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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 9, 1 May 1983

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## CHINA REPORT

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No. 9, 1 May 1983

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

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FROM SAVING CHINA TO REVITALIZING CHINA--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 64TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The great May 4th Movement took place over 60 years ago but the patriotic spirit of saving China, which it illustrated, has been a constant and enormous force in encouraging its descendants to exert themselves in advancement. Today in this commemoration of the May 4th Movement we intend to pass on and develop its glorious tradition in our struggle to revitalize China.

The May 4th Movement was a patriotic movement of unprecedented scale in recent Chinese history which will be forever in the annals of history. Around 60 years ago, although our great country had terminated over 2,000 years of feudal history, the rule of the warlords, fiercely supported by imperialism, hung like a black cloud over China. From Yuan Shikai to Duan Qirui, all of them committed terrible deeds, seeking power and wealth by betraying the country and putting the country and people in a life-and-death position. Saving the country was the most important task facing all patriots. Although the ideological consciousness of the intellectuals and young students of the time differed and their political beliefs were not the same, saving the country and the people was a common vocation for all of them. Thus, when news reached China of the Chinese foreign minister's failure at the "Paris peace conference," the patriotic movement erupted like a volcano. Patriots brimming with righteous ardor took to the streets, crying such slogans as "Fight for Chinese sovereignty abroad and punish the criminals in China" and "China belongs to the Chinese," starting a struggle spear-headed against imperialism and its running dogs, the warlords of Liaoning, Hebei, and Shandong Provinces. The patriots brought together their youthfulness, ideals, and vitality and merged them with the future of their country, the destiny of the people, expressing their determination that it would be better to die in glory than live in dishonor, and their courage. The flames were lit in Beijing and were soon burning throughout the country, were felt in every region and among the people of every social strata, creating an enormous upsurge of patriotism, especially after 3 June, when the working class threw themselves into the struggle so that imperialism and the treacherous government suffered serious attacks. The May 4th

Movement took place under the influence of the October Revolution and on the basis of propagation of Marxism-Leninism. It rocked the world and stimulated a patriotic fervor among all peoples in China, raising the people's consciousness, and making China's democratic revolution enter a new historic stage. That the May 4th Movement made an eradicable historic contribution was due to the fact that it raised high the banner of patriotism, and mobilized and united people throughout the country. The victory of the May 4th Movement was a victory for the new upsurge in Chinese national patriotism.

However, the May 4th Movement did not and could not complete the task of saving China. This historic task fell to the Chinese Communist Party, which was established 2 years later. The Chinese Communist Party, comprised of the most outstanding sons and daughters of the Chinese peoples, fully understands the historical mission of saving China, which rests on its shoulders. It fully understands that it must continue and develop the glorious tradition of the May 4th Movement, holding high the banner of patriotism and united the peoples of China, carrying out an unyielding struggle. In the life-and-death struggle to overturn the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucracy, the Chinese people laid down their lives, with one or another constantly stepping into the breach as soon as one had fallen. Thus they made enormous sacrifices for the prosperity of the country and the advancement of the people, until finally in 1949 the era of semicolonialism and feudalism in China ended with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which represented the independence of the country and democracy for the people.

Since then, the days of looking down on the Chinese people and bullying them have been over and will never return, and the new face of the country now stands bold in the east. In the 30-odd years since the establishment of new China, the Chinese Communist Party has led the people in overcoming many difficulties, constantly struggling for the country's prosperity, independence, and strength so that China may become richer and more glorious each day and so that the people of China may also become richer and better off each day. Today we are advancing toward a great target of a highly civilized, highly democratized, socialist, modernized strong country. History is ample proof that the 60 or more years since the May 4th Movement are 60 years during which the Chinese Communist Party has led the people from saving China to revitalizing China. That our country finds itself at this stage today, and that the Chinese peoples find themselves at this stage today, is all a result of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese peoples' development of a highly patriotic spirit.

Patriotism as a "profound emotion felt toward one's own country and built up over hundreds of thousands of years" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, pp 168-169) has a different political content and standard of development at different stages in history (with the exception of its common aspects). In terms of China, feelings and emotions such as an ardent love for China's beautiful landscape, an ardent love for its magnificent culture and ardent love for the courageous and hard-working peoples of China, who possess the spirit of constant struggle, maintenance of China's independence, a

unification with the dignity of the people, and other similar emotions, are all common and shared. However, in terms of political content, patriotism has changed from the period of the May 4th Movement to the founding of new China and the present era. From the May 4th Movement until the founding of new China the peoples of China were united in driving out the invasion forces of imperialism and overturning the reactionary rule of feudalism and bureaucracy, saving China, and establishing an independent and free country in which the people were the masters of their own society. This was patriotism in the period of the new democratic revolution. In the historical stage in which China has already established a socialist society, patriotism of this socialist stage of history means an ardent love for the socialist People's Republic of China, and struggling in order to establish a highly civilized, highly democratized, modernized, and powerful country, in other words, revitalizing China. Socialist patriotism has inherited the patriotic traditions of every historic period of the Chinese peoples but it has not by any means stopped at its original level; instead, it has developed previous patriotism to a new stage. Upholding socialist patriotism is what this present era demands of us.

If we say that new democracy patriotism means changing old China into new China, then socialist patriotism means changing a backward country into a socialist and developed and strong country. Today, and for a fairly long time in the future, love of China and love of socialism are and will remain one integrated and inseparable whole. In other words, in order to love China one must love socialism and in order to love socialism one must love China. In his opening speech at the 12th party congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that "the Chinese people have their own national pride and self-esteem and their greatest glory is to have an ardent love for China and contribute all their strength for the construction of a socialist China while their greatest humiliation is to harm the interests, dignity, and glory of China." Not only do these words put a high evaluation on the outstanding tradition of the Chinese people's patriotism, but they also encapsulate with incisiveness the characteristics of socialist patriotism. This essential character specifies the extensive concrete content of socialist patriotism. In the present historical stage the fundamental content of socialist patriotism is to fulfill the three major tasks of the 1980's: to step up socialist modernization, to strive for the reunification of China, including Taiwan, and to oppose hegemony and support world peace.

These three tasks are the concentrated expression of patriotism at the present historical stage and at the same time they are an important standard for judging whether or not a person is an ardent patriot. Of these three tasks, stepping up socialist modernization is the central one and is also the core of patriotism. Thus, the greatest manifestation of patriotism in this present historical era is to actively and ardently throw oneself completely into the carrying out and maintenance of these causes, making great contributions for the completion of the glorious program as outlined at the 12th party congress.

To determine whether a person is patriotic or not and whether he is a genuine patriot, it is important to look at his practical actions. Genuine patriotism has always been focused on the expression of devotion of oneself to the independence, unification, progress, prosperity, and power of one's own country. The saving of the Chinese nation was the result of the concentrated efforts of all the nationalities throughout the country, and the revitalization of China also demands the concerted struggle of the people of the whole nation. The realization of the revitalization of China rests most reliably and powerfully on the great patriotic unity of its 1 billion people and on the contributions made to the common cause by each person working untiringly at his or her post, with feet planted firmly on the ground, sparing no efforts to the extent of heroically devoting his or her life. If someone sees China as being still comparatively poor, still underdeveloped in its economy, and confronted with difficulties in development, and if that person is unwilling to serve China and lets the future of the country and the destiny of the nation pass out of his or her mind and instead sets his or her mind on individualistic pursuits and enjoyment, going so far as to worship things foreign and curry favor from foreigners, resulting in damage to the dignity of the nation and scandalously harming the good character of the Chinese nation, then this person does not understand or fundamentally forgets the basic requirements of a patriot, and is even casting away the minimum moral quality as an upright Chinese. Such a person will be looked down on by all patriots.

Patriotism has been a fine tradition of the Chinese people over thousands of years. It is the common hope of our people, except for a very few, that China will become prosperous and powerful, the Chinese nation will be vigorous and exuberant, the dignity of the nation will be respected, and the people of all nationalities will share a prosperous and happy life. Therefore, patriotism has always been geared to the masses on the widest scale. Today, patriots not only include people living under the socialist system, but also our compatriots in Taiwan, our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, and Overseas Chinese abroad. Among them are believers in communism, and at the same time there are others who do not embrace communism. However, the great majority of them do have patriotic thoughts and feelings and therefore the promotion of patriotism among the entire Chinese nation will be accepted by people of all classes, all social strata, and all fronts. It will further consolidate and strengthen the patriotic united front formed on the largest scale by the whole body of socialist laborers, patriots who support socialism, and patriots who support the reunification of the motherland. Today a patriot does not necessarily have to believe in communism, and there is no need to persuade him or her to believe in it. But he or she must in the end learn to become a friend of communism. In history great patriots like Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai, and many others were all friends of communism. Today, when we have already entered the socialist society as the first stage of communism, the greater is the inseparable link between patriotism and communism, and it is the common road for all patriots to become friends of communism. As far as those who believe in communism are concerned, especially party members and Communist Youth League members and all other advanced people, they must understand and indeed prove through their behavior that not only should they themselves be patriots in willingly



devoting their whole selves to the revitalization of China, but, in addition, they should be able to unify the mass of patriots so that they may join together in the struggle for revitalizing China.

Like a revolution which is always better the more people are involved, the same applies to patriotism. The ancient sage Li Si said: "A mountain stays big by not giving us its soil, a sea stays deep by not forming into little streams." Communism is designed to liberate all human beings and it is far higher than a mountain and far deeper than the rivers and oceans. As long as a person has some patriotic feeling and as long as he does just one patriotic thing, we must get him to unite with us. As long as a person who has done bad things turns over a new leaf, and improves him or herself, then we will not turn a cold shoulder toward him or her.

In order to revitalize China it is extremely important that we carry out patriotic education among everyone, especially young people who do not understand the history of the motherland. Ideological education represents the central link in unifying the people and completing our major historical tasks. Through extensive and penetrating patriotic education, a great deal of misunderstandings and confusions can be sorted out, while incorrect ideology can be corrected, the consciousness of the people can be raised, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the people can be further stimulated, so that under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party we may with one heart struggle for the beautiful future of our country. Differences in age, social background, cultural levels, and ideological consciousness mean that in carrying out patriotic education we should be sure to aim at different things in different people, using many different styles in such education. As far as the content of such education is concerned, a few major historical events and important historical figures can be summed up, including introductions to famous people from the fields of arts and science and technology, and some writers. The many places of historic interest and cultural relics which have contributed to the development of China, to its long and glorious culture, and to civilization throughout the world can be summed up and introduced. There can be a summing up of the 5-odd years of nationalities history in China as well as the role it has built in China and the contributions it has made. In addition there can be a summing up of the many modern heroes who have contributed so greatly from their common work posts, as well as social models. In conclusion, it is important that we provide an extensive introduction to the people of the glorious patriotic tradition of the Chinese people, which has been built up over thousands of years, so that in the process of appreciating its rich and plentiful content the people may increase their own knowledge and gain concrete stimulation and receive a penetrating education. We believe that as long as we maintain this kind of teaching the people will unite extensively beneath the banner of patriotism, concentrating their hearts and their strength, and thus the glorious target of revitalizing China will without doubt achieve victory in the not too distant future. Until that time the great Chinese people will strengthen their position in the forest of mankind and will make more, greater, richer, and ever more effective contributions to mankind.

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WRITING POEMS ON YOUTH AS ZHANG HAIDI DOES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 5-7

[Commentary by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] The great practice of communism is the most powerful guarantee to change people's old ideology, old customs and old habits. It is also the most fertile soil on which communist ideas have been able to generate and develop. Since Marxism was brought into China, the practice of communist movements has brought about profound changes in our people's ideology, ethics, mentality, world outlook, and so on. Lei Feng is one of the most outstanding representatives who appeared in China in the 1960's. Though Lei Feng lived a short life, he greatly displayed the fine moral character of the Chinese nation, and vividly reflected the lofty ideals and sentiments of Chinese communists. In answer to the call of "learning from Lei Feng" issued by Chairman Mao and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, there have constantly popped up a large contingent of advanced figures like Lei Feng in our country during the last 20 years. They are the pride of our people, our country and our socialist system.

Recently, Zhang Haidi--a glorious name able to purify one's spirits--has been shining in the hearts of those people concerned about the great process of reviving China. Zhang Haidi is the living Lei Feng. She has not only inherited Lei Feng's spirit, but has added new substance to the Lei Feng spirit and merged the two together to reflect the characteristics of the Lei Feng spirit of the 1980's. One of these characteristics is the spirit of industry and diligence. Zhang Haidi is as hardworking as Lei Feng was. Her hardworking spirit is especially shown in her sponge-like thirst for knowledge of all kinds. Zhang Haidi is a living Lei Feng who dares to brave the summit of knowledge. Knowledge, to her, is life itself. "The brain needs nutrition. Apart from its physical need of blood supply, it also needs a wide scope of knowledge for mental nutrition." "If I were asked to tear myself away from my books, I would break down and die soon." When Zhang Haidi was a child, she ardently loved study. She wanted to master whatever she touched upon and tried hard to command whatever she had a mind to. She once learned medicine and acupuncture. She not only cured some common diseases but also cured mutes and restored their speaking ability. She also cured the paralyzed and enabled them to walk again. Because of her treatment, disabled children were able to run and jump. She has learned

foreign languages and has managed to translate English novels of over 100,000 words. She is learning Japanese, Esperanto and German. In her work post, she is learning the technique of wireless maintenance and literary creation.... She is a qualified intellectual youth who meets the need of the 1980's.

The knowledge that Zhang Haidi has mastered surpasses that of the ordinary young people, yet she came by the knowledge under more difficult conditions than most young people could compare with. Lei Feng advocated the spirit of a "screw" in the matter of study, that is to be good at squeezing and drilling. What Zhang Haidi uses can only be an instrument duller than a nail. Owing to the restriction of disease, she has never been to school for a single day. She was laid up in bed and she got to learn the Chinese phonetics with word cards and her cultural knowledge was acquired by consulting dictionaries. She does reading through the reflection of mirrors. We can imagine how much more hardship and sacrifice it has cost her than ordinary people to climb the summit of scientific and cultural knowledge. Nevertheless, she has overcome it, won the battle, and reached the top. Physically she is weak but mentally she is strong.

What is the force that has enabled Zhang Haidi to emerge a victor? The answer which comes from Zhang Haidi is: people. It is the deep love of the party and the people and the aspiration to serve the people stirred up by this deep love that has given her great support and strength. Having been nurtured under the socialist system and enlightened by books such as "How Steel Is Made," "Contributing All to the Party," "The Story of Lei Feng," and "A Genuine Man," books which hearten and inspire people with the brilliance of communist thinking, she has adopted the correct world-outlook. She wrote in her diary: "Genuine happiness is substantial; just as what Lei Feng, the communist fighter, said, 'Only by working hard, going all out for the prosperity of one's country, creating wealth with one's hands, doing all one can for communism--the cause of human liberation--will I feel most happy to be living on earth.'" Because Zhang Haidi did a lot of good deeds in the countryside, the folks were reluctant to let her go, but what Zhang Haidi felt was: "You don't have to thank me, I should thank you instead, for you give me the courage and strength to conquer illness and explore a new life. I came to understand that though my legs are disabled, I can still be of use to the people as long as I have a will to serve the people and the selfless spirit of dedication." It's true that the further we move on the road of serving the people and socialism, the wider and brighter it will be and the more strength we will have.

The image of Zhang Haidi is lofty. She is a communist fighter, just as a reader wrote after reading the deeds of Zhang Haidi: Examining our conscience, can we, strong and healthy and physically sound, catch up with Zhang Haidi? It is no exaggeration to say that Zhang Haidi is an example for every one of us to follow--for us who live in a China of the 1980's. Zhang Haidi's selfless spirit of dedication is communist spirit. With this kind of spirit, work, study and labor will never be just a means of earning one's living but the primary need of spiritual life. With such spirit, even disabled and diseased youth like Zhang Haidi can achieve distinguished

results. With such spirit, millions upon millions of youth will also achieve equally distinguished results, changing the devastated condition of cultural knowledge brought about by the 10 years' internal chaos. With such spirit, the broad mass of cadres will be sure to achieve equally distinguished achievements on the road to knowledge, and become experts who are proficient in professional work. This is what socialist construction requires of every one of us, and is also the expectation of the party and the people.

In recent years, there has arisen a viewpoint that our country at its present stage cannot possibly have communist thinking. Comrades holding this viewpoint think that at present ours is only a socialist society, and what we practice is the principle of distribution according to work. Under such circumstances, it is impractical to propagate the communist ideology of selflessness, for it goes too far, beyond the border of people's ideological consciousness. They think that our country is still relatively poor and its economy relatively backward, therefore it is impractical to encourage socialist spiritual civilization which has communist thinking as its core. If literary works are required to reflect communist thinking, "false, large but empty" works will be written again. These viewpoints do not conform with Marxism, nor with the history of communist movements or with the practice of our country's socialist society. Starting from the new democratic revolution, there have emerged thousands upon thousands of heroes and martyrs who shine with the brilliance of communist thinking. In the countryside of old China which was far poorer and more backward than it is now, there appeared numerous communist fighters who fought valiantly and laid down their lives selflessly for the nation and their own class. The appearance of Zhang Haidi, and Zhu Boru--Lei Feng's of the 1980's--has forcibly proved that the viewpoint of communism no longer existing is wrong.

Zhang Haidi put it well: "Some lose faith in communism, and turn to a belief in spirits. This is a reflection of selfishness, because they only search for their own escape and to fill their own void, but we firmly believe in communism. In the past, a great many martyrs gave up their lives for the happiness of the liberation of the masses. Such spirit is selfless and communist." To learn from Zhang Haidi, we should first of all learn from her firm belief in communism. We should be like Zhang Haidi, to have communist thinking as our guide in words and deeds as well as in our attitude toward the course of communist construction, and in handling the relationship between men.

Our nation is one with a glorious and fine tradition. Historically, there have sprung up quite a few people with lofty ideals during the long period of productive struggle, class struggle and national struggle. They "were concerned before anyone else, and happy only when everyone else was happy." They came out boldly and recorded history with their willingly shed blood for the interests of the country, the people and the nation. This spirit of loving the country and the spirit of being ready to help and devoting one's life for the just cause were further developed in the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution led by our party. In the socialist

system, a harmonious relationship has formed between men, which is a close-knit and cooperative class love, comradely love and brotherly love. It is because of the display of such a relationship that Lei Feng appeared. Nevertheless, in the ideological field, there still remain the remnants of feudalism and capitalism and their old thinking. Such "old habits, customs, traditions and bias left behind by the old society are the most dangerous enemy of socialism. These traditions and customs keep thousands upon thousands of the laboring masses under control. At times, they loom over the different strata of the proletariat and sometimes they pose great danger to the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Such potential dangers gave rise to extremely bad effects owing to the temporary success of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. They seriously disgraced the Lei Feng spirit and polluted the social atmosphere. As a result, the friendly, harmonious, united, and cooperative relationship between people was seriously disrupted. Zhang Haidi and Zhu Boru--Lei Feng's of the 1980's--are praiseworthy because they were able to stand up to this trial. They have never wavered in their belief of standing together with the masses through thick and thin, and thinking more of other people than themselves. And that is why Zhang Haidi's thinking that "one should live for the needs of the people and not for oneself" has got such practical educational meaning for us and plays such a profound role of enlightenment: "Uncle Lei Feng" still lives among us in the 1980's. The Lei Feng spirit is not a thing of the past; quite on the contrary, it is being upgraded, deepened and developed. We should act like Zhang Haidi and do our bit in establishing the new-type comradely relationship between men, to bring a quick turn for the better in the atmosphere of the party and society once and for all. We should act like Lei Feng, "to treat comrades with the warmth of springtime." We should see other people's difficulties as our own and try everything to solve their problems. Do not take your neighbors as your enemies and refuse to give a helping hand when they ask for help. Treat other people's honor as an example to follow and be happy for them. Do not ridicule and hurt their feelings or fling mud at them. However, as for the bad practice of disobeying the party's principles, breaking the law and not observing discipline, we should act as Lei Feng once said: "Fight against it firmly as autumn wind sweeps the falling leaves, and build up spiritual civilization which meets with socialist principles."

Of course, owing to the continual existence of feudalism, capitalism, and the fact that the poisonous germs of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing remain to be dealt with, it takes effort and struggle to spread propaganda among the masses in communist ideology and set up the Lei Feng type-friendly and cooperative relationship between men. First of all, every one of us should begin with himself. "Since we are a shooting star, we ought to leave the world some light, and dedicate all to the people." This "light" is the brilliance of communist thinking which lightens people's minds, and joins men together. We need more new Lei Feng's of the 1980's such as Zhang Haidi and Zhu Boru. We believe there will inevitably be more new Lei Feng's in the 1980's.

At a time like this, great changes have taken place in every corner of the country and great transformations are being made. Great transformations

require the Lei Feng spirit and will inevitably promote the spreading of Lei Feng spirit. Since the third plenary session and the party's policy of setting wrongs to right, there has been an upsurge in the practice of studying Marxism-Leninism among the broad mass of people. The belief in communism is getting firmer with each passing day. The moral level of society is rising to a higher level and the enthusiasm for work is increasing. We believe that the Lei Feng spirit will not be "outdated," on the contrary, it will burst with brilliance with the advance of transformation. The practice of communism will continue to train and nurture one batch of living Lei Feng's after another and it is this that our cause pins high hopes on.

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THE SYSTEM OF CONTRACTED RESPONSIBILITIES ON THE HOUSEHOLD BASIS AND THE RURAL ECONOMY IN FOSHAN PREFECTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 8-15

[Article by Wu Xiang [0702 6272], Liu Qing [0491 7230] and Gu Haiyan [0657 3189 3601]]

[Text] Editor's note: In our work of construction and reform, new things and new problems constantly emerge. We should conduct investigation and study in a down-to-earth manner and write reports containing substantial information, viewpoints, and analysis. This will be beneficial to both practical work and theoretical study. Now we publish for our readers' reference the report of a survey of the rural economy of Foshan Prefecture.

The Foshan Prefecture is in the Pearl River delta. Situated in the neighborhood of Hong Kong and Macao, it includes 13 counties and towns. With a population of nearly 7 million and a cultivated area of 6.8 million mu, it is one of those prosperous areas in our country with fertile land, abundant resources, and good economic development. It is also a principal base in Guangdong Province for producing commodity grain and industrial crops, conducting foreign trade, and processing export commodities. This report of ours on a recent survey of the Foshan Prefecture mainly discusses the changes brought about by the implementation of the responsibility system whereby contracts are drawn up on a household basis, as well as the trend of development of Foshan. It is possibly beneficial to a study of the rural economy of prosperous areas in our country.

I

Prosperous areas have relatively well developed economy. In these areas, the level of development of production and the peasants' income are relatively high. Precisely because of this, some basic contradictions inherent in the original models of the collective economy are often concealed. For example, "eating out of the big pot," or egalitarianism, is practiced in these areas as elsewhere but, relatively speaking, much can be shared out of the big pot. Although the masses do not like this system, some cadres

are quite reluctant to part with it and they lack enthusiasm and initiative in implementing responsibility systems whereby contracts are linked to output. This is a common phenomenon among the prosperous areas of various provinces. In Foshan Prefecture in Guangdong, this phenomenon can be attributed to its specific circumstances and to some special reasons.

As early as the Song Dynasty, Foshan was one of the four most famous towns in China. The Foshan area has an age-old tradition in the development of handicraft and foreign trade. Since the Opium War, its commodity economy has been relatively well developed. For some time after the liberation of our country, its rural economy developed very quickly. However, during the 20 years or more after the launching of the cooperative movement, because of the influence of "leftist" mistakes, agricultural production in the whole area experienced many setbacks and fluctuations and the commune members' income rose very slowly. In Xinhui County, from 1956 to 1978, the grain output per mu and the per capita income distributed by the collective increased at annual rates of only 15 jin and 1.47 yuan respectively. In Shunde County, during the decade from 1956 to 1966, the commune members' average income distributed by the collective had doubled, reaching 120 yuan, but by 1978, the income only reached 136 yuan, having increased at an annual rate of a little more than 1 yuan over the 12 years. According to statistics for the whole area, for many years, the grain output per mu and the per capita income fluctuated around 1,000 jin and 120 yuan respectively. A historic change in the situation occurred only after the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The resolution put forth at the 3d plenary session concerning the quickening of agricultural development, and the series of policies adopted subsequently, have caused the rural economy of the Foshan Prefecture to enjoy sustained and rapid growth. During the 3 years from 1979 to 1981, there were three great advances. Please study the following table:

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
A	15.1	16.6	16.8	16.1	17.4	20.5	24.4	20.7	28
B	27	29.6	33.5	30.03	35.1	40.8	50.6	42.1	40
C	46.8	55.8	48.3	50.3	51.7	57.5	44.9	51.3	1.9
D	47.5	59.2	55.8	54.16	47.9	60.7	83.6	64.0	18
E	2.0	2.03	2.23	2.08	2.45	2.51	2.93	2.63	26
F	0.74	0.74	0.90	0.79	1.04	1.51	1.48	1.34	69
G	0.4	0.38	0.44	0.4	0.37	0.38	0.37	0.37	-7
H	5.5	7.3	8.9	7.2	9.9	13.5	19.6	14.3	98.6
I	95.8	118.3	116.87	110.32	145.25	190.57	251.36	195.72	77.4
J	4.6	4.7	6.1	5.1	5.3	5.9	6.4	5.8	13.7

[In the table, items A to J represent the following: A, the total value of agricultural output; B, the total value of industrial output; C to G, output of five major agricultural products: C, grain; D, sugar cane; E, fish raised in ponds; F, peanut; G, silkworm cocoon; H, the value of output of industrial and sideline occupations undertaken by communes and production



teams; I, commune members' per capita income by distribution in yuan; and J, fiscal revenue. Columns 1 to 9 represent the following: 1 to 4, figures prior to the 3d plenary session: 1, actual 1976 figures; 2, actual 1977 figures; 3, actual 1978 figures; 4, 3-year averages; 5 to 8, figures subsequent to the 3d plenary session: 5, actual 1979 figures; 6, actual 1980 figures; 7, actual 1981 figures; 8, 3-year averages; and 9, percentage increases between the first and second 3-year periods.]

(Note: 1) The figures are in units of 100,000,000 yuan or 100,000,000 jin; 2) the figures have been derived on the basis of the Annual Report of the Statistics Bureau of Foshan Prefecture; and 3) all figures have been calculated on the basis of constant 1970 prices.)

Various items in the table, aside from silkworm cocoons, show great increases during the second 3-year period. The contrast between the two 3-year periods is quite marked. In particular, the output of industrial and sideline occupations undertaken by communes and production teams, as well as the commune members' per capita income, more than doubled over a 3-year period. This was unprecedented. Therefore, the cadres and the masses have enthusiastically endorsed the rural policies drawn up since the 3d plenary session. They have realized that without the line, guiding principles, and policies drawn up at the 3d plenary session, the rural economy could not have developed so vigorously. The development of the Foshan area over the 3-year period was mainly attributable to the following three things:

First, the distribution of agricultural production and the economic structures were readjusted. The simplistic grasping of grain production and agriculture gave way to the grasping of diversified occupations, the all-round developing of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery, and the undertaking of combined agricultural, industrial and commercial operation. That part of the land not suitable for growing rice, such as low-lying land, alkaline land, dry land, low-yield land in mountain pits, and so on, was converted to the growing of sugar cane, the opening up of fish ponds, or the rotation of rice, peanut and leguminous plants. After the readjustment, the composition of production in the whole area has become more rational and economic benefits have been enhanced. The area of paddy fields has decreased by 102,000 mu, but both the yield per unit of cultivated area and the total output have increased. The development of diversified occupations has brought about big increases in income. The two categories of production have supplemented and promoted each other. Moreover, the gradual opening up and utilization of hilly or mountainous land, coastal land, beaches and waters in inland regions have promoted the all-round development of the growing of crops, the breeding of aquatics, the growing of traditional crops such as fruits, and afforestation and the planting of trees. Thus, agricultural production in the whole area has begun to embark on a beneficial cycle.

Second, the state purchase prices of agricultural and sideline products were raised and the state purchase quotas were reduced. Over the 3 years from 1979 to 1981, the total value of agricultural output increased by

804 million yuan, out of which 72.3 percent or 550 million yuan were due to the raising of the prices of agricultural products such as rice, sugar cane, live pigs, fish raised in ponds, silkworm cocoon, and so on. The other 27.7 percent was accounted for by the raising of output. Moreover, the giving of encouragement and support to commune members to help them develop family sideline occupations, the relaxation of restrictions on rural country fair trade, and so on, also greatly helped increase the peasants' income.

Third, special policies have been implemented in Guangdong Province, which has been opened to economic intercourse with foreign countries, so that the superior economic conditions of the Foshan Prefecture and its superiority in being a native place of many Overseas Chinese have been fully brought into play. Over the past 3 years or more, the prefecture has signed 5,535 contracts with businessmen coming from other places, involving processing costs of U.S.\$642 million; it has imported equipment and accepted foreign capital, the total value of which is U.S.\$54.37 million; and it has earned over U.S.\$65 million in foreign exchange. Through the processing of incoming materials, compensation trade and so on, it has imported new items of technology, equipment and experience in management and operation, and has arranged employment for 77,439 workers. Moreover, from 1979 to the end of 1981, the prefecture accepted donations from Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao for building enterprises, schools, hospitals, hostels, bridges, highways and so on. This also played an important role in promoting economic prosperity and improving the face of the countryside. Conversely, the development of production and construction has further enhanced the enthusiasm of Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao in building their native land and the motherland.

These facts demonstrate that because the Foshan Prefecture which is in the neighborhood of Hong Kong and Macao, practices the policy of opening itself to economic intercourse with foreign countries, and enjoys special and unique favorable conditions in developing the rural economy, its development is faster than in other prosperous areas and it has been making increasingly bigger contributions to the state. In 1979, 1980 and 1981, the annual total value of agricultural and sideline products turned over and sold to the state reached an average of 904 million yuan, a growth of 84.7 percent over the previous 3-year period; and the taxes paid by the enterprises run by the communes and production teams increased at an average annual rate of 55 percent, reaching 64.31 million yuan. These figures were higher than those for other areas in Guangdong Province. No one can deny that the policies drawn up since the 3d plenary session have brought about a "golden age" in rural economic development in the Foshan Prefecture. However, this "golden age" is not closely related to responsibility systems. On the contrary, precisely because the Foshan Prefecture has enjoyed very rapid rural economic development, it has many doubts about the implementation of responsibility systems whereby contracts are linked to output, particularly the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household. To sum up, it is afraid of three things: First, a slackening of the currently rapid growth; second, a decline in the currently high output of crops; and third,

collapse of the key enterprises run by communes and production teams. Many people think that the systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis are only an inferior expedient measure which poor areas are forced to adopt in the absence of better alternatives. Why should the Foshan Prefecture take this risk, in view of its good local conditions and its rapid development? Therefore, by 1980, when the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household had become the central topic of discussion nationwide, only some individual communes and production teams in certain counties in the Foshan Prefecture were undergoing experimentation, and no major change was taking place in the prefecture as a whole. By 1981, when the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household were exerting very powerful effects over the whole country, in the Foshan Prefecture, relatively rapid development was achieved in only a few counties such as Shunde, Zhongshan, and Doumen, and only 12.7 percent of the production teams in the whole prefecture practiced the system of responsibility for task completion or the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household.

## II

As in other prosperous areas, economic development has been unbalanced in Foshan, and there are weak links and backward communes and production teams. It was in these backward places that breakthroughs were achieved in adopting the systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis. These systems have attracted the attention of the broad masses of peasants by virtue of their superiority, thus continually opening up a path for their own development. Many communes and production teams in Shunde County have some fish ponds in outlying locations, whose yield was very low and could not be raised whatever measures were taken. These were assigned on a trial basis to some households which assumed responsibility on a contractual basis. Unexpectedly, this worked wonders and the yield leapt from some 70 or 80 jin per mu to something between 600 and 700 jin per mu. Thus, the backward units had become advanced ones. This gave a powerful impetus to the adoption of the system of responsibility for task completion on an overall scale in the occupation of raising fish in ponds. In Zhongshan County, Banfu commune and Nantou commune were originally rather backward. After they had adopted the system of assigning responsibility to each worker and linking remuneration to output, the system of responsibility for task completion, and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, their output exceeded that of the advanced communes and production teams. This shocked the whole county. In 1981, the total grain output of the prefecture decreased because of natural disasters, but for a minority of communes and production teams which practiced the system of responsibility for task completion or the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, their output either did not decrease, or decreased by only a small quantity, or decreased without bringing about a fall in income. The powerful effects of the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household had wide repercussions over the whole prefecture, but because the leading cadres' worries had not been basically eliminated, the system whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis was practiced over the whole prefecture only in

the occupation of growing industrial crops. Since the fall of 1981, the overall situation of our country's countryside has seen new developments. In Huiyang Prefecture, to the east of the Foshan Prefecture, over 80 percent of the households had been practicing the system of responsibility for task completion or the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, and the results had been very good. The leadership of the Foshan Prefecture deeply felt that they were late in implementing the responsibility systems and decided to quicken their pace to catch up with other localities. In November, the leading comrades of the provincial party committee visited the prefectural party committee to communicate the spirit of the national rural work conference and they helped the cadres at various levels to further clearly understand the socialist nature of the responsibility systems, whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis and also the important role of these systems in developing agricultural production. When the worries had been eliminated, the thinking of the leadership had been unified, and the level of understanding had been raised, the systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis began to be popularized rapidly over the whole prefecture. The proportion of households which practiced these systems rose to 70 percent last year and further to 95.8 percent by the beginning of 1983.

The development of systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis in the Foshan Prefecture illustrates the fact that over the vast countryside in our country, economic development is quite unbalanced, with the existence of great differences between economically relatively developed areas and relatively underdeveloped areas. Even those areas which are economically relatively well developed are relatively backward in the level of development of social productive forces. Like other localities, they must create and find out various forms of responsibility systems which are suited to their local characteristics. If they are reluctant to part with "making loud cries" and "eating out of the big pot," the superiority of the socialist system cannot be fully brought into play.

Although the Foshan Prefecture started late in practicing systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the basis of the household, by assimilating the experience of other localities, it has enjoyed smooth development and has surpassed other localities. Its characteristics are as follows:

1. The leadership is integrated with the masses. The enthusiasm of the masses is fully brought into play, and leadership is strengthened. All counties have treated the implementation of responsibility systems as the principal task in rural work and grasped it as such. Consider the example of Kaiping County. The county party committee first conscientiously studied the documents issued by the CPC Central Committee, and then formulated 10 regulations concerning the implementation of responsibility systems in the light of actual conditions in the county. It has stressed suiting measures to local conditions, adopting a variety of forms, and allowing the masses to act on their own. At the beginning of last year, a number of production teams adopted the system of assigning households full responsibility for task completion. In February, more than 100 cadres at the county and commune levels went to the countryside to inspect and

approve the production teams' implementation of the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household. They opportunely helped those production teams which were not up to standard in implementing these systems. In March and April, the task in drawing up contracts concerning responsibilities was grasped, from above to below. In May and June, a campaign was launched on a full scale to teach people to "uphold two things" (namely, public ownership and responsibility systems) and "give due consideration to the three parties" (namely, the state, the collective and the individual). This was to enhance the understanding of the cadres and the masses about responsibility systems based on contracts, to strengthen their sense of responsibility toward the state and the collective, and to ensure overfulfillment of tasks assigned by the state concerning the purchase of grain. After the summer harvest, according to the aspirations of the masses, another group of production teams began to practice the system of responsibility for task completion. After the harvest in the fall, various seminars, meetings of cadres at three levels, and meetings for commending model workers were convened to help further bring the implementation of responsibility systems to perfection. From the beginning to the end, the implementation of responsibility systems was very firmly grasped. Other counties also roughly did the same things.

2. In the light of the actual condition of the prefecture, namely, the great strength of its collective economy and of its contingent of cadres, doing a good job of implementing the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, and doing a good job of several categories of centralization, are stressed. The guiding principle of enthusiasm, discretion, and giving separate guidance according to different categories is followed. The responsibility systems are first applied to the growing of dry-land crops and industrial crops, and to the breeding of aquatics, and then gradually extended to the growing of rice. Centralization or distribution is carried out according to appropriateness. The relationship between centralization and distribution is handled realistically and according to different circumstances. Generally, part of the cultivated land is set aside and distributed to individuals according to entitlement to grain ration. Workers engaged in industry or sideline occupations continue with their jobs and are bound by the drawing up of contracts prescribing their specialist work. The rest of the cultivated land is distributed to other workers who are not engaged in industrial or sideline occupations, and who are required by contracts to assume responsibility for farming the land. In some counties such as Nanhai, regulations have been drawn up to further prescribe how the enterprises run by communes and production teams should subsidize agriculture and how the collective should assist the commune members after the implementation of the system of responsibility for task completion. This is to bring about a roughly balanced distribution of remuneration and a simultaneous development of industry and agriculture. Consider the example of the Da-an production brigade in Nanhai County. Workers engaged in industrial and sideline occupations have been drawn on a balanced basis from each household in the brigade. There are 859 of them, each one having been allocated 0.8 mu of farmland according to his grain ration. The rest of

their income arises from distribution in their enterprises. In 1982, their average income was 840 yuan, and if the income from their farmland allocated according to their grain ration is added to it, their average income amounted to 917.4 yuan. There are 742 other workers. Aside from their grain-ration farmland, each of them is bound by contract to work on 2.02 mu of paddy fields, 2.02 mu of fish ponds and 1.28 mu of sugar-cane fields. If calculations are based on the fixing of farm output quotas, each worker who grows field crops can earn a net annual income of 727.6 yuan (which does not include income arising from overfulfillment of quotas). In addition, the brigade authorities annually draw 100,000 yuan from the income from industrial and sideline occupations and distribute this sum to commune members engaged in agricultural work, each of whom gets 134.7 yuan. Thus, each worker who grows field crops has a total annual income of 862.2 yuan, equivalent to 94 percent of the income of commune members doing industrial work. If output quotas are overfulfilled, a worker doing agricultural work may even earn more than one doing industrial work. Because the work in this connection has been done relatively meticulously, the mood of both industrial workers and agricultural workers has remained relatively stable in the course of the major change. There have hardly been any instances of violation or sabotaging of collective property.

3. For one thing, specialist households and key households are given encouragement and support in the development of production. For another thing, attention is paid to the livelihood problems of households enjoying the five guarantees and households with material difficulties. Some counties such as Shunde and Nanhai have defined an income level below which material assistance is needed, namely, one-half of the per capita income in the county. All households which cannot attain this level are considered to be households with material difficulties, which have to be given an adequate allowance out of collective welfare funds. In 1982, the total sum of accumulation funds withdrawn and retained by the entire prefecture reached 149 million yuan, an increase of more than 20 million yuan over the previous year. Aside from being used to assist households with material difficulties, these funds are also used for social welfare undertakings and the building of spiritual civilization, such as the development of culture, education, and so on.

In 1982, systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis were popularized on a full scale in the Foshan Prefecture, and greater development was achieved on top of the 3 years of sustained and relatively great development. A new situation has appeared, marked by the simultaneous forging ahead of agriculture, industry, financial business and trade, as well as the forging ahead of the state, collective, and individual sectors of the economy. The total value of agricultural output increased by 500 million yuan or 16.7 percent over the previous year. Despite a decrease in the area for growing rice, the total output of rice increased by 1 billion jin over the previous year to 5.43 billion jin. The output per mu approached 1,200 jin, surpassing all past records. The total output and the output per mu of sugar cane, fish raised in ponds and peanut also topped all previous records. The output of the fruit-growing and animal husbandry occupations also grew rather substantially compared with the previous year.

Fiscal revenue reached 715 million yuan, a 12.7 percent increase over the previous year. Over the entire prefecture, the commune members' per capita income reached 463 yuan, an increase of 112 yuan over the previous year. The per capita income of Shunde County was over 700 yuan. Being the highest in the prefecture, this figure surpassed that of Nanhai County. Over the entire rural area of the prefecture, the per capita savings was 208 yuan, being the highest in our country. In the prefecture, there are 4 counties whose total industrial and agricultural output exceeded 1 billion yuan in value (the top one being Shunde, whose output reached 1.38 billion yuan); there are 10 communes whose output exceeded 100 million yuan in value (the top one being the Guizhou commune in Shunde County, whose output reached 160 million yuan); there are more than 100 production teams whose members had a per capita income of over 1,000 yuan (the top one being the Dongsì production team of Longtou production brigade in Nanhai County, the figure for which being 3,402 yuan); and there are over 10,000 households whose income exceeded 10,000 yuan. Everywhere there are encouraging phenomena of development in production, prosperity in the five major occupations, flourishing of markets, vigorous economic activities, and people being in high spirits. Although various kinds of problems still exist, the fine situation of the Foshan Prefecture's rural economy is better than at any time in the past since liberation.

### III

With the popularization of the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, the family economy has gradually taken over part of the production teams' functions, and thus each family has become a "cell" in the rural economy. In prosperous areas, these "cells" are particularly active. This fact is markedly manifested in the emerging of large numbers of specialist households and key households.

In 1979, there were no specialist households or key households in the Foshan Prefecture. In 1980, a small number of such households began to appear, but they were in a rudimentary stage. In 1981, their number gradually grew. In 1982, they developed rapidly and began to draw people's attention. The course of this development demonstrates that the line, guiding principles and policies drawn up since the 3d plenary session, particularly the policy of allowing some of the peasants to become well off before the others, constitute the prerequisite for the formation of specialist households and key households; whereas the large-scale development of such households is a new trend appearing only after the implementation of responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis.

Responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis enable the peasants to enjoy decisionmaking power over production and operation. Thus, with decisionmaking power, responsibility and economic benefits closely integrated, enthusiasm in production and labor productivity both soar. A surplus labor force appears. The peasants also have a larger amount of funds at hand, so that they can go all out to develop family sideline occupations and undertake diversified occupations. Generally

speaking, initially, each peasant household which assumes responsibility to fulfill contracts is a "small and complete" production unit, which both grows crops and raises pigs and chickens. It may also operate some kinds of family handicrafts, and so on. The economy based on contracted responsibility and marked by allowing the households to operate individually is integrated with, and becomes amalgamated with, family sideline occupations. In some families, some of the working members, perhaps even the principal working members, detach themselves from working in the fields which are assigned by contract, to specialize in family sideline production. Thus, the subordinate status of "family sideline occupations" in production gradually changes, and a household may become specialized in one particular occupation while simultaneously undertaking a number of other occupations. Those who are good at manual work, technical work, or management will inevitably choose those occupations in which their superiority can be developed, and will thus carry out production on a larger scale. With further development, these occupations will gradually be upgraded into "principal occupations" and the households concerned will become "key households." With yet further development, these "principal occupations" will become "specialized occupations" and the households will become "specialist households." Thus, "small and complete" households gradually become "small and specialized" ones, forcefully promoting the development of social division of labor and production of commodities. Because the manpower and funds provided by each family are limited, to satisfy the need for development of production, the specialist households often organize themselves into new conglomerations. Thus, "small and specialized" units become "small and integrated" ones. However, this kind of integration only amounts to achieving economic cooperation through contracts and according to the principle of voluntary participation and enhancing mutual benefits. Presently, in most cases, each family operates individually and independently, and assumes sole responsibility for its profits or losses. Therefore, there is "integration without combination," or "integration without amalgamation." In the Foshan Prefecture, the level of development of production is rather high; the commodity economy is well developed; there are many skilled workers and craftsmen among the peasants; there are many who possess the insight and enterprising spirit of commodity producers; and there are many who dare to explore and open up new ways of production. Therefore, an enormous impetus is inherent in the development of specialist households and key households. The Foshan Prefecture authorities have set three conditions for a household to be a specialist or key one: First, over 90 percent of the output of the specialized occupation can be sold as commodities; second, the household's per capita income should be over 1,000 yuan; and third, the income from the specialized or principal occupation should account for the majority of the household's total income. Applying these criteria to statistical data, we find that in the beginning of 1982, there were only about 10,000 such households; in October, the number abruptly rose to over 50,008, and in January this year, the number increased to nearly 100,000, which is 9.2 percent of the total number of peasant households. From the development of key households and specialist households in the Foshan Prefecture, people can easily discern a bright prospect, namely, that the production of commodities in our country's rural areas will develop rather quickly and yet steadily and in a sustained manner.



Historically, small-scale farming by scattered individual households in our country had lasted several thousand years. This kind of self-sufficient and closed small-scale peasant economy caused the vast countryside to remain in a state of backwardness and ignorance. With the implementation of the system of responsibility for task completion and the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household, the household has again become the basic unit for organizing production. Thus, the present form of rural production seems to be quite similar to the small-scale farming of the past. However, in this socialist age, the conditions are basically different. The self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient modes of production are giving way to the large-scale production of commodities. The specialist households and key households differ from the common households which assume responsibility to fulfill contracts, in that they have emerged as producers of commodities. They carry out production for the sake of exchange in the market, not for the sake of self-reliance. They supply large quantities of commodities to society. They are directly or indirectly linked to state industries and consumption in towns and cities. They become part of the system of socialized production. The relationship between them and other social sectors is one of extensive cooperation and division of labor, interdependence, and helping each other forward. Moreover, the production of commodities by these households is characterized by smallness of investment, quick turnover, low costs, and high efficiency. Thus, the households can quickly become well-off. This is an extremely great attraction to the peasants. In the Foshan Prefecture, although the per capita land area is less than 1 mu, there are a large number of households specializing in the production of grain which sell over 10,000 jin of grain. We interviewed Huang Guangdong of the Yueming production brigade of the Guanghai commune in Taishan County. His family sold 85,300 jin of grain. Yuan Guoquan belongs to the Xiwu production team of the Jiangjiabian commune in Zhongshan County. His family sold 89,000 jin of grain. In both cases, the proportion of output sold as commodities exceeded 90 percent. There are over 500,000 mu of fish ponds in the Foshan Prefecture. In 1982, the yield per mu was 530 jin, which was 139 jin higher than the provincial average. The output of some households specializing in fish raising has exceeded this figure by 200 to 300 percent, reaching 1,400 to 1,500 jin per mu.

The responsibility systems, whereby contracts are linked to output, integrate centralized operation with individual operation by households, so that both the superiority of the collective and the enthusiasm of the individual can be simultaneously brought into play. The formation and development of specialist households and key households on this basis has integrated socialized and specialized production with small-scale operation, so that the traditional peasant-family economy has acquired fresh vitality. The integration of centralization and individual operation as well as the existence of small and specialized households are the characteristics of the Chinese-style socialist agricultural cooperative economy. We hold that the basic characteristic of specialist households and key households is the production of commodities. Among the vast masses of the peasants, they take the lead in employing advanced tools of production and new scientific techniques. They constitute a crack force in the development of the socialist production of commodities. They should be given vigorous support,

allowed to develop freely, and allowed to greatly multiply in number. Their standard should be gradually raised. Not only must their socialist nature be preserved and the socialist orientation be upheld in the course of their development, but in the course of development of production of commodities and advance toward socialization and specialization, their exceedingly important exemplary role must be brought into play.

#### IV

Enterprises run by communes and production teams constitute an important mainstay of the rural economy of prosperous areas. The greater the relative importance of such enterprises and the higher the degree of prosperity, the greater will be the worries about adopting the system of responsibility for task completion or the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household. However, the practice of the Foshan Prefecture has demonstrated that, with the implementation of responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis, the mainstay has not been weakened, but on the contrary, it has been helped to embark on a healthier path of development.

In the Foshan Prefecture, the enterprises run by communes and production teams have had a relatively solid foundation. By the end of 1981, after 3 years of great development subsequent to the 3d plenary session, their total number reached 18,000, they employed more than 470,000 workers, and their total income reached 1.93 billion yuan, more than 150 percent higher than the income of the crop growing and animal and fish raising occupations. Having become part of the entire rural economy, they are of decisive importance. With the development of enterprises run by communes and production teams, the old tradition of "towns running industry and the countryside doing agriculture" begins to be broken; the rural economic structure has gradually changed; the collective economy comprising the communes and production teams has been consolidated and strengthened; funds have been made available for agricultural development; employment has expanded and the peasants' income has risen; large quantities of products have been supplied to society and the market has been enlivened; some products have found their way into the international market; sources of revenue for the state have been opened up and fiscal revenue and foreign exchange receipts have increased; and many cultural and welfare undertakings have been established, thus creating conditions for the transformation and building of small towns. These positive effects should be fully affirmed. On the other hand, however, many problems have arisen in the course of development. First, development has been unbalanced. Some localities have a weak foundation, lack funds, have a poor technological capacity, and suffer from inconvenience in communications and slow development. The relative importance of their enterprises is small. Second, the degree of blindness is high. Sometimes, factories are built redundantly, which compete with big state enterprises for raw materials and market. Sometimes products are not marketable, resulting in overstocking and losses. Because the overwhelming majority of the fuels, materials and raw materials needed are not included in state plans, these resources have to be acquired through the enterprises' own efforts, thus creating opportunities for the

development of unhealthy tendencies, such as entering by the back door. Third, there is a problem of irrational distribution and composition. Presently, enterprises run by communes and production teams are often confined to the industrial sector. Moreover, special attention is paid to grasping products for export and products which help large-scale industries in towns to form complete sets, because these products yield high immediate profits. However, inadequate attention is paid to the opening up and utilization of local resources and the processing of agricultural and sideline products. Over the 3-year period, although more than 200 million yuan from the profits of enterprises run by communes and production teams has been used for supplementing commune members' distributed income through allowances, assisting poor production teams, building irrigation works, promoting mechanization in agriculture, and developing collective welfare undertakings, there have not been any marked effects on the comprehensive opening up of resources and the comprehensive development of agricultural production. Moreover, because industrial work gives a high income, all commune members want to get a job in the enterprises, so that potentials and resources cannot be fully utilized in agricultural production. Lastly, the rectification and reform of state enterprises, the higher prices of energy resources and raw materials, fiercer competition, and so on, have brought grave difficulties to the enterprises in the Foshan Prefecture that are run by communes and production teams. Thus, they are forced to carry out rectification on a full scale and to seek a way out.

The responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis have provided a new way out for the healthy development of the enterprises in Foshan which are run by communes and production teams. First, responsibility systems whereby contracts are linked to output have not only been popularized in agricultural production, but have also been extended to the enterprises run by communes and production teams. These enterprises also had a problem of "eating out of the big pot." To have a firm foothold in competition and to enhance economic benefits, the enterprises began to follow the basic principles of the responsibility systems whereby contracts are linked to output, and began to practice economic responsibility systems. By the end of 1982, over 50 percent of the enterprises were implementing these systems. There are roughly three forms: 1) fixed wages, with the income from that part of the output in excess of targets distributed according to certain proportions; 2) floating wages, with distribution of profits; and 3) responsibility for task completion with profits as remuneration. Systems of responsibility for task completion include many forms, for example, assuming of responsibility by managers, or by the whole staff, or by some groups, or by outside workers, as well as responsibility for part of a task, and so on. For many enterprises which have suffered losses for many years, their situation has completely changed after adopting responsibility systems based on contracts. Their losses have quickly given way to profits. In 1982, the cotton quilt wadding factory of the Longtan production brigade of Shunde County was put under the responsibility of 7 persons, including the factory manager, the accountant, and the supply and marketing personnel. Within 6 months, the loss of 12,000 yuan gave way to a profit of 12,000 yuan. Similar examples are numerous. On the other hand, for some well-run

enterprises, with the establishment of responsibility systems, responsibility, decisionmaking power and profits are integrated, the enthusiasm and creativity of the workers and staff are fully mobilized, and economic benefits are enhanced. In particular, for some key products, whether they serve the formation of complete sets by large-scale industries in the towns or are produced for export, their quality has been further improved, their costs of production have been lowered, and they sell well both domestically and abroad. In 1982, the enterprises run by communes and production teams in the prefecture continued to develop greatly. Their income totaled 2.2 billion yuan, a growth of 13.7 percent over the previous year.

With the great development of agricultural production brought about by the implementation of responsibility systems, whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis, a new task faces the enterprises run by communes and production teams, namely: How to shift the foothold to serving agriculture in the light of the new situation; how to more satisfactorily integrate industry with agriculture; and how to effect great changes in the overall distribution, orientation of development, composition of production, ideology concerning management and operation, and so on, so that the role of enterprises run by communes and production teams as an important constituent part of the overall rural economy can be brought into play, and thus the overall development of the rural economy can be promoted, the peasants can become well-off, and greater contributions to the state can be achieved. To fulfill this task, new realms of production must be opened up, and certain industries must be vigorously developed, such as the growing of crops, the breeding of aquatics, the processing of agricultural and sideline products, the building materials industry, the food industry, the fodder industry, various labor-intensive industries, the catering trade, various service trades, and the repairing trade. In particular, crop growing and animal and fish raising occupations must be vigorously developed. These occupations should promote the processing industries. Raw materials must be turned into finished products of increased value, economic benefits must be enhanced and the proportion of products which can be sold as commodities must be increased. Multiple addition of value to agricultural and sideline products must be achieved and the production of commodities by the agricultural sector must be promoted.

In our survey, we have discovered that various counties are now actively studying these questions. The enterprises run by communes and production teams are being rectified and reformed and led onto the path of closer integration with the rural economy. The scientific research center of the Guizhou commune of Shunde County is an outstanding example. This center incorporates the former animal farm, fry breeding grounds, veterinary station, silkworm breeding center, and sugar cane center. The commune has also invested 590,000 yuan to build a factory which can produce daily 10 tons of mixed feed in particle form and a farm which can raise annually 100,000 chickens of fine breed. The commune has sent the deputy director of the commune in charge of agriculture to head the center, and has selected a number of agricultural technical personnel to take charge of various specific departments' work. This scientific center is both an

agency which directs production and an agricultural scientific research organization. Certain production teams have been chosen to undergo experimentation on the basis of contracts covering scientific technology and economic matters. Demonstration by typical examples is followed by popularization on a wide scale. Production teams that have signed contracts and specialist households, which help popularize scientific techniques, benefit from a certain amount of investment and are supplied with seeds of improved varieties, fertilizers, fodder, and so on. The fruits of resultant increases in output are divided up. Bad harvest or reduction in output due to natural disasters or inappropriate technological measures are the center's responsibility. Thus, the production teams which have signed contracts or the specialist households need not worry about the results, and they feel at ease in receiving technical guidance. The responsibility, decisionmaking power, and benefits of agricultural technological personnel are integrated. They have a say in directing production and can share the fruits of an increase in output. Therefore, they conduct technological research more vigorously to strive for a higher degree of perfection. Techniques developed in scientific research, which are successful in experimentation over a small area, are integrated with the enthusiasm of peasants who aspire to a rapid raising of per unit area output, and are quickly turned into powerful productive forces. This also enables limited agricultural investment to bring about greater economic benefits. In the past, all the units mentioned above had incurred losses. Every year, a great deal of money was spent on popularizing science and technology, but the results were very poor. In 1982, economic means were used to popularize science and technology and to direct production. The center's income was 1.50 million yuan, out of which 520,000 yuan was used for popularizing new techniques, and there was still a profit of 260,000 yuan. More importantly, the standard of agricultural production was generally greatly raised over the entire commune. Thus, the center has become a new type of enterprise which is most enthusiastically welcomed by the peasants and which has the brightest prospects for development.

The survival and development of the enterprises run by communes and production teams are directly affected by whether supply and marketing work is well done, whether a supply of raw materials and funds can be opportunely made available, and whether the products are marketable. In the Foshan Prefecture, many counties are vigorously organizing combined agricultural-commercial operation. Some localities organize combined operation embracing the three links: production, processing, and marketing. Some only include marketing in their combined operation. Consider the examples of the Lishui commune in Nanhai County, the Leliu commune and the Longjiang commune in Shunde County, and so on. The supply and marketing cooperatives of these communes undertake combined agricultural-commercial operation with production brigades or the communes, which are to market second and third categories of products left over after various production teams have fulfilled the tasks of turning over their products to the state. In their operation, there are both planning and division of labor, and there are many channels but few links. In Kaiping County, various supply and marketing cooperatives run orchards and bamboo plantations in joint operation with communes and production teams. In the Xiaolan commune of Zhongshan

County, 19 out of the 24 production brigades operate supply and marketing departments which purchase fodder and fertilizers to be supplied to the commune members, and also buy market agricultural and sideline products on their behalf. These measures have been endorsed by the commune members and have promoted the consolidation and strengthening of the enterprises themselves, so that these enterprises can develop into an even stronger mainstay in the rural economy.

## V

Our study of the Foshan Prefecture's rural economy has enhanced our confidence in a vigorous development of our country's agriculture, and has enabled us to more clearly understand the several points below.

1. Responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis, marked by the integration of centralization with individual operation, represent a new development, arising in our country's practice, of the Marxist theory on development toward cooperation. They possess Chinese characteristics and wide adaptability. In prosperous areas, where the level of production is relatively high and the commodity economy is relatively well developed, they are equally applicable and their powerful effects can be even more satisfactorily brought into play.

2. With the implementation of contracted responsibility systems, the family economy follows a trend of development from being "small and complete" to "small and specialized," and then to "small and integrated." The specialist household's characteristic is that it is small and specialized. The integration of small-scale family operation with specialized production which caters to society is a good form of developing the socialist production of commodities, which possesses great vitality and broad development prospects.

3. In prosperous areas, the enterprises run by communes and production teams have become an important mainstay of the rural economy. They have been playing an active role in many aspects. However, with the adoption of responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis, they are quite far from being able to satisfy the needs of rural economic development. There are many problems concerning the orientation of development and the composition of products. Some of them have serious problems of unhealthy trends. They must be conscientiously rectified and reformed. In particular, their foothold must be shifted to serving agriculture, so that they can consciously serve specialized production in various ways. Crop growing and animal and fish raising occupations must be vigorously promoted. These occupations should promote the processing industries. Multiple-step processing and multiple addition of value to materials must be promoted. The proportion of products that can be sold as commodities must be increased. Economic benefits must be enhanced. The transformation of agriculture from a self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient natural economy to the large-scale production of commodities must be promoted. Traditional agriculture must give way to modern agriculture.

4. The implementation of special policies in Guangdong and the opening up of Guangdong to economic intercourse with foreign countries constitute an important reason for the great rural economic development in the Foshan Prefecture over the past several years. Therefore, on one hand, criminal activities in the economic realm must be curbed, and planned guidance, control, and supervision over economic work must be strengthened. On the other hand, opening up the prefecture to economic intercourse with foreign countries must continue to be adhered to, and the economy must be further enlivened. The enthusiasm which has been mobilized through responsibility systems whereby contracts are drawn up on the household basis must be integrated with the policy of opening up the prefecture to economic intercourse with foreign countries. The Foshan Prefecture's superior economic conditions and its superiority as the native place of many Overseas Chinese must be brought into play. If these things are satisfactorily done, the Foshan Prefecture's rural economy will certainly continue to advance in big strides.

5. The Foshan Prefecture's economic development is unbalanced. Shunde, Nanhai, Zhongshan and the suburban areas of Foshan are most well developed, with the total value of industrial and agricultural output exceeding 1 billion yuan, and the per capita income exceeding 600 yuan. A number of production teams whose per capita income reaches 1,000 yuan and a number of households whose income reaches 10,000 yuan have appeared there. Importance should be attached to this situation. Effective measures must be taken to enable these counties and towns (which include Panyu, Dongguan, and the suburban areas of Shenzhen) to develop more quickly on the existing basis. Efforts must be made to enable them to catch up with or surpass the currently most prosperous production teams in about 3 years' time. This is absolutely feasible. If this target is attained, it will be possible to attain a "comparatively well-off level" ahead of time in an area with a population of 4 to 5 million. This will greatly boost the whole nation's confidence in quadrupling our national output and will forcefully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system.

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GRASP LAW AND JOIN IN REFORMS--A TALK COMMENCING WITH THE SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY

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[Article by Jin Wen [6855 3080]]

[Text] Various tasks are now sparing no effort in their bid to create their own new situation. It will not do to follow the old rules and regulations and to take the old road, nor will it do to merely rely on enthusiasm and work in a hasty and unplanned way. Where will a new situation come from? It can only be the result of carrying out work according to objective law. A new situation that has emerged in agriculture over the past few years is a result of reforms of political and economic systems, and these reforms have been carried out according to the needs of objective law.

I. Agricultural Production Responsibility System Is a Great Change of Agricultural Development in China

Before liberation, the development of agricultural production in rural areas in China was seriously hampered by the existence of feudalistic production relations and superstructure, and the areas were a scene of darkness, starvation, and backwardness. Following liberation, the CPC followed the general law of historical development, proceeded from specific conditions in rural areas and carried out agrarian reform, and launched the campaign of agricultural cooperation. As a result, a new situation was introduced in the wide rural areas, where the atmosphere of emancipation and prosperity prevailed.

How should agriculture in China continue to develop following agricultural cooperation? The party studied this question for quite a long period. Agriculture made development tortuously, but the result was not satisfactory because of "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology. In particular, the practice of the so-called "big in size and collective in nature," "transition to communism under poor condition," and "in agriculture, learn from Dazhai" had enormous and disastrous effects. This situation showed that we were quite blind in our understanding of the law of socialist agricultural economic development in China. In his speech to the enlarged meeting on the work of the CPC Central Committee in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong said:



"We are quite blind in socialist construction. A number of the realms of necessity have to be grasped before we are able to understand socialist economy." (RED FLAG No 7, 1978) And these realms include the important question of agriculture.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee relaxed agricultural policy and enthusiastically supported and conscientiously summed up the agricultural production responsibility system, which is a creation of the broad masses of peasants. The party has also led them in reforming old rules and regulations and old methods and replacing them with new rules and regulations and new methods. These efforts have been rapidly followed by the emergence of an unprecedentedly new situation. When in the past it was "difficult to fulfill the quotas of grain purchase by the state," now it is "difficult to sell grain." In the past, prominence was given to stepping up labor power in the first front of agricultural production, but now, in general, there is surplus labor power, and such labor power has been shifted to industry, sideline production, and commerce and service trades. Peasants have not only rapidly solved the problem of feeding themselves but have also gradually become rich. This situation is not given by God; it is a result of the party understanding the law of agricultural development and carrying out socialist reforms and a result of understanding "necessity" more and of gaining more "freedom."

What is the criterion for understanding objective law? The law of the development of things objectively exists within the things themselves and it can be neither "created" nor "eliminated." But it is often the case that when people make some achievements in their work, these achievements are regarded as the result of discovering law, and consequently, people suspend their effort in studying law; that people think they have grasped the law even though they have not made achievements, and consequently, they ascribe their failures to secondary or unimportant factors and therefore become more blind in their work. Eventually, a question arises: What is the objective criterion for understanding law? Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There is only one truth, and he who has grasped it did not rely on subjective exaggeration but on objective practice. The criterion for testing truth is none other than the revolutionary practice of the tens of millions of the masses." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 623) According to our view, in the final analysis, to grasp the criterion of practice and to test the truth of understanding mean to see whether this understanding is in a position to promote the development of agricultural social productivity in practice or, on the other hand, whether it will hinder the development. The test of this understanding must be carried out at least in the following three aspects:

The first aspect of people's understanding that accords with objective law is that this understanding is able to reach the predicted goal after it is put into practice. This is to say, by carrying out our work according to this understanding, we can attain the anticipated goal and not otherwise. When agricultural production in a region is carried out "massively and harshly" and is coupled with the "big rice pot," production decreases.

When the agricultural production responsibility system of "contracting production quotas to individual households" and "contracting work quotas to individual households" is introduced, production makes big progress. This situation has shown that the understanding of this system is in line with reality and objective law because it has reached the expected goal.

The second aspect of people's understanding that accords with objective law is that this understanding is in a position to attain the expected goal continuously and repeatedly. That is to say, if the expected goal is reached in carrying out work according to an understanding and yet it is a result of the role of sporadic and easily vanishing factor, this goal will not last long and will not reappear again. If an understanding is in line with objective law, it will be able to reach the anticipated goal continuously and repeatedly. Under this situation, although the extent of reaching the goal may be affected by interference from a sporadic factor and there may appear some fluctuations, the influence will be temporary and, therefore, will not affect the general development trend of things. The considerable efficiency achieved by the form of the agricultural production responsibility system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" has appeared on a number of occasions in rural areas in China since agricultural cooperation. Take the situation in Anhui Province for example. Production initiative of the broad masses of peasants was seriously affected in 1958 following the emergence of "leftist" mistakes such as "giving guidance blindly," "exaggeration," and "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely." Agricultural productivity was seriously spoiled and gross agricultural output value and total grain production in 1961 were lower than the level in 1949. Under extremely difficult living conditions, the system of "responsibility farmland," which took the form of contracting output quotas to individual households, was introduced. As a result, agricultural production was rapidly restored and developed. Since 1979, the agricultural production responsibility system has been continuously introduced in rural areas in the province, with "contracting output quotas to individual households" and "contracting work quotas to individual households" as the main forms, and this system also has rapidly demonstrated its tremendous effect. Following the rapid growth of agricultural and sideline products, peasants' income also has rapidly increased. In 1981, the per capita agricultural population across the province on the average received 122.6 yuan from collective distribution, 1.4 times higher than 1977, and after deducting the factor of the increases of the price of agricultural and sideline products, this figure represented a growth of 68 percent. The commodity rate of agricultural products also has increased considerably, while state quotas for transfer of grain have been overfulfilled each year. Facts have proved that each time the agricultural production responsibility system emerges, it is followed by improvement in agriculture, and during the years when the system is implemented, agricultural production continues to develop stably. Such a situation is not accidental; it is a manifestation of being in accord with objective law.

The third aspect of people's understanding that is in line with objective law is represented in generally reaching the expected goal. Of course, most laws have generality within a certain sphere, but the effectiveness of

this generality is not confined to individual or a few particular places. That is to say, under basically the same conditions, the practice of this understanding in different regions results in very good effects. Laian Prefecture and Tianchang Prefecture neighbor Chuxian Prefecture in Anhui Province. Laian Prefecture was formerly rather poor, with relatively poor production conditions, while Tianchang Prefecture was rather rich. But in 1980, peasants in Laian Prefecture basically introduced the system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" and consequently broke away from the situation in which total grain output fluctuated around 300 million jin; they made a record of 450 million jin. Tianchang Prefecture, on the other hand, has relatively good conditions for production, while peasants there were relatively rich. In 1973, this prefecture put forth the slogan of producing a total of more than 600 million jin of grain, but total grain output remained around 400 to 500 million jin for many years. In 1981, this prefecture introduced the responsibility system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" and in the same year, its total grain output reached as high as 780 million jin, while in 1982 the output soared to 940 million jin. Numerous facts have proved that the agricultural production responsibility system is applicable not only in Anhui Province but in some other provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions as well and that it accords with the law of the development of agriculture in China.

## II. The Process of Understanding Objective Law Can Be Shortened

People's understanding of objective law includes the understanding of complicated social law, such as economic and political laws. In particular, when the revolution and construction have entered into a new historical stage, it is not easy to gain an understanding of the law of the development of new things; it needs a process.

The agricultural production responsibility system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" has been introduced sporadically and discontinuously in rural areas in China for as long as 20 years--since the introduction of agricultural cooperation up to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--and it is quite a long process. And in several years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, more people have come to understand the agricultural production responsibility system. In Anhui Province, this process began in 1978 when "land is loaned" to peasants for autumn sowing and it was an "expedient measure to meet emergency." On this basis, peasants introduced the responsibility system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" and "contracting work quotas to individual households." With considerable results, this system was supported by the provincial CPC committee, but some comrades regarded it as an "expedient measure." When the system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" was generally welcomed by the broad masses of peasants and while it was being widely popularized, still some comrades considered this practice as "dividing land for individual farming"; consequently, they were doubtful. In short, it can be seen from the process of the emergence, development, and popularization of the production responsibility system that peasants have been carrying out

their creation step by step and that the policy has been gradually relaxed while peasants' understanding has also been gradually improved. Today, people finally have come to understand that the agricultural production responsibility system does accord with the law of the development of agriculture in China.

Understanding cannot be completed at one stroke. Therefore, the understanding of each comrade also needs a process. But the length of the process differs according to different persons and different things. When viewed from the needs of the revolution, a shorter process of understanding is better than a longer one. With a shorter process, we will be able to carry out our work more rapidly and with better results. With a longer process, we will be slower in carrying out our work and the result will be unsatisfactory. Thus, a different process of understanding means that the process can be shortened. If the length of the process is closely related to the cause of the revolution, it means that it is imperative to spare no effort to shorten this process.

How can we shorten the process of understanding objective law?

When viewed from the point of the understanding of each person, it is first of all necessary to guard against stagnant ideology. The formation and strengthening of a concept can easily become a stubborn and unchangeable "stereotype" that is not ready to accept new things or new concepts. The understanding of some comrades with regard to the agricultural production responsibility system is always lagging behind practice; consequently, they are always passive. The reason is that they have a rigid way of thinking. This is conservativeness in understanding. Marxist theory of understanding is an active theory of reflecting revolution. Such activeness is shown not only in a "leap" of the process of understanding (from reason to perception and from perception to practice) but also in activeness in departing from the old things to form or accept new viewpoints so as to promote the replacement of old ideology with new ideology. Therefore, in order to shorten the process of understanding and overcome conservativeness, it is necessary to be diligent in study. We can in no way stand still and refuse to make progress, nor can we stick to conventions.

Second, it is imperative to respect practice and the creativity of the masses of people. Understanding depends on practice. The correct ideology of those in leading positions comes from the wisdom and creativity of the masses. The law of the development of things is first of all shown in practice and particularly in creative practice of the masses of the people. Those who respect practice and the creativity of the masses are in a position to shorten the distance between their understanding and objective law. But if they depart from the masses and keep themselves away from or refuse to acknowledge practice and the creativity of the masses, their process of understanding objective law will consequently be very long--they may as well just wander about the "realm of necessity" forever and they will go against the orientation and needs of the development of objective law. Facts have proved that those who are so late in acknowledging or who are still opposing the agricultural production responsibility system which accords with

objective law are often those who have seriously divorced themselves from the history and current situation of rural areas.

Third, it is imperative to follow the process in the development of objective things and to be sensitive to new things. We must be quick in grasping the things that have emerged in a manner of breaking with conventions. Of course, not all newly emerged things can be considered as new things, but we must consider that newly emerged things may represent objective law. If we proceed from old "conventionss" and "rules and regulations" and arbitrarily sentence these things to "death penalty" or kill them in the "wombs of their mothers," we will lose the opportunity to understand the law. Therefore, the best way is to keep close watch and make conclusions after practice. We must let newly emerged things fully show themselves within a certain sphere so that they will be able to expose their internal law.

In short, in order to shorten the process of the understanding of objective law, it is necessary to have correct ideology, to raise understanding, to proceed from reality, to combine theory with practice, to find truth from facts, to consider things in an overall way, and to test and develop truth in practice.

When viewed from the point of the entire ranks of cadres, the situation in shortening the process of understanding objective law will be slightly different. China is a socialist country with democratic centralism and the basic method of our work is from the masses and to the masses. In order to carry out work according to objective law, it is imperative that most comrades understand the law and use it in practice. But in reality, some cadres may understand objective law earlier, while some will understand it later. In general, those who have come to understand first are few and they will gradually increase in number to become the majority. In order to shorten the process of the change from the minority to the majority and to sum up experiences and lessons, we must pay attention to the following:

First, combine principle with flexibility. The whole party must observe all major political principles, policies, and rules and regulations. However, under this premise, the display and protection of the creativity of the masses must be permitted. With regard to defining concrete policies, the masses must be allowed to flexibly grasp and implement the policies according to their specific conditions and changes in the development of the conditions; too rigid control is inadvisable. With rigid control, the masses are bound and there will be no way for them to display their creativity. The party agricultural policy has been gradually relaxed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Consequently, peasants have been able to display their creativity, providing rich reference materials to the party in understanding the law of the development of agriculture. As a result, with a deeper understanding, we have been able to define the policies that are closer to the situations of the development of agriculture.

Second, the democratic rights of those who have first come to understand objective law must be guaranteed. The creativity of the broad masses of people that accords with objective law will eventually be reflected within the ranks of cadres. Some cadres (including senior leading cadres) may be the first to understand objective law; but as such comrades are in a minority, the correct understanding can be easily submerged. The agricultural production responsibility system of "contracting output quotas to individual households" has emerged on many occasions in China. At the end of the 1950's and in the early 1960's, some comrades within the party came to realize the law reflected by this system. But owing to abnormal democratic life, such correct understanding was dubbed as "rightist ideology" and criticized, only to prolong the process of the party coming to understand this law. We must remember this lesson. There are mainly two aspects to guarantee the democratic rights of those who are first to understand. First, experiments must be allowed in a limited sphere. If the experiments prove that the understanding is wrong, we still can draw lessons; if the understanding is proved right, we will gain experience that can enlighten others and enable all to shorten the process of their understanding of objective law. Another aspect is that those with differing views must be permitted to retain their views. These views can be tested later in practice. If the minority with differing views are arbitrarily and politically labeled, it means that we are forbidding others from airing their views. In this way, we are likely to strangle correct views, obstructing our understanding of objective law.

Third, when the masses of the people and most leading cadres have understood objective law while some other cadres still do not really understand it, we must be good at giving guidance to the latter. In addition to theoretical understanding, it is most important for these cadres to go among the masses, carry out study and investigations in practice, regard the masses as their teachers, and speak the truth. In the early days of the introduction of the agricultural production responsibility system, some cadres kept themselves behind closed doors and by sticking to "old conventions," found it difficult to carry out their work. But after they returned from rural areas, where they carried out study and investigations and contacted the masses, their ideology has changed; consequently, they use a more widespread language. In the sphere of understanding, common ideology can easily arise from common experiences, and this situation is helpful in changing people's differing views into unified or basically unified ones so as to deepen the understanding of objective law.

### III. Constantly Understand Objective Law and Be Active in Reform

The successes of the agricultural production responsibility system has widened people's way of thinking and has made them understand the shortcomings of other trades and the necessity of reforming these trades. As a consequence, they are more determined and confident in carrying out reform. It was proved by history a long time ago that only socialism can save China, while practice over the past few years showed that the modernization program can be materialized and that the country will become strong only when reform is carried out along a socialist orientation.

Reform has been gradually unfolded in various fronts across the country. But with victory achieved in the agricultural production responsibility system, some comrades have become conceited. They thought that they had really understood objective law, that their thinking had been emancipated completely, and that it was not necessary for them to make further progress. This view is no doubt contradictory to the Marxist theory of understanding and is not in line with new situations in reform.

The process of people's understanding of objective law is continuous, without end. The understanding of any objective law always deepens step by step and from a shallower level to a deeper level. If we are satisfied with a certain level of understanding and make the existing understanding absolute, this understanding will become divorced from the process of the development of objective things. When objective things have developed into a new stage, the old process will be replaced by the new process and, consequently, a new objective law will be formed. Stalin said: "A characteristic feature of political economics is that its law is different from the law of natural science and it is not enduring; most of the laws of political economics can display their roles during certain historical periods, and then they will give way to new laws. But the previous laws are not eliminated; they become ineffective because of the emergence of new economic conditions, retreat from the state, and give way to new laws. These new laws are independent of people's will and creation; they have emerged on the basis of new economic conditions." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol II, p 541) Our understanding of the law of socialist construction will not come to an end because of the successes of the agricultural production responsibility system. The implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system has considerably emancipated and promoted the development of productivity. As a consequence, our agriculture is now in the process of changing from self-sufficient and half self-sufficient economy to relatively big-scale commodity economy and from traditional agriculture to modern agriculture. The emergence of the new economic conditions will eventually be accompanied by the emergence of a new economic law to provide people with a new subject for understanding. Therefore, there is no end in the process of understanding objective law. We have to work hard for a very long period before we are able to completely understand and grasp the law of socialist construction. Such is the situation of considering the question of understanding vertically.

When viewed from the horizontal point, the task of understanding objective law is even heavier. After we have understood and grasped the law of the development of agriculture, we also have to understand the laws of the development of other aspects that are related with agriculture, such as industry, commerce, transport and communications, science and technology, culture and education. The "system of responsibility" in the agricultural production responsibility system has a general significance in other trades and sectors and it is wrong not to understand this question. But other trades have their own particular conditions and characteristics. The law of the development of agriculture is different from the laws of the development of industry and commerce, while the law of the development of the enterprises with manual operations as the main differs from that of the

enterprises with socialized mass production; the law of the development of the sector of material production is also different from the law of the development of the sector of spiritual production.

Since there is no end in the understanding of objective law, no matter whether this question is considered vertically or horizontally, it is consequently necessary to continue to emancipate thinking. When viewed from the point of understanding objective law, there is also no ending to ideological emancipation. In order to make our understanding accord with objective conditions and law, we must be resolute in casting away outdated "conventions" and "rules and regulations." Practice has proved that some of the comrades who emancipated their thinking during agricultural cooperation in the past have become ideologically conservative in understanding the agricultural production responsibility system. Now some comrades have liberated their thinking regarding this question, yet it does not mean that they will be able to do so regarding some other questions or when new situations emerge. It is possible that they may shift their stand from emancipation to conservativeness.

We must grasp the following three links in our effort to fulfill the task of understanding the objective laws of various trades: The first link is that various departments, trades, and units must conscientiously sum up their own historical experiences and analyze and compare them with experiences of other trades (particularly agriculture). Through such comparison, they will be able to really understand the reasons for their successes and failures and in this way they will be able to have an understanding that is related with law. The second link is experiment. This means a trial of reform within a partial sphere whose purpose is to test our understanding through practice. Experiments are particularly imperative for the important departments and trades with complicated internal structures and relations with other units. Through experiments, we may find some advantages that are beyond our expectations while some unimaginable problems may also be exposed. Consequently, we can correct these problems in order to enrich our understanding and increase reliability in carrying out overall reforms. The third link means that when reform has been implemented in an overall way in a department or enterprise, we must closely watch the emergency of new situations and new questions so as to constantly deepen our understanding of the law.

Reform is naturally demanded in the development of social productivity and it is an important guarantee for the country to become prosperous and strong and for the people to become rich. We must actively and steadily carry out reform, we must proceed from reality, and we can in no way carry out reform in a hasty, cut-with-one-knife or follow-one-mode manner. Therefore, it is imperative for us to study the laws of various trades actively and in a deep way so that reform can be carried out smoothly.

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## A PROBE INTO THE QUESTION OF OUR COUNTRY'S PRESENT INTERNAL AGRICULTURAL ACCUMULATION

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[Text] After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, various forms of the production responsibility system have been adopted throughout the countryside in our country. Under the new operation method, a new problem is how to increase accumulation in agriculture to ensure steady development of agricultural production. This problem needs to be carefully studied and solved. The following are our views on this:

### Continuous Expansion of Accumulation in Agriculture Is Vital to the Steady Growth of Agricultural Production in Our Country

In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "From now on, we should, concurrently with determinedly keeping population growth under control, providing firm protection to various kinds of agricultural resources and maintaining an ecological balance, strengthen capital construction in agriculture, improve the production conditions for agriculture, enforce scientific farming, and endeavor to produce more grain and economic crops from our limited area of cultivated land. We should also effect an overall development of various industries and trades such as forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary production, fisheries, and so on, in order to meet the needs of industrial development and an improvement in the people's standard of living." To achieve all these objectives, a problem that should not be overlooked is the accumulation of funds and of labor power needed for expanded reproduction.

There are two sources of investment in China's agriculture, namely, state aid and the accumulation agriculture itself has achieved. State aid is indispensable and will grow along with improvements in the country's financial situation. But state investment in agriculture is limited because financial resources are far from plentiful and the construction funds have to be concentrated on the major projects which will have a bearing on the all-round development of the national economy. Moreover, state investment will only be used for major projects which the rural communes and brigades

and the peasants cannot undertake, such as large-scale land reclamation, forestry, large water conservancy projects, electric power projects, trunk roads, telecommunications equipment, and storage and transport facilities. So far as the over 6 million basic rural accounting units are concerned, they have to depend on their own efforts to raise most of the funds they need for the small and medium-sized water conservancy projects, those facilities catering to the needs of everyday life, and their technical transformation of agriculture. Hence, from an overall point of view, an ever-increasing accumulation in agriculture itself will be the main source of investment in this sector of the national economy.

This being the case, is it possible to expand the accumulation in China's countryside today? We say it is. Over the more than 30 years since the founding of the PRC, the accumulation agriculture has achieved has reached a considerable scale. What is more important is that in the present excellent situation, there is great potential for expanding the accumulation in agriculture and the prospects are indeed bright. The reasons are:

First, because the growth rate of net agricultural income is greater than the population growth rate, surplus farm products have greatly increased. Since the implementation of the production responsibility system, production has increased, production costs have decreased, and the growth rate has speeded up the net agricultural income. In the basic accounting units of the rural people's communes the distribution of income alone shows that the net income in 1981 increased by 48.47 percent over 1977 figures, while the rural population grew less than 3.3 percent over the same period. This means a big increase in surplus farm products.

Second, due to the increase in the peasants' cash income, there has been a sizable increase in rural savings deposits. Thus, at the end of 1981, the peasants' savings deposits increased by 45 percent over 1980 figures and by 116.3 percent over 1979 figures. Of these individuals' deposits, a considerable part can be turned into accumulation in agriculture.

Third, there is plenty of rural manpower. Our rural population already exceeds 800 million people, of which rural manpower exceeds 300 million people. This provides favorable conditions for expanding accumulation.

To realize the technical transformation of China's agriculture requires a huge amount of funds. At present, China has 180 million peasant households. If each of them invested 100 yuan a year, the total would reach 18 billion yuan. If households did this year after year, it would help ensure a fundamental technical transformation of agriculture by the end of this century and the target of agricultural modernization would be initially realized. The annual investment of 100 yuan by each household should be no problem for those rural villages which, because of the adoption of the production responsibility system, have rapidly become affluent. It is also possible for those rural villages still in the course of becoming affluent. As for those localities which at the present moment are still relatively backward, they should be able to possess the necessary conditions after a few years of development. This clearly shows that among the vast peasant masses a

great potential exists for the expansion of accumulation in agriculture. This is an important source for the sustained growth of agricultural production.

#### Current Problems Confronting Increase of Accumulation in Agriculture and Methods for Their Solution

Since the growth of agricultural cooperation in our country, the rural collective economic units have gained certain experiences in the sector of accumulation in agriculture, but at the same time learned many lessons. Because of the unified operation of the collectives in the past, it was easy to centralize financial power and manpower and as a result it was easily possible to rapidly form a definite scale of accumulation of funds and a fairly large scale of accumulation of manpower. Unfortunately, the economic results of the utilization of these accumulations were rather poor and could hardly perform their expected role in expanded reproduction.

However, the implementation of the production responsibility system has brought along immense changes in the entire situation. On the one hand, in the rural villages, following a period of rest and recuperation, there is an increasing possibility of expanding accumulation in agriculture; while on the other hand, the translation of this possibility into reality still requires the satisfactory solution of many accompanying problems:

First, there is the problem of how to suit the formation and utilization of the accumulation of agriculture to the new situation of diversified or scattered operations.

On the side of labor accumulation, some functions formerly exercised by production teams in directing collective labor and organizing division of work and cooperation were taken over by the head of a peasant household who is now directing and determining the division of work within the household. At the same time, a portion of the labor accumulation is in reality being done by the household itself. Quite obviously, labor accumulation done by the household itself is small in scale, limited in scope, and hardly feasible for undertaking large-scale farmland water conservancy capital construction. Hence, it is necessary to continue to allow rural collective economic units to play their role in labor accumulation. Operations contracted to the household is one form of the operations layer in a cooperative economy. It is different in nature from the petty peasant economy based on the private ownership system of the old society. It not only encompasses collective ownership of the basic means of production but also maintains contractual relations in production and distribution between the collective unit and the peasant household and also stoutly retains certain functions of unified operation. In particular, in the relatively economically developed areas, there were many collective accumulations and collective properties formed in the past and the economic liaison between collective units and peasant households is rather intimate. Hence, the collective economic units may in light of local conditions adopt various forms such as organizing groups for contracting specialized jobs or assigning the quantity of labor accumulations directly to the contracting peasant

households. Also, they may, by rationally arranging labor power, continue to engage in various kinds of farm capital construction and thus further improve the production conditions.

As for the accumulation funds, while the majority of localities still insist on collective retention, the retention amount has dropped considerably and many localities have distributed to commune members the portion of taxes and the portion of retention funds they have withheld. As a result, a portion of the accumulation funds have been transferred to the peasants. As seen from the distribution of income of rural collective economic units in 1981 and 1980, the amounts of decreases in collective retention funds compared with the preceding year were 11.2 percent and 15.2 percent, respectively. This shows that diversified or scattered operations will inevitably result in the diversified control of a portion of the funds for expanded reproduction. This is a rectification of certain errors in the past in the centralized system of control. Under the present condition of the coexistence of scattered control and centralized control of accumulation funds of the collective economy, the problems that require immediate attention are, concerning the scattered control portion, how to make the responsibility definite and how to achieve good results, while, concerning the portion retained by the collective, how to coordinate its use with the form of scattered control.

The fact of the existence of scattered control of the portion of accumulation funds is derived from scattered operation demonstrates that, along with production development, the peasants will inevitably proceed from the production tactics of contracting and using the original production scope to the production tactics of contracting and using the production scope for expanded reproduction. The accumulation in agriculture as a material factor for the realization of expanded reproduction will, in conjunction with cultivated land and other production tactics and equipment, be embodied in the contract. Hence, in localities where unified operations are mainly practiced, the collective retains all accumulation funds, and the peasants may apply to the collective for contracting and use of the accumulation funds or the means of production purchased by means of the accumulation funds. When autumn distribution time comes, the peasant will deliver to the collective the requisite depreciation funds and a portion of the profits realized. In localities where scattered operations are the main factor, the collective may retain a portion of the accumulation funds while a portion will be under the control of the peasants. Since contracting to the commune member's household has become an important form in production operation, it is also necessary for the peasant households to hold a portion of the accumulation funds. This will make the peasants more intimately concerned with the utilization results of this portion of accumulation funds. For this reason, collective economic units may, by means of agreements, clearly specify the amount of accumulation funds which the peasants may contract for and utilize and also specify the corresponding responsibilities for profits or losses. If this portion of accumulation funds takes on the form of fixed assets, then the agreements should also clearly specify the responsibilities covering depreciation, profits, and the period for utilizing the funds. In short, the practice in industrial management which

stipulates the compensatory use of accumulation funds should be followed so that the funds can be recovered and kept in circulation so that, by means of the progressive increases in profits, the accumulation may continuously increase and the growth of fixed assets and production capacity may gather momentum.

Second, there is also the question of how the peasants should use the accumulation funds for expanded reproduction. At present, the amount of accumulation funds the peasants have is larger than the portion of accumulation funds retained by the collectives and subsequently transferred to the peasants. This is because in recent years the source of income of peasant households has gone through rather extensive changes. According to a sample survey conducted by the State Statistical Bureau, from 1978 to 1981, concerning the income of peasant households, the portion that had not been derived from collective distribution rose from 33.7 percent to 48 percent, and of this income a portion consisted of accumulation funds. It can thus be seen that the amount of accumulation funds in peasant households has amounted to rather sizable proportions. Unfortunately, in the eyes of the peasants, it is difficult to differentiate between which part constitutes accumulation funds and which part is consumption funds. Therefore, whether or not the accumulation funds of peasants can be used on expanded reproduction, and to what extent they can be so used, depend primarily on guiding the peasants to correctly handle the relations between accumulation and consumption.

As a result of a turn for the better in the rural economic situation, at present the standard of living of the peasants has considerably improved and expenditures on improving residential and living conditions have increased yearly. According to statistics, during the 2 years of 1980 and 1981, private housing built by commune members throughout the country amounted to 1.1 billion square meters. At the same time, the proportion made up by retail sales of consumer goods in the countryside, out of the total volume of retail sales of consumer goods in the urban and rural areas, rose from 41.9 percent in 1978 to 48.8 percent in 1981. Undoubtedly, at the moment this is an unmistakable sign of prosperity in the countryside. However, under the conditions of an increased income and improved living conditions, what the peasants should do is insist on the principle of "first we must eat and second we must build" and concurrently attend to consumption and accumulation. Yet, generally speaking, where the peasants' income has increased and their savings likewise increased, the portion converted to accumulation has been small and the conversion into expanded reproduction has also been small. In 1980, the increase in the volume of retail sales of the means of production for agriculture over the preceding year was less than 6.8 percent; in 1981, compared with 1980 figures and if we take into account the rise in prices, there was practically no increase at all. At the same time, in 1980, compared with the preceding year, the increase in production expenses incurred by the communes, brigades, and teams was less than 3 percent, while in 1981, compared with 1980, there was actually a drop of 2 percent in production expenses. All this shows the small amount of additional investments made. On the other hand, the scale of increase in the gross volume of retail sales of consumer goods in the countryside has been

rather large. In 1980 and 1981, increases over the preceding year were 33.8 percent and 15.7 percent, respectively. These conditions illustrate that there was a rapid increase in consumption but a slow increase in accumulation. While this is necessary as a measure to rectify the past trend of disregarding the improvement of the people's standard of living, yet, seen in the long run, if we care only about current living conditions and neglect production and construction, then in the end, the long-term and basic interests of the peasants and the state will be damaged. It is gratifying that certain localities have paid due regard to both consumption and accumulation, that the peasants have shown a certain degree of enthusiasm for expanded reproduction, and that many of the peasants, with a view to meeting the needs of production development, have vigorously taken up the purchase of fixed assets of a productive nature and of various kinds of means of production for agriculture. Unfortunately, great efforts have yet to be made to induce the countryside in the whole country to pay high regard to this problem. We still need to arouse public opinion and adopt effective measures to lead and support the peasants in expanding their accumulations.

First, we must strengthen ideological processing of the peasants and make it clear to them that the party's policy to enable the peasants to become affluent through labor aims not only at making them enjoy life now but also at making them expand reproduction so that they may enjoy even better days in the future. For this reason, we must appropriately control consumption and continuously increase accumulation, including contributing the necessary accumulations to the collective. Promotion of diligence and frugality is necessary both in household affairs and in business. We should refrain from promoting and propagating consumption which far surpasses the existing level of economic development in the countryside. It must be noted that it is much easier to learn expensive consumption habits than to improve production methods and that the spread of fashionable practices in consumption is much faster than the spread of advanced production technology.

Furthermore, we must strenuously oppose wanton spending and extravagance. At present, in certain localities in the countryside, the wanton spending of money on occasions like wedding and burial rites has become a "public curse" to society. Since from the 1950's there has been a high tide of population growth in the country, we may well expect that it is now high time for people born in the 1950's to marry. According to statistics, in 1981, 28,000 young couples were married each day. On this basis, the yearly total will be more than 10 million weddings. According to a survey made in Beijing's suburbs, wedding expenses paid by families of brides and bridegrooms averaged at least 1,000 yuan per wedding and wedding expenses have indeed become a heavy burden on the peasants. We must therefore promote frugality and oppose extravagance. In particular, under the conditions of the peasants at present holding a portion of the accumulation funds, opposing extravagance takes on new significance, since it is directly related to whether or not the expansion of accumulation in agriculture can be realized.

Last, we must bring into full play the active role in accumulation on the part of economic combines voluntarily formed by the peasants. The various kinds of economic combinations which have newly emerged in the countryside of our country represent a new form of economic cooperation which the peasants have entered into on the basis of the principles of benefit to production development, self-accord, and mutual benefit. At present, these various forms are suited to the development of the agricultural productive forces and the peasants' capacity of control and are in close liaison with the peasants' demands for expanded reproduction. Hence, this type of combination form can readily display its role in increasing the accumulation in agriculture. In regard to labor accumulation, we should encourage and support the peasants in combination to effectively take up various kinds of farm capital construction, such as leveling land and undertaking small-sized water conservancy projects. The scale of labor accumulation should generally correspond to the scale of the combination and should follow the principle of "do according to one's ability." In the accumulation of funds, the production teams of collectives which are financially weak often cannot afford to offer money for retention. In such cases, the combination units should take up the function of accumulating funds on their behalf. In addition, the combination units should take up the task of gathering together the individual savings which the peasants voluntarily offer and in this way sizable accumulations can be formed and put to rational use. In so doing we can solve problems such as insufficiency of funds in scattered operation and lack of purchasing power to buy expensive means of production for expanded reproduction. At the same time, we can solve the problem of waste on account of each and every household having to buy identical farm tools but rarely using them. Hence, those combines with relatively good conditions should be encouraged to accumulate more funds. But this must be subjected to the conditions that taking a share in the subscription or contribution must be voluntary, that the benefits derived from expanded reproduction must be rationally distributed, and that the combines should never follow the old practices of equalitarianism and "everybody eating from the same big pot."

Third, there is the problem of how to make the structure of the industrial goods supplied to the rural market better suited to enticing the peasants to correctly handle the relations between accumulation and consumption. The distribution and use of funds by the peasants, besides being determined by production and livelihood needs and by the demand and enthusiasm for expanded reproduction, are also closely related to the condition of supply of industrial goods to the rural markets. The results of surveys in certain localities have revealed the countryside's bitter objection to the short or insufficient supply of means of production, which were sorely needed, and to the rather plentiful supply of certain means of production, which were not suitable for use by the households individually or by the households working jointly. In this way, the accumulation funds held by the peasants could not be transferred in time for use on expanded reproduction and became idle funds waiting to be used for purchases or even ultimately being spent for consumption purposes. Therefore, there is an urgent need to increase the production and supply of suitable and marketable means of production for agricultural use. Departments of heavy industry,

particularly industries devoted to production for agricultural use, must strenuously serve the technical transformation of agriculture. They must make agriculture their principal market and in this way lead the peasants to appropriately control their consumption and to increase their accumulations. This is an important direction to the regulation of agricultural production in a socialist planned economy.

In the supply to the countryside of means of production for agricultural use, it may be noted that the peasants sorely need those means of production, such as irrigation equipment and chemical fertilizer, which help in improving soil composition. As for agricultural machines sent to the countryside, we should send more of those machines which are small in size, used frequently, economical in fuel consumption, superior in quality, cheap in price, and suitable for use by peasant households, either singly or in joint operation. In particular, the production and supply of semi-mechanized farm tools must be given priority. In addition, we must step up the study and manufacture of, and promote the use of, products suited to agriculture's biochemical technical requirements. We must also improve the proportion between nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium in soil composition, and speedily develop new products to replace current farm medicine which has a high poison content but low curing or insect-killing effect. If in the production of industrial products and the dispatch of industrial goods to the countryside we can catch up with the development situation in the countryside, and if we can pay attention to solving and improving the structure of the industrial goods sent to the countryside, particularly to the problem of the structure of the means of production for agricultural use, it will definitely be of great help in guiding consumption in the countryside and increasing accumulation in agriculture.

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## LOUIS ALTHUSSER AND STRUCTURALISM

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[Article by Yi Chen [2496 8186]]

[Text] Structuralism is a new ideological trend that began to arise in France in the middle of the 1960's. It has penetrated various sectors such as culture and social science and consequently it has spread widely in European and American countries, Japan, and the Third World. Although it is true that since the middle of the 1970's, the influence of structuralism has been declining in Western society, it still retains its place in Western academic circles and "structuralist Marxism" in particular, still has its influence even today. How shall we treat "structuralist Marxism"? This article intends to probe this question.

### I

The method of structuralism was created in the early days of this century by the Swiss philologist Saussure in his study of linguistics. Later, a French anthropologist, Levi-Strauss, and others expanded the method of structuralism into a social science to form a new ideological trend that is related to the specialized branch of learning and to the principles of the theory of identity.

What is structuralism? Structuralists generally hold that the phenomena to be understood by people are complicated and in disorder and that therefore, in order to understand things in an orderly way, it is imperative to grasp the structure of the phenomena. Structure is a compound body composed of many parts and is also a network formed by the relations among these parts. Structure is divided into surface level and deep level. Surface structure refers to the phenomena of the experience that can be investigated and it is an intentional manifestation. Deep level structure is a priori and sub-conscious and it is a deep and hidden foundation that determines surface level structure. The "structure" mentioned by structuralists in general refers to this deep level structure which cannot be understood through experience and which can only be grasped through theory. Most structuralists hold that structure is not inherent in objective things themselves and independent of men; it is a product of the knowledge of mankind as well as of a priori factors. The characteristics of structuralist theory include

that when something is being studied, it is often the case that the relations between stagnation and movement, cross section and vertical section, simultaneity and a period of time, the whole and the part, objective and subjective, and internal and external are separated, with the former being stressed and even exaggerated while the roles of the latter are neglected or even denied.

How was "structuralist Marxism" formed? In his study of anthropology and mythology, Levi-Strauss put forward a complete set of theoretical principles of the method of structuralism and since then it has become a popular practice in France to use the method of structuralism in science; structuralism has even penetrated the study of Marxism. When structuralism was in the process of replacing existentialism, the so-called "structuralist Marxism" also squeezed out "existentialist Marxism" to become a new school in "Western Marxism." "Structuralist Marxism" is represented by French philosopher Louis Althusser. Under the influence of Levi-Strauss and others, Louis Althusser and a young anthropologist, Saibage [1049 1572 2706], used the structuralist method in their study of classic Marxist works. Since the middle of the 1960's, Althusser has published a series of works, the more famous among them including "Reading 'Das Kapital,'" "Protect Marxism," and "Lenin and Philosophy." In these works, Althusser uses structuralism to explain Marxism and consequently has caused considerable repercussions both in France and in other countries and he himself has been called a "structuralist Marxist."

Althusser himself refuses to acknowledge that he is a structuralist. He only acknowledges that he is a Marxist and styles himself a defender of Marxism. Of course, we can in no way judge the tendency of his ideology according to what he proclaims. But "structuralist Marxism" is different from the schools in Western countries that have openly opposed Marxism. But it must be pointed out here that to use the structuralist method in studying Marxism and to include Marxism in the theoretical principles of the study of structuralism will, consciously or not, separate, dissect and distort Marxism. And yet we cannot say that all of the explanations by Althusser about Marxism are wrong. His arguments with those who have tried to Hegelize and humanize Marxism are quite rational and significant. Therefore, in analyzing "Marxism of structuralism" we must be practical and realistic.

## II

Beginning in the early 1920's there has appeared a new ideological trend of reexplaining Marxism in Western countries. Those who have involved themselves in this new ideological trend have some things in common. They want to "expose the Hegelian sources of Marxism"; they stress the importance of the so-called subjective aspects of dialectics; under the banner of "paying attention to men," they exaggerate the roles displayed by men (the main body) and subjective consciousness in the development of history; they deny natural dialectics, try to Hegelize Marxism and explain Marxism by way of so-called "paying attention to men's 'humanitarianism.'" This is the so-called "Marxism of the Hegelian faction." Althusser opposed this attempt at

Hegelizing Marxism, stressed the complete rupture between Marxism and Hegelianism, and declared that to eradicate the influence of Hegel from Marxism and to save the science of Marxism he is studying the pollution of ideology.

According to Althusser, "Hegelian factionist Marxism" is conceited in its literal understanding of Marxist works; it does not see the contents that are hidden behind words and therefore it does not really grasp the essence of Marxism. In order to avoid this mistake, it is imperative to grasp the method of "reading according to symptoms." Althusser learned this method from psychoanalyst Freud and French structuralist Lakang [2139 1660]. According to Freud's view, unconscious and complicated symptoms that are hidden in structure can be found in daily discussions and in the ridiculous situation of somniloquy. Therefore, he tried, through psychological analysis of semantics, to find things that are not spoken in language. Althusser held that each science and consciousness has its own "frame" and these frames are the structures of theory. Such frames determine the questions put forward by a particular science, the form in which the questions are put forward, and the methods for solving these questions. But the theoretical frame of the deep level structure cannot be easily seen because it is an unconscious structure that is hidden in theory. Therefore, it is only when people are in a position to grasp the theoretical frame of a science that they will be able to discover the nature and particular significance of each concept of the science, to understand the mutual relations among various basic concepts, and consequently to grasp the "nature of the questions," to really understand the truth of the theory of the science. But it is impossible to grasp the theoretical frame of a science just by direct reading of discussions about the original works. Therefore, in addition, it is imperative to resort to the method of "reading according to symptoms." Thus, by this method, Althusser is trying to "draw out from the depths" the "unconscious structure" of the theory from the "silence" and "blanks" of the written and unwritten words in Marxist works. ("Protect Marxism")

According to Althusser, it is only the understanding of the "unconscious" and "deep level structure" that is scientific while such words as body, humanism, humanitarianism, self-conscious, existence, essence, and the nature of history are used to describe the relations in people's imaginations of their true living conditions; these words belong to the understanding of the surface structure of things and therefore they can only be included in ideology and do not represent science. According to his view, to be seen from the point of view of structure, ideology is different in nature from science, "as a system of expression, ideology is different from science, because in ideology, the function of practice and society overwhelms the function of theory (or the function of understanding)." ("Protect Marxism") That is to say, any ideology is subject to control by class interests and is not a true reflection of the world. It is only a science that is in a position to get rid of the influence of class interests, through its role of rational criticism.

"Marxists of the Hegelian faction" regarded Marxist theory on revolution as a reflection of strong desires and lofty aspirations of revolutionaries. That is to say, this revolutionary theory is only a subjective matter and, unlike natural science, it lacks a proven foundation. It cannot be denied that directed against such distortion, the effort made by Althusser in his study to differentiate "ideology" from scientific theory is positively significant. But it is wrong for him to put "ideology" in a contradictory position to scientific theory. It must be pointed out that in the past, ideology was subject to control by the interests of the exploiting class and therefore it was often the case that ideology was contradictory to scientific theory. Marxism is the ideology of the proletariat, a scientific theory and a correct reflection of the objective law of the development of society. Therefore, it is a powerful ideological weapon for guiding people in understanding and reforming the world. According to Althusser, Marxism is a science because it has exposed the hidden structure of capitalism, not because it gives rise to revolution. This shows that he does not understand the relationship between politics and theory and denies the tremendous significance of Marxism as the theory of the proletarian revolution.

Accordingly, Althusser has distorted the process of the development of Marx' thinking. He holds that in its early period, Marx' thinking is a product of political struggles and that therefore it belongs to the sphere of ideology. After 1845, Marx completely discarded these ideological matters and created a scientific theory through studying specialized theory. While Althusser was expounding the emergence of Marxism, he first of all criticized the three "sources" of Marxism as expounded by Lenin. According to his view, "source" is an outdated ideological concept and consequently he denied Marxist relations of inheriting, in a critical manner, German classic philosophy, British political economics and French utopian socialism. According to Althusser, Marx' thinking completely changed from ideology to science and he termed this change the "discontinuity and breaking away from the theory of understanding."

Certainly Marx expounded the change from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism. And the change itself showed that there is an essential difference between Marxism and the thinking of Marx in the early period. In this aspect, Althusser realizes the mistake committed by "Marxists of the Hegelian faction" in their bid to replace Marxism with Marx' early thinking, understands the difference in principle between Marxism and the thinking of Hegel and of Feuerbach humanism, and recognizes the change in the thinking of Marx. All this understanding can be affirmed and this understanding has become the reason for the wide influence of what he called "structuralist Marxism." But he treats the changes in Marx' thinking in an absolute way and cuts off Marx' mature thinking from his early thinking, denying Marx' criticism and inheritance of the cultural heritage of mankind, and all these expose the shortcomings of studying Marxism through the method of structuralism. According to structuralism, the theoretical structure of science is a self-emerged and sealed system that is free from the influence of external conditions such as history and society. It is only natural to fail to achieve a scientific explanation

of the process of the development of Marx' thinking through the method of structuralism.

### III

In his effort to explain Marxism through structuralism, Althusser holds that as scientific theory, Marxism has the following four characteristics.

1. Antiempiricism. Like other structuralists, Althusser holds that the task of scientific theory is to expose the deep level structure of things, while experience is nothing but an understanding of the surface level of the structure of things. Therefore, he despises experience. He holds that empiricism separates main body from object, regards the real object as the target for understanding and makes the difference between conceptual object and real object vague (because concept does not accord with the object it wants to show) and therefore it is impossible to separate the main body of "empiricism" from the main body of "philosophical thinking." Althusser opposes any method of studying and understanding things within the sphere of the relationship between main body and object. According to his view, to regard understanding as the main body grasping the essence of object is to move from real and concrete matters to thinking and this method is empiricism. Since he has denied empiricism, how can the understanding of science emerge? In order to make his statement consistent, Althusser puts forward the so-called theory of "theoretical practice."

Althusser has his own complete and particular views about practice. He divides practice into the four categories of economic practice, political practice, ideological practice, and theoretical practice. Like the practice of production, theoretical practice also has the three major factors of raw materials, processing, and products; it also represents "a process of reforming certain particular raw materials into certain products" and it is also "a reform that is realized through a certain labor of mankind and by using certain production methods." ("Protect Marxism") According to Althusser, such a production process of "theoretical practice" emerges totally in thought and the raw materials of this production are not real objects but "conceptual objects." Through the processing and production of "theoretical practice," the final product--knowledge, is produced. He pointed out that the scientific knowledge of "theoretical practice" is this kind of movement from abstract to concrete and that the Marxist theory of understanding is the theory of this "theoretical practice" which is opposed to empiricism.

Althusser acknowledges the relative independence of scientific knowledge and stresses the importance of the role displayed by theoretical thinking in gaining scientific knowledge; this view has its own rational factors. According to his view, theory emerges independently in thinking, and thus, by confusing the activities of theoretical thinking with the practice of the material activities of perception, his view shows that he has departed from Marxist basic principles. Marxism holds that theory comes from practice and that practice is the only criterion for testing the truthfulness of theory. But Althusser holds that the studying and defining of theory

themselves represent practice, and this means that thinking produces thinking and theory produces theory and that theory has its own independent science, and is not a true product of practice, and that therefore it is not necessary for theory to be tested in practice. In this way, theoretical activities become a poor conception that is divorced from practice. Althusser refutes and denies the method of moving from perceptive concrete to abstract as empiricism and this view is no doubt wrong. The methods of moving from concrete to abstract and from abstract to concrete are unified on the basis of practice and they can in no way be contradicted. "Perceptual concrete--abstract--ideological concrete" is the most complete summary of the movement of understanding of mankind. The process from abstract to concrete is a process in the processing of perceptual raw materials and the formation of various abstracts and it is a premise and preparation for the process of moving from abstract to concrete. And following this preparation, it is improper to follow the method of "concrete--abstract" again; it is only by resorting to the method of "abstract--concrete" that people will be able to gain a scientific knowledge of concrete matters. But Althusser only acknowledges the latter and denies the former, to cut in two the process of understanding, and therefore he turns the abstract concept that starts with thinking to "water without source" and "a tree without roots," rather than a reflection of objective matters. This view is no doubt contradictory to the theory of the reflection of materialism.

2. Antireductionism. Reductionism is a term derived from chemical reduction. The use of this term in social science is shown in the internal nature of the reduction of the function of various factors in the whole society and the exposition of multiple forms of social phenomena in the form of a single development. Marxism is often criticized by persons in the West as "economic reductionism" and this means that Marxism regards various social phenomena as being determined by a single economic contradiction. Althusser opposes so-called "economic reductionism" and regards this view as monolithic determinism. According to Althusser's view, Marxist dialectics is different from the Hegelian dialectics of monolithic determinism because the former is the dialectics of polyolithic determinism. He opposes the view that regards Marxist dialectics as an "inversion" of Hegelian dialectics.

Althusser holds that social development is not determined monolithically but polyolithically. According to his view, the unification of complicated social relations cannot be explained by the viewpoint that regards other social levels as being mechanically determined by economic factors, nor can the monolithic nature of social phenomena be explained through a certain and single nature. He declares that Marxism regards the whole body of society as a complex structure of various, relatively independent factors (politics, economy, and ideology) which are mutually reducible. The relations among these factors (or levels) are not, as Hegelian philosophy states, based on the principle of the "essence (the whole)--its manifestation (the part) but are limited in a particular 'structural causality.'" And the premise for "structural causality" is that the various factors of the whole affect each other and are coexistent to the whole. In this way, the decisive role of the whole structure toward partial structure and the

decisive role of the partial structure toward component factors are maintained and at the same time, the relative independence of partial structure from the whole structure and of various factors of partial structure from partial structure are also maintained. That is to say, the various factors of superstructure are "relatively independent," with each having its own internal structure, changing rhythm, developmental law, and continuity, and a history of economic changes that is not reducible. But at the same time he acknowledges that the economic foundation will "at last" play a decisive role. The so-called "relatively independent" factors of superstructure are shown in a decisive role that is not always at a fixed level, but may move from one level to another. In a particular historical movement, different factors may play a decisive role in the whole factor of social structure. But the kind of factor that is able to display a decisive role at a particular moment is "finally" determined by the economic foundation. According to Althusser's view, this means that "in particular periods of history, the final and decisive role of economy is realized in the mutual exchange of the main roles of various factors such as economy, politics, and theory." ("Protect Marxism")

In expounding the development of history, Althusser stresses the importance of the relative independence of various factors in the main body of society and opposes the view that regards the economic base as mechanically and simply determining superstructure and, at the same time, he also acknowledges the "final" and decisive role of economy; this view is of course correct. But he proceeds from structuralism and holds that the premises of various aspects of structure are equal and that therefore the mutual roles of these aspects are interchangeable and cyclical, and this view is wrong. According to Marxism, the various factors of the development of society cannot be placed in an equal position, nor can the mutual relations between economic base and superstructure be termed as their having cyclical and interchangeable roles, without dividing the origin from derivatives, or the final and decisive role of the economic base will be denied and consequently people will go toward idealism.

3. Antihistoricism. Althusser holds that historicism explains history as a process of the same nature continuously emerging and regards the reason for changes in history as being a gradual exposure of an internal logic of development. In the Hegelian theory of development, this principle is apparently shown. Althusser wants to eliminate the influence of Hegel and therefore he opposes this principle of historicism. Basing himself on the structural principle of simultaneity being more significant than a period of time, he comes to the conclusion that Marx' historical analyses of social relations belong to the study of the function of social relations within a particular society. Althusser holds that the core of the Marxist historical viewpoint is the concept of structure and that Marx' explanation of history is based on the viewpoint of regarding the whole body of society as a complex structure of relatively independent various factors, each factor "having its own independent time and the existence of this time and the 'times' of other levels also being relatively independent." ("Reading 'Das Kapital'") Therefore, there is neither a monolithic nature of development nor a monolithic orientation. And he terms this view "antihistoricism."

Althusser also criticizes the viewpoint that regards various cultural forms (particularly science) being related to changing historical conditions as "historicism." He says that true Marxism does not regard science as belonging to the superstructure. Science has its own law and its own history of development and change; science has created a series of objective concepts but it is not a manifestation of social ideology. The development of various factors of social life is not balanced and not all of these sectors represent the spirit of the same era in the same form.

So-called "antihistoricism" is a viewpoint derived from "polyolithic determinism." Althusser stresses the importance of the relatively independent history of development of different sectors in the whole body of society and this view is acceptable. But it is wrong for him to add "antihistoricism" to Marxism. Marxism affirms the principle of historicism and demands the study of historical events and historical figures within a certain historical sphere. Therefore, each social history has its own characteristics, nature, and law, while the development of history is diversified and polyolithically oriented; at the same time, the principle of Marxist historicism also acknowledges that various social histories have a common nature, with unified and monolithic orientation. And therefore we "cannot cut history apart" and "cannot forget the basic historical relations." Althusser excessively stresses the importance of the relative independence of the historical changes in the various factors of the complicated social structure and he holds that there is no yardstick to measure the continuity over time of the history of various sectors and consequently he is lopsided in this aspect. The various sectors in society have their own history of development but these sectors also influence each other and, in particular, the development of various sectors in the superstructure is subject to the influence of the development of the economy of the era. This is because the independence of the superstructure is relative, and the characteristics of the process of the development of these sectors in no way eliminate the primary role of the economic base.

4. Antihumanitarianism. Althusser has inherited the tradition of the ideology of structuralism that is opposed to the main body of mankind and he holds that Marxism is so-called "theoretical antihumanitarianism." He says: "Marx entered the stage of scientific historical theory only after he completely criticized the theoretical foundation in his youth (1840-1845)--men's philosophy." ("Protect Marxism") "From 1845, Marx completely broke away with the theory that ascribes all history and politics to the nature of men.... Marx' complete departure from all philosophical humanism of men and philosophical humanitarianism of men is not a secondary detail, it is part of the scientific discovery of Marxism." (Ibid.) Althusser holds that this divergence includes three inseparable aspects. First, the creation of historical and political theories that are based on new concepts. These new concepts include social ideology, productivity, relations of production, superstructure, ideology and economy, and the particular and decisive factors that have final and decisive roles. Second, Marx completely criticized the advocacy of the theory of men's humanitarianism in philosophy of all kinds. Third, he defined humanitarianism as an ideology. (Ibid.) Consequently, he declares: "Strictly and theoretically speaking, people



can and must openly discuss the antihumanitarianism of Marxist theory." (Ibid.)

It must be understood that at a time when the wrong view of humanizing Marxism is popular in Western society, Althusser's theory has played a positive role in refuting this advocacy. Although it is true that Althusser has resorted to structuralism in expounding the relations between Marxism and humanitarianism, in a certain degree he has reflected the basic change in Marx' concept of the history of society. But when Marx and Engels were creating the theoretical system of scientific communism, they critically inherited all the outstanding achievements in the history of the ideology of mankind and these achievements included the rational factors of humanitarianism that displayed their positive roles in history, and these factors were included in their scientific system as part of science. In this sense, it is improper to speak of the "antihumanitarianism of Marxist theory"; specific questions must be specifically analyzed. It must be pointed out here that although Althusser has affirmed certain new spheres of historical materialism, he starts from the stand of structuralism to distort the specific connotation of these new spheres. For example, he holds that the advocacy made by Marx about the spheres of the relations of production are not about the relations among men but are about the relations among materials. To make such a definition in the relations of production is in fact disseminating the viewpoint that structuralism denies the objective role of men.

According to Althusser, when Marx was in the process of forming the science of historical materialism, he had already completely discarded the subject of men; the biggest achievements of Marx in "Das Kapital" lie in the fact that he treated capitalism as "a process without main body." "To Marx, the concepts of spheres or men do not have a theoretical role," his starting point in analyzing society was the relations of production and not the "main body of mankind" and he was attempting to explain historical changes through the law of the development of society and not through the needs of men. In this way, people were conceptualized as the "bearers" of the relations of the structure of the society in which they lived; the real main body of the process of history was not regarded as the men who were the "bearers" of these structural relations but as the relations of production (and social relations of politics and ideology). It is because the roles displayed by men in the process of history are defined by the general structure of the relations of production, while the men themselves are just accomplishing the task that is assigned by structure. "Marx' theory of antihumanitarianism in historical materialism also basically denies that men's concept is a theoretical concept, in explaining social ideology and its history; in other words, it is denying that men are the primitive main body of their requirements, thinking, deeds, and struggles." ("Stand")

It must be pointed out that Althusser holds that Marxism opposes the derivation and explanation of the necessity of the development of society from the concept of "the nature of men" and he stresses the importance of analyzing social structure objectively and scientifically so as to derive the changes in social structure. This view is correct. But Althusser holds that Marxism

basically denies the roles of men in social change, and this assertion is wrong. Marxism affirms that "history is created by men" and that the main body of history is the masses of people. Activities of mankind in history are no doubt limited by social conditions. But with its knowledge and capability of acting, the main body of mankind is able, through understanding and grasping objective law, to take proper action and to reform society. It is just because Marxism proceeds from the point that the main body of mankind is able to reform the objective environment that it points out the "unanimity of environmental changes and men's activities." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 17) Therefore, Althusser's view that men are passively completing the tasks given by structure is groundless.

#### IV

There is a process of development in Althusser's explanation of Marxism. Althusser originally held that "Das Kapital" had already broken away from ideology and from the influence of Hegel and regarded the book as totally scientific. But later this view changed and he held that only "Critique of the Gotha Program" and "On 'Teaching Book of Political Economics' by A. Wagena [7093 3907 2706 4780]" are truly scientific Marxist works.

In his early theoretical works, Althusser "reexplained" Marxist theory in the name of "protection," but in the 1970's he openly declared that there is a Marxist "crisis." In his article "The Crisis of Marxism" he declared that Marxism "embraces difficulties, contradictions, and blanks" and that he wanted to "change some things in Marxism." According to his view, the explanation of the Marxist theory of surplus value is not comprehensive and that therefore it will cause a "narrow concept" to hinder the "expansion of the forms of struggle"; Marxist dialectics is nothing other than "several formulas that are too ambiguous and difficult to understand" and "they in fact have opened up a road to positivism and evolutionism." He also declared that "there is really no 'Marxist theory of state'" and he denied the existence of "any true theory about the organization of class struggles, and particularly about political parties and trade unions" in Marxism. Later he even said that communism represents "remote prospects that will never be realized." Therefore, it can be seen that these words of Althusser show the bankruptcy of his attempt to explain Marxism through structuralism, and these words also show that he has departed further and further from Marxism.

Proceeding from his anger toward "Marxists of the Hegelian faction," Althusser tried to refute their distortion of Marxism in his effort to defend Marxist theory and there is no doubt of his sincerity in his early effort. Basing himself on reality, he purposefully put forward his views about some major theories and he can in no way be blamed in this aspect. The problem is that he did not resort to Marxist science, views, and methods to defend and explain Marxist principles but instead used the principle of structuralism in explaining Marxism, and the result can only be a distortion of Marxism. This situation may not have been his original intention and yet it is a tragedy.

And from this tragedy of Althusser we must obtain the following enlightenment.

First, the vitality of Marxism lies in unifying theory with practice. We cannot, in the name of science, contradict Marxism with the political struggles of the proletariat. In studying Marxism, we must in no way depart from politics and practice and "work behind closed doors"; the study must be combined with the political struggles of the proletariat and with the new situations and questions of the development of the international communist movement. In this way, we will be able constantly to develop Marxism in practice. The viewpoint which holds that politics will "pollute" Marxism and endanger the scientific nature of Marxism consequently puts politics in a contradictory position with scientific theory, and therefore this view is utterly wrong and harmful.

Second, in studying problems, Marxists must take Marxist basic principles as their guidance and they must in no way depart from the Marxist orientation and path. There is no doubt that Marxism must be constantly enriched and developed in practice. This is because Marxism is a science that has opened up a broad road for its own development. Lenin said: "When we march forward along the road of Marxist theory, we are coming closer and closer to objective truth (but there is no ending); but if we follow any other road in our advance, we will attain nothing but chaos and absurdity." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 143) Trying to depart from basic Marxist theory and to "develop" and "defend" Marxism with any other method will only result in distorting Marxism.

Third, in studying questions, we must guard against lopsidedness and absoluteness and when we are opposing a tendency we must not slide down into another tendency. The mistakes made by Althusser are not caused by his opposition to "Marxism of the Hegelian faction" but by his going to another extreme when he is opposing this tendency. His method of analyzing things is lopsided. He separates several aspects of Marxist theory and exaggerates certain factors and makes them absolute and finally he comes to an extreme conclusion. Thus, with this method, there is no way to explain Marxism in an overall and scientific way, and finally he goes in the opposite direction, and this is the logical result for Althusser.

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FURTHER DEVELOP THE RELATIONS OF EQUALITY, UNITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE  
BETWEEN THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES IN OUR COUNTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 33-36

[Article by Ao Junde [2407 0193 1795]]

[Text] China is a unified multinational country. The 12th CPC National Congress proposed that we should further develop the socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between the nationalities of China and this represents an important strategic principle for the realization of the party's overall tasks in this period.

I

The development of socialist nationality relations of unity, equality and mutual assistance in China between the various nationalities has arisen from a basis in Marxist theories of nationality, integrated with the present situation in China relating to nationality relations. It is also an important result of bringing order out of chaos in terms of the question of nationalities in accordance with the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Since the end of the 1950's, especially during the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, the influence of "leftist" guiding ideologies meant that serious "leftist" views developed concerning the question of nationalities in China. People either thought, "We're in the socialist stage now, what's the point of discussing nationalities?" or they thought that in the socialist stage, "The true nature of the question of nationalities is a class problem." Although these two views appear to be different on the surface, they are in essence the same, since they both deny the objective existence of a nationalities question and use questions of class and class struggle to replace the question of nationalities. This is the theoretical basis for carrying out an expansion of the class struggle in the question of nationalities.

Marxists consider that nationality represents a historical category with its own form and rules of development and eradication, although the eradication or rather the fusion of nationalities is a very long historical process. Lenin said that differences between nationalities "even after the dictatorship

of the proletariat has been realized on a world scale, will exist for a very, very long time." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 246) In the socialist era differences between nationalities will continue to exist and the economic and cultural equalities that have been left over from history between different nationalities will not be eradicated very quickly, therefore it is inevitable that the question of nationalities will continue to exist for a very long time to come.

Before the founding of the PRC, during the period of the new democratic revolution, the question of China's nationalities was an integral part of the overall question of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, and the liberation of all the Chinese nationalities was achieved at the same time as the victory of the Chinese revolution and the liberation of all the Chinese peoples. After the founding of the PRC, during the period of socialist adaptation, the question of nationalities in China was an integral part of the general task of eliminating the exploitive system and establishing the socialist system, and thus nationalities of every kind took to the common road of socialism albeit in different ways and with different steps. After the socialist changes to the means of production with the eradication of the exploitive class as a class, and with class struggle no longer a major contradiction, what is the essential nature of the nationalities question in China? "Decisions concerning several historical problems related to the party since the establishment of new China," as formulated at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee states: "Nationality relations in China today are essentially the relations between the working peoples of every nationality." And this is the basis for further development of the relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities in China.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has drawn up a series of important decisions concerning the question of nationalities, correcting erroneous "leftist" tendencies which developed during the Cultural Revolution and before, and putting right a large number of wrongly judged cases, to the great satisfaction of national minority cadres and the masses in general. Our party has also drawn up effective policies for developing the regional economies and cultures of national minorities, for achieving regional national minority autonomy and for uniting all nationalities. All these policies have been devised on the basis of conditions in this new historical period and the concrete situation in which each nationality finds itself. These policies have already proved very effective. The new style of nationality relations which involve equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities has been restored and developed and a brand-new situation has now emerged. However prejudices amongst nationalities, and jealousy and suspicion which have all built up over many years have still not been completely wiped out and the harm inflicted on nationalities relations during the 10 years of social chaos has still not been completely undone and thus great chauvinism (especially great Han chauvinism) and regional nationalism still exist to varying degrees, and only by working hard to overcome these negative factors can there be any development in relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities.

The key to further development of the new style of nationalities relations is raising the entire party's understanding of the nationalities question. Our party is the administrative party which governs our multinational country and it is the guiding core of all the people of our country. The extent of the entire party's appreciation of the importance of the nationalities question and the extent of the correctness of their understanding of the question greatly affects the present situation and developmental trends relating to nationality relations in China. Therefore it is vital that we step up education and propagation of the Marxist theories of nationality and the party's nationalities policies. We must steadfastly assess our 30 years of positive and negative experiences in the nationalities question and we must investigate in detail, and research new situations and new problems emerging today from nationality relations in China.

## II

Further development of the socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities in China represents an important part of socialist democratic construction in China. A fundamental demand of socialist democratic construction is to ensure the systemization and legalization of the people's position as masters of their society as well as their democratic rights. At the same time it also demands the systemization and legalization of relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities in China. The new constitution ratified at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress states that "all nationalities within the People's Republic of China are equal. The state guarantees the legal rights and interests of all national minorities and maintains and develops relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance amongst all nationalities. Prejudice and suppression of any nationality is forbidden as is behavior which destroys nationality unity and creates rifts between nationalities." Autonomous nationality regions represent an important system in China's maintenance and development of relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between all nationalities. Since the founding of modern China, the country has set up 5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 74 autonomous counties (or banners). Practice has proved that implementing autonomous nationality regions within a unified country guarantees the legal rights and interests of the national minorities and speeds up economic and cultural development in each national minority region, while at the same time repelling foreign invasion and subversion and ensuring the independence and prosperity of the entire country. The new constitution reaffirms the rules for carrying out autonomous rule in regions inhabited by national minorities while also outlining new regulations for the limitations of power and organization of government bodies in national minority autonomous regions. The outlines in the new constitution need to be made more concrete and to be standardized by being integrated with other relevant laws such as the PRC laws for autonomous rule in nationalities regions as well as regulations concerning government in nationalities autonomous regions, before they may be put into practice. In other words, in the process of socialist democratic construction we must provide full systematic and legal guarantees for the rights of equality and the rights of autonomous rule for all national minority groups, eradicating

all behavior which damages their legal rights and interests. Only in this way can we fully ensure equality and unity between nationalities as well as the common prosperity of all nationalities in China.

Further development of the socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between the nationalities of China is an important part of the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization in China. We should integrate the development of the new style of nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities with the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. At the same time as carrying out Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought education for the cadres and the masses, we should take care to include education on the theory of nationalities and the party's nationalities policies. At the same time as teaching the cadres and the masses about patriotism and communist ideology, we should also teach them about equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities, and in particular we should instruct everyone in the inseparability of the Han nationality and the national minorities. We must make equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities part of the present widely implemented mass activities of "the five stresses, four beauties, and three loves" and we should require of all nationalities that they ardently love their own great socialist motherland, that they maintain the unity of the country, and promote the glorious and prosperous development of the motherland. We should bring discussions of being civilized, being polite, and having morals into the very heart of nationalities relations so that the extent to which the ideology, public expression, and behavior benefits equality, unity and mutual assistance between nationalities may be seen as a standard for measuring the beauty of one's spirit, speech and behavior. All of this should be incorporated in regulations for students and for workers, politeness pledges in towns and cities, contracts and rules in the rural areas as well as pledges and contracts in all lines of business and walks of life. This should be done especially well in national minority regions.

Further development of socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among nationalities in China also represents a fundamental guarantee for China's socialist modernized construction. The establishment of unity and assistance on a foundation of equality for the 56 nationalities of our country means an enormous material force which can adapt and improve nature and society. Our country's land borders stretch for 21,000 kilometers and most of these 21,000 kilometers are in national minority regions. Although China's national minorities only represent 6.7 percent of the country's total population, they do number 67 million in all and are spread very widely throughout the country, occupying around 60 percent of the country's total area. The expansive national minority regions are rich in natural resources and thus the state of nationality relations in China is very closely related to the governing of China, and national security and unity. It is also very closely related to the consolidation of border defenses and the development of expansive regions and thus represents an important condition which cannot be minimized for guaranteeing the smooth implementation of modernized construction in China.

Historical reasons have meant that the levels of economic and cultural development of all national minorities lag behind those of the Han Chinese, while there are also a great many differences among different national minorities. The party and the state have constantly maintained a position of greatly helping all national minorities develop their economies and cultures, gradually eradicating all sorts of inequalities between nationalities which have been left over from history, as well as promoting the common prosperity of all nationalities. Since the founding of modern China, the state has already provided national minority regions with a great deal of aid in order that the economies and cultures of these national minorities may develop. From 1950 to 1978, the state gave national minority regions a total of 58 billion yuan in capital investment funds and in the 3 short years of 1979-1981, capital investment funds for national minority regions reached 14 billion. At the same time the state has also provided national minority regions with many subsidy loans. In recent years, the state has also made great efforts to organize some provinces and towns to implement direct support for national minority regions and this has played an important role in developing the economies and cultures of those regions. However, in general there is still a large gap between the developmental levels of national minority economies and cultures in comparison with the Han Chinese culture and economy. In order to wipe out this gap we must, on the one hand, depend on the self-reliance and arduous struggle of the national minorities in national minority regions, and on the other hand the state must continue to provide financial, technological, and material aid. The economy is the foundation of everything and if the economy is not in order then it is impossible to even consider such other questions as culture and education. Therefore, the state's aid to the development of national minorities should be focused on developing their economies.

In further developing the socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance amongst the nationalities of China we must firmly oppose great nationalism and regional nationalism. Great nationalism (mainly great Han nationalism) mainly manifests itself in a disrespect or lack of respect for the equal rights and autonomous rights of national minorities, a disregard for the national characteristics of national minorities and their special needs, and even a contravention of legal rights and interests of the national minorities and humiliation of and a display of prejudice against national minorities. Regional nationalism mainly manifests itself in narrow conservatism and exclusivity, giving unfair weight to the interests of one's own nationality and region and ignoring the overall interests of the state. Both these kinds of nationalism are negative factors blocking the consolidation and development of the new style of nationality relations. However, the major focus of our work should be in combating great Han nationalism. This is a result of the fact that the Han Chinese represent the majority nationality in China and thus have the greatest influence in political, economic and cultural life. While being wary of, and overcoming great Han nationalism, Han Chinese comrades should have a high awareness and sense of responsibility. Historical experience proves that overcoming great Han nationalism represents the key to establishing and developing a new style of nationality relations. Once great Han nationalism has been overcome it will be very easy to overcome



regional nationalism. Of course, in relations between a national minority which occupies the dominant position in a region and other nationalities, it is important that we be alert to preventing great nationalism. Among national minorities which display regional nationalism we must pay attention to overcoming this regional nationalism. However, in one period of history, serious expansionist mistakes were made in our opposition to regional nationalism. One was the opposition to comrades who had not committed any regional nationalist mistakes, and the second was the handling of errors in ideology and understanding as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. We must never forget this lesson. It is to be admitted that domestic factors and influence from abroad have meant that the class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come, and under certain conditions it could even intensify. Of course this could not affect nationality relations. As far as nationality relations are concerned, apart from a small number of enemy elements who are carrying out subversive and destructive activities under foreign influence, both great Han nationalism and regional nationalism are contradictions among the people and are problems limited to the sphere of ideology and understanding. Thus opposition to great nationalism and regional nationalism must be carried out correctly, upholding the rule of not launching any movements and not differentiating elements but concentrating mainly on ideological education and various political, economic and cultural measures. When one comes against problems in nationality relations, one must wait quietly and coolly, handling the situation correctly, avoiding an intensification of the contradictions. As for those contradictions and problems which have already become intensified, even more gentle measures should be adopted, and detailed ideological and political work should be carried out to ensure that the problem is reversed. We must ensure that the party's policies, including every decision and measure, are placed in front of the people and that the people understand and grasp them.

Whether one is carrying out national minority regional autonomy or developing the culture and economy of national minorities, without a large batch of national minority cadres with a communist consciousness, very little can be done. With extensive and intimate links between national minority cadres and the people of that national minority, these cadres can experience and observe far better the feelings and sufferings of the national minority, reflecting the opinions and demands of the national minority. They fully understand the history of the region and its present situation and thus are better equipped to integrate the nationality's characteristics and the region's characteristics and fully implement the party's and the state's policies. Since the founding of new China, with the close attention and nurturing of the party and the state, there has been a quick increase in national minority cadres, thus creating a great team numbering several millions. However, the present national minority cadres still do not come up to the demands of modernized construction in national minority regions in terms of numbers and political and cultural standards. As from today we should adopt many different measures for training national minority cadres and this means training cadres for all levels of the party and the government, and training specialized cadres to carry out scientific,

technological, social scientific and natural scientific work, as well as training all kinds of experts and technicians. On the basis of such criteria as revolutionary spirit, youthfulness, knowledge and expertise, we should at the same time elevate those national minority cadres who possess the relevant requirements to positions of leadership at all levels in nationality autonomous regions.

We believe that through the common hard work of the whole party, the entire state, and the peoples of all nationalities in China, the socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance between all nationalities in China will see continued development and thus our great country will not only become a glorious and prosperous socialist modernized state, but in addition, it will become a harmonious, friendly, united and happy paradise for all the nationalities of China.

CSO: 4004/34

CAPTION OF ILLUSTRATION ON FRONT COVER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 p 36

[Text] The Qiqihaer Steel Plant pays attention to bringing the role of scientific and technological personnel into play. In the past year, it turned out 13 kinds of famous-brand products, among which the carbon steel used in deep drawing on a large scale has been awarded the national silver medal. The picture shows engineer Li Zichong (second from left) of the carbon steel testing group and the steel workers working in front of the furnace to find out the best method for making carbon steel. [Front cover of RED FLAG No 9, 1983 shows four men looking at unseen object, with the second man from left extending his right arm in a pointing motion.]

CSO: 4004/34

THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE OVER DISARMAMENT AND CHINA'S STAND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 37-40

[Article by Si Chu]

[Text]

I

In recent years, disarmament has become a prominent issue in international politics. Two special sessions of the UN General Assembly specializing in this issue were held in 1978 and 1982. Recently, the U.S.-Soviet struggle over the issue of European missiles has drawn extensive attention from the international community. Disarmament has increasingly become an issue of common interest to all nations and peoples throughout the world.

The reason disarmament is being taken seriously is first because the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union has become increasingly acute; weapons, especially nuclear weapons, have been increasingly piled up to an extremely dangerous degree, constituting an actual threat against the whole of mankind. According to estimates, the explosive power of all the existing nuclear weapons in the world is equal to that of 20 billion tons of TNT, and more than 95 percent of these nuclear weapons are controlled by the two superpowers--the United States and the Soviet Union. They have long possessed the power of "overkill" as people usually put it. What is similarly worrying is that the arms race is rapidly developing not only in quantity but also in quality. Accurately guided and remote-controlled weapons, developed on the basis of the latest computer and electronic technology, as well as aircraft, tanks, and cannons with greater and greater fighting power have provided the possibility of a nonnuclear "conventional war" with unprecedentedly huge destructive force. At the same time, new areas are being opened up for the arms race. In recent years, the United States and the Soviet Union have both been actively developing technology and weapons for an outer space war. This represents a prominent new field of the arms race. Such things as laser weapons, particle beam weapons, and space shuttles, which only existed in science fiction in the past, have also been actually produced and tested. With the two superpowers, which possess all these advanced weapons, intensifying the arms race between them, the danger of war is becoming more and more grave. This is why people throughout the world feel anxiety.

Compared with the potential danger of a new world war, the adverse influence of the arms race in the economic field has had a more direct effect on the international community. At present, the total yearly amount of military spending throughout the world is higher than \$600 billion (of which the United States and the Soviet Union account for more than half). In the face of the threats posed by the hegemonists' superarsenals and aggressive and expansionist activities, small and medium-sized countries, especially developing countries, cannot but use their valuable resources to strengthen defense at the expense of their economic development. Even for the superpowers, which have abundant funds, the high military spending is also a heavy burden which may cause economic stagnation, high unemployment, and other evil consequences. In short, all peoples throughout the world are suffering deeply from the arms race.

It is similarly serious that even if a new world war does not occur in the near future, the arms race between the superpowers will still inevitably threaten all nations' security and the stability of the world situation. A characteristic of the contemporary arms race is that it is a direct outcome of the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers. In order to overwhelm the other side and to win superiority, each of the superpowers is actively carrying out arms expansion and war preparations in both quality and quantity, and their ever-growing military buildup in turn constitutes a basis of strength for them to interfere in and aggress against other nations, to bully and humiliate small nations, to expand their spheres of influence, and to seize strategic places. This is precisely the reason for unceasing local conflicts and wars and restless world situations over many years. Undoubtedly, this is also a factor that may touch off a new world war.

The aggression and expansion by the hegemonists and the fierce arms race and rivalry between the two superpowers have indeed constituted a real and serious threat to world peace. In the final analysis, the issue of disarmament is one that relates to how to prevent wars and how to safeguard peace. It is natural that all peoples throughout the world are paying close attention to it.

At present, on the rostrums of the United Nations, numerous small and medium-sized states and neutral and nonaligned states are strongly demanding an immediate halt to the arms race, with priority being given to nuclear disarmament, so as to lessen the danger of war, especially of nuclear war. At many international conferences, they have proposed that the ultimate aim should be to "carry out all-round and thorough disarmament under effective international supervision." At the same time, massive antinuclear and peace movements have swept across many areas, especially countries in Western Europe and North America, over the past 1 or 2 years. These movements call for opposing nuclear weapons and nuclear wars and for demanding nuclear disarmament. The masses use various methods, such as marching, holding rallies, and blockading military bases, to demonstrate against arms expansion and war preparations. People involved in these demonstrations number from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands. They have created great influence that brooks no neglect. In various

countries and regions, these peace movements are, to different extents, intertwined with the ideological trend toward demanding national independence and opposing foreign domination, with the desire to shake off the economic crisis, with struggles between political parties with different positions, and with various religious activities. The Soviet Union and the United States are also trying to exert influence over the movements. All this has made the situation intricate and complex. But in general, these peace movements reflect the people's just desire for peace and their resentment against wars. Their main efforts are directed at the United States and the Soviet Union, who are speeding up their arms race. These movements are now continuing to develop.

## II

All nations in the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union, are discussing disarmament and have put forward various proposals and views on various occasions in debates and negotiations. However, great differences exist in their positions on this issue because of their different political, economic and military interests, and strategic positions.

The United States, for its part openly advocates arms expansion and war preparations, and asserts that it must try hard to catch up because the Soviet Union has got the upper hand. It tends to rigidly reject and resist the disarmament proposals put forward by Third World nations. The Soviet Union acts in another manner: It does not utter a single word about its actions of arms expansion and war preparations, but makes a great fanfare about its disarmament proposals under frequently changed guises. If a comparison is made between the two, criticisms and denunciations of the United States are more frequently heard than those of the Soviet Union at various UN meetings and in the protests voiced by the peace movements. The Soviet Union and the United States accuse each other of provoking an arms race and charge their opponent with having achieved, or seeking, military superiority. They also carry out some bilateral disarmament negotiations. But they are not interested in any multilateral talks within the scope of the United Nations. If an agreement is to be concluded, they always first make a secret deal between themselves through bilateral talks. Taking a general view of the various activities of Moscow and Washington in the field of disarmament, we may summarize their motives in the following points: 1) Strengthening oneself and weakening the opponent so as to make disarmament serve the purpose of achieving military superiority. This is a top priority. 2) Working out some "rules of the game" because they are both bearing heavy economic burdens caused by arms expansion and war preparations. 3) Maintaining their nuclear predominance over other nations and restraining and prohibiting other nations from developing their own nuclear strength. 4) Assuming a pose of "disarmament" and "negotiations" in order to cope with the strong tides opposing the arms race and also to meet the needs of political and diplomatic struggles. Since this is the real attitude toward disarmament of the two countries who have the biggest nuclear arsenals, no wonder that the result of their talks, which have lasted for many years, is that the more they talk, the fiercer their arms race has become.

As for Third World nations, which constitute the great majority, they regard disarmament as a field of struggle as important as decolonization and economic development. They have put forward many disarmament proposals on various international occasions. They are the main force in the struggle for disarmament. They greatly resent the sustained development of the arms race and the increasing danger of war and strongly demand real disarmament. They hold in general that "all nuclear powers, especially the nations which have the most important nuclear arsenals, should bear special responsibility" for nuclear disarmament, and that "the nations which have undertaken the greatest military buildup should bear special responsibility for the process of reducing conventional armaments." Hence, they are aware of the fact that the two superpowers are the chief scourge of the arms race. They realize that the struggle to safeguard peace and to promote disarmament is closely related to the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, and colonialism, to the struggle to win national independence and to safeguard state sovereignty, and to the struggle to smash the unjust and irrational old international economic order and to establish a new order so as to guarantee the economic independence of developing nations. Although they hold different attitudes and positions toward some specific issues concerning disarmament, their proposals in general are quite realistic and reasonable, and in the main reflect the desire of all peoples throughout the world.

Third World nations have taken an active part in the field of disarmament, and their actions have joined forces with the popular movements for peace and disarmament, thus forming a mighty torrent which is pounding fiercely at the hegemonists who are frenziedly engaged in the arms race.

### III

The character of the issue of international disarmament has fundamentally changed. In the 1950's and 1960's, the organizations for negotiating international disarmament were manipulated by the Soviet Union and the United States and negotiations were mainly held between the two major military blocs. With the emergence of the Third World and nonaligned nations, this situation has been fundamentally changed. At present, although the powers pursuing hegemony are still trying to wrestle with each other in this field and to make dirty deals so as to deceive and even harm other nations, the opposition to the arms race between the superpowers demonstrated by a large number of Third World nations and other small and medium-sized nations has become an important part of the present-day struggle over disarmament. The struggle for disarmament has become a major link in the international antihegemonist struggle as a whole. This fundamental change provides us with a necessary premise for participating in the struggle over disarmament.

Since 1978, our country has taken a part in various major international organizations for arranging and discussing multilateral disarmament and has joined the activities of various international conferences and organizations concerning disarmament. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council and the sole Third World nation which has nuclear weapons, China should of course take an active part in the struggle for disarmament, put

forward reasonable proposals for disarmament, and closely cooperate with other Third World nations and nonaligned nations in making joint efforts to stop the arms race between the superpowers and to safeguard world peace.

When we participate in disarmament activities, our basic principle and starting point is to carry out resolutely the foreign policy of independence and self-determination, to oppose hegemonism, and to safeguard world peace.

We hold, on the one hand, that it is impossible to reduce armed forces and dismantle weapons in a thorough way under the condition that imperialism and hegemonism still exist, and this must be fully realized; on the other hand, it should also be realized that the struggle for disarmament waged by people throughout the world will reveal the superpowers' practices of intensifying the arms race and carrying out false disarmament and thus produce great political and moral pressure on them. This is of positive significance in the cause of opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

Over the past few years, our country has enunciated its principled stand on the disarmament issue on many international occasions. At the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament held last year, our state put forward a proposal on immediately stopping the arms race and carrying out disarmament and declared that arms reduction should follow six basic principles, which are briefly as follows: 1) Efforts for disarmament cannot be separated from the maintenance of international security. They should be integrated with efforts for maintaining world peace and security. 2) States possessing the largest arsenals should take the lead in reducing their armaments. 3) The reduction of conventional armaments should be carried out in conjunction with that of nuclear armaments. 4) All medium-sized and small nations should have the right to take necessary measures for maintaining the necessary defensive strength to guard against aggression and to defend independence. 5) Disarmament agreements should provide for strict and effective measures of international verification. 6) All states are entitled to participate on an equal footing in the deliberations, negotiations, and settlement of disarmament issues. As for measures to implement these principles, China proposes: 1) All nuclear states should reach an agreement on the nonuse of nuclear weapons. Pending this, the nuclear powers should each undertake unconditionally not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear states or nuclear-free zones and not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other at any time or under any circumstances. 2) The Soviet Union and the United States should cease all nuclear tests, stop the qualitative improvement and manufacture of any kind of nuclear weapons and reduce by 50 percent their existing nuclear arsenals as well as their means of delivery. Thereafter, all nuclear states should undertake to cease all nuclear tests, stop the qualitative improvement and manufacture of nuclear weapons and reduce their respective nuclear weapons and means of delivery in reasonable proportion, according to a procedure to be agreed upon. 3) All states should solemnly undertake not to use conventional forces to commit armed intervention or aggression against or military occupation of any other state. As a first step toward conventional disarmament, all foreign occupation troops must be



withdrawn without delay. In the meantime, the Soviet Union and the United States should proceed to reduce substantially their heavy and new-type conventional weapons and equipment, especially those for offensive purposes. After this, the other militarily significant states should join them in reducing their conventional armaments in reasonable proportion, according to a procedure to be agreed upon. 4) Chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction should be prohibited.

The above-mentioned principles and measures are strictly based on the realities of the present world, which are: At present, only the two superpowers who have the greatest arsenals are conducting the global arms race; only these two states have the ability to fight a nuclear war, and only they are contending for world hegemony in varied forms by relying on their own military strength. Since states can be classified into large and small and into those with great military strength and those whose armaments are weak and who are being threatened by the strong, should, then, the armaments of the strong be reduced so as to guarantee the security of the weak, or should all states, strong and weak, be required to take action at the same time? In our opinion, it is necessary to determine who should bear major responsibility and take the lead in both nuclear and conventional disarmament. Only the two superpowers should take the lead in action and substantially reduce their nuclear and conventional weapons. Only thus can the danger of war be really lessened and can disarmament really make headway.

As one of the five nuclear states, China is willing to undertake its duty in disarmament. In fact, our government has repeatedly and solemnly announced to the world that China will never be the first to use nuclear weapons against other states at any time or under any circumstances and will not use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear states under any conditions. This pledge has been made unilaterally, and the first measure in the above-mentioned Chinese proposals for disarmament is only designed to demand that other nuclear states undertake the duty that China has long undertaken, so as to pave the way for reaching an agreement on the nonuse of nuclear weapons. China's purpose in developing nuclear weapons is solely to defend itself, to smash nuclear monopoly, and to strive for early realization of all-round prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons. If the two superpowers take the lead in halting testing of, improving, and producing nuclear weapons and in reducing their existing nuclear arsenals by 50 percent, China is willing to join with other nuclear states in ceasing the development and production of nuclear weapons and in further reducing nuclear weapons to the point of complete destruction.

The social system and the fundamental interests of China determine that we will inevitably pursue a policy of peace. Our economic construction can be carried out and the needs of our people can be satisfied only under peaceful circumstances. We do not need a war; rather, we resolutely oppose a new world war. If people throughout the world can really unite to take concerted action and resolutely fight against all hegemonist and expansionist activities, it will be possible to maintain world peace. The people's struggle is a strong motivating force for promoting disarmament and for maintaining world peace. Our task is to comply with the will of the people throughout the world and to strive for real disarmament.

STUDY COMRADE CHEN YUN'S WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE PERIOD AFTER THE  
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[Text] II. On the Question of State Monopoly for Purchasing and Marketing  
of Grain and of Several Other Major Farm Products

The practice of having a state monopoly of the purchasing and marketing of grain and of several other major farm products is an important aspect of the economic life of China following the founding of the PRC, and a necessary measure for operating a planned economy in a situation that was agriculturally backward. The policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state was put forward by Comrade Chen Yun through serious investigations and study.

His expositions on this question fully reflect his realistic spirit in solving major economic problems and are of profound theoretical significance. While studying, close attention should be paid to the following five things:

/1. The Seriousness and the Nature of the Then Grain Problem/

In 1953, China began to carry out its First 5-Year Plan. With the development of large-scale economic construction, the contradiction between grain purchase and supply became prominent. With the increase in employment and the expansion of cities and of factory and mining areas, China's urban population registered an increase in 1953 of 16.57 million people over 1950. Meanwhile, with the growth of economic construction, the demand for industrial crops was constantly increasing and the areas producing industrial crops were also gradually expanding. In addition, there were disaster areas for years on end which demanded relief. All this cried out for increases in the grain supply. However, the volume of grain purchase lagged far behind the need for increased supply. There was a serious imbalance between grain revenue and expenditure and the grain supply and demand situation was becoming more strained with each passing day.

Why did such a situation emerge? Did the reduction in grain production affect the volume of grain purchased? Certainly not. From 1950 to 1953, there were still increases in grain production in China. Grain production in 1953 totaled 333.7 billion jin, surpassing the historical best level of 300 billion jin recorded in 1936. The main reason for the strained grain supply and demand situation lay in the fact that following land reform, the life of the peasants was improved and their demand for grain also increased as a result. Those who did not have their own grain wanted to buy a little more grain and those who already had grain wanted to eat a little more and sold less grain. This resulted in a decrease rather than an increase in the marketability rate of grain. This state of affairs plus a great portion of grain being in the hands of merchants interfered with the purchase of grain by the state. At that time, making use of the spontaneous forces of the small peasant economy, grain speculators stirred up trouble in the free market, sometimes rushing to purchase, and hoarding grain for speculation, and sometimes dumping large stocks of grain in order to bring about a fall in price, seeking exorbitant profits therefrom. This affected the stability of the grain price on the market. When the new crop was still in the blade and the old one had all been consumed, lawbreaking grain merchants purchased grain in advance from the peasants at reduced prices; when the state purchased grain, they rushed to purchase grain at increased prices to disturb the grain market and sowed dissension between the peasants and the state by means of rumormongering and fraud, and some of them recklessly contended with state-owned commerce for the grain market and even demanded that time be partitioned for them and state-owned commerce to purchase grain separately. The activities of grainmongers conversely abetted the reluctance of the peasants to sell grain. This made it difficult for the state to fulfill the task of purchasing grain and brought about a serious imbalance in grain purchase and marketing while sales volumes of grain significantly surpassed previous ones.

This strained situation in grain was in essence a reflection of the contradiction between the state's large-scale construction and the backward small peasant economy, between the leadership of the state-owned economy on the one hand and the spontaneous forces of the peasants and the bourgeois stand of resisting restrictions on the other, and between the socialist and capitalist factors. Furthermore, these contradictions were closely related to the free trade in grain.

Grain constitutes the primary condition for human existence, provides an important foundation for the state's construction and also is the most important material for stabilizing the market.

If we fail to solve a problem of serious imbalance in grain purchase and marketing, we will have no possibility of guaranteeing the people's livelihood, stabilizing market prices, maintaining social order, and ensuring the fulfillment of the plans for socialist construction.

## /2. Unified Purchase and Marketing by the State Is a Good Policy for Solving the Serious Imbalance in the Purchase and Marketing of Grain and of Several Other Major Farm Products/

At that time, not only did grain purchase lag far behind sales needs, but there existed the same circumstances in such farm produce as cotton and oil-bearing crops. Cotton purchase in 1953 was 810,000 dan less than in 1952, but the sales volume of cotton increased by 1,419,000 dan. Edible oil available for the domestic market in 1953 was already in short supply and had to be made up from edible oil kept in stock. In 1954 the decrease in the purchase of and the increase in the marketing of edible oil brought about a greater strain on the stock of edible oil. What measures were then to be actually taken to solve this problem? Fundamentally speaking, it was imperative to develop production. This was because production determined distribution. Only when production was developed, and in particular when the marketability rate of major farm products was raised, could the purchase and marketing of several major farm products be carried out on a longstanding, solid foundation. This was the fundamental way to solve the contradiction between the supply and demand of China's major farm products, such as grain. However, China's agriculture was then basically in a state of being a scattered and self-sufficient small peasant economy with a very low level of productive forces. It was impossible to increase considerably the production of major farm products within a short time. In this situation, efforts had to be made to try to find solutions in distribution matters. The way out at that time was mainly to carry out a method of rational purchase and supply. Comrade Chen Yun said: "Our task on the grain front is to make a good job of production on the one hand, and of supply on the other. Only if production is developed can supply be ensured. At the same time, a rational solution to the question of supply can conversely promote production. We must learn to understand the reciprocal relations of these two aspects."

In order to solve the problem of imbalance in grain purchase and marketing, Comrade Chen Yun repeatedly and thoroughly conducted well-conceived and systematic investigations and extensively solicited opinions from all sides concerned. Comrade Chen Yun held: Four relationships should be handled well, that is, the relationship between the state and the peasants; that between the state and the consumers; that between the state and the merchants; and that between the central and local authorities as well as between different localities. Of these, the relationship which is most difficult to handle is the one between the state and the peasants, or mainly the relationship between the state and all households with surplus grain in the rural areas, and the relationship most difficult to handle next to the relationship between the state and the peasants is the one between the state and the consumers, or mainly the relationship between the state on the one hand and all urban populations and grain-deficient households on the other. For this reason, the solution of the grain problem is not only an economic matter but also an important political issue. He also held: If the relationship between the state and the peasants is handled well, all things can be easily arranged. Only when grain is already purchased can its supply be easily handled. Through repeated

deliberations, he worked out eight proposals for further study by contrast. They are: 1) Both state purchase and rationing, that is, state purchase is operated in the countryside while a rationing system is carried out in the cities; 2) rationing alone without state purchase, that is, a rationing system is practiced in the cities while no state purchase is introduced in the countryside; 3) state purchase alone without rationing, that is, state purchase is implemented in the countryside while no rationing system is instituted in the cities; 4) that the status quo ante is left intact, that is, that the then free trade is allowed to continue; 5) the method of "not digging a well until one is thirsty," that is, free purchase is allowed first, but if things actually do not go well, the state will then requisition grain by purchase from the grain-producing areas in the countryside; 6) the mobilization of subscription, that is, the central authorities first must have control figures for state purchase quotas and then assign them to the local leadership at various levels and ask the latter to call on the peasants to subscribe; 7) purchase in advance under a contract, that is, a contract is concluded in advance and then grain purchase is carried out according to the provisions of the contract; and 8) each going his own way, that is, all places are encouraged to adopt their own methods without any restrictions. At that time, after comparing these eight proposals one by one and weighing their advantages and disadvantages as well as their gains and losses, eventually we were determined to adopt the first proposal, that is, state purchase is operated in the countryside while a rationing system is carried out in the cities, that is unified purchase and marketing by the state. This was because only this method could solve the contradiction between grain supply and demand throughout the country, and meanwhile it could exclude speculators from the grain market so that merchants and rich peasants could not rig the grain market. Comrade Chen said: We must "grasp through planned purchase the supply of and control through planned supply the sales volume of" grain and several other main farm products. "These are two indispensable measures for continuing to maintain market stability in a situation in which the supply of many commodities falls short of demand." This major policy decision was approved by Comrade Mao Zedong and other leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee. Finally, the CPC Central Committee formally made a decision which was transmitted to lower levels for implementation. Subsequent facts have fully proved that the implementation of this major policy not only benefits the consumers of grain and of several other major farm products but also benefits rather than harms all peasants who sell farm products. It played an effective, earnest role in the stability of the whole market and in the smooth carrying out of the First 5-Year Plan.

### /3. Important Principles and Measures Which Should Be Adopted and Implemented in Carrying Out the Policy of Unified Purchase and Marketing by the State/

The policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state has in practice undergone a process of development from being noncomprehensive to being fairly comprehensive and from being imperfect to being relatively perfect. In this process, Comrade Chen Yun did a lot of work in investigation and study and put forward a series of principles and measures for the

implementation of the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state. At that time, emphasis was put on the following things:

First, we must implement the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state in an overall manner. Unified purchase and unified marketing are indivisible and they must be concurrently grasped well. If one-sided attention is paid to unified purchase to the neglect of unified marketing, the state may have the ability to grasp the source of grain but will hardly be able to control the volume of grain sales in the market. This will easily give rise to imbalances in supply and demand. If one-sided attention is paid to unified marketing to the neglect of unified purchase, the state may have the ability to grasp the volume of grain sales in the market but will find no way to get sufficient commodity grain. This will hardly ensure grain supply, and unified marketing will come to nothing. By unified marketing, we mean supplying grain for the nonagricultural population in the cities and towns on the one hand and supplying grain for the rural grain-deficient areas and peasants on the other hand. Every year the state had then to supply grain for the peasant households engaged in planting industrial crops, for the stricken peasant households and families with material difficulties, and for fishermen, herdsmen, salt industry workers, foresters, and boatmen. The peasants in need of grain numbered 200 million. Comrade Chen Yun said: "If the government does not interfere with the grain supply for these 200 million peasants and with the selling and buying of grain but instead allows merchants and rich peasants to rig the market, then the capitalism which reduces the peasants to poverty and ruin will spread unchecked in the rural areas. The state's plans for the proportionate sowing of the acreage under various crops will surely be damaged." This will bring serious consequences. Therefore, we must not abandon the implementation of unified marketing in the rural areas just because it is hard to carry it out due to the relatively complicated rural situation and because a clear distinction between grain-deficient households and grain-surplus households is hard to make for the time being.

Second, we must strengthen management and control over the grain market. It was stipulated at that time that the peasants should fulfill the tasks of state purchase quotas rather than sell their surplus grain to the merchants; after fulfilling state planned purchase quotas, the surplus grain, if any, could be freely stored and used or could be sold to the state at prescribed prices or traded in the market set up by the state or sold in the spirit of each supplying what the other needs and each helping redistribute what the other has for mutual benefit. However, efforts should be made to stop the use of grain to engage in speculation and in profiteering and to disturb the market. At the same time, it was stipulated that the capitalist privately owned commercial units could only act as commission agents and that they were strictly prohibited from freely managing the several major farm products under state unified purchase and marketing; and that those who cornered the grain market should be mercilessly punished. All these stipulations were aimed at ensuring that the state could strictly control the grain market, could effectively crack down on speculation and profiteering, and could proceed to guarantee the smooth implementation of the policy of state monopoly for purchasing and marketing of grain and of several other major farm products.

Third, in formulating and carrying out the purchase and marketing targets of grain and of several other major farm products and in fixing prices, aside from observing the law of value, the principle of simultaneously taking the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual into account must be implemented. In carrying out unified purchase, it is invariably necessary to define certain varieties, quantities, qualities, and prices, so that the peasants and the state personnel in charge of purchasing work can know them fairly well. The rational purchasing amount must be determined, rather than being fabricated out of the void, in accordance with the actual conditions of the need for the production of grain and of several other major farm products and the conditions of the state, and by giving consideration simultaneously to the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. If the purchasing targets are fixed too high, if purchase is carried out excessively, and if even the peasants' grain for private use is also purchased, their production and livelihood will surely be interfered with. This is detrimental to the peasants and moreover is ultimately detrimental to the state. In accordance with the opinions of Comrade Chen Yun, the standards for reserved grain should be worked out in accordance with the existing consumption levels of various localities, and sufficient grain should be reserved; no efforts should be made to purchase all surplus grain of the peasants, enabling them to retain certain quantities of surplus grain after fulfilling state purchase quotas; and resolute efforts should be made to eliminate the phenomenon of purchasing the "grain in excess of state purchase quotas." However, on the other hand, the purchasing targets should not be fixed too low, and in particular, we must not lower state purchasing targets by every possible means for the sake of exclusively seeking the interests of the collective or of the individual. This will mean that the state is not in a position to get sufficient supply of grain and thus interfere with the state's grain supply, infringe upon the interests of the state and eventually do harm to the long-term fundamental interests of the people. At the same time, purchasing prices (including the price parities of various farm products) must be rationally fixed. This constitutes an important aspect of implementing the principle of "simultaneously giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual" and also the key to doing a good job in purchasing work. Comrade Chen Yun said: In grain-purchasing work, "quantity and pricing are two determinative factors." If the question of pricing is not well handled, the peasants will not be happy to sell grain to the state and even be unwilling to plant more grain crops. This will interfere with the fulfillment of the tasks of planned purchase and the development of agricultural production.

Fourth, we must supply the peasants with necessary commodities. The peasants are the producers of grain and the owners of marketable grain. They sell their marketable grain for buying necessary commodities so as to meet the needs of their production and livelihood; otherwise, they will not be willing to sell their grain. Therefore, organizing the delivery and distribution of industrial products in the countryside will play a great role in promoting the peasants to sell more grain. Comrade Chen Yun said: "Doing a good job in the supply of industrial products is of great significance to the state monopoly of purchasing and marketing of grain." He pointed out: Attention

should be paid to the better integration of the supply of industrial products with the "three fixings" method in grain (fixing production, purchase, and marketing of grain). State plans for developing industrial production should take into consideration the needs of the peasants for the means of production and the means of subsistence as far as possible. It was necessary to pay attention to this not only at that time, but continues to be necessary today. Organizing the delivery and distribution of industrial products in the countryside and doing a good job in commodity circulation work constitute the important conditions for us to implement the policy of state unified purchase and marketing and to develop agricultural production. Adequate importance must be attached to them and all methods including the reform in the circulation system and the smoothing out of circulation channels must be taken to solve the problems arising in this respect.

#### /4. Class Struggle Runs Through the Process of Implementing the Policy of This Unified Purchase and Marketing by the State; the Implementation of This Policy Is a Tremendous Economic and Political Task/

When the implementation of state unified purchase and marketing began, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in China had not yet been completed. While diverse economic sectors coexisted side by side, and the small peasant economy held a predominant position, the contradiction between socialist and capitalist factors and between planning and spontaneity could not be easily solved at a single stroke. These contradictions would inevitably find expression in the question of state monopoly of purchasing and marketing of grain and several other major farm products. The policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state cracked down on capitalist speculation in the grain market and restricted the practices of the rich peasants to freely sell or to wait for the right price to sell their grain in the grain market. So, at the first opportunity, these two forces would gather together to wage a struggle against restrictions. By spring and summer in 1955, a strain had emerged in grain supply. At that time, almost "everybody talked about grain and every family discussed state unified marketing." No doubt this state of affairs was related to the errors in our work, that is to say, in 1954 the state purchased a little more grain than the plan called for. This gave some peasants a false impression that "grain purchase is bottomless" and "any increase in production is no good." However, the more important reason was that on the one hand, as small individual producers the peasants were still not accustomed to the method of state monopoly of purchasing and marketing of grain. Their age-old custom was that aside from the payment of rent and the delivery of tax in grain, formerly, they could freely dispose of their surplus grain.

With the implementation of the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state, although the peasants sold their grain to the state, some of them, being private owners, wanted to buy the grain they sold and moreover, they wanted to buy more grain for reserve use. On the other hand, exploiting the mentality of the peasants as small private owners, and taking advantage of some mistakes in our work, the landlords, rich peasants, and some counterrevolutionaries stirred up trouble by rumormongering, and



created a tense situation. The spokesmen of individual landlords and rich peasants even fabricated stories and spread fallacies in an attempt to alter the policy of state monopoly of purchasing and marketing of grain. Through fact-finding investigations and a comprehensive analysis and study, and armed with a host of facts, Comrade Chen Yun criticized all sorts of erroneous statements and views, expounded and proved the necessity to uphold and not to change the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state, and put forward concrete methods for preserving and improving the policy. Hence the tumult subsided. The practice of state unified purchase and marketing is a tremendous economic task calling for many economic measures, and at the same time, it is a tremendous political task needing extensive and deepgoing political mobilization. Facts have shown that the broad masses of peasants supported the government and most of the peasants who complained that they were short of grain were not really deficient in grain. So, after the reasons were clearly stated among the peasants, the cries of lack of grain diminished and the peasants felt at ease as a result.

/5. Sum up Historical Experience and Study Present Developments so as To Better Implement the Policy of Unified Purchase and Marketing by the State/

The implementation of the policy of state unified purchase and marketing was aimed at that time at preventing grain and several other major farm products from falling into the hands of businessmen, and solving the problem of serious imbalance in their purchase and marketing. The practice of this policy effectively ensured the fulfillment of the basic needs of all sides concerned for major farm products, and played an important role in stabilizing market prices, in reassuring the public, and in promoting socialist economic construction. The implementation of the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state restricted the scope of activities of capitalist commerce in terms of the circulation and distribution of grain and several other major farm products, cut off the ties of capitalism in town and county in this respect, strengthened the socialist state-owned economy, and accelerated the socialist transformation of capitalist commerce. The implementation of unified purchase and marketing by the state was also conducive to bringing the scattered small peasant economy into line with the state plan, to guiding the peasants in taking the socialist road, and to promoting the socialist transformation of agriculture, and hence contributed to the consolidation of worker-peasant alliance.

Although the situation today is different from the situation at that time, efforts should still be made to uphold the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state. In the preceding period there emerged in some places an argument calling for the abandonment of state unified purchase and marketing and acts of departing from this policy in actual work also occurred. For example, some communes and their subdivisions and peasant households which failed to fulfill the tasks of delivering to the state grain and cotton as the plan called for, transferred their grain and cotton to the communes and their subdivisions or peasant households which had fulfilled the planned delivery quotas and sold their grain and cotton to the state therefrom at the prices for products delivered to the state in excess of set quotas, and thus got more money from the higher prices.

A small number of communes and their subdivisions and peasant households even refused to hand over to the state the farm and sideline products under planned purchase which were subject to unified purchase and marketing by the state. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen ideological and political work and carry on doing economic work well so as to put an end to these unhealthy practices and to ensure the implementation of unified purchase and marketing by the state.

China's socialist construction is carried out on a basis of backward agriculture. China has a huge population but a scarcity of arable land with a low agricultural commodity rate. In the 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC, fairly big advances have been made in grain production in China and significant achievements have been scored in the work of solving the question of feeding a population of 1 billion people and of supplying economic construction needs, but with the fairly rapid growth of population, grain remains scant. In the 21 years from 1956 to 1977, the total grain output increased by 46.7 percent; the total population, by 50.4 percent; and there was a decrease of 3.6 percent in the average per-capita output. Over the last few years following 1979, grain output has been fairly high but the marketability rate has still been very low, approximately 18 percent. Each person has had on an average about 660 jin of grain. After deducting grain for seed, fodder and reserve use, the grain available for grain rations has been meager. For quite some time, bumper harvests or crop failures have produced an impact on the alleviation and aggravation of the contradiction between the production and demand of grain and between grain purchase and marketing. However, the contradiction is generally tending toward alleviation.

In 1982, China's grain output was at an all-time high, topping more than 680 billion jin, but no fundamental change was effected in the relatively strained grain situation. Over the last few years, every year 13-15 million tons of grain has had to be imported from other countries. To fundamentally change this state of affairs, it is necessary to vigorously develop production on the one hand and to continue to do a good job in the work of state unified purchase and marketing on the other hand. It must be noted that with the growth of population and the development of the state's construction, the demand for grain and several other major farm products will increase day by day. Grain and several other major farm products are important materials vital to the national economy and the people's livelihood, and still affect the overall situation of the national economy at present. They must be brought into line with the state economic and construction plan and be placed in the hands of the state and under state overall planning. Only in this way can the needs of the people's livelihood and the state's construction be ensured. Of course it is advisable to change the variety of farm products which are subject to unified purchase and marketing by the state in line with the changes in the actual situation. Beginning from the latter half of the past year, the number of variety of state-purchased farm products decreased from 46 to 21. Although there are shortcomings in the work of unified purchase and marketing by the state, over the past few decades, China's prices have been basically stable, the basic needs of the people's livelihood have been met, and state construction

has been quite smoothly carried out. This is indispensable to the implementation of the policy of unified purchase and marketing by the state. We must sum up the historical experience of implementing this policy in a fairly satisfactory way and further do this work well.

At present, the production responsibility system is being implemented in the vast rural areas. In those places where the method of assigning the households full responsibility for task completion is introduced, the peasant household has become a production and operational unit. This poses some new problems to the implementation of unified purchase and marketing by the state, problems which demand study and solution. First, state unified purchase and marketing work must be improved so as to adapt itself to this newly changed situation. In the past we mainly had dealings with the communes and their subdivisions but now we have dealings with numerous families and households, so our work has become more complicated and harder to handle. This requires that thorough and meticulous investigation and study must be conducted and the purchasing and marketing plans that tally with actual conditions be drawn up. Second, we must continue to implement the principle of simultaneously taking into consideration the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual and at present pay particular attention to conducting education among the commune, brigade, and team cadres and peasant households so as to ensure that state purchase and marketing quotas can be fulfilled on schedule with the required quality and quantity. To get rich, the communes and their subdivisions and peasant households must proceed from developing production and raising the marketability rate of farm products rather than relying on squeezing the interests of the state. Third, the work of unified purchase of grain must be reorganized so that the volume of grain sales can be rational and waste in grain be eliminated. We must strictly control the growth of population that needs commodity grain and strictly forbid the unlawful activities of getting grain under another's name by resorting to deception. We must implement the principle that "while vigorously developing a diversified economy, we must definitely not relax our efforts in grain production" in an overall manner and not grant a reduction in state purchase quotas to those who reduce grain production within the state plan, apart from exceptional cases. Fourth, we must strengthen leadership and management over the market of grain and several other major farm products. Market conditions at present are different from those in the past. Capitalist privately operated commerce has ceased to exist but aside from encouraging their legal operations, we must strengthen the guidance and supervision over the collective and individual business establishments and small traders so that they can observe market rules and regulations and market discipline and submit to market and we must strictly prohibit speculation and profiteering so as to promote the healthy development of the market of major farm products, and to facilitate the successful carrying out of unified purchases and marketing work.

CSO: 4004/34

IS IT NECESSARY FOR RURAL PARTY MEMBERS TO TAKE THE LEAD IN BECOMING RICH THROUGH LABOR?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 pp 46-47

[Article by Xue Yan [5641 1693]]

[Text] At present, a debate is going on in some grassroots level party organizations in the countryside on whether or not it is necessary for party members to take the lead in striving to become better-off through hard work. Opinions vary. How should we look at this?

Agriculture is one of the strategic priorities for the future economic development of our country. Whether or not agricultural production can go up will affect the prospects of China's socialist modernization and is closely bound up with the destiny of the people of all our nationalities. Our party has always attached great importance to agriculture. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and government have adopted many effective measures to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants, restore and develop agricultural production, and invigorate the rural economy. We have achieved a lot. In particular, the universal application of diverse forms of the responsibility system for production, which centers around the output-related system of contracted responsibilities, has emancipated the productive forces and brought about notable changes in the countryside within a short time. Our task now is to constantly consolidate and develop this hard-won excellent situation.

The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that economic construction is the core of our threefold task for the 1980's. The party constitution not only requires party members to "execute the party's decisions perseveringly" but also clearly stipulates that party members have the duty to play an exemplary vanguard role in production. All party members serving in economic departments and on production fronts are duty-bound to make the greatest contributions to the state and the people through industrious labor. Rural party members must work hard to fulfill the party's program for agricultural development. Specifically speaking, they should make a still greater contribution toward socialist modernization by taking the lead in increasing production, expanding diversified undertakings, providing the state and the market with more commodities, and promoting economic exchanges between town and country. Otherwise, they will not be considered good party

members. Today, the party and the government positively support the masses of peasants in relying on themselves to improve their livelihood. As long as a person is willing to work hard and attaches importance to science, his personal gains will increase as he throws in more labor and makes more contributions to the state. Becoming better-off through hard work is an inexorable trend. In fact, quite a number of peasant households in different parts of the country have become better-off in the past few years. If a party member takes the lead in doing physical labor and in developing production and becomes better-off through hard work, it is also very natural. The Communist Party expects its members to take an active part in labor and to lead the way in invigorating the rural economy. Of course it will not object to its members trying to become better-off through hard work.

At present, becoming better-off through hard work has become a very popular slogan in the countryside. We are all for this slogan. However, as far as all advanced elements, particularly party members, are concerned, this is not the whole issue and is not their ultimate goal. During the period of the first revolutionary civil war, Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the question of showing concern for the well-being of the masses. He pointed out: "We must make the broad masses understand that we represent their interests and are intimately bound up with them." He also pointed out: "We must make them proceed from these things, understanding the more lofty tasks put forward by us, ... respond to our political calls, and fight to the end for the victory of the revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 124) Today, we must guide the vast number of peasants to enhance their political awareness in the course of trying to become better-off through hard work so that they will consciously make contributions toward building a socialist new countryside, promoting agricultural production--which happens to be the foundation of the national economy, and achieving the grand objective of socialist modernization as soon as possible. Some advanced peasants are already doing this. They have seen the superiority of the socialist system from their improved livelihood, and they cherish the party, the state, and socialism all the more. They closely link their destiny with the socialist cause and try to become even better-off by actively developing the socialist cause. Rural party members should have an even higher ideological level in their endeavor to become better-off through hard work. They must on no account bring themselves down to the level of nonparty members, still less to the level of the backward elements. What are the things they should pay attention to then?

First, they must firmly bear in mind the grand objective of communism, consciously understand the link between the activities conducted under the leadership of the party at the present stage and the prospects of communism, and use the communist spirit to guide their own thinking and action. Building socialism with distinctive Chinese features, working for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people, and eventually advancing toward the higher phase of communism is a great force that pushes us to fight on ceaselessly. Every party member must constantly guard against and overcome the corrosive influence of the bourgeois idea of putting money first in everything, and must not lose the true qualities of the vanguard fighters of the working class.

Second, in carrying out all economic activities, they must strictly follow the party's principles, policies and decisions, and the decrees of the government, accept the guidance of the state plan of their own accord, strictly abide by the terms of contracts, closely work in coordination with the state sector and the collective economy, and always do things under the guidance of the principle of combining the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. Evil practices such as speculation and profiteering, bribery and smuggling, theft and robbery, cheating and swindling, and passing inferior goods off as standard ones will not be tolerated. It is necessary to increase production, strive for a bumper harvest, and achieve better economic results through proper channels. For example, it is necessary to fully tap household labor potentials and throw more labor into production; to exert oneself in studying and applying science and master more advanced agricultural techniques; to train managerial personnel and give full scope to the role of the backbone elements in the new combinations; to strengthen investigation and study, develop diversified undertakings to meet social needs, and carry out buying, selling, and peddling that are of benefit to the national economy and the people's livelihood; and so on. In economic activities as in all other activities, party members must set an example in abiding by the law. Moreover, they must boldly uphold the principle, actively safeguard the interests of the state, the collective, and the masses, and forever preserve the purity of communism.

Third, they must keep the interests of the whole in mind, show concern for the collective, and help households with material difficulties. Party members are just like seeds. They must strike roots, sprout, blossom and bear fruit wherever they go. They should influence and spur on as many people as possible in making concerted efforts to realize the party's line, principles, and policies. Anyone who seeks to become better-off alone, engrosses himself in individual production, and shows no concern for the interests of the party, the collective, and the masses is not worthy of the honorable title of a party member. Anyone who does this will find his rightful gains affected in the end. Toward those who have fallen into dire straits for one reason or another, party members have the duty to extend a helping hand. This is the unshirkable duty of party members. Many party members have done a good job in this respect. Comrade Wang Cuilan [3769 5050 5695], a special-class model workers of Hubei Province and a party member of Tujia nationality in Jianshi County in the mountainous areas of western Hubei, did not forget the poor after she herself had become better-off. Together with her husband, she made herself responsible for the production and livelihood needs of the household of Zhou Xiaoquan and his wife, who are old and sick and have three disabled children to look after. She helped them with plowing and sowing, delivered better strains of seeds and chemical fertilizers right to their home, and gave them her own fritillary seeds so that the Zhou household could develop the production of Chinese medicinal herbs. She also bought building materials with her own money and, with the help of other commune members, turned the two dilapidated thatched shacks of the Zhou household into a spacious tile-roofed house. Wang Cuilan's noble deeds are warmly acclaimed by the masses. During the spring plowing season this year, Helan County of

Ningxia Province unfolded the work of helping the poor by making the party members, CYL members, and cadres responsible for a number of households. They helped 561 households with material difficulties formulate production plans, gave them guidance on technical matters, purchased chemical fertilizers for them, exchanged better strains of seed for them, and used their own draft animals and tractors to help them deliver manure, level land, carry out sowing. As a result, these households had all made arrangements for production in the current year and had done a good job in sowing spring wheat. Every rural party member should follow the example set by these comrades and help the masses so as to become better-off together. Rural party members who also happen to be cadres should set an example with their own deeds and concentrate their energy on leading the masses to develop farm and sideline production so as to strengthen the rural economy. Under this premise, it is perfectly all right for them to try to improve their livelihood through hard work.

We believe that as long as the rural party members play their exemplary leading role in production and set strict requirements for themselves in accordance with the party constitution, the vast number of peasants will become better-off in no time and be able to make a bigger step forward in their political awareness.

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SAYING WHAT IS ON ONE'S MIND AND ACHIEVING UNITY IN THINKING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 p 48

["Study Notes" by Xi Ya [6007 0068]]

[Text] Adherence to the political line of the CPC Central Committee is the most important part of political discipline that we communists must observe. In order to do so, we must understand more thoroughly the party's line, guiding principles, and policies through serious study.

There are two types of adherents: The first are those who echo others and who do not use their brains first. Their adherence is of a pro forma and surface nature. Their response, which is not made as the result of careful consideration, and thus does not have a solid theoretical basis in ideology, is perhaps not a spontaneous one, but rather improvised, and to a fairly large extent partakes of blind obedience. Whenever there is a storm, they vacillate, and often, while implementing the party's policies, cannot help but being half-hearted or even giving totally distorted interpretations.

The other type knows not only what to do but also why, for they have made serious efforts to study the relevant theories and to digest the documents issued by the Central Committee, and thus have a deep understanding of the party's line, guiding principles, and policies. Whenever they are not convinced by an argument, they will say all that is on their minds so as to dissipate their doubts through discussions with the comrades around them and through in-depth study. This is the very kind of adherence that we advocate. As its premise, we recognize that people always hold more or less divergent views. Since people differ in their comprehension capacity and in the degree of their political consciousness, in their environments and social positions, and in the extent to which they have been influenced by the "leftist" or "rightist" ideology, it is normal for them to view matters differently and to be unable to fully understand, for a short while, the Central Committee's line, guiding principles and policies. It is unimaginable that without studying and exchanging views, all of our party members--exceeding 30 million--will always have consensus of opinion, whatever the issue. In fact, a certain kind of divergent thinking always exists. Constructive unity in thinking refers to a process of ever-dynamic development, instead of a permanently static state. This means that people always think in divergent ways before reaching convergent views, and as the



objective situation changes, new divergencies will emerge and thus again require people to seek convergent views of a new kind. It is constructive to point out that people differ in their ways of thinking and to recognize that unity in thinking is an ever-dynamic process, for this will help people distinguish on the one hand between conceptual confusion for lack of thoroughness in study or for being under the relatively great influence of "leftist" ideology, or erroneous comments made by people who lag behind others in the face of a new situation, or who have not got to know the real situation, and, on the other hand, actions which represent passive resistance and even active opposition to the spirit of the Central Committee's directives, and between the normal practice of voicing some personal views within the party and liberalism.

Saying all one has in his mind is an important premise for achieving unity in thinking and is also a manifestation of realism. Pretending to be fully convinced in spite of all our doubts will not enable us to achieve the kind of unity our party expects, but will make us depart from the realistic work style which is a party tradition. A party member who genuinely wants to adhere to the line of the CPC Central Committee must first be honest and loyal to the party, pouring out his heart to the party and even unveiling erroneous ways of thinking so as to get help from the party organizations and his comrades. In a sense, we may say that speaking one's mind and disclosing one's questions often constitutes the first step toward dissipating doubts and developing the faculty of correctly understanding things. In the course of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, some comrades in a certain organization first thought that implementing the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output represents a "deviation," a "rightist tendency" and it is hard to say whether the household contract system should be labeled as a "capitalist" or "socialist" system. But after thoroughly studying and discussing the documents and going to the countryside on a fact-finding trip, all of their original doubts were dissipated. In a certain steel plant, initially there were some cadres and workers for whom the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals was an intricate matter. In view of this, the factory organized a seminar and, with the help of facts, reasoned them into thinking in the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. Practice has proved that this kind of unity, which is achieved through study and based on political consciousness, is genuine and lasting.

Of course, the purpose of revealing what we think is to develop our powers of comprehension and solve our problems. If we merely reveal what we think while forgetting to develop our powers of comprehension through study, we will not be able to attain the objective of thinking in a uniform way. For example, while discussing the party's work style, some comrades have only enumerated some symptoms of an evil atmosphere in society while neither paying attention to the various favorable conditions nor thinking about their own duties in rectifying the party's work style. Thus, the more discussions they hold, the more they become dejected. In order to achieve good results through study, every participant must become more conscious of the importance and objective of study. Meanwhile, it is also

very important for the organizers of studies to enlighten and guide the participants properly.

As long as we are fully aware of the organic connection between saying what is on one's mind and achieving unity in thinking, we will be in a position to speak all that is on our minds as well as to acquire uniform ways of thinking so as to genuinely and consciously adhere to the political line of the CPC Central Committee.

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### THREE ITEMS OF STUDY NOTES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83 inside back cover

[Article by Zhai Bian [7872 6708]]

[Text] A Footnote

When volume one of "Das Kapital" was about to come off the press, Marx wrote a letter to Engels, telling the latter that in his discussion on the transformation of handicraft masters into capitalists in chapter three of the first German edition, he had noted that this transformation process embodied Hegel's law governing the change from quantity to quality and had added that the same law also found expression in the theory of molecules founded by the French chemist Wei-er-ci [4850 1422 5412].

With this in mind, Engels paid a special visit to the noted organic chemist Xiao-lai-ma [5135 5490 7456]. Two days later, he wrote a letter of reply to Marx, saying: "On the theory of molecules, Xiao-lai-ma told me that the principal figures are Charles Gerhardt and Friedrich August Kekule. Wei-er-ci merely popularized it and made it more complete. Xiao-lai-ma will send you a book on the history of development of that question." On receiving the letter, Marx restudied the history of development of the theory of molecules in the light of Xiao-lai-ma's opinion and revised that footnote.

Following the death of Marx in 1883, Engels read over the relevant writings in the first volume of "Das Kapital" in preparation for its third printing. He restudied the history of development of the theory of molecules. On this basis, he added to the original footnote a line saying that Marx' evaluation of Charles Gerhardt and Luo-lang [5012 2597] was overestimated.

The fact that Marx and Engels carried out study and investigation over and over again on a footnote shows their meticulous scholarship.

"Begging the Platypus for Forgiveness"

In the early 19th century, a specimen of the platypus was brought into England for the first time. As Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution had not yet come into being then, people felt perplexed about this "monster" which was "neither a bird nor an animal." For a while, it

became the subject of ridicule. Engels also went to see the platypus. Later he even saw it lay eggs. He found this egg-laying and breast-feeding creature really ridiculous and joined others in laughing at it.

However, when eventually he and Marx together studied Darwin's theory of biological evolution, he found that there was nothing to laugh about. He realized that there were not only platypuses that can lay eggs and breast-feed in this world, there were also fish that breathe with lungs, birds with four feet.... Engels felt ashamed about his shallowness. In his letter to Kasper Schmidt on this matter, he said: "I had to beg the platypus for forgiveness afterward. I hope you will not have to do the same about the sense of value."

Here, Engels was warning us that we should not be blinded by prejudice and rashly negate new discoveries. Instead, we should carry out study with a scientific attitude.

#### Delight and Detestation

Engels once said: "To Marx, science is a motivating and revolutionary force in history. Every new discovery in any branch of theoretical science delights Marx even though its practical use remains to be seen."

Wilhelm Liebknecht said in reminiscence of Marx: "He detested blandishments. Anyone who talked idle in front of him was in for trouble. He was impartial and incorruptible in this regard. In his vocabulary, a 'phrase-monger' was a most severe word of recrimination. Once he regarded someone as a phrase-monger, he would not look at that person again. Whenever he had the opportunity, he would tell us 'young lads' that we 'ought to think logically and express our ideas clearly.' He would also force us to study.... Study! Study! That was his supreme command to us, a command he exemplified with his own deeds. We can see this even from the way this great wise man ceaselessly and tenaciously carried out his work."

From the above accounts on what Marx found delightful and detestable, we should be able to get some inspirations.

