things with a great flourish and having a single solution for diverse problems. All this directly hampers the correct enforcement of the party's principles and policies and the

state's laws. In the present struggle of striking at criminal offenses, some phenomena have emerged in which the legal system is ignored and legal cases are handled in a rough and ready manner. These phenomena are the result of unhealthy habits and work styles, and they do not mean that there is something wrong with the policy of dealing heavy and swift blows according to law. Correct ways of thinking and fine work styles are the guarantee for implementing policies and enforcing the law. We must continue to eradicate the "leftist" ideology, prevent the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, sum up experiences, deepen our understanding, unify our thinking, improve our work style, unite more closely around the CCP Central Committee, and struggle for the further strengthening of public order, the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship and the safeguarding of the construction of the four modernizations.

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THOSE WHO GO AGAINST THE TRENDS OF HISTORY ARE BOUND TO LOSE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 34-36

[Article by Yi Li [5030 4539]]

[Text] A great historical current which has been emerging and surging forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America during and since World War II is quickly changing the face of the world. This current is the result of the struggle waged by the people of former colonies and dependencies against imperialists and colonialists and for national liberation; it is a progressive and revolutionary force of mankind in the process of advancing from the old world of imperialism to the new world of communism. The victory of the revolution waged by the Chinese people has freed a large country whose population is nearly one-fourth of all mankind from the imperialist and colonialist system and allowed it to embark on the socialist road. This has encouraged and inspired all oppressed peoples in their struggles for national liberation and has vigorously pushed forward this historical current to a new upsurge.

The development of history is tortuous. When the old colonialists of Western Europe and Japan were defeated or weakened in the war and deprived of their former colonies and dependencies, a newly emerging imperialist power came to the fore. This was the United States, which had a meteoric rise after the war. It tried to become the postwar ruler of the world, counterattacking the national liberation movements that were emerging in the broad regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It suppressed and annihilated national revolutionary forces and propped up traitorous reactionary regimes. Through countless, complicated, intense and fierce struggles and trials of strength between intervention and counterintervention, coups and countercoups, suppression and countersuppression, the U.S. imperialists ended only in wasting their money and manpower. They suffered great casualties and lost every battle they fought, and their strength was sapped. Eventually, they were forced to retreat and assume a basically defensive stance to protect their vested interests and consolidate their spheres of influence.

A person who had taken part in American foreign policymaking admitted that because the United States had traveled along the "wrong path of power politics and war" after World War II, it had "exhausted its resources and spiritual energy" and "become a crippled giant." (William Fulbright: "Crippled Giant, U.S. Foreign Policy and Its Domestic Influence") A British journalist who lived in America for

a long time wrote: "The retreat of American power was quicker than any other country in modern history--even quicker than the fall of the British or French empires.... The concept of an empire has already been sent to the museum of history." (Henry Brandon: "The Contraction of American Power")

The defeat of the U.S. imperialists has irrefutably proved the following: The historical current of national liberation is irresistible. Even in alliance with the power of other imperialist countries, an economically and militarily strong country like America has failed to resist it.

The U.S. imperialists have underestimated the unprecedented national awakening and the firm determination for national liberation of the oppressed nations of the broad regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America after World War II. In many countries, except for a handful of the imperialists' running dogs and traitors, nearly all of the people--from communists, revolutionary democrats, revolutionary nationalists to some nobility and religious leaders--have joined the ranks of national liberation struggle. Those who are most daring, most resolute and most capable of uniting with all the forces that can be united in the whole nation become national leaders and enjoy maximum support from the broad masses. The U.S. imperialists cannot but rely on (they cannot do otherwise) a handful of the most reactionary and most decadent political forces that are bitterly hated by the people of the countries concerned to build and safeguard their own colonial rule. Therefore, no matter how many dollars the U.S. imperialists plunge in and how many soldiers they dispatch, they always prove to no avail. It is as if they had fallen into a bottomless pit that can never be filled. Actually, this is not strange at all.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism has not taught a lesson to those who are feverishly seeking world domination. Today, the Soviet hegemonists, depending on their unprecedented military power, are trying to take the place of the U.S. imperialists. With a stalemate in Europe, the strategically important region in the struggle for global hegemony, they have intensified their expansion and infiltration into Asian, African and Latin American regions, while strengthening their control over Eastern bloc countries of the so-called "big family." Therefore, they are becoming the biggest and most ferocious oppressor of other nations.

The Soviet hegemonists, trampling on the basic principles of international relations, wantonly sent a huge army to invade Afghanistan, a peace-loving and neutral sovereign state, overthrew its government, killed the chief executive and propped up with bayonets a puppet regime which is completely at their beck and call. The Soviets are carrying out brutal military suppression of the Afghan people, who have risen up against the invaders to defend their country's independence and fight for their national survival. All its moves are just like those of the old-line colonialists and imperialists.

After the U.S. imperialists retreated in defeat from Indochina, the Soviet hegemonists on their heels moved in. First through the sellout of the Le Duan clique, they turned Vietnam into a vassal and outpost for their expansion in Southeast Asia. Then they supplied guns and money to help Vietnam invade and occupy Kampuchea, putting the people of Kampuchea under a dark and brutal colonial rule and dual-nation oppression. Supported by the Soviet Union, Vietnam

has put Laos under its military occupation, depriving this country, which had been independent for a time, of its independence and sovereignty.

Thirteen years ago, the Soviet hegemonists invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia to break the Czechoslovak people's just will to break away from the Soviet control. For over a year, the great danger of Soviet military invasion of Poland has been like a huge dark cloud covering the sky of that country. The Soviet hegemonists dare not carry out their invasion yet, fearing that they will meet with strong resistance from the Polish people and severe sanctions by various countries of the world. But in the public's eye they have threatened and blackmailed Poland by every means and intervened in the internal affairs of this completely sovereign state. The Kremlin keeps sending orders instructing the Poles what to do and what not to do. This is the habitual practice of the Soviet hegemonists in carrying out their national oppression of their so-called "fraternal" countries.

The Soviet hegemonists have dispatched Cuban mercenary troops to intervene in the disputes within and between African states, with a view to placing these states within the Soviet sphere of influence. They engineer coups and sabotage, overthrow or physically eliminate leaders of certain countries whom they do not like, and prop up some other people so as to control them. The supply of military and economic aid to foreign countries and the dispatch of "specialists" and "advisers" abroad are actually a means adopted by the Soviet hegemonists to control and influence the foreign and domestic policies of other countries.

The Soviet Union has in peacetime developed a huge military force far exceeding its defensive needs. It has stationed massive forces and new weapons near the borders of other countries, built military bases and carried out all kinds of military activities to show its military strength and steal military information from other countries. All these activities have constituted serious threats to the security of other countries, which in return have been compelled to intensify their defense capability to safeguard their national sovereignties.

While paying lip service to detente, the Soviet Union is actually engineering local wars and preparing to fight global wars to realize its strategic objective of world domination. It always attempts to consolidate the national oppression in places it has gained control and occupied. There is really no detente at all, to say nothing of giving up its oppression.

It is not accidental that the Soviet Union has become the biggest oppressor of other nations. It is the extension and development of the historical tradition of czarist Russia in consistently bullying and devouring weak and small countries and the inevitable result of the strategy of today's Soviet leading clique in carrying out its world domination and expansion.

As today's biggest national oppressors, the Soviet hegemonists have two outstanding characteristics:

1. It was after the Asian, African and Latin American national liberation movements had already scored great victories and the former colonies and dependencies had won independence that the Soviet Union began to enter the political arena

seeking world hegemony. Therefore, it has in fact been seeking to pull these nations back into being dependencies and colonies. This is a serious disruption to the present national liberation movements and a reaction to the progressive historical current of national liberation.

2. It is under the banners of socialism and slogans like "socialist internationalism" and "natural alliance" that the Soviet Union oppresses other nations. This naturally impairs the reputation of socialism among the people of the world and seriously undermines the world socialist cause.

However, the Soviet hegemonists, like the old colonialists and imperialists, will not be able to stop the historical current of national liberation. The reasons are as follows:

1. To get rid of national oppression and realize national equality has been the common wish of the people of the world for many years, and the basis for all nations' survival and development. All men, one stepping into the breach as another fell, have fought and died for this, one generation after another. No force can destroy such a wish and fighting will. Nowadays the consciousness of the people of the world is greatly different from the old days. They could not tolerate any national oppression then, still less now. On the contrary, they will oppose it more strongly. The Afghan people have been resisting the Soviet invaders for 2 years despite the unfavorable balance of forces. Likewise, the Kampuchean people have been fighting against the Soviet-backed Vietnamese invaders under extremely difficult conditions. Thus, the Soviet-Vietnamese hegemonists have not been able to realize their plans to devour Kampuchea. This is a hard fact.

2. In view of the prospects for world revolution, Lenin pointed out: "So far as the whole globe is concerned, only by basing ourselves on the fact that capitalism itself is eventually educating and training the great majority of the population of the globe on how to carry out struggle, can we predict the outcome of the struggle." In this respect, Lenin made a very high appraisal of the revolutionary awakening and liberation struggle of the backward countries of the Orient which constitute a great majority of the world's population, believing that this would determine "the final outcome of the world struggle." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 710)

Since World War II, hundreds of millions of people of the backward countries, which constitute the great majority of the world's population, have been in the awakening and involved in the great historical current of national liberation struggle. In the past they were regarded as a negative force that stood outside the progress of modern history. Now they are playing an unprecedentedly powerful role that pushes history forward. And the imperialists, colonialists and hegemonists who oppress them are in essence reactionary, decadent and extremely isolated. Their being strong and their superiority are temporary, and will turn feeble and inferior under the heavy blows of the people's force. In recent years, Soviet hegemonists have been ferociously carrying out attacks everywhere. They seem to have the upper hand. But the further they extend their hands, the longer front they will have to take care of, and the deeper they will sink into the quagmire of encirclements of the people of the world until they cannot escape. They are preparing the conditions for their own final collapse.

Many people in the world have perceived such a historical trend from different angles. An American commentator wrote: "Moscow is its own worst enemy. It has stupidly and rudely treated one country after another, and this has driven countries and people that are numerous enough to influence the world situation out of the Soviet orbit." A Japanese magazine's commentator said: "Soviet great-nation chauvinism has provoked increasing antipathy from the people of the Third World. The United States' and Soviet Union's influence and ability to deal with crises in the Third World is dwindling with each passing day. This is the main trend of the world situation." Some observers believe that from a long term point of view, like the U.S. imperialists being only paper tigers, the Soviet hegemonists are nothing but paper bears.

In his report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev concluded the part on international problems with "the dialectics of progress and the dialectics of life." But what the Soviet leading clique actually has done has proved that they do not understand the dialectics of international life and the dialectics of historical progress. Brezhnev said in his report: "The imperialist bloc which is most aggressive" "totally ignores the rights and wishes of the people of the world." "It tries to reach the goal that cannot be reached--to install obstacles on the road of world's progressive changes and to play the role of controlling the destiny of the people of various countries." It is natural that their stand has decided that the Soviet hegemonists have put themselves in the ranks of the "imperialist bloc which is most aggressive." But Brezhnev was right when he said it was impossible to reach the goal of "installing obstacles on the road of world's progressive changes and playing the role of controlling the destiny of the people of various countries." Those who go against the trends of history are bound to lose. This is the conclusion which has been and will continue to be drawn in actual life.

CSO: 4004/17

ENHANCE NATIONAL PRESTIGE AND BOOST PUBLIC MORALE--ON PHYSICAL CULTURE AND BEING PATRIOTIC

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 37-39

[Article by Yang Xia [2799 1115] and Zhang Zhenting [1728 2182 0080]]

[Text] The sportsmen of our country have won one major victory after another in many international matches, such as in table tennis, volleyball, football, diving, gymnastics, badminton and ice hockey, in their efforts since the 1980's began to march into the world's sports circles and particularly since this year began. The national women's volleyball team made a historical breakthrough when, for the first time, it won the third women's volleyball world championship. People were overjoyed to hear this good news and they held rallies to celebrate this victory. They could not help waving their national flags and singing the national anthem. They shouted "Unite to enhance national prestige!" "China! China!" "Long live the motherland!" and other slogans.

Intense popular interest in sports eventually spurs people's patriotism. Never before in the history of our country has physical culture been so closely related to patriotism. This situation illustrates the spiritual outlook that has been displayed by hundreds of millions of people since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee; it is also a vivid demonstration of their increasing patriotism.

The Chinese people have a glorious tradition of being patriotic. They ultimately respect, love and are reluctant to leave the motherland that has nourished them, and this loyalty remains unchanged whether their motherland is prosperous or poor. These profound patriotic feelings, which have been formed and consolidated over the past tens of hundreds of years, are at present concentratedly manifested in the people's ardent love for the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system and in their consciousness in contributing their souls and wisdom to the great cause of the socialist modernization program in their bid to turn their motherland into a prosperous and powerful country as quickly as possible. The reason why the mass fervor in sports has been able to arouse such tempestuous patriotism at present is that the victories won in sports have inspired the broad masses of people to ardently love their socialist motherland. These victories have enlightened and encouraged them and consequently enabled them to see even more clearly the prospects and hopes of their motherland and to attain confidence and strength from sportsmen in freeing their motherland from poverty and backwardness.

In old China, the Chinese people lived in misery. Their physiques were weak and they were called the "sickmen of East Asia." In the eyes of foreigners, the Chinese people were not good at doing anything, neither at playing ball games or swimming. During that period, Chinese sportsmen took part in Olympic games on four occasions but failed in all competitions and consequently they were taunted and sneered at by some people. Following the liberation, physical culture began to develop rapidly in our country, with some aspects reaching the world's advanced level. But owing to a weak foundation and the restriction in the development of the economy, science and culture, and particularly because of the interference and damage during the 10 turbulent years, taken as a whole, the level of physical culture in our country is still lagging behind the countries in the world that have a powerful physical culture. Our sportsmen are not disheartened by this temporary backwardness and they do not blame others when they are faced with numerous difficulties. It is true that their living and training conditions are not so good, but they train tenaciously and stubbornly. They dare to tackle difficulties, to challenge world standards and to compete with strong international rivals. Through such activities they have made progress. In table tennis and badminton, where our country has a comparatively high level, we have been able to constantly climb the peak of skills and maintain a leading position in the world for a long period of time. We were in the middle and upper levels in gymnastics and volleyball in the past, but now we have made great progress and have joined the ranks of the world's powerful teams. Diving was previously unknown to the public in our country, but now it has made a breakthrough and our diving team has achieved results in some world championships. We also have made rapid progress in fields that used to be backward in our country, such as track and field events, football and ice hockey. Countless Chinese people felt proud and elated and were very excited when they learned that the Chinese table tennis team had won the team title and that five players were individual runners-up during the 36th world table tennis championships held in Novi Sad, which created a sensation in the history of world table tennis; that our woman diver Chen Xiaoxia won the world championship when she dove with superb skill from a 10-meter high diving board; that Zou Zhenxian chalked up the sixth-best result in the history of the triple jump and that our women's volleyball team raised high the champion's cup in the Kobe municipal gymnasium amid the strains of the solemn national anthem of the People's Republic of China and when our national flag was being hoisted. From all this, people can see that the Chinese are not inferior to foreigners and that the Chinese people are able to be world champions. A spectator said to the Chinese sportsmen: "What have you shown to the people? You have shown that the Chinese people are daring and stubborn, that the Chinese people have an iron will, that the Chinese people are good at competition, that the Chinese people are courageous and wise, that the Chinese people are not inferior to others in anything and that they have achieved the world's first standards!" The achievements made by our sportsmen have vividly portrayed our great country and people in their march forward in the four modernizations program.

From the situation in physical culture, people can see the situations in various trades and the whole country. The road taken by our sportsmen is the road that is being taken by the people across the country and this road is the road for working hard to develop the country, for creativity and for victory. Backwardness is not dreadful and various trades can create their own "world champion" and "world standard" as long as we are able to work hard and be full of confidence. In this

way we will be able to realize our socialist modernization program and our country will have bright prospects. Congratulating our table tennis players, a spectator said: "We are confident that in the near future the Chinese will be able to stand among the nations of the world with their gigantic and heroic images."

Our sportsmen rose up from backwardness and made progress in their constant struggles against setbacks and failures. They have thus demonstrated the Chinese people's heroism of defying difficulties and danger and of persistence and revolutionary optimism. People warmly hailed the victory won by the Chinese national table tennis players in the 36th world table tennis championship not only because of their brilliant achievements; what is more important is that the men's team regained the championship after 2 years of tenacious training following its setback in the 25th world championship. Our national women's volleyball team inspired people during its match in Hong Kong earlier this year, because at the critical moment when it had lost the first two games, it remained calm and stubbornly fought back to win final victory. Our national ice hockey team was upgraded from group C to group B because it displayed the spirit of fearing no sacrifice and of daring to compete with strong rivals. The national football team was able to beat the Kuwaiti national team 3-0 because of its determination to win the match. The members of our women's volleyball team have unceasingly trained over the past 3 decades since the team was formed. Thanks to their constant efforts in dedicating their precious youth and vigor to the volleyball cause of their motherland, they have at last written a brilliant chapter in the history of our country's physical culture. All fronts in our country must learn from the spirit of the women's volleyball team, which is characterized by hard training, doggedness and striving to win merit for the motherland.

The "tremendous spirit" displayed by the sportsmen of our country is the spirit that is needed and is being displayed by the people in our country; it is an inspiring, epochal spirit. This spirit reflects the mental outlook of the Chinese people in the 1980's in building a powerful country. Our country suffered serious setbacks during the 10 turbulent years and consequently there are countless difficulties and problems for us to solve. What are we to do? We cannot stand aside and just talk about these difficulties or become pessimistic; neither can we lose hope or blame others. On the contrary, we must take the attitude of being the masters of our country, share weal and woe with it, devote our strength to it and work hard for it. Is not this the kind of spiritual strength that has been found by the broad masses of people in our sportsmen? Inspired by this strength, many young people whose youth was wasted by the "Great Cultural Revolution" have come to realize that there is hope for their country and that they themselves have bright prospects. They have arisen from silence and stopped drifting. Consequently, they have become more determined to cherish their motherland. A man said with deep feeling: "As a young man whose youth was wasted during the 10 turbulent years, I shed tears of despair and hopelessness. Now the fire in the life of my youth has been rekindled in the tears of my eyes. The victories won by our sportsmen have healed a wounded heart and awakened a despairing soul." Some people said that from the sportsmen "we have seen the strength of Chinese youth and the hope of the nation. The warm blood of young people must be shed in the cause of boosting the morale of the Chinese people and turning our motherland into a powerful country." The songs of the victories won by our sportsmen have been echoed in the hearts of young people.

"China relies on tempests for vitality." To enhance the prestige of our country it is imperative to boost the morale of the Chinese people. A most important point at present is to further inspire people's patriotism so that they will ardently love their great socialist motherland and they themselves will become patriots with national dignity, self-confidence and pride. Competition spurs patriotism. Patriotism cannot be realized by relying on general and abstract persuasion; it relies on concrete and vivid action that is displayed by sportsmen during competition, and their skills and actions affect people's minds and hearts. The combination of mind and heart will spur patriotic enthusiasm. When our sportsmen are able to win major international matches with outstanding achievements and when our national flag is hoisted, the patriotic enthusiasm of millions of people will surge ahead. In carrying out our socialist modernization program, we need both high material civilization and spiritual civilization. It is an important aspect in building a socialist spiritual civilization to display patriotism, and sports play a special and substantial role in inspiring people's patriotism. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Sports activities are in fact material force as well as spiritual force."

The reason that sports have been able to display a special role in spurring patriotism and in building a spiritual civilization is that sports activities have their own features.

One of the outstanding features of sports activities is fierce competition and this competition is shown in the form of direct rivalry. During a match, the two sides compete intensely against each other and neither is willing to give in. The result is that the stronger wins the game. Such a closely fought game is in fact a test of skills, strategy, physical strength, wisdom, will, style, thinking and spirit. At the same time, a world match has international features. The combination of competitiveness with international features results in even more fierce competition. An international match is a test of strength, and to a certain extent it reflects differences in national spirit and physical strength. The losing or winning of a game affects the prestige of a country and people and deeply influences people's thinking, feelings and mental outlook. Thus the competitiveness and international features of sports activities organically link sports with patriotism and an intense interest in sports with an ardent love for one's country.

Today, the skills in world sports activities are developing rapidly. Strong teams are coming to the fore one after another, Olympic games, European games and other major world competitions are held one after another with more and more participants. In addition, there are many changes in the world sports arena, with competition becoming more and more fierce. Strong teams are becoming stronger, while the weak teams are sparing no effort to catch up. Consequently, many countries are paying much attention to developing sports, improving skills, and striving for new records and champions in a bid to show their strength and to spur patriotism through victories. The role of sports is becoming more prominent in modern countries.

It is necessary to stress here that people's patriotism is invaluable, but this patriotic enthusiasm needs correct guidance. Our people is a great people and our country is a great country. We must always demonstrate our national style

characterized by calmness, resoluteness, prudence and persistence and display our good style of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness. It is only natural that a team will either win or lose in a match. It is our hope to win one match after another, but there is no sportsman or team that always wins. Therefore, we must resort to education and guide the masses, particularly young people, to correctly view the winning or losing of a game. We cannot be too excited and lose our reason because of winning or losing; neither can we forget friendship. We must also prevent a few people from violating the relevant policies and laws, damaging public property, and being impolite and unfriendly to foreigners. In celebrating a major victory in sports, it is natural that we be full of joy, but we must not become wild and disorderly. On the contrary, we must turn such patriotic zeal into patriotic deeds. We must learn from the revolutionary spirit of our national women's volleyball team in our study and work so as to make our contributions to boosting the morale of the Chinese people.

In sports we are now marching in the world in an all-round way; we are taking part in more and more major international competitions, and consequently this demands higher ideology, skills and style on the part of the sportsmen. We have made great achievements, but, taken as a whole, the standard of our sports is not high enough and we still have not reached a position that meets the needs of the development of the situation. We are proud of the achievements we have made, but we must train even harder to meet the future tasks with flying colors. People hope that the sportsmen of our country will regard it as their obligation to enhance the prestige of their country and boost public morale through sports activities, and consequently that they will train even harder so as to create outstanding achievements; they hope that various sectors will show their warm concern and render warm support to promote to an even greater extent the development of our physical culture and nurture and train more talent in sports that will win merit for their country. In this way, our physical culture will be able to constantly make progress and play an even bigger role in spurring the patriotism of the broad masses of people and in building our socialist spiritual civilization.

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REPORTAGE MUST HAVE THE AUTHENTICITY OF NEWS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 pp 40-43, 33

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402] and Lin Wenshan [2651 2429 1472]]

[Text] Reportage is a type of writing that quickly reflects social changes. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, reportage has been brought to the fore as a new force of great popularity, as the turn in history, the change of times, the return to order from chaos, and the replacing of the old by the new in all trades and professions contributed to the preparation for its growth. In the short span of a few years, reportage has been marked not only by the appealing writings of veteran writers who achieved success a long time ago, but also by the successive emergence of many new writers of diverse styles, enjoying great popularity among readers. Since the founding of the PRC, reportage has never had such active publications, such a significant social impact or occupied such an important place in the hundred-flowers garden of literature and art.

Nothing can grow if it goes against the law of dialectics. In the flourishing development of reportage, shortcomings and errors have been found in it which deserve our attention. Among others, one comparatively striking problem is that quite a number of writings, including some outstanding works enjoying great popularity as well as certain works which have been awarded prizes, are, to varying degrees, not authentic. Despite the fact that this is a minor problem, the inauthenticity of reportage, in particular the inauthenticity of such writing, which is meant to spotlight political events of great concern to the public, often has made it difficult for readers to distinguish between the true and the false, the right and the wrong. This has given rise to chaos in people's thinking, caused contradictions that should not have occurred at all, impaired stability and unity, damaged the reputation of the party's publications among the broad masses of people, and caused bad political influences and social performances. This indicates that maintaining the authenticity of reportage is far more than a problem of ideology and style of literature and art. Rather, it is a solemn problem of social responsibility.

How should the nature and the authenticity of reportage be viewed? This is an old problem. Yet it is also a new and really significant problem. Of course, reportage should be authentic. There seems to be complete agreement on this by all writers of reportage and all commentators holding various views. However,

their views diverge when they come to the question: What kind of authenticity is needed in reportage?

According to one view, reportage is "a kind of fringe literature" which is an intermediary between journalism and literature. For this reason, there exists in reportage not only the "authenticity of news," but also the "authenticity of literature." While these two kinds of authenticity should be unified on the basis of the "reality of life"; such a reality nonetheless represents the "essence of authenticity." Some comrades say: "To reduce the authenticity of reportage to that of journalism means simply to disregard the nature and characteristics of this style of writing." On the basis of such a perception, some comrades take the view that when a writer works on the materials he has collected to produce reportage, it is necessary "to do some artistic polishing of the real personages and real stories, or, in other words, to make some artistic generalizations and characterizations," and that "a comparatively free combination of facts, characterization, and thinking should be allowed." To be frank and straightforward, this is to say that "a pinch of fictitiousness should be allowed," and this "fiction is to be molded on the basis of real life."

The concrete expression of such a theory in the practice of writing has been the cause of the inauthenticity of a considerable amount of reportage in the past few years. For the purpose of creating the lofty image of the leading characters, under the influence of the guiding thinking of allowing "a pinch of fictitiousness," some writers of reportage took the liberty of changing the location, time, and cause and effect relationships as they pleased. In some cases, things that had never happened were imposed on the leading characters, or the occurrences over a number of years were crammed into a single night. In other cases, the deeds of several persons were kneaded into one piece to be brought together by one person, and private talk against Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their group turned into a direct confrontation with the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. In still other cases, things that were done after the smashing of the "gang of four" were predated to a prior time, or ordinary contradictions between individuals were touched up and written about as a struggle between two lines. Sometimes, collective achievements in scientific research were attributed to individuals. In extreme cases, the broad masses of people and cadres were fictitiously belittled for the purpose of "enhancing" the lofty image of the leading characters so that the leading characters in real life could fight against their fictitious opponents. Such descriptions contrary to facts would naturally cause dissatisfaction or even strong opposition among readers and especially those who in real life are directly concerned. The objective results more often than not were contrary to the expectations of the writers of such reportage: The progressive people who were originally meant to be extolled are not held up as examples for the people to learn from. Quite contrary to this, they find themselves in an isolated and passive position in the places where they work, while those who should have been criticized are regarded as having been wronged and are sympathized with.

Obviously, reportage has the dual nature of journalism and literature. Nonetheless, as an independent type of literature, the emergence and formation of reportage are inseparable from the development of journalism. With the development of social life and the deepening and extension of social connections, people

not only need timely and accurate news, but also more detailed and more lively descriptive stories about some of the more important social events. All these prescribe the foremost position of the journalistic nature of reportage. Just as journalistic reporting, what reportage presents are those things which have happened or are happening in real life, and the people, organizations and localities concerned, as well as the time, the process, and the conclusion, must be reported truly without any change. The task of reportage is to present a true picture of social life to people very quickly through the authentic narration of true people and true events. It is precisely because reportage can promptly and quickly reflect the people and events of much concern and notice to the public, and because it has its unique artistic form as well as its incomparable news and documentary value, that it is comparatively more influential on public opinion and can directly and effectively serve the realization of political struggles as well as the realization of people's benefits. This is exactly where the power and predominance of reportage lie. Accordingly, this demands that writers of reportage, just as news reporters, be responsible for the personages and events they portray as well as that they be worthy of the trust that the public reposes in them. Such a nature and demand prescribe that the authenticity of reportage can only be the same as that of news reporting, and that its narration must in general conform with the logic of life and the law of development of actual life (the so-called "essential authenticity"), but also strictly stick to the demands of news reporting, that is, strict adherence of the writing to the specific time, locality, event, process, and cause-and-effect relationship of what actually happened. This is exactly the difference which distinguishes reportage from fiction. In the eyes of some comrades, the difference between reportage and fiction is that the former is allowed "a pinch of fictitiousness," while the latter is allowed "more fictitiousness." According to such a viewpoint, it seems that the difference between the two can only be a matter of quantity regarding the principle of whether fictitiousness is allowed, with no difference in quality at all. Consequently, it is inevitable that the dividing line between reportage and fiction is blurred. This fictionalizes reportage, replacing on-the-spot interviews, investigations, and repeated checking by creative writing or imagery. In terms of guiding thinking, this is the very crux of the inauthenticity of some reportage at present.

Furthermore, the so-called "pinch of fictitiousness" and "appropriate fictitiousness" are very flexible concepts. What exactly is meant by "a pinch of" and "appropriate"? In this regard, each writer in his own writing can have his own interpretation. In the case of the unraveling of a scandal, for example, originally much was contributed by the local party organization and the departments concerned, but the writer of the reportage attributed it to the efforts of one or two individuals. This seems to be a case of allowing "a pinch of fictitiousness." However, it gives the readers the impression that the local party organizations and the departments concerned did not do their best in the struggle, or functioned in the opposite way. To make things worse, readers may get the wrong impression that this social system of ours is impotent in dealing with bad persons. It is indeed difficult to regard this as appropriate. It is also very difficult to accept as "appropriate fictitiousness" that the normal and friendly criticisms of the cadres and masses against the actual drawbacks of leading figures be regarded as jealousy and envy of the virtue and talent of the latter in order to magnify their lofty image, as well as to exaggerate the difficulties

and hindrances they have to overcome. The same is true of depicting their actual collaborators and supporters as onlookers and opposers. As indicated by facts, such an arrangement might be temporarily praised by some uninformed commentators for the "loftiness" of the image of the leading characters and the "acuteness" of the conflict of the contradictions. However, once the true story is revealed, an undesired result will occur. If such a situation prevails in the long run, the predominance and special power of reportage will also vanish. Obviously, it is inevitable that "a pinch of fictitiousness" only makes reportage draw closer and closer to fiction, and ultimately reportage will exist in name only.

At present, in some reportage, the people in the story are still given pseudonyms. Such a practice might serve the purpose of ensuring the safety and safeguarding the reputation of certain people as well as serve other good intentions. This practice might also stem from the good wish that those who have made mistakes might realize and correct their own mistakes. However, it is worth considering whether this practice will yield the expected results. It is understandable that pseudonyms are used in contemporary reportage, as this has much to do with the social environment of the time and is an expedient measure about which there is no other choice. Today, the rights of the people, the writers and the reporters are under the protection of the discipline of the party and the law of the state. Generally speaking, it is hard to understand why pseudonyms should be used. Since reportage deals with true people and events, with the adoption of pseudonyms people in the know will find out at first sight who is who in the story. Then, how can the writers' expected results be realized? Quite to the contrary, the adoption of pseudonyms often gives writers a free hand to fabricate stories. Consequently, this gives rise to unnecessary guessing, misunderstandings and disputes. What could be worse is that this kind of fictitiousness might be taken advantage of by people harboring evil intentions, and become a means for vilifying others. Therefore, the idea that it is permissible to fabricate a story in the name of a true person as well as to write a true story under a pseudonym is against the nature of reportage. The same thing is true of attributing to an individual that which was done by many people, or of knitting several separate events into one story, or of creating a story which never happened in real life. It is highly debatable whether such reportage can be regarded as reportage at all. To be true to its name, it is much better to call it fiction. Militant and unselfish reportage should strictly abide by authenticity, like news reporting.

Of course, reportage differs significantly from news reporting in general by the very fact that it is reportage. Generally speaking, what is required of news reporting is a clear, brief and general narration of the time, place, people, event, process, and the cause-and-effect relationships. As for reportage, a literary quality is required. It is required to replace the simple and straightforward narration of news reporting in logical forms by lively and artistic descriptions in representative figuration, giving readers the symbolical appeal and simulating the actual scene for readers. This demands that the writers of reportage devote great effort in working out the theme of the plot, the portrayal of the characters, the description of the surroundings, the heightening of the atmosphere, and so on. All this requires an advanced artistic representation in an effort to avoid simple two-dimensional narration so as to have rich and vivid detailed descriptions, including the language of the people, and the meticulous description of their psychological differences which give the readers a

three-dimensional impression. It is impossible for writers of reportage to experience for themselves all the people and events about which they write. It is not even possible for them to see or hear all such people and things. As for certain details, for example, certain dialogues between the characters and their psychological differences, the passing of time and the change of place make it difficult for the people directly concerned to reproduce these dialogues and differences concretely and exactly. In this case, it is necessary for the writers to resort to their imagination and to adopt the method of logical imagination. In order to enrich the detailed descriptions, the writers might heighten the social surroundings and background of the people and events being described on the basis of materials collected from investigations, visits and reading. The writers might also express their own feelings in regard to such people and events, including the discussion of certain philosophies. Without these ingredients, reportage will not be itself, and will be no different in any respect from news reporting. However, the literature embodied in reportage should base itself on the premise of not contravening the authenticity of news reporting. The people, events and places and the plot must be true, and not fictitious. With regard to the people and events described, selection is allowed, but integration and generalization as well as attributing the deeds of many people to one individual should not be permitted. Pruning should be allowed, but not exaggeration and diminution. It is permissible to emphasize the description of a certain event, but not to fabricate a story out of thin air. It is permitted to avoid a certain problem, but not to turn demerits into merits, or to declare that what is correct is incorrect. It is permissible to adjust the chronological order of an event, but not the time of the event itself, nor the background and the cause-and-effect relationships of the event.... Nothing should be done in the manner of writing fiction, such as relying on making up the story, substituting one thing for another, and confusing one thing with another in order to heighten the artistic appeal. Some comrades equate fiction with imagination on the basis of facts, or inference. They believe that in order to repel fiction it is necessary to stifle the artistic imagination altogether. To them, without stopping artistic imagination, nothing can be done to repel fabrication. Actually, such imagination has a clear demarcation in respect to fiction. Description that relies on imagination can only be the objectivization of actual happenings in terms of memories in broad outline of the people concerned, and such an objectivization must conform to the objective environment and mental condition of the people concerned. One cannot raise them to the level of the perceptions of today, nor can one make additions to them or restructure them for the purpose of using them as models. Such imagination can never change and run contrary to the facts in life, but only more accurately and more forcefully present the true features of the people and events of our life. It differs significantly in principle from the fiction needed in writing novels.

In writing reportage, the portrayal of environments and people are also necessary, but it cannot rely on fiction. Accordingly, this presents to writers of reportage a more difficult task in comparison with that of writers of novels. Writers of reportage must select typical people and typical events, and look for relatively vivid and complete people and events which do or did exist in real life, as well as bring out the essential nature of the times in order to comprise the theme for writing. In the works of outstanding writers of reportage attracting the attention of the public, the writing is all about events and people of typical

significance. In real life, it is not the case that anyone or any event can be the model for reportage. The integration, generalization, processing and transformation of the average personality or event in real life, or the taking of one individual as the chief model incorporating and assimilating the achievements of many people, or "taking bits from various persons" and incorporating them in one person in order to create a model, is simply not suitable for reportage.

In addition to the intentional adoption of the method of fictitious plotting, which has damaged the authenticity of reportage, in some reportage a lack of authenticity has been caused by carelessness and indiscretion in collecting data. In some extreme cases, the mistake was made of flattering those who were not praiseworthy at all, just to mention one example. In reportage on science and technology, the following situation is quite common. Without the evaluation and certification of the authorized department appointed by the state, the result of a research program pending the affirmation of diverse judgments is declared in a firm tone by reportage to have attained the world's advanced standard. In other examples, with only the affirmation of the correct direction of a certain research program by a certain well-known scholar, the conclusion of the program is declared to have been endorsed by the well-known scholar by a piece of reportage, or a collectively achieved product of a research program is attributed to the efforts of one individual (incidentally, the development of modern science and technology is characterized by obvious features such as collectivity, social cooperation, dimensions realizable only by the state, and so on). In some reportage, even things that are outdated are flouted as "new inventions." There are other similar examples. As to the reasons why such mistakes contrary to commonsense are made, one reason is doubtless that some of our writers of reportage lack specific professional expertise. Another reason is the lack of care in collecting data and making visits, or even the listening to one-sided stories.

As demonstrated by practice, the task of writers of reportage is to collect materials, make visits and conduct investigations, and this is a very difficult one. The writers of reportage must not only go deep into life, just as literary and art workers do, observing life from the standpoint of the Marxist world outlook, understanding life, and distinguishing right from wrong, feeling the pulse of real life, deciding what is to be praised and what is to be criticized, but also must do some footwork, as news reporters do, in order to seek out newsworthy people and events that are of typical significance, and to conduct careful, thorough and arduous scrambling for news. As for the people and events to be written about in the reportage, including time, place, cause-and-effect relationships, and so on, which comprise all the relevant facts, they must take the solemn attitude of being responsible to the revolution and to the people, acquire thorough understanding through investigations, make careful checks and listen to arguments from all sides. From these arguments they must discard the dross and select the essence, eliminate the false and retain the true, in order that they will acquire a comprehensive and correct understanding and grasp of the facts. Works on advanced people as well as on revealing the negative side of life must be able to stand the test of the masses, the test of practice and history. In this regard, the spirit of many successful writers of reportage is worth learning. In order to collect materials for writing his "Sketches of the Journey to the West," Edgar Snow experienced much hardship. He even risked his life. For the purpose of collecting materials for writing his "The Indentured Laborers,"

Comrade Xia Yan disguised himself so as to go to the "workhouses" of the workshops and dormitories of the indentured laborers to conduct on-the-spot investigations. He stayed there for more than 2 months. He walked a distance of over 10 li at 3 am to see how the indentured laborers changed shifts. Today, conditions are different. Nonetheless, the stories of many writers of reportage who made arduous investigations for their writings are still very inspiring. For example, in the case of the widely loved work "The Model for County Party Secretaries--Jiao Yulu," it was on his trip in Henan Province to collect writing material that the author, Comrade Mu Qing, was deeply moved by the deeds of Jiao Yulu, in whom he found a representative personage. Then Mu Qing traced the steps of Jiao Yulu and trod the desert wastes and sand dunes of Lankao [County], making numerous investigations, collected his material bit by bit, and finally finished writing his book. The formula "60 percent running around, 30 percent thinking and 10 percent writing is the normal proportion in writing reportage." This summary is not the experience of a single man! Reportage is an honorable and arduous profession. It requires a writer with the talent of a scholar specialized in literature, as well as the hardship-defying spirit of news reporters when they collect their materials and make their visits.

Our reportage is characterized by its excellent and militant traditions. The masses of people greatly need reportage that serves the current struggles and shows the public in good time, quickly and accurately, the new people and events that are emerging in real life and in the construction of the four modernizations. We hope to see more and more writers of reportage who pledge their responsibility to the revolution and climb new summits of reportage with their labor, characterized by the dual features of literature writing and news reporting, and produce new works that inspire our enthusiasm, encourage our fighting will and meet the needs of our times.

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ADROITLY GUIDE ACTION ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES, DO NOT DRIFT WITH THE TIDE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 81 inside back cover

[Article by Yang Haiguang [2799 3189 0343] and Li Mingfu [2621 2494 4395]]

[Text] Various forms of the production responsibility system are being carried out in the rural areas. The question of whether to guide action according to circumstances or to drift with the tide toward this change has remained unsettled for some leading comrades.

Instead of studying the party's principles and policies earnestly and analyzing specific local conditions in a good way, some comrades first look to the right and then to the left before taking a step and do not use their brains. Instead, they mechanically and indiscriminately copy the experience of their neighbors. For instance, disregarding the local characteristics of their production levels being relatively high and the objections of the masses, some localities pursue by coercive measures the "system of fixing output quotas for individual households" or that of "assigning the household full responsibility for task completion," which results in obstructing the consolidation and development of the collective economy. Some comrades call this "acting in accordance with the will of the masses." In fact they refuse to have anything more to do with the matter and abandon their leadership role, thus allowing the development of such problems as forest trees being wantonly felled, public buildings being destroyed, large-scale agricultural machines being dismantled and the parts distributed, and houses, graves and kilns being built at will on farmland. At the sight of the production responsibility system being initially established in the rural areas, there are still some comrades who think that everything has thus been crowned with success and will go off without a hitch from then on. They refuse to study new situations and find solutions to new problems.

The emergence of the phenomena such as letting things slide and drifting with the tide is mainly the result of some leading comrades' failing to free themselves from the leftist shackles. Being in low spirits, calculating and afraid of making mistakes, some people give little consideration to state affairs. There is a blindness in the way of thinking and method of work as well as a lack of initiative among some people. There are still some people who are used to food being prepared "in the same big pot" and "doing things with a great flourish"; first, they "resist" the implementation of the production responsibility system, but when the principles and policies set by the central authorities and the

reforms have begun to be carried out in the rural areas and after their efforts to resist and block end in failure, they "wash their hands and close their eyes" and let things slide.

The various forms of the production responsibility system which are being carried out in the rural areas require further improvement and perfection. They need the enthusiasm of both the peasants and the leadership to explore and find the appropriate road which suits the conditions of various localities and can rapidly put an end to the backwardness of agriculture. The leadership at various levels must have not only a down-to-earth work style but also leadership methods suited to the new situation; must not only feel the pulse of the times and the aspirations of the masses, but also have a good understanding of the natural and production conditions and operational conditions of the collective economy. In short, a leadership that seeks truth from facts and provides guidance in the developing trend is required.

How can we adroitly guide action according to circumstances? We must seriously study and unswervingly implement the line, principles and policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts. It is imperative to genuinely go deep into the reality of life, immerse ourselves in the masses, and improve our methods of work and work style. Without paying close attention to the "reform" of the leadership itself, one will fail to obtain a clear understanding of the "actual situation" in rural work. Without having a clear understanding of the "actual situation," one will drift with the tide rather than adroitly guiding action according to circumstances.

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END

