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13 December 1983

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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1983

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13 December 1983

## CHINA REPORT

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No. 20, 16 October 1983

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

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ERRATUM: In JPRS 84675 of 3 November 1983, No. 18 of this series, in article titled "In Order To Invigorate the Economy, We Must First Develop Electricity" on page 32, line 1 should read:  
...nuclear powerplants in east China....

COMMUNIQUE OF THE 2D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 12TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (12 OCTOBER 1983)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] Communique of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

12 October 1983

The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was held in Beijing on 11 and 12 October 1983. Before that a preliminary meeting was held.

Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun, Standing Committee members of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau, attended and presided over the plenary session. The session was attended by 201 Central Committee members, 136 alternate members of the Central Committee, 150 members of the Central Advisory Commission and 124 members of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Eleven responsible comrades of central organs and local party committees attended the sessions as observers.

Through serious and enthusiastic discussion, the session unanimously adopted the CPC Central Committee's decision on party consolidation. The decision embodies the guidelines of the party's 12th national congress and clearly defines the basic principles, basic tasks, basic policies and basic methods for the forthcoming party consolidation.

The plenary session held that the implementation of this decision will surely guarantee the correct and smooth progress of the party consolidation work.

To guarantee the day-to-day leadership for the party consolidation work the plenary session, through full deliberation, elected a Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation.

At the plenary session Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun each made an important speech on questions of party consolidation. In his speech Comrade Deng Xiaoping also talked about the question of strengthening work on the ideological front.

The plenary session decided that the Central Committee will hold a meeting during this coming winter and spring period to specifically discuss this question and make relevant decisions.

In accordance with provisions of the party constitution, the plenary session decided on naming Yang Taifang and Lang Dazhong--Dai nationality--alternate members of the Central Committee, as members of the Central Committee.

The plenary session decided to name Wei Wenbo, Kui Bi--Mongolian nationality--Zhang Su, Du Xingyuan and Jia Tingsan as members of the Central Advisory Commission, such nominations to be submitted to the next national congress of the party for retroactive approval.

The plenary session calls on all party members to conscientiously study the CPC Central Committee's decision on party consolidation and actively take part in party consolidation.

The plenary session believes that, with the concerted efforts of party organizations at all levels and the vast number of party members, we assuredly will successfully fulfill the great tasks of the forthcoming party consolidation, bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and push forward the development of the socialist material and spiritual civilization in our country.

CSO: 4004/52

THE DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON  
PARTY CONSOLIDATION--ADOPTED BY THE 2D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 12th CPC  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE (11 OCTOBER 1983)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 3-11

[Passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China has decided on an overall rectification of party style and a consolidation of party organizations over a period of 3 years beginning in the latter half of 1983. The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has discussed the question of how to carry out this important decision and decided that the overall consolidation of the party should begin in winter this year.

(1) The Necessity and Urgency of Party Consolidation

Ours is a long-tested, great Marxist party. In spite of the serious damage sustained by our party in the 10-year domestic turmoil, the ranks of our party remain, on the whole, politically pure and highly militant. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has reaffirmed the Marxist line, accomplished a shift of the focus of work of the party and state, launched the socialist modernization drive with economic construction as the central task, handled in an appropriate manner many major issues left over from the past, systematically summed up the historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic, restructured the government organizations and readjusted the leading bodies at all levels, strengthened the building of socialist democracy and legal system, waged struggles to combat grave criminal activities in the economic sphere and other serious crimes and to rectify various acts detrimental to the interests of the state and the people, and conducted education in reviving and promoting the fine traditions of the party and in socialist and communist ideology. As a result of such work and struggles, initial success has been achieved in rectifying party style and consolidating the party organizations, the situation in the party has noticeably improved, and the healthy force has gained the dominant position in the party. This abundantly proves that our party, by relying on its own strength, is fully capable of overcoming its seamy side, of correcting its mistakes, and of forging ahead with greater vigor.

However, while carrying out the intense work and struggles mentioned above in the last few years, our party did not have the time to carry on an overall and systematic rectification of the many problems existing in the spheres of ideology, style of work and organization of the party. Education among the party members has been neither widespread nor adequate. The pernicious influence of the 10-year domestic turmoil has not been eradicated. It is entirely correct that we have adopted the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the national economy. But, under the new historical conditions, there has been an increase in the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and remnant feudal ideas, while the work and struggles we have undertaken to resist and overcome such corrosive influence have not been effective enough. For these reasons, there are still many serious problems in the party. Some party members lack a correct understanding of the great significance of setting things to rights and have not shifted their stand on to the Marxist line; other members have a vague and confused idea about the basic principles and superiority of the socialist system and about the bright communist future. On the ideological front, some members turn a blind eye to anti-Marxist and antisocialist ideas, and some even openly spread these ideas. Some party members and cadres have succumbed to individualism in a serious way. Seeking to advance personal interests and the interests of a small group, they have unscrupulously resorted to all means to harm the interests of the state and the people and embarked on the road of committing crimes. A number of party members and cadres have a very weak sense of organization, are lax in discipline, and are listless and inert, failing to play an exemplary vanguard role. Some party organizations are soft, weak and lax, or are even in a state of paralysis, failing to play their role as fighting bastions. The party has not yet cleared its ranks of three types of persons, namely, persons who rose to prominence by following the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in "rebellion," those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting. Such serious impurities in ideology, style of work and organization, which are of great harm to the party, must be resolutely and effectively dealt with.

Our party is faced with the new historical task of carrying out socialist modernization. This is a great, glorious and yet extremely arduous task. The strong leadership of the Communist Party is indispensable to the socialist cause. The party Central Committee pointed out long ago that it is essential to uphold and also to improve party leadership. Today, in addition to the serious impurities in ideology, style of work and organization as mentioned above, there are many other aspects in our party which do not conform to the needs of the new situation and new tasks facing us. The general aim and requirements of the present party consolidation are, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and by relying on the revolutionary consciousness of all comrades in the party, correctly using the sharp weapons of criticism and self-criticism and enforcing party discipline, to expose and deal with manifestations of the serious impurities that exist in the party in ideology, style of work and organization, so as to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party, raise the ideological level of the whole party and the level of its



work, strengthen the ties between the party and the masses of the people, and strive to build the party and make it a strong core of leadership for the cause of socialist modernization.

The present party consolidation is a major step which our party must take to achieve fresh great victories in the new historical period. It is a fundamental guarantee for achieving, under the precondition of constantly raising the economic results, the magnificent goal of quadrupling the nation's gross annual output value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century, a goal set forth at the 12th CPC Congress, and it is also a fundamental guarantee for building China into a modern, culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country.

## (2) The Tasks of Party Consolidation

The party Central Committee holds that the tasks for the present party consolidation are /the achievement of ideological unity, the rectification of the party's style of work, the strengthening of discipline and the purification of the party organization./

/First, the achievement of ideological unity means making further efforts to bring about a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the party and correcting all erroneous "left" and right tendencies that run counter to the four basic principles and to the party line that has been adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee./

The entire history of our party shows that maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity is a basic condition to winning victory in revolution and construction. The line, principles and basic policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have been worked out by combining the four basic principles with the concrete practice under the present historical conditions, through the process of correcting "left" errors and combating right mistakes, and in compliance with the requirements of socialist modernization. Proven correct in practice, they have won the wholehearted support of the masses of party members and cadres. All party organizations and members must maintain unity with the Central Committee on the basis of persisting in the four basic principles and in the party line adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This is required by the party's political discipline. Whether a party organization or party member can do this constitutes the main criterion for judging the ideological and political soundness and the sense of discipline of that party organization or member.

On this question, there are now two erroneous tendencies in the party. One is that a number of party members and cadres who have not yet freed themselves from the shackles of past "left" ideas distort the four basic principles and assume a resisting attitude toward the party line, principles and basic policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; some even feign compliance while covertly opposing the party line, principles and policies or openly refuse to carry them out. The

other tendency is that some party members and cadres, who have failed to stand the test of historical setbacks and succumbed to the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, doubt and negate the four basic principles, deviate from the party line, principles and basic policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and propagate bourgeois liberalization. Both these erroneous "left" and right tendencies are incompatible with the character and program and historic mission of the party.

Most of those who have committed such mistakes have done so because of their ideology and understanding, and they should be helped to deepen their understanding and correct their mistakes by studying and summarizing the historical experience and through patient criticism and education. As for the few who persist in their wrong political stand and refuse to correct their mistakes, they should be seriously criticized and ideological struggles should be carried out against them; in addition, due disciplinary action should be taken against them.

To maintain political unity with the party Central Committee does not mean professing unity in words alone, but everyone must uphold unity in deeds. It is essential to resolutely change the state of flabbiness in ideological-political work, to correctly and willingly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee, and to resolutely resist and overcome the influence of erroneous "left" and right tendencies.

To maintain political unity with the party Central Committee, one must integrate the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee with the actual conditions of one's locality, department or unit; one must also bring into full play one's own initiative and creativity and work in an independent and responsible way. It is essential to overcome subjectivism, conduct careful investigation and study, proceed from reality and seek truth from facts in all matters, and combine revolutionary vigor with scientific approach. Only thus can we ensure that the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee be correctly carried out, and only thus can we continuously enrich and develop them with the new experience gained in practice and carry the cause of the party forward.

/Second, rectifying the party style means promoting the revolutionary spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, checking various acts of seeking personal gains by taking advantage of one's power and position, and opposing the bureaucratic attitude of not holding oneself responsible to the party and people./

Our party has no particular interest of its own other than the interests of the working class and the masses of the people. For more than half a century, our party has continuously achieved successes in the revolution and in construction precisely because it has by its deeds demonstrated its selfless character and the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, thereby winning the people's sincere love and trust. During the years of revolutionary wars, the party would not have been able to hold its ground and avert defeat if it had not worked for the interests of the masses, won them

over, relied on them and obtained their full support. This is easy for our comrades to understand. However, in the long years since our party took over the political power of the whole country, quite a number of our comrades have become unclear in their thinking about such necessity. They fail to understand that the question of the party's style is a question of life and death for a party in power. Because the party's position has changed, all its activities concern the interests of the people and the destiny of the country; if it is divorced from the masses and does not take resolute measures to correct it, then the party will inevitably lose the people's trust and support and will meet with failure.

Now, some party members and cadres have totally forgotten the basic principle of serving the people wholeheartedly. They are not correctly using the power and working conditions given them by the party and the people to work for the welfare of the masses, but are seeking personal gains by every possible means for themselves and for those close to them. They ask the party for higher positions and better treatment. They openly violate financial regulations and discipline, sabotage state plans, violate state economic policies and illegally retain taxes and profits; they invent all sorts of pretexts to squander, waste and occupy state and collective funds and property. With regard to the distribution of housing, the increase in wages and many other matters--such as the employment, education, promotion, job assignments and changing from rural residence registration to urban residence registration for their children, relatives and friends as well as foreign affairs work--they take advantage of their power and position, conveniences provided by their work and personal relations to seek special privileges, violate the law and discipline, and encroach upon the interests of the state and the masses. They ignore the law, protect and shield criminals, and they even take a direct part in unlawful activities, such as smuggling, selling smuggled goods, corruption, accepting bribes and profiteering.

Some party cadres in leading positions are seriously affected by bureaucratism; their revolutionary will has been waning, eating three full meals a day yet doing no work. They pay no attention at all to the weal and woe of the people; they are unconcerned about the expansion of production, the reform of government structure and the development of socialist ethics and culture; and they argue back and forth, trying to shift the responsibility on to others and even counteracting each other's efforts in their work. Their serious neglect of duty has caused horrifying waste in the country's production and construction, serious errors in state administration and huge economic and political losses for the party and government.

These unhealthy tendencies and decadent phenomena, which are seriously sabotaging the nation's socialist modernization, have greatly impaired our party's image among the people, weakened the confidence of the party members and the masses in the superiority of the socialist system and the bright future of communism, and dampened their enthusiasm for politics, production, work and study. We must be resolved to solve this problem in the present party consolidation and resolutely eradicate these unhealthy tendencies. Party members and cadres who took advantage of their power,

position and other conveniences to seek personal gains after the party Central Committee promulgated the Rules of Conduct for Inner-Party Political Life in March 1980 should be required to make self-criticisms. Those who have committed grave mistakes should be dealt with according to party discipline and administrative discipline, and those who have violated the law should be punished according to law. Those who have profited at the government's expense should, on the basis of thorough investigations and on the merit of each case, be required to return what they had unlawfully taken or pay compensations. Those who committed such mistakes before the promulgation of the Rules of Conduct should also be handled in all seriousness if their mistakes are particularly serious or if they refuse to mend their ways. Necessary disciplinary action should also be taken against bureaucratists who have neglected their duties with serious consequences, and some should be dismissed from the leading posts or expelled from the party.

/Third, the strengthening of discipline is to adhere to the party's organizational principle of democratic centralism, oppose the patriarchal system, factionalism, anarchism and liberalism which completely ignore party organizations and discipline, and correct the softness, weakness and laxness of the party organizations./

To maintain the party's strict organizational discipline and uphold democratic centralism is an important guarantee for the realization of the party's program and tasks and for the strengthening of the party's fighting capacity.

At present, the pernicious influence of the 10-year domestic turmoil has not been eradicated among a number of party organizations and members, and violations of the party's system of democratic centralism are rather serious. Some leading cadres place themselves above the party organizations, where collective leadership exists in name only. In fact, only one or two individuals make the final decisions. Some of them have even turned the units under their charge into territories where their will holds sway and where they rule as overlords. In other cases, some party members and cadres disregard the party's organizational principle and party discipline, and are seriously affected by anarchism, liberalism, decentralism, departmentalism and sectarianism. It should be pointed out in particular that up to now factionalism which developed during the 10-year domestic turmoil among a number of party members and cadres has not yet been overcome. They still maintain factionalism instead of the party spirit. They use their faction as the line of demarcation and appoint people by favoritism while elbowing out of their way those who hold different views; they form cliques to pursue selfish interests, seriously impairing the unity and solidarity of the party and hindering the party from carrying out its line, principles and policies. Party activities in a number of party organizations are far from regular, with neither criticism nor self-criticism; party discipline is not strictly observed, and violations of party discipline and other unhealthy tendencies are not checked and corrected. Instead of taking the lead in criticism and self-criticism and combating unhealthy tendencies, some leading cadres, abiding by the principle of giving no offense to others, evade

contradictions wherever possible, while others suppress criticism and retaliate against those who criticize them. These phenomena must be done away with completely during the present consolidation of the party. After the party consolidation, criticism and self-criticism should become an established practice in the party organizations, especially within the leading bodies, so as to bring about a vigorous and lively situation in which there are both democracy and centralism, unity and strict discipline.

/Fourth, to purify the party organizations means to sort out elements who persist in opposing and harming the party, and expel them from the party in accordance with the party constitution./

Purifying the party organizations is a major purpose of the present consolidation of the party. Since the three types of persons oppose and harm the party, they are bound to be a hidden peril if they are not thoroughly sorted out and expelled. To sort out and expel the three types of persons is of crucial importance in our effort to purify the party organizations. The first type, those who rose to prominence during the "Cultural Revolution," refers to those persons who closely followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk, formed factions and cliques, seized political power in "rebellion," rose to high positions, and committed evil with serious consequences. The second type, those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, refers to those who in the "Cultural Revolution" period vigorously publicized the reactionary ideology of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and formed cliques for doing evil. After the downfall of the "gang of four," they have continued, either openly or covertly, with their factionalist activities. The third type, those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting during the "Cultural Revolution" period, refers to those who during the "Cultural Revolution" framed and persecuted cadres and the masses, extorted confessions by torture, and seriously ruined their victims' health; it also refers to those chief elements and those behind the scenes responsible for the smashing of institutions, the seizure of files by force and the damaging of both public and private property; it also refers to those who plotted, organized and directed violent confrontations which resulted in serious consequences. The basis for distinguishing whether a person belongs to the three types of persons is the damage done to the party and the people and not the title or membership in a particular faction during the "Cultural Revolution." A serious and prudent attitude should be taken in determining whether a person belongs to any of the three types, and his performance during the "Cultural Revolution" should be analyzed from a historical point of view. Wherever and whenever controversy arises, it should be submitted to the party committee at the higher level for discussion and decision. In principle, the three types of persons should be expelled from the party, except those who have proved to have really mended their ways after a long period of examination.

With the exception of the three types of persons mentioned above, the principle of dealing with different cases in different ways will be applied to party members and leading party cadres who made mistakes or had other problems during the "Cultural Revolution." Mistakes of a general character will not be brought up again during this party consolidation. As for those

who committed serious mistakes but conclusions have not yet been drawn and they have not been dealt with, conclusions will be drawn and due measures taken during this party consolidation; as for those who have already received a judgment and have been dealt with, their cases will not be considered again this time if no new major problems have been discovered.

Those who stubbornly resist the policies of the party Central Committee adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, those who have committed grave crimes in economic matters and other criminal offenses, and those who have seriously violated the law and discipline must all be expelled from the party.

For those who are expelled, appropriate arrangements should be made in work for those who are still fit to be cadres; those unfit to be cadres should be provided with opportunities to find jobs and earn a living. Ideological help and political concern should be shown them, and they should be encouraged and helped to remold their ideology and make progress.

### (3) Demands on Party Members and Leading Party Cadres

The party Central Committee requires that all party members take an active part in the party consolidation without exception. The broad masses of party members should strive to enhance their communist consciousness and strengthen their party spirit so that they will become qualified members and then make still greater efforts to become outstanding members of the party. The criteria of a qualified member are the basic demands set by Article 2 and the eight duties prescribed by Article 3 of the party constitution.

The leading party cadres at all levels shoulder particularly important responsibilities in the political life of the party and the state and in the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. In addition to meeting the requirements of party members mentioned above, they must meet the six basic requirements prescribed by Article 35 of the party constitution. At present, it is particularly important for them to enhance their understanding of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on them, raise their sense of dedication to the revolutionary cause and their sense of political responsibility, dare to combat all hostile forces disrupting socialism, fight against decadent bourgeois ideology, against acts of creating spiritual pollution and against the abuse of power and position for personal gains so that they will set a good example for the broad masses of party members and guide the masses to make efforts to become people with high ideals and morality, cultural knowledge and sense of discipline.

The broad masses of young party members are distinguished for their lively thinking, their courage to blaze new trails and their vigor and vitality. However, the majority of them know little about the basic theories of Marxism and the fundamental knowledge concerning the party; they lack experience in revolutionary practice and in inner-party political life. Because they were ideologically influenced by anarchism and other passive

phenomena during the 10-year domestic turmoil when their world outlook was taking shape, their ability to correctly distinguish between right and wrong with regard to political affairs is, generally speaking, fairly poor. During this party consolidation, close attention should be paid to enhancing their ideological and political consciousness, strengthening their party spirit and raising their ability to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology so that they will mature as quickly as possible and become capable of really shouldering their historic task as successors to the party's cause.

As far as the broad masses of party members are concerned, in judging whether they conform to the standard set by the party constitution, the emphasis is on their concrete actions in all aspects since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

#### (4) Steps and Basic Methods of Party Consolidation

The present party consolidation will be carried out according to the following steps: It will proceed from the central level to the grassroots organizations, from the top downwards by stages and in groups. Rectification of the party organization of each unit should also proceed from the top downwards in the order of the leading bodies, leading cadres and ordinary party members.

The party now has 40 million members, including more than 9 million cadres, and about 2.5 million party organizations at the grassroots level and above. Party consolidation will be completed in 3 years, beginning in this winter, in two stages. During the first stage, beginning in winter this year, the work will be the consolidation of party organizations of the leading bodies at the central level and at the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional level (including the party organizations of the various ministries, commissions and offices, departments and bureaus of these two levels) and the party organizations in the leading bodies of all the general headquarters, services and arms and great military areas of the People's Liberation Army. During this period, the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees may designate some party organizations at the prefectural and county levels which have already completed structural reforms to carry out party consolidation as pilot cases. Similar experiments may also be conducted in the army. In the second stage, beginning in winter 1984, all the remaining party organizations will be consolidated, and the various provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army may make concrete arrangements, in accordance with their actual conditions, on the ways of carrying out the work by groups during this stage.

After this decision is released, all the party organizations should organize their members to seriously study the documents on party consolidation decided upon by the party Central Committee in order to enhance their ideological consciousness and put the regular activities of the party organizations on a sound basis. Party members and party cadres who have committed various kinds of mistakes should take the initiative to correct

their mistakes and should not wait until party consolidation begins in their respective units.

The basic methods of the present party consolidation are, on the basis of a careful study of documents and enhancement of ideology and understanding, to make criticism and self-criticism, distinguish between right and wrong, correct mistakes and purify the party organization. In the process of party consolidation, ideological education should be strengthened from beginning to end so as to raise the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of party members.

To meet the needs of party consolidation, the party Central Committee has decided to edit and publish "A Must Book for Party Members," "A Concise Edition of Important Documents Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee," "Comrade Mao Zedong on the Party's Style of Work and Party Organization." These three books and the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will be the documents for study during this party consolidation. For party members who lack the ability to read, the party committees at and above the county level will be responsible for organizing and training people to read and explain to them the main contents of "A Must Book for Party Members" and the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." All party members must, through the study of these party consolidation documents, raise their understanding of the character, program and task of the party, and raise their understanding of the criteria for party members and of the line, principles and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The party organizations of the leading bodies at the central and provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels should, after the completion of party consolidation in their own units, organize party cadres to earnestly study some basic Marxist works. (A list of books will be decided later.) Other party organizations should also organize their party cadres to study these books after party consolidation in their units is completed.

To study the documents and raise understanding is to create the necessary conditions for solving contradictions within the party, while correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism is an effective method to solve these contradictions. Without conscientious criticism and self-criticism, none of the aims of party consolidation can be achieved. Not daring to criticize and fight against erroneous ideas and acts within the party is a manifestation of impurity in party spirit; suppressing criticism and retaliating against people who have made criticisms is abominable behavior which violates party discipline. While making criticism and self-criticism, we must strictly follow the principles consistently stressed by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong: We must proceed from the desire for unity, help those who are criticized, and act in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient"; we must be practical and base our criticism on facts and we should allow the people concerned to defend their cases; we must keep to the truth and not spare the feelings of those who are criticized; we must combine the seriousness and acuteness of criticism and self-criticism with a scientific attitude and attain the goal of clearing up ideology, correcting mistakes and uniting with our comrades to make common progress.



The mass line must be followed in the present party consolidation. First of all, we should take full heed of the opinions of the masses of party members and party organizations at the lower levels and give full play to the positive role of the party members in consolidating the party. In the meantime, we should also fully heed the opinions of nonparty members. We should actively consider and accept all correct opinions, and give explanations if the opinions put forward are wrong. All the problems arising in the course of party consolidation should be solved through discussions by the related party organizations. On no account should the past erroneous practice of "letting the masses consolidate the party" or letting nonparty members decide issues in the party be repeated.

In the process of consolidating the party organizations, we should resolutely and promptly solve all problems which can be solved immediately so that people both inside the party and out can see in good time the actual results of the party consolidation.

The production and work of all units should not be disrupted by the work of party consolidation. While doing a good job in the party consolidation, all units should strive to promote production and work.

The Communist Youth League, which is the party's assistant and reserve force, should organize its members to study the documents on party consolidation so as to raise their ideological and political levels.

The party consolidation is aimed solely at solving the problems within our party. The various democratic parties, therefore, are not required to rectify their style of work or readjust their organizations.

#### (5) Organizational Measures and Registration of Party Members

Organizational measures toward party members should, generally speaking, be taken in the latter period of the party consolidation.

For party members who have committed minor errors, the stress is placed on criticism and education, and they are required to correct their mistakes in an earnest way. For party members who have made grave mistakes, due disciplinary action should be taken toward them, in addition to criticism and education. Party members who have violated administrative discipline should be dealt with by the administrative departments according to administrative discipline; those who have violated the state law should be dealt with by the judicial organs according to law. If we fail to resolutely punish party members who deserve punishment, or if we fail to resolutely expel members who should be expelled from the party, we will not be able to maintain the solemnity of party discipline and purify the party organizations, and this will inevitably affect our party's fighting power.

When taking organizational measures toward party members, we should uphold the principle of seeking the truth from facts and strictly abide by the procedures prescribed in the party constitution. No ratios or quotas whatsoever should be fixed beforehand in this regard.

After rectifying ideological and organizational matters and work style, and after handling issues that should be handled, every party organization should finally carry out, in a prudent way, the registration of party members.

(a) Party members who are up to, or basically up to, the requirements for party membership are allowed to register.

(b) Party members who are still basically not up to the requirements after education, but who have expressed the determination and have through their deeds shown that they are willing to mend their ways and to be tested by the party, may have their registration postponed for no longer than 2 years. Registration of party members who have been placed on probation within the party as a disciplinary measure should also be postponed.

(c) Party members whose revolutionary will has waned, who do not honor their obligations as party members, who cannot live up to the requirements for party membership, or who refuse to repent despite repeated help and education should be persuaded to withdraw from the party and should not be allowed to register.

(d) Party members who request to quit the party, or those who have already given up their memberships and refuse to participate in the party consolidation should have their names removed from the party and should not be allowed to register.

Whether a party member should be allowed to register or not or whether his registration should be postponed should be discussed and decided upon at the meeting of all members of the party branch. The names of party members whose registration is to be postponed or who are to be refused registration should be submitted to the party organization at the higher level for approval. Party members whose registration is postponed do not have the right to vote, elect or be elected. Party members who have met the requirements for membership by the time the period of postponement expires should be allowed to register, and those who fail to meet the requirements should have their names removed from the party.

Conscientious ideological and political work should be done among party members whose registration has been postponed so as to help them pull themselves together and strive to make progress and become qualified party members as quickly as possible. Solicitude should also be shown, ideologically and politically, to those who have been refused registration; they should be united with and encouraged to be good citizens or good cadres.

#### (6) Guard Against Perfunctoriness

Leading party cadres at all levels, especially the high-ranking cadres, should play a truly exemplary role in guarding against perfunctoriness in the work of consolidating the party organizations. Leading cadres of every party organization should actively participate in the party consolidation as ordinary members. They should be strict in analyzing themselves and be

courageous in making sincere, profound and realistic self-criticisms of their own mistakes and shortcomings; and they should also dare to use the same attitude in criticizing other leading cadres' mistakes and shortcomings. In this way they will be able to lead the masses of party members to make party consolidation a success.

To prevent the party consolidation from proceeding perfunctorily, it is also necessary for the party organization at the higher level to supervise its subordinate organizations and vice versa. The party organization at the higher level should strengthen its leadership over its subordinate organizations and strictly supervise their work of party consolidation, as well as study and help solve in good time their problems arising in the course of the party consolidation. Every party member should play a supervisory role and actively report, with a high sense of responsibility, problems in the party consolidation of his own unit to the party organization of his unit or to the party committee at the higher level. The main leading members of every party organization should be held responsible for the success or failure of consolidating their own organization, and the party committee at the higher level should also assume responsibility. The party organization at the higher level should promptly inform its subordinate organizations of the situation in its own consolidation, so that they can exercise supervision and put forward their criticisms.

To guard against perfunctoriness in the party consolidation, the party committee at the higher level should organize acceptance tests whenever a subordinate organization has finished its consolidation work. Such acceptance tests should have the participation of representatives of the party members and should proceed by fully soliciting the opinions of the masses of party members. The standards for the acceptance tests are as follows:

- (a) Can the leading body correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies and maintain political unity with the party Central Committee and has it become a united and strong leading core?
- (b) Have stern measures been taken against antiparty elements and those who have brought damage to the party, especially the three types of persons?
- (c) Have the problems much criticized inside and outside the party been earnestly solved, especially the problem of taking advantage of one's position, power and other conveniences to seek personal gains?
- (d) Has the party members' political quality been raised? Have they heightened their sense of organization and discipline, and are they capable of conscientiously implementing the party constitution and actively playing an exemplary vanguard role? Have the primary party organizations given full play to their role as fighting bastions and have they strengthened their ties with the masses?
- (e) Has noticeable progress been achieved in the production and work under the charge of the party organization concerned?

Resolute remedial measures should be taken whenever a party organization is found to have failed to fulfill any of these five requirements. The consolidation of party organizations conducted on a trial basis before the announcement of this decision should be recognized as valid if they pass the acceptance tests and are found to be up to the five requirements mentioned above. But those party organizations which are not up to the requirements should make up for what they lack.

While preventing the party consolidation from proceeding perfunctorily, attention should be paid to guard against the erroneous practice of the past of ruthless struggle and merciless attack. It is absolutely impermissible for anyone to take advantage of the party consolidation to whip up factionalism, to use factionalism to persecute others, to make false charges or to retaliate against others against whom he bears a grudge. Anyone who commits any of these offenses will be duly punished.

#### (7) The Leadership of Party Consolidation

The party Central Committee has decided to establish a Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation and to set up competent administrative bodies. The commission will function under the leadership of the party Central Committee and its main tasks include keeping abreast of the situation, firmly grasping the party's policies, supervising and checking up on work, giving guidance and doing publicity work. In the course of party consolidation, the commission will issue in succession various supplementary stipulations and issue in good time circulars on important matters, problems and experiences concerning party consolidation so as to ensure the implementation of the decision made by the party Central Committee on party consolidation.

In accordance with the plan of the party Central Committee, the party committees of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will complete the reform of organizations at the county and commune (township) levels in 1984 so as to facilitate the work of party consolidation at these two levels.

The present party consolidation will be conducted under the leadership of the party organizations of the respective localities, departments and units, and the party organization at the higher level should have a clear knowledge of whether the leading bodies of the party organizations at the lower levels have any serious problems. In the course of party consolidation, the higher party organization will, generally speaking, not send any work groups. For those units where the situation is complicated and problems are serious and where the leading bodies are not in a position to take upon themselves the task of party consolidation and therefore work groups must be sent by the higher party organizations, the work groups should be headed by responsible cadres of the higher party organizations. Their task is to help reshuffle the leading bodies, after which the leading bodies that have thus been set up will lead the work of party consolidation.

The party committees at and above the county level should select a number of comrades who are strong in party spirit and good in their style of work and who have a deep knowledge of the party's ideological and organizational work, including veteran comrades who have retired from work in the "front line." These comrades will be sent, after study and training in the work of party consolidation, to the subordinate units as liaison men or inspectors. Their main task is to gain a better understanding of the situation, have a firm grasp of the trends, heed the opinions of the people from various quarters, report in good time to the local party organizations and higher party committees and put forward proposals.

The task of the present party consolidation is a very arduous one. The major responsible comrades of the party committees at all levels should, therefore, go deep into the realities, strengthen their investigations and studies, personally lead the work at one or two selected spots to get first-hand material, sum up and popularize in good time the typical experience gained in the work of party consolidation. They should dare to take up and cope with the problems cropping up during the party consolidation, and they should dare to tackle hard and difficult cases and correct errors in good time.

#### (8) Consolidate and Develop the Achievements of Party Consolidation

In the later stage of party consolidation, efforts should be made by party organizations at all levels to consolidate and develop the achievements of party consolidation through ideological education, the institution of appropriate systems and organizational building so that the work of party building will be pushed forward further.

After this party consolidation, we should strengthen our daily ideological and political work among party members. Ideological and political education among party members should be regular and systematized. We should, in the light of the actual conditions of the party organizations and the practice in China's socialist modernization, carry out systematic education among party members in the basic theories of Marxism, in the essential knowledge and fine traditions of the party and in the party's principles and policies. We should also carry out education among party members in the socialist legal system and in scientific and cultural knowledge which is indispensable to the modernization drive.

After this party consolidation, we should strive to establish the various necessary systems to improve and reform life within the party. Regular activities of party organizations should be further improved so that party members and cadres will in this way receive rigorous training and the effective supervision of the party organizations. The struggle against the decadent ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes will be a protracted one and comrades throughout the party should on no account relax their vigilance.

During and after the consolidation of the party, attention should be paid to admitting into the party outstanding people who are willing to dedicate

themselves to the socialist and communist cause. In view of the fact that there are only a small number of party members in the forefront of industrial production and in transport and communications, finance and trade and only a small number of party members among the young peasants and students, that a number of intellectuals who are already up to the requirements for party membership have not been admitted into the party, and that there are not many women or members of the minority nationalities in the party, the stress of recruiting new party members at present should be laid on the workers and staff members working in the front line of industry, transport and communications, finance and trade, young peasants, PLA soldiers and officers, intellectuals in all trades and professions and students in the universities and colleges and secondary technical schools. Greater attention should be paid to recruiting women and people of minority nationalities as party members. In recruiting new party members, it is necessary to adhere to the requirements for party membership and ensure the quality of the party members. We must see to it that anyone who has met the requirements should be admitted accordingly. Closed-doorism should be avoided and hasty admission into the party without going through the necessary procedures is forbidden.

(9) Party Organizations at Various Levels Must Resolutely and Creatively Implement This Decision

This decision has put forward the basic principles, tasks, policies and methods for the present party consolidation. Party organizations in the various places, departments and units should combine these principles, policies and methods with their actual conditions and draw up concrete plans for implementation. While faithfully following the various stipulations in the decision, they should creatively implement them. With regard to the four tasks listed in the decision for the present party consolidation, party organizations in the various places, departments and units may put the emphasis on certain aspects in the light of their actual conditions. Party committees at various levels should see to it that the present party consolidation should not under any circumstance obstruct the continuous implementation of the party's various principles and policies on opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy.

In the long years of revolutionary struggle, our party has fostered the fine tradition of strengthening party building mainly through ideological education. Now our party has had the negative experience of the "left" mistakes committed in the 10-year domestic turmoil and before then; it also has had the positive experience of successfully setting things to rights since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and it has a complete series of correct principles and policies for party consolidation. Moreover, it has a large number of long-tested loyal proletarian fighters as the mainstay in the present party consolidation, and the majority of the party organizations and party members are good or fairly good, while the broad masses of people actively support our work in consolidating the party. With these conditions and through the concerted efforts of the party organizations at various levels and the party members, our party will surely carry forward its fine traditions and successfully fulfill the tasks of the present party consolidation.

The party Central Committee believes that this party consolidation is certain to raise the level of Marxism of the whole party, enable the party to brim with still greater vitality and vigor, and bring about a new atmosphere of working with a will to make the country strong and close unity throughout the party. If the Yanan rectification movement in 1942 enabled the party to achieve a high degree of unity in thinking, guaranteed victory in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, and led to the founding of the People's Republic of China, the present party consolidation will certainly enable our party to provide better leadership for the people of all nationalities throughout the country to win great victories in the socialist modernization drive.

CSO: 4004/52

'THE DUTIES OF INTELLECTUALS AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY'S PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENTS IN THE NEW PERIOD'--BASED ON SPEECHES BY THE AUTHOR AT THE FOUNDING CEREMONY OF THE CHINA DUNHUANG TURPAN ACADEMY AND THE DUNHUANG ACADEMIC FORUM ON 20 AUGUST 1983

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 12-17

[Article by Deng Liqun]

[Text]

I

Our whole party has unified understanding on the question of intellectuals, and ascertained the lofty status of the intellectuals of our country in the socialist cause through bringing order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, our intellectuals are a worthy part of the working class. At different posts of socialist construction, hundreds and thousands of intellectuals have struggled heroically for several decades, making concerted efforts with the broad workers, peasants, and fighters, and devoting their youth, their wisdom, and intelligence. They are not only loyal patriots, but many comrades have become or are developing into communists. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, they have been seeking truth untiringly, devoting themselves to the motherland with an unbending will. Their revolutionary ideal, noble character and outstanding talents are the pride of our socialist cause and of the Chinese nation.

Under the leadership of the CPC since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the intellectuals have made remarkable progress in every aspect, and their initiative has been all the more heightened. Our intellectuals working in distant border areas under difficult conditions and standing fast to their posts are particularly worth our respect. These comrades have been working unknown to the public, diligently and meticulously, devoting their heart and soul to undertakings needed by the motherland and the people for decades. Under erroneous "leftist" guiding ideas in the past, some comrades were treated unfairly in varying degrees, and it was not until after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that their achievements were recognized. These comrades have no complaints; they are not preoccupied with personal gains or losses, or swayed by personal feelings, and lose no time in working with greater exertion. Through



them, we can see the feature of the whole contingent of intellectuals, and also the hope of the socialist cause of our country. Some comrades lack confidence in the magnificent program formulated by the 12th CPC National Congress because of their failure to understand our people. Where does the confidence lie? The confidence is in the broad masses of people, including the intellectuals fighting at the forefront of the four modernizations.

What merits our happiness in particular is the fact that many excellent intellectuals have taken leading posts at various levels. The requirements of the CPC Central Committee for the contingent of cadres to be more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated, and more professionally competent have come to be realized everywhere. Some comrades say that this is the golden age for the intellectuals of our country; this is not without ground. Here, we can see the tremendous role of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in the historic change in the work of our party and state. We have every reason to believe that the intellectuals of our country who have already made great achievements will certainly play a still greater role and make still greater achievements, inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, with the realization of the "four requirements" for the contingent of cadres, in particular, the leading bodies, of being more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated, and more professionally competent.

Under the concern of the CPC, the contingent of intellectuals in our country has been continuously expanding, improving step by step, and developing healthily. In particular, a large number of middle-aged and young intellectuals are playing a greater role in socialist construction. The growth of middle-aged and young intellectuals would have been impossible without training by scholars and specialists, science and technology workers, and education workers of the older generation. Many units could not have scored their achievements today without the painstaking care of the intellectuals of the older generation. They have not only passed on their knowledge to the young people, but have educated the younger generation with their spirit of dedication to the motherland and their cause, the spirit of fearing no hardship, shunning the tendency to seek pleasure, and their actions of striving for honor for the country, and creating happiness for the people. Our middle-aged and young comrades have lived up to expectations. In the past we worried about the lack of successors. Facts have proved that, having been brought along by and inspired by the intellectuals of the older generation, a large number of middle-aged and young intellectuals of accomplishment have grown up. The pupil surpasses the master. This is the common wish of the intellectuals of the older generation. The latecomers surpass the old-timers, inheriting the fine traditions of the older generation, carrying them forward, enriching them, and making greater and greater contributions to the construction of the motherland. This is not an ideal, but a realization. When Comrade Xiaoping first resumed his work, he said: It is hoped that, on one hand, the scholars and specialists of the older generation will make contributions to the national construction and, at the same time, it is hoped that they will discover and train talented people. In a certain sense, the discovery and training of talented people is more important. It is true that a progressive and revolutionary

intellectual who has made some contributions to the nation and the people will be much comforted, and when he sees more middle-aged and young comrades are developing, with better skills, and making still more outstanding contributions to the nation and the people, he will be all the more comforted. Some intellectuals of the older generation no longer take up administrative leading posts, thus, there will be time for them to sum up their experiences of a lifetime, and to systematize the results of their research. We hope that these comrades will preserve their ambitions, be as vigorous as ever despite their age, and will make new breakthroughs and new contributions; at the same time, we also hope that these veteran comrades will continue to show constant concern for the middle-aged and the young generations, encourage them to make new achievements, and help them overcome their shortcomings. Our party and people and our middle-aged and young intellectuals will always respect the intellectuals of the older generation and will always be grateful to them.

The more important thing regarding the ability of our middle-aged and young comrades to grow is the correction of "leftist" errors since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the adoption of the strategic decision of the shift of the work focus to economic construction, and the drawing up and implementation of a correct line of realizing socialist modernization, and a series of principles and policies, including the policy toward intellectuals.

We can review what changes have taken place in the cause we are engaged in, our personal experiences, and the conditions of the comrades around us, including our own teachers, students, or colleagues, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Such a comparison will explicitly tell us that the development of various undertakings in all fields, the thriving of economic and cultural construction, the existence of a political situation of stability and unity, liveliness and vigor, and the ease of mind among the people of all nationalities are all the results of the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The fact that there is plenty of scope for the talents of the intellectuals is inseparable from the correct leadership of the party in the socialist cause.

## II

In the development of our construction cause, there will constantly appear various new situations and new problems for us to understand, study, and solve. Whatever the problem, so long as we dig into it, and persevere in it, it is possible for us to make contributions to the people and the nation. Chinese intellectuals have a patriotic, progressive, and revolutionary tradition. In the old society, they could find no way to render service to their motherland; now, such days have long gone forever. Today, our cause is in a great development. As part of the working class, the intellectuals have much scope to exercise their abilities. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in 1977: It is necessary to show respect to knowledge and talented people. Under the education of practice, people come to understand this truth more and more clearly. In practical work, no matter which

locality, which department or which unit, people will have to consider that if development is to be made, do we have enough knowledge? Are there any talented people? How is the situation in bringing into play the role of the intellectuals? In recent years, the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals has met with some resistance. This is a phenomenon unavoidable on the road of advance, but such resistance will inevitably be dispelled, viewed from the trend of historical development. We have made great achievements in implementing the policy toward intellectuals, nevertheless, it is necessary to make further efforts to implement the policy toward intellectuals. Hence the question is put forth: Under the new situation, what requirements should our intellectuals set for themselves so that they may play a greater role in national construction?

Primarily, it is necessary to continue to amplify and enrich our own knowledge. We have some knowledge, but the development of our cause demands of us new knowledge. Compared with the strategic goal we are to fulfill by the end of the century, the knowledge we have now is far from sufficient. Regarding patriotism, sense of responsibility, and dedication, China's intellectuals are first rate in the whole world, and the knowledge level of China's intellectuals is by no means inferior to others. However, it is also necessary for us to admit that there are aspects where we are backward, and aspects that fail to meet the requirements of socialist modernization and of the people. Only by admitting our backwardness will it be possible for us to make up our minds to change the condition of being backward. Only by admitting our failure to meet the requirements, will it be possible for us to make up our minds to change the situation. Natural workers, social science workers, and literary and art workers should all study, study and study again. It is necessary to learn from books, to learn from our predecessors, and from the advanced experience abroad, to absorb the excellent cultural heritage created in the whole of human history. At the same time, it is imperative to learn from practice, and to learn from the masses of people who are incessantly creating a new life. We should persist in seeking truth from facts, start from the actual situation in everything, link theory with practice, and follow the Marxist ideological line of testing and developing truth in practice. We should go among the people and go into practice to sum up the new creation of the people and the new experiences in practical work. We should acquire new knowledge in social practice, in scientific experiments, and among the masses of people.

For example, the rural areas of our country have gone through tremendous change in recent years. Many changes have taken place in the cultivation system, and in operation and management; and it can be said that there are changes every year, with newborn things appearing almost every month, and every day, and the peasants' livelihood is much better than it was before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the note written in "Socialist Upsurge of the Chinese Countryside," Comrade Mao Zedong said: It is hoped that our poor peasants will universally reach the living standard of the well-to-do middle peasants. Judging by the present condition, the living standard of peasants in many regions has universally surpassed that of the well-to-do middle peasants, and some of them have an even higher living standard. Of course, there still are

regions and households with material difficulties. But at least the living standard of the overwhelming majority of regions and peasants has been raised remarkably since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. As communists, as revolutionaries, and as patriots, we are happy to see our people who had suffered for several thousand years enjoying a wonderful life today! We have made revolution all our life, but is the life of the people getting better or worse after our revolution? During the "Cultural Revolution," things came to a stop for many years. Our wish has gradually come true since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; how can we stop working with still greater exertion?

Some comrades engaged in scientific research learn about these changes from newspapers or written materials. But if they personally go to the countryside to see for themselves, talk with some peasants, engage in profound investigation, and make a study on how these changes have come about over the past few years, what problems need be probed at present, and in what direction we should make our advance, then the benefits will be greater, and still better achievements will be made. One area differs from another, and there are time differences, too. If one is satisfied with what he learned yesterday, he will be backward; sometimes it is not enough to explain problems that take place in the latter half of the year with the knowledge gained in the first half of the year. The reason why some intellectuals have made some achievements is precisely because they understand the importance of linking theory with practice, and of learning from the masses. Things may be a little better with natural science workers. With social science workers and literary and art workers, it is true that some comrades should continue to solve this problem, and to bring about a change in their ideological line and their style of learning. Some social science workers are not so willing to study practical problems, but take interest in problems that are ancient, foreign, or abstract. Of course, there is a reason for this: Because the effects of the "Cultural Revolution" have not been completely eliminated, they always believe that there is some danger in doing research on practical problems. If such a condition is universal, it will be very difficult for the social science to catch up with the development of the actual situation, or to give theoretical guidance to practice. Some foreign friends are willing to train talented people in science and technology for us. Even their specialists say: By no means should you send people who pursue abstract theory, but only those who do research on practical problems, and those who are determined to explore and to find out how production is developed. It is necessary to apply what one has learned to practical use; otherwise, what does one study for?

In a capitalist society, a capitalist supports a number of talented people, paying them salaries, giving them houses to live in, providing them with conditions for research; if they talk about empty and hollow concepts, tenets, and principles all day, make no achievement for him and offer no opinions for his strategic decisions, and if he employs 3,000 intellectuals who are wont to engage in rambling talks after a good meal, will he be able to support them? Under our socialist system if someone is entitled to go in for research work, but does not engage in any serious reading, does not study any problems, or is satisfied with showing off with some void concepts

which are not able to solve practical problems, and is not able to provide to the people knowledge in science or healthy spiritual enjoyment, but pursues so-called "self-design" and "self-perfection," thinking only of "self-discovery," and "self-expression" in art, while taking home his salary and getting a promotion all the same--should such a trend be advocated?

We should raise a question to our intellectuals: How should one be counted as a man of learning? How should one meet the requirements of the state and the people? If one is to acquire genuine skill, and genuine knowledge, it is necessary for him to follow closely the pace of the era, linking himself closely with the current social practice, and meeting the needs of the people in the construction of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. It is wrong "to be eager for quick success and instant benefit," if we do not show respect for objective laws. However, fundamentally speaking, showing respect for objective laws is identical with serving the people and socialism; there is nothing bad in being eager for the success of the people, and aiming at benefiting socialism. Of course, scientific research and literary and artistic creation cover a very wide scope. For example, the science of history has its own characteristics in linking with realities. There is an old Chinese saying about learning about things ancient to discuss things present, referring to understanding realities through the understanding of history. There is some truth in this saying. Nevertheless, in order to understand history and to get at the truth of history, it will not do simply to bury oneself in piles of historical documents, but it is necessary to carry out on-the-spot investigations.

Based on his own experiences of scholarly research over several decades, a social science worker said: If one knows nothing about today, it will be impossible for him to know about things ancient. This saying has a very profound meaning. What does it mean? Marx once said, the anatomy of the human body is the key to understanding that of an ape. The study of a higher social form is of a greater significance than that of a lower social form. Comrade Mao Zedong said that it is necessary to make the past serve the present. If you do not fully understand the conditions of present society, the needs of the people, and the trends of historical development, are you not advocating "things past for the sake of the past," and "history for history's sake"? In the final analysis, the study of history is still for pushing ahead the present society in accordance with its objective laws. It is impossible to imagine that achievements can be made in this field in isolation from the most advanced level of cognition mankind has arrived at, and from the understanding of present conditions. If this is the case with the science of history, the more is it so with other sciences. All scientific research is inseparable from down-to-earth investigation, and inseparable from the mastering of historical materials, and materials of the present day. And literary and artistic creations are inseparable from going into the depth of realities. Natural sciences, social sciences, and literary and artistic creations should all work hard to understand the problems put forth by history and reality; they should all carry on education among the people, in particular, young people, in patriotism and

communist ideology in light of their own characteristics, and play an active role in the construction of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization.

After mastering knowledge, we should still solve the question of whom to serve with our knowledge. In his talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the question of "for whom" is a question of principle. This is not merely a question which should be solved by literary and art workers. All intellectuals should make further efforts to solve this question. The branches of learning which people engage in may differ in thousands of ways, with each having its own special feature, and the division of work in various branches of learning also make new changes with the development of society. However, no matter what branch of learning we engage in and no matter what kind of knowledge we study, our common orientation is to serve the people and socialism. We cannot and should not depart from this common ground. Before liberation, the Chinese intellectuals suffered from national and class oppression. After liberation, they received education in Marxism for a long time. During the "Cultural Revolution," they were suppressed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have called forth all their vigor and shouldered the heavy task of building socialism. Repeated tests have proved that our contingent of intellectuals is an outstanding one.

In recent years, some unhealthy tendencies have emerged among a small number of comrades, namely, bourgeois liberalization and the commercialization of spiritual products. This is not in keeping with the requirements of the people and the socialist cause. If we fail to take stock of the people and socialism, it will be, after all, very difficult to attain greater achievements even though we can attain some achievements on a certain problem at a certain time. The party and the people have enabled you to acquire knowledge. If, after acquiring knowledge, you do not serve the people and socialism but pursue only your own dignity and value, you will only ruin and disrespect yourselves. Naturally, it will be difficult for you to win the respect of the people. We should carry forward the glorious tradition of overcoming difficulties and utter dedication to the state, nation, and socialism, which we derive from intellectuals of the older generation. We shall derive the greatest consolation when our country is prosperous and flourishing and the people are well-off and happy. It is hoped that all intellectuals will attain such a spiritual realm. People should never use the knowledge they have acquired to strive for fame and gain. It has been very difficult for such people to hold their ground since the beginning of history and it is even more difficult for them to hold their ground in the socialist era. After acquiring knowledge, we should contribute our all to the state and the people just as a great many outstanding intellectuals are doing and have done. Intellectuals should understand clearly the important mission they undertake in the socialist modernization drive, conscientiously link themselves with the destiny of the nation, the future of the motherland, and the development of socialist cause, and unswervingly adhere to the socialist orientation.

In order to develop science and bring about a flourishing art, it is necessary to adhere to a correct orientation. At the same time, intellectuals in various branches of learning and in various fields should cooperate in unity and learn from each other. In the development of science, the division of work has become more minute and the links among them have become closer. It is very difficult for a branch of learning to make a breakthrough if it is isolated from other branches of learning.

### III

In order to bring into full play the role of the broad section of intellectuals, it is still insufficient to rely on the efforts of intellectuals alone, and leading comrades of the propaganda, cultural, and educational departments at various levels must shoulder important responsibility.

1. It is necessary to organize rationally the contingent of scientific research workers under the leadership of the CPC committees in order to solve the problems urgently needed to be solved in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization in one's own locality, department, and unit. In this respect, natural sciences have marched ahead. The central leading comrades have said on many occasions that it is necessary to organize scientists and technicians throughout the country to tackle key problems. The State Council has set up a leading group to deploy and employ a scientific and technological force in a unified way, including training and organizing scientific and technical personnel in solving major problems in socialist construction. Social sciences have lagged behind and they have not been able to meet the requirements of the central authorities. Our social science workers have tried hard to make contributions to the state. However, due to the failure of the methods of leadership and planning to keep pace with the situation, it is difficult for them to attain proper and notable results in the construction of our country. Recently, Tianjin municipality has provided a good experience. When discussing the Sixth and Seventh 5-Year Plans for Tianjin municipality, the municipal CPC committee and people's government proceeded from the actual conditions and listed a series of pressing problems in economic and cultural construction. These included both natural and social sciences. Then, they organized scientific workers to undertake these problems. In the course of their work, the municipal CPC committee and people's government made things convenient for them by providing them with data and the necessary funds. After conducting investigation and study, they should put forward a plan or several plans so that the municipal CPC committee and people's government can extensively adopt the good points of various plans and make a choice. After a plan is adopted and proves effective in practice, it is necessary to grant proper credit and reward.

Have we not said in the past that economic work and political work are two inseparable aspects? Now, practical work and research work are also two inseparable aspects. In July this year, the national propaganda work conference passed on the experience of Tianjin. It is hoped that the propaganda, cultural, and educational departments in various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions will proceed from actual conditions,

learn the methods of Tianjin, improve leadership over and organization of scientific research work, deploy and employ the scientific and technological force in a unified way, and create more favorable conditions for bringing into full play the role of intellectuals. Comrade Chen Yun said that in making a policy decision on an issue, particularly on a major issue, it is necessary to devote more than 90 percent of our time to investigation and study and only about 10 percent of our time to making the decision. This is precisely a scientific method of leadership. Some of our leading comrades are so busy carrying out routine duties that they have no time to conduct investigation and study. When some problem arises, they make decisions without having a good grasp on the situation. We hope that leading bodies at various levels will change their methods and adopt scientific methods. Our scientific and technological personnel are very eager to work. So long as we change our previous methods, have full confidence in and rely on various scientific research departments, and listen to the views of experts and scholars with an open mind when making an important policy decision, our undertakings will certainly make tremendous advances.

2. It is necessary to make further efforts to implement the policy toward intellectuals, show concern for them politically, ideologically, and in their livelihood and, in particular, try as far as possible to solve conscientiously the work and the practical problems of those intellectuals who stick to their posts in outlying districts where conditions are hard. Take the question of their children entering schools of a higher grade for example. In the 1950's and 1960's, in answer to the call of the party, quite a few comrades went to work in outlying districts where conditions were hardest. At that time, they did not have family troubles. Now they are 40 to 50 years old and their children have grown up. The propaganda, cultural, and educational departments should help them solve this problem. There is also a question of health. In the remote and outlying districts where conditions are hardest, the nutritive level is relatively low, and welfare facilities are also quite insufficient. Some comrades also suffer from occupational or endemic diseases. The spirit of arduous struggle of the intellectuals working there is very touching. We should promote this spirit of arduous struggle among all intellectuals. Party members should become models of arduous struggle. However, as far as the leading comrades at various levels are concerned, it is absolutely necessary to assume a positive attitude and adopt practical measures to protect their health. There will be some problems if we want to make a great improvement in a short time. But it is our bounden duty to make a slight improvement gradually year by year.

3. In the past, all propaganda departments, the press, radio, television, literature and art, and publications have carried out insufficient publicity on the intellectuals working in outlying districts and under hard conditions, the outstanding achievements they have achieved, and their spirit of devotion and lofty moral character of loving their work and not being afraid of difficulties and hardships. This situation should be vigorously improved. In publicizing the achievements of intellectuals, it is first necessary to have these comrades in mind. In January 1980, in his speech entitled "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," Comrade Deng Xiaoping



specifically analyzed the four problems or the four preconditions that we should be provided with in achieving the four modernizations.

The third precondition is that we should have the spirit of doing pioneering work and carrying out arduous struggle. In order to achieve the four modernizations in China, it is necessary to do pioneering work earnestly and arduously. "It is absolutely necessary for our party members, cadres, and particularly senior cadres, to strive to restore the glorious tradition of Yanan, learn from the examples of Zhou Enlai and other comrades, and set an exemplary role in doing pioneering work arduously." At a central work conference at the end of 1980, when talking about the building of socialist spiritual civilization, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out that from Yanan to new China, in addition to relying on a correct political orientation, we precisely relied on these valuable revolutionary spirits to fascinate the people throughout the country and friendly personages abroad. He particularly stressed that it is absolutely necessary to publicize, restore, and carry forward the Yanan spirit, the spirit in the early postliberation period, and the spirit of overcoming difficulties in the early 1960's. The revolutionary spirit of doing pioneering work arduously can be noticed very clearly from those intellectuals who have persevered in working in outlying districts and under arduous conditions for a long time. It can be said that this is an important reason for their achievements and is their common feature.

We hope that the comrades in the propaganda departments, theoretical workers, reporters, editors, literary workers, and artists will frequently go to outlying districts where conditions are hard, to see with their own eyes the intellectuals working there and their outstanding achievements, to show concern for them, to study and learn from them, and to publicize them in various forms. They ought to attain honor commensurate with their achievements. The comrades of the propaganda departments have the duty to help the people throughout the country to understand them so that their spirit of doing pioneering work and carrying out arduous struggle can yield positive results everywhere.

CSO: 4004/52

SEEK UNITY OF THINKING, DO A GOOD JOB OF PARTY RECTIFICATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 18-21

[Editorial]

[Text] The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has adopted the decision on party rectification and decided to commence the all-round party rectification from this winter. To rectify the ideology, work style, and organizations of the party and to build the party into a firm core, which can lead the people of our country in carrying out socialist modernization, are the urgent needs of the times, ardent expectations of the people, and the fundamental guarantee for attaining the grand objective set forth by the 12th CPC Congress and for achieving great victories in the building of socialist modernization in China. All party members must conscientiously study and profoundly comprehend the decisions and relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee and use their practical deeds to implement them.

All things on earth can develop further only by getting rid of their negative, backward, and imperfect factors. The revolutionary political parties of the proletariat, in particular, must conscientiously act in this way. Lenin pointed out on many occasions that arrogance and conceit and fearing to expose one's weak points may lead to the decline and doom of revolutionary political parties. Our party is a long-tested Marxist party. However, we have never attempted to conceal our defects and problems. We reveal our defects and problems to the public and also solve them within a prescribed time. This is precisely the manifestation of our confidence and strength, the manifestation of our responsibility to the working class and masses, and our prerequisite to constantly advance ahead.

After its founding more than 60 years ago in calamity-ridden China, which was beset with domestic trouble and foreign invasion, our party shouldered the heavy responsibility of leading the Chinese revolution. In the course of the acute and complicated revolutionary struggles, our party underwent a severe test. Of these struggles, there were many successes and victories and also a number of setbacks and failures. Our party overcame its shortcomings and mistakes and constantly developed forward. During the decade-long "Great Cultural Revolution," our party suffered from the greatest damage and destruction ever since the founding of the PRC. Nevertheless,

our party stood up and corrected its mistakes. In the approximately 5 years after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party achieved major successes in various fields. Compared with any period since the founding of the PRC, our party has laid more stress on conscientiously studying the practice of China, has paid more attention to the assimilation and drawing of construction experience of all countries, has realistically formulated its line, principles, and policies, and has constantly straightened out and corrected its shortcomings and mistakes. This is the main aspect and trend of our party. However, we have no reason whatsoever to be complacent. We must further focus our attention on the problems that remain to be solved.

The CPC Central Committee has decided that the task of the current party rectification is to seek unity of thinking, rectify the work style, strengthen discipline, and purify the organizations. This is also the guiding ideology for conducting well the current party rectification.

1. It is one of the basic requirements of our party to keep in a high level of ideological and political unity. Our party is a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Without a high level of ideological and political unity, there would be no organizational unity of the whole party and it would be impossible for our party to become the leadership core of the socialist cause.

The history of about 60 years show that the reason why our party had the strength to defeat enemies and surmount numerous difficulties and lead the broad masses in winning victories in revolution and construction is that we had a unified thought, which was based on a scientific and theoretical foundation and that the whole party could maintain a high level of ideological and political unity. In order to unify the will and strength of the people of the whole country in the new historical period and to triumphantly create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, it is further necessary to rely on the high level of ideological and political unity of the whole party.

The ideological unity of the whole party complements the formulation and implementation of a correct line. Without a correct ideological line and political line, it would be impossible for the whole party to reach ideological and political unity. On the contrary, if we have a correct ideological line and political line without ideological unity of the whole party, it would be difficult to successfully carry out the correct line. The great significance of the Yanan party rectification lies in the fact that the whole party ideologically eliminated the influence of dogmatism and all sorts of erroneous ideas and reached a high level of unity based on Mao Zedong Thought, which laid the foundation for winning victories in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee reestablished the principle of seeking truth from facts and laid down a series of correct principles and policies. Confronting such a situation, some people within the party tried to interfere from the "left" or the right. Although the CPC Central Committee timely pointed out the

erroneous tendencies, these people paid no heed and stuck to their old way of doing things. It is quite obvious that if these tendencies are allowed to spread unchecked, it would be impossible to carry out the line, principles and policies of the party and successfully attain the task of building socialist modernization.

In reaching a high level of ideological and political unity, we must not only pay lip service, but what is more important, apply it in our deeds. It should not be a mechanical and inflexible unity, which disregards the actual circumstances, but should be a vivid unity based on scientific attitude and seeking truth from facts. At present, there are some leading organs and leading comrades who lack enthusiasm and creativity. They are particularly weak and incompetent in leading ideological work. They have taken a laissez-faire attitude instead of resisting, criticizing, and fighting against the erroneous tendencies, which run counter to the four cardinal principles and the line laid down by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We must, as quickly as possible, put an end to such weak and incompetent state of affairs, which is absolutely incompatible with the principle of our party. All party organizations and members must conscientiously and unflinchingly safeguard the line, principles, and policies of the CPC Central Committee and wage struggles against erroneous tendencies.

2. Wholeheartedly serving the people is the sole purpose of our party and maintaining close ties with the masses is the persistent fine tradition of our party. For more than one-half century, it is because our party manifested the tireless character and the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people in its actual practice, thus enjoying popular support and trust, that it could constantly win victories in revolution and construction. It is also because our party maintained the closest ties with the masses in all its work, mobilized and relied on the masses everywhere, and organized an enormous and powerful revolutionary and construction army, that it could become invincible.

During the revolution war years, our party often had to confront danger. In order to struggle for existence, our party could not for a single moment divorce itself from the masses. However, after our party took over the political power of the whole country, some comrades forgot their past sufferings and the way we won victories. They were contaminated by the decadent ideas and evil habits of the bourgeois class of the old society.

As party members, particularly after holding leading posts, they considered themselves superior to others and assumed that they could take the advantage of the power entrusted to them by the party and people to seek personal gains without restraint. They do not understand that if we abandon the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, our party will not be entitled to be called a Communist Party and we will no longer enjoy support from the people. The people alone are the makers of history and all historical activities are the cause of the masses. Although our party has expanded at a relatively fast speed, our party members always constitute the minority among the masses of people. Without the support of the

broad masses, our party could accomplish nothing. Although our party is now exercising leadership over the political power of the country, we may also suffer from failure and fall from power if we divorce ourselves from the masses. Comrade Chen Yun said that the work style of the party in power is a matter that concerns the life and death of the party. This truth is absolutely true.

The importance of party rectification lies in the fact that it is directly related to the image of the party and affects the entire social mood. If the work style of our party is not appropriate, it may dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and shake the faith of the masses in the superiority of socialism and the inevitable victory of communism. Lenin pointed out that we must "purge the party of those who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of communism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 76) In order to rectify the party's work style, we must thoroughly straighten out all practices that take advantage of power to seek personal gains. We must also combat bureaucratism, which is irresponsible to the party and people, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people.

3. Our party should be a whole unit that is well-organized and has discipline. Lenin pointed out: The party is an advanced and organized army of the proletariat. We must practice the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, the party being subordinate to the whole, the lower levels being subordinate to the higher levels, and all organizations being subordinate to the central. "The proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 510)

We must depend on discipline to ensure the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies. We must also depend on discipline to uphold the unity and unification of the party. If our party members do not observe the rules, regulations, and resolutions of the party, but do things in their own way, it would be impossible for our party to become a strong bastion and lead the revolutionary cause. Our party had to fight for a long period under the enemies' fascist rule and the harsh conditions of wars. Therefore, the party particularly demanded that its members strictly observe discipline, which played an extremely important role in ensuring the victories of the revolutionary cause. After the founding of the PRC, our party continued to maintain and carry forward this fine tradition. During the decade-long internal turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques willfully trampled the norm of our party. On the one hand, they exercised feudal fascist rule over the vast numbers of party members, and on the other, they stirred up factionalism and anarchism in an attempt to stamp out the party rules and regulations. Such pernicious influences are not yet entirely eliminated. In order to enable our party to become a strong fighting bastion, it is imperative to eliminate such pernicious influences, so as to maintain the vivid democratic life and also the unified organization and strict discipline within the party.

In recent years, there are some comrades who have wantonly publicized views which run counter to the four cardinal principles and the line laid down by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and which have caused ideological confusion among the cadres and masses. Some other comrades engaged in ideological and cultural work have been irresponsible to their spiritual products and even intentionally or unintentionally allowed all sorts of decadent and reactionary stuff to corrode the masses, which caused spiritual contamination. On the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles and the line laid down by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, every party organization and member must keep in unity with the CPC Central Committee. This is our party's political discipline. It is therefore necessary to lay the observation of discipline on a more conscious and solid basis and on a basis of ideological and political unity.

4. Our party is composed of the advanced elements of the working class. However, its members come from and live in society. Therefore, in their work style and thinking, they are bound to be affected by the surrounding environment. There are some people who will join the party with all kinds of erroneous motives, and there are also a handful of careerists who will try to sneak into the party. After the establishment of the socialist system, the remnant influences of the old society and the decadent ideas of the domestic exploiting class and external bourgeois class will corrode some of our weak-willed party members. As the vanguard of the working class, the party must purify its ranks and maintain its advanced nature by unswervingly rectifying its ideology, work style, and organizations. Our party is a big revolutionary furnace. Under the education of the party and the temper of revolutionary practice, most of the people who have joined the party with nonproletarian ideas will be remolded in this big revolutionary furnace and become proletarian revolutionary fighters, whereas those incurable elements and the hostile elements who have sneaked into the party will be expelled from the party just like clearing away the dregs from the furnace.

The task for purifying party organizations is extremely urgent and important in the current party rectification. Our party organizations suffered from immense destruction during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and consequently became coarsely impure. A number of people who rose to prominence by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in rebellion, those who seriously indulged in factionalism, and those who participated in beating, smashing, and looting during the "Great Cultural Revolution" are not yet exposed and handled. Some of them are still trying to carry out sabotage activities and are waiting for an opportune moment to stir up trouble. The political capacity of these people is far greater than their number. Some of them are put in important positions and are harbored by our comrades who wield power. It will be a hidden peril if they are not expelled [qingchu 3237 7110] from the party. Weeding out [qingli 3237 3810] these three kinds of people is the key to the purification of our organizations. During the current party rectification, it is also necessary to expel those people who stubbornly resist the central line laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, those who have

committed serious crimes in economic and other fields, and those who have violated the law and discipline. This is essential as it can consolidate and develop the cause of socialist modernization and can build our party into a firm core for leading the socialist modernization program, so thus it also conforms to the fundamental interest of the people of the whole country.

As we have the correct guiding principle laid down by the CPC Central Committee, the foundations of a series of readjustments and reforms carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and the consciousness and initiative of the vast numbers of party members, the purpose of unity of thinking, rectification of work style, strengthening of discipline, and purification of organizations of the current party rectification will certainly be attained.

CSO: 4004/52

BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 22-25

[Editorial]

[Text] The 10th National Congress of China's trade unions, which China's 100 million-plus staff members and workers have been enthusiastically looking forward to, will soon be convened in Beijing. This is a major event in the political life of China's working class. We wish the congress a complete success.

Trade unions are mass organizations of China's leading class--the working class. Our party has always attached great importance to the role of trade unions. In the new period of socialist modernization, our party has placed even greater hopes on trade unions. In his speech made at the Ninth National Congress of China's trade unions, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave clear instructions with regard to trade union work in the new period. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "We must energetically strengthen the party's work in trade unions so as to enable them to become powerful links combining the party and the workers." In March this year, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee explained in a more profound manner the nature and tasks of trade unions, demanding that trade unions should proceed from the stand that they are mass organizations under the leadership of the party, do work in a down-to-earth manner for staff and workers, do specific good things, and bring into full play the role of staff and workers; that trade unions should safeguard the fundamental interests of staff and workers, boldly uphold healthy tendencies, and check unhealthy tendencies, and play their active role in social and state life; and that trade unions should cater to the needs of factories and workers, closely combine themselves with the masses, and reflect the demand of staff and workers so as to enable trade unions to become "homes of staff and workers." Not only must trade union organizations at all levels throughout the country conscientiously study and energetically implement the important guiding principles of the CPC Central Committee on trade union work, comrades of the whole party, and party committees, governments, and leading organs of economic construction at all levels in particular, must also profoundly understand these principles.



China's trade unions are the working class' mass organizations which have emerged from grassroots levels. They are composed of nearly all the members of the working class. Their committees at various levels and their cadres and activists are elected by staff and workers. Most of the cadres and activists have lived among the masses for a long time and have built direct and close ties with the masses, know well the feelings, views, and wishes of the masses, and can grasp the various trends of the masses. Such characteristics and superiority have determined that trade unions can play the important role of links between the party and the masses. Through trade union organizations and millions of their activists, the party can hear in a timely manner the voice of the workers, feel the ideological pulse of the workers, and correctly reflect the views and demands of the working class in the course of drawing up and implementing principles and policies. Through trade unions, the party's principles and policies can be swiftly implemented among workers and changed into the conscious action of the masses. In handling the contradictions between leaders and masses, trade unions can use their special position to combine well their action of representing the masses with their action of educating the masses, to combine well their respect for leaders with their supervision over leaders, and to play an active mediative role between leaders and masses. Other organizations are not in a position to replace trade unions in displaying such a role. Some comrades say that trade unions are "dispensable." They look down upon and even negate the role of trade unions. This is a manifestation of not respecting staff and workers and of forgetting the party's mass line. Party committees at all levels must help these comrades overcome such an erroneous idea so as to enable them to understand the necessity for, and importance of, strengthening trade union work from the high plane of respecting the leadership position of the working class and of relying on the working class wholeheartedly.

In the new period, our party particularly requires trade union organizations to do active work in various fields so as to mobilize the majority of staff and workers to play their principal role in building the two civilizations. In building material civilization, an important task at present is to raise economic results. If the low efficiency and bad economic results commonly seen in our factories and enterprises cannot be changed, the four modernizations will not be able to embark on the correct road, a fundamental change for the better cannot be realized in the state financial and economic situation, and many other things cannot be done well either. To raise economic results, it is important to improve the quality of enterprises and staff and workers. Trade unions, which have rallied the majority of workers, can certainly do much in this respect. In combination with the actual conditions of staff and workers, trade unions can regularly carry out ideological and political work. Through various forms such as reading books, trade unions can persist in arming staff and workers with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, propagate patriotic and communist ideology among staff and workers, help staff and workers study and grasp cultural and scientific knowledge, and make important contributions to building a staff and worker contingent which has aspirations, morality, and culture, can observe discipline, and is qualified for carrying out the four modernizations. The improvement of the quality of the staff and worker

contingent will enable the contingent to have a full understanding of the position of the working class as masters of the country, to have cultural and scientific knowledge related to modernization, to correctly handle the relationships between state interests, collective interests, and individual interests, and to fully develop the spirit of masters of the country in economic reform, enterprise management, tapping potentials, innovations, transformation, and increasing production and practicing economy. This is not only an important guarantee for improving the quality of enterprises and raising economic results but also an important content in, and condition for, building socialist spiritual civilization. At present, problems in party style and in the general mood of society, spiritual pollution, which is poisoning the people's minds, and economic and other criminal activities are problems closely related to the masses insofar as building spiritual civilization is concerned. The party and government are doing their best to solve these problems. In this respect, trade unions can have ample scope to display their abilities. Trade union work can arouse the combat spirit of the working class so as to create an atmosphere of boldly supporting what is good and suppressing what is bad, of boldly resisting and exposing all kinds of unhealthy tendencies, and of fighting against all illegal and criminal activities so as to form a powerful momentum. This will play an immeasurable role in realizing a turn for the better in party style and the general mood of society and in bringing forward spiritual civilization.

Trade unions can play another important role in the new period. For example, they can mobilize and rely on staff and workers in exercising mass supervision over leading organs of party and state power and leading organs in charge of economic construction, and over public employees taking part in handling state affairs and managing routine work of their own units. They can also play their active role in social and state life. For this reason, we must now energetically promote the implementation of the staff and worker congress system to carry out democratic management of enterprises' staff and workers and exercise mass supervision over leaders. For staff and workers and trade unions, bringing into play the role of such supervision is a way of using their democratic rights. For leading organs and public employees, accepting and supporting such supervision is their duty and responsibility. In this respect, the role of trade unions has important bearings on maintaining the character of party organizations as vanguards of the working class, on guaranteeing that organs of state power and leading organs in charge of economic construction will hold firm to the socialist orientation and serve the people heart and soul, and on overcoming unhealthy tendencies among public employees such as being divorced from the masses, abusing rights, seeking after personal interests, and neglecting duty. Party committees at all levels must take an active attitude toward this problem by fully understanding it. It is important for the party to lead the working class and other laboring people in deciding on their own affairs. Guaranteeing the supervisory rights of trade unions and staff and workers is an important manifestation showing that the working class is the master of its own affairs. Following the gradual consummation of the socialist democratic and legal system, trade unions will play a much greater role in bringing forward democratic management and mass supervision.

To bring into full play the role of trade unions, we must guarantee that trade unions can proceed from the characteristics of mass organizations in carrying out their work. Since trade unions are mass organizations comprising nearly all staff members and workers, their members are inevitably divided into the advanced, the less advanced, and the backward. In addition, under ordinary circumstances, advanced elements are in the minority, and less advanced and backward elements are in the majority. Therefore, in all their work and activities, trade unions must consider the level of consciousness of the majority of staff and workers and reflect the requirements of staff and workers in various fields and of various types. We cannot impose on trade unions the requirements set for the vanguard of the working class--the Communist Party, and we must not change trade unions into organizations which represent only a small number of advanced elements. In the past, this point was overlooked under the influence of "leftist" ideology. Now, we must make great efforts to change this situation. Trade unions are not departments affiliated to party committees, nor are they organizations subordinated to administrative organs. In various aspects of social and state life, trade unions should have their own voice, proposals, and attitude. Party committee leadership over trade unions should be exercised mainly in respect to major principles, ideology, and politics. Once principles and tasks have been decided on, party committees should boldly let trade unions carry out their work. It is not necessary for party committees to approve the fulfillment of all tasks, still less should they take on all the specific work of trade unions. We should allow trade union organizations to independently carry out their activities under the leadership of the party, according to the opinions and requirements of the majority of staff and workers, and in combination with the various specific conditions of staff and workers in various fields. Trade union organizations and trade union cadres who have achieved successes in their work should be praised and encouraged. Of course, leading organs of party and state power and leading organs in charge of economic construction can and should regularly make suggestions to trade unions. But they must allow trade unions to combine their suggestions with the production, livelihood, and ideology of the masses and, after mass discussions, to turn their suggestions into what can be accepted by the masses. Furthermore, they must allow trade unions to straightforwardly reflect different opinions and suggestions of the masses and to accept the reasonable and feasible part of these opinions and suggestions. Trade union organizations which "dare not speak or do things on behalf of workers for fear of offending leaders" are useless to the party's cause. What is required by the party is trade union organizations which can establish close ties with the masses, have influence and prestige among the masses, and vigorously carry out their work.

To fully show that trade unions are mass organizations, trade unions must be able to represent the interests of the working class, actively speak and do things for staff and workers, and safeguard the fundamental and immediate interests of staff and workers. Why have the workers voluntarily formed trade unions? The reason has been that they want trade unions to represent and safeguard their own interests. This is the objective foundation of the emergence and existence of trade unions. Even under the socialist system, there is still such a foundation. First, although the exploitation system

has been eliminated in socialist society, because social production has not reached a high degree of development, the contradictions between social demand and social production will still exist for a long time, and it is not easy to handle the relationships between accumulation and consumption in a completely rational manner. In addition, due to the continuation and development of commodity production and commodity exchanges, it is inevitable that state interests, collective interests, and the interests of an individual staff member and worker will sometimes be out of balance. Second, because China's socialist system has not existed long, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time in a certain sphere, it will take time to perfect various specific systems in our socialist political and economic fields, and we are sure to have shortcomings, errors, and drawbacks in our work. Third, socialist society emerges from the womb of the old society. Inevitably, it carries the vestiges of the old society. The remnants of capitalist and feudal ideology cannot be eliminated in a short time. Under certain conditions, they will grow. Bureaucratism will grow in some economic organs and administrative departments, and among some leaders of enterprises. Such being the case, the political rights and the material, fundamental, and immediate interests of the working class will sometimes be infringed upon. Here, not only party and government organs at various levels but also trade union organizations are required to adopt measures to protect the interests of the working class.

Shortly after the victory of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, Lenin saw the above point in a timely manner. He said: "Our country is a workers' country which carries bureaucratic drawbacks... In such a country which really exists, do trade unions not have anything to protect? Can there not be the material and spiritual interests of the organized working class which are protected by trade unions? This viewpoint is quite wrong in theory." Lenin concluded: "We should use workers' organizations to protect workers from being infringed upon by their own country. At the same time, we should also use them to organize workers to protect our country." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 408) Practice has proved that Lenin's exposition on the "protective" role of trade unions is quite explicit. However, such a protective role in trade union work has been seriously undermined by "leftist" ideology since the founding of the PRC. Party and government leaders at all levels must energetically support trade unions in bringing order out of chaos in this respect. Leaders of enterprises and commercial units should take the initiative in discussing with trade unions problems concerning the fundamental and immediate interests of staff and workers. They should decide on major policies of their own units through discussions at staff and worker congresses. It is absolutely appropriate for the staff and worker congress and trade union of a unit to criticize any ideology and action infringing upon the rights and interests of staff and workers, and to refuse to implement any erroneous decision resulting from bureaucratism. Trade union cadres who dare to persist in doing this are good cadres who are loyal to the interests of the working class and to the party's cause. If trade union organizations and cadres meet with obstacles or retaliation, party committees should support them in a clear-cut manner. It is not reasonable to ask such a question as: "If trade unions represent the interests of the working class, what do

party committees and administrative organs represent?" Being mass organizations of the working class, must trade unions not represent the interests of the working class? By saying that trade unions should represent the interests of the working class, we do not mean to negate the role of party committees and administrative organs in representing the interests of the working class. The Communist Party and all organizations under its leadership, be they party committees, administrative organs, or trade unions, should, in all their work, represent the interests of the people. The difference is that they represent the interests of the people in different positions, from different angles, and by different means. The party represents the interests of the people in the most centralized and thorough manner. As mass organizations under the leadership of the party, trade unions should carry out their work, protect the interests of workers, and bring the warmth of the party to millions of households according to the party's principles and policies. Trade unions are in absolute unanimity with the party in representing the interests of the people. The CPC Central Committee has clearly pointed out that trade unions are mass organizations which represent the interests of the working class and carry out their work for the working class under the leadership of the party. Our comrades must have a unified understanding of this point.

Over a hundred years ago, when the workers' movement was in its early stage, Marx said: "Regardless of their preliminary aims, now, trade unions, being the organizational center of the working class, must be able to conscientiously carry out their activities and regard the thorough emancipation of the working class as their own great task... Trade unions should prove to the world that they are absolutely not fighting for narrow egoistical interests but for the emancipation of millions of those being oppressed." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 221) In the new period of socialist modernization in our country, party committees should earnestly improve and strengthen their leadership over trade unions, care for and support trade union work, strengthen their own building, and encourage trade union activists to do a good job in their work so as to enable China's trade unions to represent the interests of the working class and to fight unswervingly for the completion of the historical mission of the working class.

CSO: 4004/52

REFORM IS ALSO REVOLUTION--STUDYING EXPOSITIONS ON ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL  
REFORM IN THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 26-30

[Article by Ma Hong [7456 3163]]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" represent a product of the great historical change in China and the summing up of the experiences of the creative practice of the Chinese people in the building of socialism under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These articles are in fact representing important guiding documents for the CPC in building socialism with Chinese features during the new historical period.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are very rich in content and involve such aspects as politics, economy, and culture. The expositions on ideology about the reform of the economic structure have a very important position in these works. This article is intended to express my personal views after studying the selected works.

I

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that to realize the socialist modernization program represents "a great revolution that is aimed at basically changing the backward situations of the economy and technology in China and further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the purpose of this revolution is to tremendously change the current backward productivity, it is therefore imperative to change the relations of production from the point of many aspects, change superstructure, change the management methods of industrial and agricultural enterprises, and change the state management form toward industrial and agricultural enterprises, so that these various aspects will be in line with the needs of a modern economy." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 125-126) He also said that "streamlining organizations is a revolution," "but, of course, the targets of this revolution are not men but mechanisms." (Ibid., pp 351, 352) The revolution referred to here by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is also an ideological revolution with major significance in both theory and practice.

Under the guidance of the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong, the Chinese people won victories in democratic revolution and socialist revolution through decades

of unremitting struggles, and finally they set up a socialist system in China. The socialist system has eliminated the innate contradictions of the capitalist system that are beyond the reach of this system. The socialist system also has demonstrated tremendous advantages in such aspects as developing production and improving people's standard of living. And yet, we cannot consequently say that contradictions no longer exist in socialist society and that this society no longer needs revolution.

According to the viewpoint of historical materialism, the basic reason for all forms of social revolution is the existence of contradictions between the relations of production and productivity. As early as in 1890, Marx predicted: "According to my view, 'socialist society' will not remain unchanged; like any other social system, the socialist society is subject to frequent changes and reforms." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) In 1921, Lenin based himself on the experiences of the practice following the October Revolution of Russia and said: "In the future, any development in productivity and culture must be coupled with the improvement and reforms of our Soviet system." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 89) In his article "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still the contradictions between the relations of production and productivity and between superstructure and economic foundation." This theory represents a major development for historical materialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping affirmed this in 1979 when he said: "Practice over the past two decades and more has proved that such an exposition is more proper than other expositions." "But to have pointed out these basic contradictions does in no way mean that we have resolved these problems. Therefore we have to carry out profound and concrete study." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 168)

Proceeding from this basic theory, the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" expounded the programmatic question that reforming is also a revolution. In order to realize the modernization program, we must improve productivity in a big way, and at the same time it is also imperative to reform certain links in the relations of production that are not in line with the development of productivity, and certain links in the superstructure that are not in a position to meet the needs of the economic foundation. This reform will eventually affect personal interest. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In particular, there will be no plain sailing in reforming the relations of production and superstructure. Because the reform in this aspect involves numerous sectors and the personal interest of a great number of people, this reform will give rise to various complicated situations and problems and will also meet many obstacles. For example, the reorganization of enterprises will involve such questions as who will remain and who will leave the enterprises; the reform of state organs will result in the fact that some staff will be transferred to other units and consequently there will be some people who are not satisfied with the arrangement of their jobs." (Ibid., p 142) To really understand the theory that reform is also a revolution is vital for us in understanding the necessity and complexity of reform work and in making ideological preparation.

Reform work under the socialist system also represents a revolution; but this revolution is totally different in nature from the revolution that is aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" have provided us with scientific guiding ideology for understanding the nature of reforming the socialist economic structure.

1. The nature of this revolution represents self-perfection of the socialist system. The reason for the emergence of the proletarian revolution under the capitalist system is the existence of the antagonistic contradictions between the capitalist system and social productivity, and this revolution makes a total denial of the capitalist system. The reform of the socialist economic structure in no way denies the existence of the socialist system; it represents self-improvement of the socialist system and means that the purpose of this revolution is to further perfect, consolidate, and develop the socialist system. Therefore Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that it is imperative to thoroughly refute the words spread by some people that capitalism is better than socialism; he also stressed the importance of upholding the socialist system.

2. This revolution does not resort to the form of antagonism between classes. Under capitalist system, the revolution is launched by the proletariat and the broad masses of people, and is aimed at overthrowing capitalist rule. Therefore it is only natural that this revolution uses the antagonistic form of one class overthrowing another class. But in the current stage in China, the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class. Most of the existing contradictions in society in China today do not have the nature of class struggle and the contradictions that appeared during the reform basically belong to the contradictions among the people. Of course, such revolution also involves the criticism of the remnants of feudalistic and capitalist ideology and the class struggles within certain spheres. And most of the criticisms and struggles still represent problems among the people and do not mean a revolution in which a class is overthrowing another class.

3. This revolution is carried out under the leadership of the CPC and the state and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by relying on the strength of the socialist system itself and the self-consciousness of the hundreds of millions of people in practice. It is true that this revolution will face a conflict of interest among the people, but the basic interest of the broad masses of people is unanimous. Therefore, through ideological and political education in practice of reform, the masses of people will consciously take part in and do a good job of this revolution. As the reform is carried out by the masses under the leadership of the CPC and the state, and the CPC is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will no doubt be able to carry out the reform through consciously understanding and making use of the objective economic law so as to enable the socialist system to constantly carry out self-improvement and self-perfection.

The nature of the reform determines that it is improper to use the method of massive and tempestuous mass movement. Historical experiences of reform



works in China proved that whenever we resorted to political and mass movements, "we never succeeded. It is because the work of resolving the ideological problems of the masses, organizational mechanism and work mechanism in a socialist society is absolutely different from cracking down on counterrevolutionaries and undermining a reactionary system during the revolutionary period." (Ibid., p 296) In addition, economic reform is very complicated and meticulous. It must be carried out step by step and in a planned way and it can only be carried out through meticulous study and investigations, comparing experiences in successes and failures (including the experiences of other countries), repetitious theoretical provings, delicate designs, feasible planning and measures and experiments. In particular, we must understand that economic structural reform in China is carried out under the situations in which the economy is being conscientiously readjusted for a basic improvement of the finance and economy of the country. Therefore it is imperative that in carrying out the reform, we must first fully consider the capacity of our economy, and at the same time we must be resolute. But reform work can in no way be carried out hastily; it can only be carried out step by step and in an orderly manner. Any measure in reform work must be in the interest of fulfilling the various tasks that are defined by state planning; in the interest of developing harmoniously the national economy; in the interest of enabling various economic activities to achieve greater social economic efficiency and in the interest of giving consideration to the interest of the state, enterprises, and individuals so as to guarantee that financial revenues will be able to grow rationally each year.

In short, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideology of defining reform as a revolution is based on the analyses of the basic contradictions during the current socialist stage in China. The purpose of the reform is to constantly perfect, consolidate, and develop a basic socialist system so as to constantly perfect the various mechanisms of this system, fully display the advantages of the socialist system and constantly improve social productivity.

## II

Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only has put forth the thesis that reform is also a revolution, but has also analyzed the necessity for carrying out economic structural reform. The original economic structure of China has its own advantages that have played positive roles in history. But we cannot but acknowledge that following the development of economy, the defects of this economic structure have become more and more outstanding. These defects include an irrational ownership structure, monolithic management form, "everybody eating from the same big pot," integration between administration and enterprises, and the formation of departments and regions at various levels. All these have seriously hampered the development of productivity, and therefore they must be reformed. Now these defects are known to all, but prior to the move to reform this structure, it was not easy to understand and point out these defects. With the daring stamina of a proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his speech and article "Emancipate Thinking, Seek Truth From Facts, and Unite in Forging Ahead," mercilessly exposed the defects in this economic management

mechanism. These expositions have enabled people to broaden their field of vision and raise their sense of urgency and consciousness in carrying out the reform, and provided an ideological foundation for smoothly carrying out the reform.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the existing economic management mechanism in China is characterized by an excessive centralization of powers. He said: "A number of matters are under the management of leading organs at various levels. These matters should not be put under their management and they are beyond the reach of these organs to manage well. There should be rules and regulations for handing down these matters to lower levels, such as enterprises and other social units, so as to enable them to solve these matters by themselves according to the principle of democratic centralism. These enterprises and other units are able to handle these matters well. And yet these matters are centralized in the hands of the CPC and government leading organs and various departments under the CPC Central Committee; under this situation, it is difficult to resolve these matters." (Ibid., p 288) He said: "It will do for a few advanced elements that we do not follow the principle of more gain for more work and do not pay attention to material interests, but it also may as well do for the broad masses of people for the time being, but not for a long period. Revolutionary spirit is valuable because without such spirit there would be no revolution. But revolution happens on the basis of material interest; to talk about sacrifices without paying attention to material interest means idealism." (Ibid., p 136) He pointed out: "Now, one of the main problems in enterprises and other units in various places and the CPC and state organs at various levels is that nobody is responsible." "Our economic management is characterized by such features as overstaffed organs, duplication of administrative organs, complicated procedures, and low efficiency." (Ibid., pp 140-141)

Comrade Deng Xiaoping further analyzed the negative results of these defects of the economic structure, and these defects can be summarized into the following points:

1. They are not in the interest of mobilizing the initiative of various sections. It is necessary, under the socialist system, to put social production under unified planning and unified management. But to resort totally to administrative method with excessively centralized power, deny the relative independence of enterprises, and put them under rigid control are neither in the interest of fully mobilizing the initiative of the state, localities, enterprises, and laborers, nor in the interest of realizing modern economic management and improving labor productivity.
2. They are not in the interest of forming rational economic proportionate relations. The national economy of China was seriously out of balance on a number of occasions in the past. This situation was of course caused by the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology; but at the same time we cannot deny that it was also related to the serious defects of the economic structure. It is because of the various defects of the original economic management mechanism that it is often that the development of production fails to

accord with needs and consequently there is no guarantee that the national economy will be able to grow proportionately and in a planned way.

3. They can easily give rise to bureaucratism. Bureaucratism is closely related to the management mechanism that is characterized by highly centralized powers in the hands of the CPC Central Committee. Such management has been practiced in economic, political, and cultural sectors as well as in society. It can be said that the root of this bureaucratism in China is the fact that we are introducing an excessively centralized management mechanism. Bureaucratism is contradictory to the socialist and modern mass production. In order to realize the modernization program, we must get rid of bureaucratism, and in order to be able to do so, we must reform the economic structure.

Originally, the socialist economic structure must be in a position to demonstrate the characteristics of the socialist relations of production and accord with the need of the development of productivity. But the various defects of the original economic structure of China are not in a position to fully demonstrate the characteristic features of the socialist relations of production and in addition they have also hindered the development of the socialist modernization program. Therefore "people will have confidence in our leadership, the CPC, and socialism and there will be boundless prospects for our cause only when we are able to thoroughly reform these defects resolutely, in a planned way, and step by step." (Ibid., p 293)

### III

Ours is a big socialist country and therefore the work of reforming the economic structure is no doubt very arduous and complicated. The decision to carry out the reform must be followed by defining a correct orientation for the reform and the design of the blueprint for the new economic structure. It is only in this way that we will be able to carry out the reform in a down-to-earth way and step by step so as to avoid or make fewer mistakes. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" show that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is in fact the main decisionmaker and designer for the economic structural reform of the country. He has not only pointed out the correct orientation for the economic structural reform in the country but also put forth the basic program for the reform.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out something a long time ago when he said: "In the past, when we were launching democratic revolution, we did it in line with the specific conditions of China and took the road of encircling cities with rural areas as advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Now our construction must also be carried out according to the specific conditions of the country and we must carry out the modernization program that is characterized by Chinese features." (Ibid., p 149) In his speech to the 12th CPC National Congress, he said: "Integrate Marxist universal truth with the reality of our country and take the road of building socialism with Chinese features represents our basic conclusion in summing up our experiences gained in the past long historical period." (Ibid., p 372) This

basic conclusion also pointed out the orientation for reforming economic structure, that is to say, we must build the socialist economic structure with Chinese features.

The so-called socialism with Chinese features must be seen from two angles. One is socialism and the other is Chinese features. The first of the four basic principles that are put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and that must be persisted is to uphold the socialist road. At the same time, he also pointed out on a number of occasions that in building socialism we must proceed from the features of China. For example, in carrying out the modernization program, it is necessary to pay attention to these two features: China has a "weak foundation" and "it has a huge population with limited cultivable land." Therefore our major tasks are to further study this question and build the economic structure that is in line with socialism and that has Chinese features.

According to the practice and experiences over the past three decades and more, and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many problems have had to be resolved before we were able to really form the socialist economic structure with Chinese features. For example, with regard to economic forms, we must persist in having diversified economic forms with the state economy in the leading position; in the relationship between planning and markets, we must take planned economy as the main and regulation by market mechanism as the supplement; in the relations between central government and localities and between departments and regions of various levels, it is necessary to define the limit of responsibility and powers between central government and localities and to carry out a rational division of work between administration and enterprises. In the relationship between the state and state-owned enterprises, the enterprises must be entrusted with relatively independent and necessary decisionmaking powers; in the relations between the state-owned enterprises and laborers, it is imperative to implement economic responsibility system and the principle of distribution according to work. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forth the correct guiding ideology for almost all of these aspects and this ideology has become the foundation of the CPC in working out correct principles and policies.

We realized through practice that a major problem for economic reform in urban areas is to correctly handle the relations between the state and state-owned enterprises. Economic reform in rural areas has made tremendous achievements and accumulated valuable experience. Therefore, in carrying out the reform in urban areas, it is necessary to learn from the experiences in reform work in rural areas. But the reform in urban areas cannot totally follow the experiences of reform in rural areas because the situations in urban areas are different from those in rural areas. The reform in rural areas is aimed mainly at resolving the relations within the economy with collective ownership. The economy in urban areas is aimed mainly at the economy with ownership by all people. Therefore the reform in urban areas is aimed primarily at solving the relations between the state and state-owned enterprises, that is, at solving the problems in which the enterprises are "eating from the same big pot" of the state. And

the other aim is to resolve the relations between the enterprises and workers, that is, to solve the problem that workers are "eating from the same big pot" of the enterprises. To solve the former will constitute a premise for solving the latter because without this premise, enterprises will spare no effort to shift burdens to the state and consumers. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that in order to correctly handle the relations between the state and state-owned enterprises, it is imperative to entrust enterprises with decisionmaking powers and strengthen the responsibility system. That is to say, on the one hand, the enterprises must have certain powers to improve their management and technology and display their initiative; on the other hand, we must create an atmosphere under which enterprises must spare no effort to improve their management and technology; otherwise they will not survive or they may as well be eliminated. Leadership and workers of all enterprises must be made to understand that since the state has handed down the enterprises to them, they must bear responsibility toward the state and people, and they must have a high sense of responsibility and fulfill the tasks assigned to the enterprises by the state.

Under the present conditions, which task has to be grasped first in resolving the relationship between the state and state-owned enterprises? This question merits study. It seems that it is necessary at the present stage to perfect the tax system so that through this measure, enterprises will be able to carry out independent accounting according to state policy and be responsible for profits and losses to varying degrees. While it is necessary at present to do a good job of "substituting taxes for delivery of profits," we must also perfect the tax system of the country and an important job in this aspect is to define a rational tax rate and profit rate which is the foundation of a tax rate. The present average profit rate is basically applicable among enterprises and products; the medium and higher enterprise profit level is applicable to the same products within the same trades. In this way, although we are still not in a position to readjust all irrational prices, we will be able, through the tax lever and other necessary economic and administrative measures, to strengthen the profit-loss responsibility system of the state-owned enterprises so that these enterprises will be able to compete under basically the same conditions, work hard to improve the quality of their products, provide more and better quality and low-priced products and better service to customers, and provide the state with more accumulation.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always stressed the importance of persisting in the four basic principles. These principles are our premise for carrying out reform and they represent the basic political guarantee for us to smoothly carry out the reform. The expositions made by him on the building of socialist spiritual civilization also represent an important guarantee for us to develop healthily the reform work. He said: The socialist country we are building must have not only high material civilization but also high spiritual civilization. Spiritual civilization not only refers to education, science, and culture but also communist ideology, ideals, belief, morality, discipline, the principle of revolution, and comradely relations among the people. He said that the more the CPC and government carried out various economic reforms and implemented the open-door policy,

the more imperative it will become for CPC members, particularly senior CPC leading cadres, to pay attention to and set an example in communist morality.

How should the various measures for the reform be tested? This is a very important question and therefore it is necessary to work out a feasible testing standard. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the purpose of the reform of the mechanisms of the CPC and state leadership and other mechanisms is to fully display the advantages of the socialist system. Therefore, during the present stage and for a certain period to come, we must work hard to meet the following requirements. First, economically speaking, rapidly develop social productivity and gradually improve people's material and cultural life; second, politically speaking, we must fully develop people's democracy; and third, organizationally speaking, we must train, select, and promote younger persons who are upholding the four basic principles and who have acquired specialized knowledge for realizing the socialist modernization program. He said: "Whether the various mechanisms of the CPC and government are good and perfect must be tested from the point of view of whether they are in the interest of these three criteria." (Ibid., pp 282-283) These criteria also have provided a scientific foundation to test the results of the economic structural reform and to see whether we have built the socialist economic structure with Chinese features.

Practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee proved that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory and advocacy about economic structural reform are correct. Although the economic reform carried out over the past few years is only partial and experimental, it has already been able to effectively mobilize the initiative of localities, departments, enterprises, and laborers and to promote economic activities in urban and rural areas, and consequently to promote economic development, increase social wealth, and improve people's standard of living. Therefore, the people across the country and the whole CPC have become more confident in CPC leadership and the socialist cause to demonstrate the tremendous potential and advantages of the socialist system.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping predicted that although mechanisms in China have yet to be perfected, "they will improve with each passing day and they will absorb the advanced elements of other countries to become the best mechanism in the world." (Ibid., p 297) These words are by no means groundless. We are confident that with our hard work, this prediction will no doubt be realized.

CSO: 4004/52

ADHERE TO THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES AND THE STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 31-34

[Article by Zhang Decheng]

[Text] The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a great turning point, which has far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. This session laid down the strategic decision of shifting the focus of the whole party's work onto building socialist modernization, and set forth the guiding principle of emancipating the minds, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one to look forward. In order to correctly implement the basic spirit of the session and promote the building of socialist modernization, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech at the theoretical work conference. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, he reiterated the adherence to the socialist road, proletarian dictatorship, party leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

For a long time past, our party has persistently adhered to the basic content included in the four cardinal principles. At the critical point, with China striding into the new period, why is it that Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the necessity of adhering to the four cardinal principles? This is not shooting an arrow without a target. In China, particularly within the party at that time, there existed two kinds of erroneous tendencies, which deviated from the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and hindered the building of four modernizations. The first tendency was: Affected by the erroneous ideology of the "two whatevers," some comrades were rigid in thinking and some even claimed that the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was against "Mao Zedong Thought." As a matter of fact, they attempted to stick to the mistakes of the "left" deviation, which were already proved by practice.

In the course of struggle against the erroneous "leftist" ideology, the other tendency which distorted and negated the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee emerged from the right deviation. In fact, they intended to negate the four cardinal principles. Some even advocated and stirred up the evil wind of "kicking away the party committee and carrying out democracy," in an attempt to sabotage party leadership and

the political situation of stability and unity. This is a trend of bourgeois liberalism. If it is allowed to spread unchecked, we will not only fail to criticize the "leftist" mistakes, but will also force economic readjustment, all kinds of reform, and economic and cultural undertakings to deviate from the socialist road and party leadership.

With a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision and against the two erroneous tendencies, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a clear-cut stand that we must unswervingly adhere to the four cardinal principles, persist in carrying out struggle on the two fronts, and while criticizing the mistakes of the "left" deviation, continue to make strenuous efforts to fight against the tendency from the right, which negates the four cardinal principles. Our practice in the past few years has proved that the adherence to the four cardinal principles and the struggle against the two erroneous tendencies promptly put forward by the CPC Central Committee is absolutely correct. It is the decisive factor for us to attain major achievements in all fields.

By demanding that the whole party keep in political unity with the CPC Central Committee, we mean in particular, to adhere to the four cardinal principles. The four cardinal principles have already been included in the Constitution of the PRC. Therefore, it is also the political norm for the people of the whole country to observe and the political basis of the unity of the whole party and people of the whole country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Today we must repeatedly stress the adherence to the four cardinal principles. This is because some people (even if it is a handful of people) have attempted to shake these cardinal principles. This is not permissible. No party member or ideological and theoretical worker of the party must ever, in the slightest degree, shake his fundamental stand in this respect." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 159) Therefore, the adherence to the four cardinal principles is the fundamental political stand of our party and also the fundamental political stand of every party member.

Our basic experience summed up in the past few years shows that in order to adhere to the four cardinal principles, we must fight against the erroneous tendencies which run counter to the four cardinal principles. If we slacken our efforts in this struggle, erroneous ideas will spread wildly and the adherence to the four cardinal principles will be interfered with. One of the main reasons why the unhealthy tendencies and evil winds prevail over the healthy tendencies in some localities and units is that the party organizations there are weak and incompetent and have slackened their efforts in fighting against the erroneous tendencies which run counter to the four cardinal principles.

On the issue of handling the four cardinal principles, some comrades hold that the adherence to the four cardinal principles impedes thinking and some even regard the adherence to the four cardinal principles as "restricting." By saying it is "restricting," they criticize the party for abandoning the spirit of the emancipation of thinking of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in its adherence to the four



cardinal principles. This view, although it carries the label of "emancipation of thinking," is, however, erroneous because it has set the emancipation of thinking against the four cardinal principles. All decisions and guiding principles of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee adhere to the four cardinal principles and their spirit is completely in keeping with that of the four cardinal principles. One of the important guiding principles of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is to emancipate thinking. How can we set it against the four cardinal principles? While adhering to the four cardinal principles, there is no problem of "restrictions" in emancipating thinking. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has criticized this erroneous view many times. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said:

"By emancipating thinking, we mean to smash the restrictions of the force of habit and subjective biases, study new situations, and solve new problems under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. In emancipating thinking, we can neither deviate from the path of the four cardinal principles nor impair the stable, united, vivid, and active political situation. The whole party should have a unified understanding of this problem. If we, as did some people who took part in the activities on the 'democratic wall in Xidan,' deviate from the four cardinal principles in order to 'emancipate thinking,' we are in fact putting ourselves in a position diametrically opposite to that of the party and the people." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said further: "Some people say, what the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee does is to 'open wide' while the four cardinal principles are to 'restrict.' This is a complete distortion. Communist Party members should absolutely not tolerate such a distortion and must resolutely combat it." (Ibid., pp 243, 220) It is very clear that only on the condition that we adhere to the four cardinal principles can we truly emancipate thinking. If we deviate from the four cardinal principles, not only can we not emancipate thinking, but we will "put ourselves in a position diametrically opposite to that of the party and the people" and consciously or unconsciously place ourselves in the bourgeois ideological framework. From the viewpoint of bourgeois ideology, this is really "emancipation." However, we are then restricted by bourgeois ideology. Thus, we are not genuinely emancipated. True emancipation means to seek truth from facts, that is, to enable thinking to be in keeping with reality and to enable subjective thinking to be in keeping with objective reality. We can achieve all this only on the condition that we adhere to the four cardinal principles. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If we deviate from the four cardinal principles, we are without our roots and direction. Implementation of the party's ideological line is then out of the question." (Ibid., pp 242-243) Why do some comrades set the emancipation of thinking against the adherence to the four cardinal principles? This is because they understand the emancipation of thinking as the need to do without the four cardinal principles and they regard the four cardinal principles as a restriction which should not be there. Some even go so far as to think that the four cardinal principles themselves are problematic, hence the need to effect a "breakthrough." From the viewpoint of the proletariat, as they abandon the four cardinal principles, naturally, their view is in itself a rightist tendency. Now that they have taken the rightist stand, they think that our party is about

to abandon the slogan of emancipation of thinking, repeat the "leftist" mistakes, and pursue the "leftist" things when our party calls for the adherence to the four cardinal principles and emphasizes the need to continue to criticize the right tendencies. Of course, this view is completely erroneous. In order to answer this criticism, we must go on to talk about the struggle on the two fronts at present. This is an important issue in adhering to the four cardinal principles.

Concerning the present struggle on two fronts, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a comprehensive exposition in his "Concerning the Question of Combating Erroneous Ideological Tendencies." He said:

"There are people from both the left and right who are against, or who negate the four cardinal principles. In writing articles, we must pay attention to both sides."

"In order to emancipate thinking, it is necessary to combat both 'left' and right deviations. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee proposed to emancipate thinking in the light of the 'two whatevers' and attention was focused on the correction of 'leftist' mistakes. Later, rightist tendencies emerged. Doubtless, they must also be checked."

"At present, the problem is to devote more efforts to disseminating the four cardinal principles. We cannot overlook the erroneous 'leftist' ideas because they are deep-rooted. We should concentrate on checking the 'leftist' tendency in our guiding ideology. However, we cannot completely solve the problem by doing this alone. The rightist tendency must also be checked at the same time."

"Comrade Wang Kecheng said that we should combat 'leftist deviation' whenever 'leftist deviation' exists and combat rightist deviation if it also exists. I agree with him. We should make a concrete analysis of both the 'leftist' and rightist deviations."

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions constitute a scientific summary of the party's efforts to check the erroneous tendencies in these years. They are the correct guiding principles for our checking the erroneous tendencies at present and are completely in keeping with the actual conditions during these years.

Our party has made strenuous efforts in the past few years to correct and eliminate the mistakes of the "left" deviation. First of all, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a great turning point in the guiding ideology of our party. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee further adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which marked the accomplishment of the party's tasks of setting things to right in its guiding ideology and correcting the mistakes of the "left" deviation. However, our party time and again pointed out that the influence of "leftist" ideology still existed in the practical work in various localities and departments. Particularly on the attitude toward science, education,

and intellectuals, toward structural reform, and in the basic level work of rural areas and cities, the task for eliminating the influence of the "leftist" ideology and further emancipating the minds was still arduous. How can we say that the struggle against the "leftist" ideology is neglected? Comrade Deng Xiaoping also emphatically pointed out that it was deep-rooted and that the task for criticizing the "left" deviation was not overlooked at all.

Why is the mistake of the "left" deviation deep-rooted? This is because this mistake lasted for a long period after the founding of the PRC. If we say that it started from the mid-1950's, then it developed a relatively integrated shape in the "Great Cultural Revolution" and permeated through the work in all fields. Therefore, it has a deep and wide influence among the broad ranks of cadres and masses. Concerning the influence of the "left" deviation, it is not only a matter of existence among many of our comrades, but the difference of its existence in varying degrees.

Furthermore, the development of economy and culture in China at present is still relatively low, our science and education is underdeveloped, and the production and exchange of commodities is also underdeveloped. The superiority of small production to a certain extent is the condition for the existence of the influence of the "leftist" ideology. It is impossible to fundamentally change such a state of affairs within a short period of time. Therefore, we must be sober-minded and understand that the task of eliminating the influence of the "leftist" ideology is a protracted one. This is the way our party has instructed the comrades of the whole party.

However, while criticizing the "leftist" mistakes, why should we also criticize the bourgeois liberalization and carry out the struggle on the two fronts? Because when the tendencies of the bourgeois liberalization have occurred, we should fight against them and should on no account let them spread unchecked. Only by adopting the correct ideas, line, and methods of the four cardinal principles can we overcome these tendencies. It won't do for us to use one tendency to cover the other. The idea that by upholding the four cardinal principles to oppose bourgeois liberalization, we will let off the "leftist" mistakes means that bourgeois liberalization should not be touched and that the rightist stuff should not be criticized. This is tantamount to using the criticism of the "leftist" mistakes to cover up bourgeois liberalization. Some people fear that we will let off the "leftist" mistakes; why are they not afraid of letting off bourgeois liberalization?

Bourgeois liberalization has existed both in the society and the party. This is an objective existence. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Bourgeois liberalization has existed in the literary and art circles. He said: "There is also a certain bourgeois liberalization trend in theoretical circles." (p 347) With regard to the serious defects in our propaganda work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said again: "Our main defect is that we have not actively and forcefully propagated the four cardinal principles and that we have not carried out effective struggle against the serious and erroneous ideology which opposes the four cardinal principles." (p 323)

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also mentioned the crucial point and danger of the bourgeois liberalization. He pointed out: "The nucleus of the bourgeois liberalization is to oppose the party leadership." He stressed: If we fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it, "we will not be able to build socialism and we will be encroached upon and corroded by various kinds of capitalist forces." (pp 346, 328) The above-mentioned inferences of Comrade Deng Xiaoping are completely correct.

Are they not hard facts? Are there not some people who advocate the bourgeois ideological trend of liberalization? To them, socialism is not as good as capitalism. They demand that we abrogate the socialist public ownership system, planned economy, and the people's democratic dictatorship. They advocate a bourgeois parliamentary system and free competition. They say slanderously that there is a "bureaucrat privileged stratum" within the party. They demand that the party give up its leadership over reforms and various construction undertakings. They intend to abandon Mao Zedong Thought under the pretext of "crisis of confidence." They also advocate that we use the Western bourgeois viewpoints to reform Marxism so that it will become the so-called "humanist Marxism" acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Of course, there is only a small number of people who advocate bourgeois liberalization. However, they have completely put forth the political ideas of the bourgeois liberalization and its ideological program. In our country, the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class. However, due to the existence of the vestiges of the exploiting class at home and the corrosion of the bourgeois ideology from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within a certain scope. Just like our struggle against severe criminal activities in the economic field and other spheres, our struggle against bourgeois liberalization is an important component part of the class struggle which presently exists within a certain scope in our country. There is an eye-catching phenomenon in our ideological field: There are a handful of people who feverishly advocate bourgeois liberalization. After checking up on their personal history, we found out that they vigorously pursued the ultraleftist line during the "Great Cultural Revolution." We should realize that there is a fundamental difference between some comrades who once propagated certain erroneous viewpoints and those who feverishly advocate the bourgeois liberalization. They should on no account be lumped together. However, by reviewing the past history and present performance of these people, does it not help us grasp the nature of bourgeois liberalization? Does it not help us keep a clear head?

We should not underestimate the danger of bourgeois liberalization. It is dangerous because it has not only confused people's minds, but has also undermined the situation of stability and unity and hampered the progress of the four modernizations. In the meantime, we should realize its long-range influence--its influence over some young people and some university students in particular. Some of them have joined or will soon join our cadre ranks. If the present situation remains unchanged, they will inevitably bring the bourgeois ideological trends of liberalization to our party and the cadre ranks. Is this not a matter which we should guard against? Therefore, the struggle against the bourgeois liberalization is neither nonessential nor making a fuss about a trifling thing. This is a

matter of primary importance which concerns whether we can uphold the four cardinal principles and realize the four modernizations. This is also a matter which concerns the fundamental interests of our people.

Confronted with erroneous trends, we must dare to struggle. If we always hesitate to act and have no end of misgivings; if we do not dare to propagate vigorously the four cardinal principles and take a clear-cut stand to oppose the bourgeois liberalization, and if we always sidestep the crucial questions or try to skirt around them, can we say that this is a stand and attitude which a Marxist should take? With regard to the problem of opposing unhealthy trends, we must not only persist in struggle, but also stick to the practice of seeking truth from facts. At present, we are opposing the one-sidedness of combating the "leftist" mistakes alone. This does not mean that it is no longer necessary to continue to criticize the "leftist" mistakes.

On the contrary, while continuing to oppose the "leftist" mistakes, we should attach importance to combating the bourgeois liberalization trends and persist in the struggle on the two fronts. While opposing both the "leftist" and rightist mistakes, we should stick to the principle of "presenting the facts and reasoning things out and avoiding one-sidedness." We should avoid launching political movements and attacking people from all sides. Only by persisting in adopting guidelines and methods of seeking truth from facts can we carry the struggle of opposing bourgeois liberalization forward to the end.

CSO: 4004/52

NO SPIRITUAL POLLUTION IS ALLOWED ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 35-38

["Ideological" commentary by Shi Youxin]

[Text] Recently, discussions on spiritual pollution have increased and demands for the elimination of spiritual pollution have been reflected to a certain extent in the press. However, as an urgent task in the ideological field, this work should still be put in a more important position. It is still very necessary to raise a cry of warning on this issue in order to draw the close attention and the joint efforts of society as a whole.

Just as air pollution is a public scourge, spiritual pollution in society should also be listed as a public scourge that must be eliminated. This is by no means making a fuss over a trifling matter but a fact that really exists currently on the ideological and cultural fronts. In an effort to illustrate this issue, we might as well enumerate some outstanding manifestations of spiritual pollution.

1. Some people look at everything in terms of money, seek complete commercialization of spiritual products, and turn socialist spiritual production into an instrument for seeking private interests by individuals or small groups.
2. The tendencies of the good and the bad being intermingled, of inferior works being rampant, and of reckless concoction are rife among our publications. Books of vulgar interest, such as "detective stories," "chivalry," "strange cases," and "secret histories," displayed everywhere in a splendid manner, have become "popular goods" for attracting a number of readers.
3. Feudal superstitious activities have gained ground in the rural areas and in a few cities. Witches, wizards, and geomancers practicing fortune-telling, divination by the eight diagrams, and geomantic omens have resumed their old professions. A monstrous absurdity, with the secretary of a commune CPC committee taking the lead in "expelling ghosts by weapons," has unexpectedly occurred in a certain province.
4. In literary and artistic creation and performances, things of vulgar interest, which corrupt public morals and which highlight frivolous and evil

conducts and a decadent way of life, have emerged everywhere. Foul products proscribed by formal decrees, such as pornographic photos, videotapes, pictures, and handwritten copies, are still being illegally disseminated in certain corners and are still giving off a foul smell, stirring up base passions and poisoning society.

5. The situation in the forums of philosophy and other social sciences over the past few years also merits our attention. Western bourgeois trends of thought of every description have been vigorously introduced by some people into the country. They have been so highly glorified that they have simply become fashionable subjects in theoretical circles. Some people do not study the question of alienation under private ownership but take delight in talking about the so-called alienation in socialist society and assume the airs of "blazing new trails." This harmful trend of thought, which has emerged in theoretical form, is a source of pollution with a more far-reaching influence.

The above-mentioned examples, although not reflecting the complete picture of the problem, enable people to have a rough understanding of the situation in spiritual pollution. It should be said that spiritual pollution in the ideological field has reached a shocking and intolerable state. The question now is that in face of this situation, the understanding of our ranks has not reached complete unanimity and our attitude has not been sufficiently firm. Quite a few comrades have an intimate knowledge of spiritual pollution and can wage struggle against it with a clear-cut stand. We should naturally learn from them and commend them. A considerable number of comrades are conscious about and are indignant at spiritual pollution but, afraid that other people will label them as "leftist," dare not resist it justly and forcefully. There are also a few comrades who turn a blind eye to or are ideologically indifferent about the various negative and corrupt phenomena. This shows that it is quite necessary for party leaders at various levels to overcome weakness and laxity and carry out deep-going publicity and education in opposing spiritual pollution within and outside the party in order to help the broad sections of cadres and masses raise their consciousness and understand the substance and the dangerous nature of spiritual pollution, which is a public scourge.

All spiritual pollution, regardless of how bizarre and motley it may be, is essentially a reflection of the decadent and moribund ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and is diametrically opposed to the ideological and social systems of communism. Needless to say, the vulgar and ignorant superstitious activities and the disgusting obscenity in life have an extremely obvious feudal and capitalist nature. The literary and art works and theoretical articles which advocate the idea of bourgeois liberalization, ultra-individualism, anarchy, nihilism, and pessimism are similar in nature except that they adopt a relatively roundabout and exquisite form. For example, proceeding from the viewpoint of human nature and of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, some novels deny the class nature and the historical necessity of the life-and-death struggle between the KMT and the CPC and advocate the use of abstract love to "overcome the artificial political gap." Some literary and art works have undisguisedly advocated social Darwinism by describing the relationship between a person

and another in a socialist society as the "struggle for existence" with each trying to put down the other and the weak being the prey of the strong. And some theoretical works have departed from the fundamental principles of historical materialism by attributing some corrupt practices in socialist society and the shortcomings that have emerged in the course of its development to "alienation" brought about by the socialist system itself. Obviously, applying these viewpoints in approaching and evaluating the revolutionary history and practical life of our country will inevitably result in denying the essential differences between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies and between the socialist and capitalist systems. This is in fact tantamount to spreading the sentiments of lacking confidence in the cause of socialism and communism and in the leadership of the party. Carrying out spiritual pollution with this set of ideas will not only lead to serious confusion in ideology but also bring about a negative role of dissension and discord politically. We should never underestimate its harm to the cause of socialism and communism for which the masses of people in their hundreds of millions have fought wholeheartedly.

Spiritual pollution in the ideological field represents a departure from the strategic principle of building socialist spiritual civilization. The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out: Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority. Without socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, the building of socialism would be out of the question. These brilliant expositions, which apply the fundamental principle of historical materialism on the dialectical unity between the economic base and superstructure of a society, have correctly summed up the historical experience in the development of our country and international socialism and contained a profound consideration of the theory of scientific socialism. Socialist economy is based on public ownership and production is aimed at meeting the material and cultural needs of the people to the greatest possible extent and not at exploitation. It is due to this fundamental characteristic of the socialist system that the Chinese people can bring into being a common political and social ideal and a common moral standard, that is, socialist spiritual civilization.

In order to consolidate and develop the economy of socialist public ownership, there is bound to be a socialist spiritual civilization suited to the economy. All this is completely unimaginable in a capitalist society. In an effort to achieve socialist modernization, we should learn and import from capitalist countries advanced technology, managerial experience, and other useful things, but under no circumstances should we learn and import the capitalist system and its ugly and decadent ideology and culture. Contrary to this, under the name of introducing and studying foreign countries, some people have indiscriminately copied such hackneyed and stereotyped expressions as bourgeois democracy, freedom, and human sympathy and have looked up to them as the standard. If we let this spiritual pollution spread unchecked, it will directly undermine the building of socialist spiritual civilization, hamper the party's leadership over the state and social life, endanger the socialist public ownership, and infringe upon the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the



country. Thus, there will be no prospects for socialist modernization. This is another reason for our calling spiritual pollution a public scourge.

We should particularly note that spiritual pollution is extremely corrosive to youths and adolescents. Our youths and adolescents love the party, the people, and socialism and their principal aspect or intrinsic quality are very good. Full of vigor and vitality and aiming high, they are determined to train themselves into socialist new people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline and to shoulder the historic mission of revitalizing China. However, still being in a period of learning and growing, youths and adolescents also have some unavoidable shortcomings. Having seen little of the world, lacking experience, and acquiring weak immunity, they do not have a strong ability to distinguish between right and wrong, between the good and the bad, and between the beautiful and the ugly, and tend to be influenced and poisoned by the ideology of the exploiting classes. For this reason, it is complicated and difficult to attain the revolutionization of youths and adolescents. And resisting spiritual pollution seems more important to youths and adolescents. It is particularly so when the negative influence of the 10 years of internal disturbance has not been completely eradicated and when we are carrying out a policy of opening to the outside world. Some investigation data on the issue of youths and adolescents show that having been poisoned by the trend of bourgeois liberalization, some youths attempt to break away from the needs of society by tenaciously taking the party of the so-called "emancipation of individual character," "self-design," and "individual struggle." After reading philosophical and literary works which advocate nihilism and decadent sentiments, some youths think that life is like a dream. At a loss and not knowing what to do, they even seek consolation from religions. From an analysis of some cases, the public security and judicial departments have concluded that spiritual pollution is also an important reason why some youths and adolescents commit crimes. These facts are conclusive proof that spiritual pollution poisons the physical and mental health of youths and adolescents. The youths and adolescents are the future and hope of the motherland. After witnessing some youths and adolescents being polluted ideologically, the older and the middle-aged generations, particularly those comrades who are called "engineers of the human soul," should understand the arduous responsibility placed on their shoulders because this is a major event that has a strong bearing on the future and destiny of the party and state.

Although the task of eliminating spiritual pollution has been so urgently placed before us, some comrades still remain indifferent. They have raised various questions in a roundabout way to indicate their objection to this matter. The first question is: "Since spiritual pollution is so serious, how should we evaluate the achievements on the ideological and cultural fronts in the past few years?" The second question is: "What is the principal erroneous tendency today, the 'leftist' or the right one?" In our view, these questions are very closely related to the elimination of spiritual pollution and there is indeed a need to make them clear ideologically.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, notable achievements have been attained on the ideological, theoretical, and cultural fronts. This has been repeatedly affirmed by the CPC Central Committee. However, it should also be made clear that while fully affirming these achievements, the CPC Central Committee has also repeatedly warned us that attention should be paid to overcoming shortcomings in ideological and cultural work. The question of spiritual pollution is among them. This correct evaluation of the CPC Central Committee on the situation on the ideological and cultural fronts has been reflected in relevant documents and the numerous speeches of the central leading comrades of the party. This is a fact known to the comrades both inside and outside the party. When we talk about the substance and harm of spiritual pollution today, we base ourselves on these achievements and have not denied them with shortcomings. The problem lies precisely in the fact that some comrades always try to cover up shortcomings with achievements and pay no heed to the earnest advice of the central authorities, with the result that spiritual pollution has not been stopped in good time but has continuously developed in certain respects. The dialectics of the development of things tell us that if we let spiritual pollution spread unchecked, our achievements will also be forfeited. Therefore, the correct conclusion is that those comrades who take exception to the elimination of spiritual pollution should quickly wake up to their errors, change their attitude, genuinely attain ideological and political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, and speedily keep pace with the development of the objective situation.

As for the question of opposing the erroneous ideological tendencies, the policy of the CPC Central Committee is also very clear; that is, it is necessary to oppose both "leftist" and right tendencies whenever they emerge. At a speech in March 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out: "We should not overlook 'leftist' erroneous ideas for they are quite deep-rooted. The focal point of our work is to rectify 'leftist' tendency in our guiding ideology. But we cannot solve all problems in this way only. We should also rectify the right tendency at the same time." He also pointed out: "Opposition and negation of the four basic principles come from both the 'left' and the right. We should pay attention to these two aspects in writing articles." These expositions by Comrade Deng Xiaoping are concise and comprehensive. They comprehensively and correctly reflect the party's principle of seeking truth from facts in the struggle against erroneous tendencies. Facts since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee prove that the CPC Central Committee leads the whole party and the people throughout the country in struggling with both "leftist" and right tendencies. In the practice of the struggle against erroneous tendencies, the central authorities have set up for us an example of persisting in struggle on two fronts, thus reflecting the high degree of political maturity of our party. This struggle also tells us that both the "leftist" and right errors can cause serious harm to the revolutionary cause, that it is infeasible to oppose right errors with the "leftist" ones or oppose "leftist" errors with the right ones, and that only by carrying out the struggle against erroneous tendencies under the guidance of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts can we really overcome "leftist"

and right errors. Undoubtedly, it is still necessary to continue criticizing and rectifying "leftist" erroneous viewpoints in ideology and theory. However, in light of the serious existence and harm of spiritual pollution, we should soberly and clearly understand that the first problem that should be emphatically solved on the current ideological front is to rectify the right, weak, and slack tendencies and to shoulder resolutely the solemn task of eliminating spiritual pollution.

Lu Xun had a famous remark: "Fighting writers should attach importance to 'debate.'" The elimination of spiritual pollution is a battle in the ideological field under the new historical conditions. A principal method for carrying out this struggle is to implement genuinely the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and to conduct criticism seriously and in a down-to-earth way.

The purpose of implementing the "double hundred" policy is to promote the prosperity of socialist culture. Under the socialist system led by the Communist Party, Marxism is not only one of the hundred schools of thought but should also hold sway in the ideological field. It is a gross misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the "double hundred" policy to interpret it as absolute freedom of airing views and even as exclusive airing of erroneous ideas without permitting Marxism to contend. A situation characterized by people calling Marxist criticism as "joint attack" or "bludgeoning" and sympathizing and protecting those criticized is an abnormal one. Confronted with this situation, all Marxists should speak out and wage uncompromising struggle against all non-Marxist and counter-Marxist elements so that Marxism can genuinely play a leading role. Only in this way can we preserve forever the purity of Marxism, effectively eliminate spiritual pollution, firmly occupy ideological and cultural positions with socialist ideology, and ensure that our socialist modernization marches triumphantly along a correct orientation.

CSO: 4004/52

## MAKE THE BEST USE OF A PERSON'S TALENTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 p 38

[Article by Yu Qihua]

[Text] Making the best of a person's talents, exploiting his or her good points and playing down the bad ones is an important lesson in life. The Qing poet Gu Sixie wrote: "A fine steed may be very experienced, but it is not as good as an ox for plowing fields. A sturdy cart may carry heavy loads, but is not as good as a boat for crossing rivers. If one ignores one's good points, then even a wise man cannot make strategies. Wood is a valuable product and should be used in the right applications."

The Russian storyteller Krylov said: "Nothing good will come of a cobbler making cakes or a chef mending shoes." These allegories are very different but serve the same purpose. No matter how great the skills of a person, he or she cannot do 73 different kinds of work, and to be proficient one can only concentrate on one or several skills. As long as one makes use of one's abilities and gives scope to them, one can go a long way. If one does not use what one has learned, if one does not use one's advantages, then one has no chance at all of developing one's abilities, and like the bird in the cage, one cannot spread one's wings.

In Russia there was a very famous poet called Dimitriy (Byedenyy), who before the October Revolution was involved in government administration work. After the victory of the revolution it was suggested that he be given a position on the People's Committee, but this was not what the poet wanted. Lenin said: "Don't disturb him! Before the revolution he was working in administration, that was simply his misfortune... Now that he has the chance to develop his talents, we should not stop him."

(Byedenyy) became very successful. The reason for his success lay in Lenin's understanding of the rule that one should allow people to develop their talents. This story is well worth learning from by those comrades who today are working in the leadership and are deciding what talents should be put to use where.

CSO: 4004/52

EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 pp 39-48

[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] IX. On Democracy, Legal System, and Class Struggle

37. /"Without democracy, there is no socialism and there is no socialist modernization."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 154)

(By Xu Bing [1776 3521])

The concept of democracy is that political power belongs to the people and that the people are masters of the country. In essence, democracy is related to socialism. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out: "The first stage in the workers' revolution is to elevate the proletariat to the ruling class and to seek democracy," and afterwards, only in this way can the political power obtained be used to build socialism. Under the leadership of the CPC, in 1949 the people of our country successfully seized the political power of the country, and achieved democracy, in this way creating the conditions for socialist transformation and socialist construction. This, however, did not imply that democracy had already been realized or that the democratic task had been completed. Actual practice has shown that following the people's seizure of the political power, they still had to face the difficult and gigantic task of building a perfect people's government and the development of socialist democracy. How is it possible to make the people enjoy democracy and truly exercise their power of ruling the country? How is it possible to continuously bring the democratic system to perfection and raise the extent of the democracy? Only in the correct solution of these problems can socialist construction progress smoothly.

Our country has passed through several thousand years of a feudal society, and has suffered because the country had no heritage of democracy and the people lacked the customs of democracy. The feudalist poisons left behind by bureaucracy and by the patriarchal system have been deep and penetrating. Generally speaking, the cultural level of the people has been relatively low

and economic development has been retarded. Under such conditions, following the seizure of political power by the people, the task of developing democracy has been all the more difficult and construction of democracy has been all the more important. What is regrettable is that, because of our lack of experience, we did not have a sufficient understanding, just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In the practice of democracy, we did not do enough in the past and also committed certain errors." (p 154) Commencing from the last stage of the 1950's, the democratic system which was already insufficiently healthy was again seriously disturbed by "leftist" thinking and its imperfection became an important cause for the subsequent outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution." During the 10 years of internal disturbance, the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing ruthlessly carried out feudal despotism, democracy was trampled underfoot, and the socialist construction enterprise was seriously disrupted. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping, thoroughly summing up the historical experiences and lessons, specially emphasized the need for developing socialist democracy.

"Without democracy there is no socialism." This is because the development of democracy is the object of socialism but is also relied upon by socialism as an important measure for its smooth progress. In a socialist country, all the power belongs to the people. In our country, the National People's Congress represents the concrete form of the people exercising the power of the state. Hence, first of all, it is necessary to improve and perfect this democratic political system. We must build the NPC into an organ which truly represents the people's interest, which determines national policies, and which commands the highest authority. We must perfect the electoral system and the system of dismissal and recall of government officials. People's representatives at various levels must all be elected by the people and may be dismissed or recalled by the people in accordance with due process of law. Leadership cadres of organs at various levels of the state must be elected and can be dismissed by the people's representatives' congress at various levels. This is to ensure that the people's representatives truly represent the people, and that the leadership functions of the state are in the hands of persons who are trusted by the people and who are under the people's supervision. We must strengthen and make perfect a powerful democratic supervisory system. Government organs at various levels are all organs to serve the people and all their staff workers are servants of the people. We must build a complete supervisory system which runs from bottom to top so that the people may at any time discover illegal and unworthy acts of government organs and/or their personnel, and take timely measures of criticism and rectification. We must strengthen the system of democratic centralism. Leadership organs at various levels of the party and government must all take the road of the masses, consult the masses on various affairs of the state, listen to their views, centralize the wisdom of the masses, and do their work according to the wishes of the masses. In other words, they must collect and centralize views from among the masses and respond to the masses by insisting on carrying them out. Within the leadership organs, we must insist on the principle of collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility. All big and important problems must go through full discussions to reach a collective decision.

In the enterprises, the system of democratic management must be strengthened. State-run enterprises and collective enterprises are all socialist enterprises and their staff members and workers are masters of the enterprises. The system of representatives' congress of staff members and workers must be enforced, and the staff members and workers must be organized to directly take part in the management of the enterprises and to decide on all important affairs in management and operation. We must strengthen the democratic self-governing system in social life as well as all other kinds of democratic systems. All these systems are necessary and must be enforced in a socialist state. Without these democratic systems, socialism does not exist.

In similar manner, without democracy there is no socialist modernization. The purpose of socialist modernization is to make the country rich and strong and the people wealthy. In order to realize socialist modernization, there must be a full display of democracy so that the people will feel that they are the masters of the country and that construction is for their own well-being. Only in this way can we raise the people's sense of responsibility as masters and make them fully display their enthusiasm and initiative so that modernization construction may possess a source of unlimited strength. The people are creators of history and are also the builders of modernization. The masses of people have unlimited wisdom and strength. They can well understand reality and have the right to speak on modernization construction. We should fully display the spirit of democracy, let the masses of people liberate their thinking and rack their brains to offer plans for modernization construction. Only in taking the masses' line will it be possible to formulate correct guidelines and policies for modernization construction and discover measures and methods which can produce results.

The key to modernization construction is the modernization of science and technology. Development of science and technology is closely related to democracy. In the prolonged period of the feudal society, one of the basic reasons for the extremely slow progress in science and technology was despotism. Science requires independent thinking, brave searching and probing, meticulous investigations and free discussions. The cradle of science is democracy. Display of democracy and insistence on the policy of "letting one hundred flowers blossom and one hundred schools of thought contend" provide the predetermined conditions for developing the modernization of science and technology.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has highly prized the build-up of democracy, adopted a series of important measures for the development of democracy and achieved notable results therefrom. Naturally, the development of democracy must go through a period of time and the building of a perfect or a high degree of socialist democracy is still a long-term and rather difficult task. Both the new party charter and the new constitution have set the building of a high degree of democracy as one of our basic tasks and one of the basic objectives of our struggle, and have thus manifested the deep concern of our party and state for the building

of democracy. We must devote firm and relentless efforts to this basic task and basic objective.

Naturally, the democracy we are talking about is socialist democracy and may be called the people's democracy. It has rigid differences from the democracy of the capitalist class, from the democracy of individualism and from nihilism. People's democracy comprehends despotism over a very small minority group of enemies and banishment of democracy of the capitalist class. Democracy and centralism are the union of antitheses. If there is no democracy that is all-embracing, there is no correct centralism and a correct leadership cannot be formed. Without centralism, democracy will be on the road to nihilism. The party's leadership is correct centralism built on the basis of people's democracy and democracy cannot be divorced from the party's leadership. Promotion and display of socialist democracy and augmenting the party's leadership are synonymous and neither can be without the other. The democratic rights of citizens must be exercised according to law. Enjoyment of democratic rights does not mean that one can do what one likes. It cannot affect or violate other people's interests or the interests of society. All these are problems that we must take due care of in our building of a high degree of democracy.

38. /"In party life and in the political life of the state, the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership must be truly carried out."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 319)

(By Chen Suirong [7115 0013 2813])

The system of centralism is one of the basic principles of a Marxist political party. Our party is by no means a simple congregation of some 39 million party members. Rather, it is a united and integrated body organized by the party's supreme organ (the party Central Committee), by the party's organs at various levels, and by the vast masses of party members in accordance with the party's program and charter and bearing the principle of democratic centralism. The party's system of democratic centralism demands that life inside the party be democratic and this is demonstrated as follows: The relations between party members are a new communist type of relations of comradeship; those who are leaders as well as those under others' leadership are all equal before truth and before the party's codes of discipline; the party's leadership and organs at higher levels respect the rights enjoyed by each and every party member under the party's regulations, listen to the views and suggestions from the party members and organs at lower levels, and pay attention not only to promoting and displaying their initiative and creativeness but also to helping them to solve their practical difficulties; party members and organs at lower levels must seek directions from the leadership and from the organs at higher levels, report on their own work, and be independently responsible for completing their own work and duties; between the leadership and those under the leadership and between the higher-level organs and the lower-level organs, there must be a reciprocal transmission of intelligence and reports, mutual aid, and mutual supervision; and so on and so forth. The system of democratic centralism further stipulates centralism in life inside the party, and this is



principally manifested as follows: Each and every member of our party must possess a rigid concept of organization and a concept of discipline and must strictly abide by the party's regulations; party members individually follow and obey the party organization, the minority follows the majority, lower-level organs follow the higher-level organs, and the various organs of the party as well as all the party members follow the CPC National Congress and the party Central Committee. The high degree of centralization within the party cannot be separated from this foundation of a high degree of democracy inside the party, because only when there is a high degree of democracy can life within the party be provided with rich and correct ideological contents; and a high degree of democracy inside the party must also come under the restriction of a high degree of centralism inside the party since only when there is a high degree of centralism can the party form united wishes, take united actions, and ensure that its decisions are quickly, effectively, and thoroughly implemented. The organic combination and union of this high degree of democracy and high degree of centralism constitutes the system of democratic centralism of our party.

Collective leadership is an important embodiment of the system of democratic centralism and is one of the highest principles of our party's leadership. It demands that any important affairs concerning the party's road, guidelines and policies such as big and important work programs, important appointments, dismissal, transfer or handling of cadres, and important affairs relating to the interests of the masses, must be collectively discussed at party committees and decided upon. In the discussions, democracy must be fully displayed, everybody must be allowed to give vent to their thoughts and views and say what they like. No one leader has the say, or can suppress opposing views, or make sole decisions on important questions.

The system of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership are basically the antithesis of worship of the individual. In worship of the individual, power is highly concentrated in an individual who rides high over the party and the party organs, who is despotic and who solely decides on important problems. This not only violates the party's democratic system but also the party's system of centralism and the principle of collective leadership. Hence, the banning of any form of worship of the individual is an important prerequisite to the enforcement of the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership in life inside the party.

Since our party occupies the position of the ruling political party in the whole country, enforcement of the system of patriotic centralism and collective leadership is not only the basic principle of life within our party but also the basic principle of our party in guiding and leading the political life of our country.

Concerning the problem of enforcing the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership, the history of our party has collected plentiful experiences but also some painful lessons. From the time of the Zunyi conference in 1935 to the basic consummation of socialist transformation in 1956, whether in time of war or in a period of peaceful construction, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong all along paid relatively

great attention to enforcement of the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and party life was also relatively normal. Under such conditions, our party's lines and policies were correct, the party ranks were united, active, and lively and possessed irresistible fighting power, thus ensuring continuous successes in the revolutionary and construction enterprises of our people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his "Report on Revision of the Regulations of the Party" at the Eighth CPC National Congress in 1956, pointed out: "In our party, for a prolonged period of time, it has been a tradition that important questions are decided upon by the party collectively and not by any one individual. Although phenomena of violating this principle of collective leadership have frequently happened inside the party, yet, as soon as such a phenomenon had been discovered, it was immediately criticized and rectified by the party Central Committee." Very unfortunately, this good tradition has not been insisted upon and has not been formed into a perfect and strict system. As a result, beginning from the criticism of adventurism in 1958 and of the "counterrightist inclinations" in 1959, the phenomenon of the worship of the individual gradually developed. In his late years, Comrade Mao Zedong gradually diverted from his own correct ideology, separated himself from collective leadership, and placed the individual above the party Central Committee. In party life and in the political life of the nation, the system of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership were continuously weakened and even violated, ultimately resulting in the outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Experiences in the party's history have eloquently shown that a firm insistence on the system of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership and the overall enforcement of the party's correct ideological line and political line supplement each other and depend on each other and that the former provides vital protection to the latter. At the same time, it has been shown that once these principles are violated not only will individual leaders tend to commit errors but also the party's ideological line and political line will meet with irregularities, bringing about untold losses and misfortunes to the party, the state, and the people. In stressing the importance of truly enforcing the system of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership in life inside the party and in the political life of the country, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is precisely making an intensive summing up of the past experiences and lessons and tightly grasping the vital points concerning questions such as party construction, rectifying the party's work style, and improving and strengthening the party leadership. Following the efforts made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the political life of the party Central Committee has been gradually restored, from the past prolonged irregular condition, to the proper track of Marxism. The new party charter adopted at the 12th CPC National Congress has clearly provided for "enforcement by party committees at various levels of the system of a combination of collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility," and for the "party banning any form of worship of the individual." All this is meant to ensure the firm and thoroughgoing enforcement of the party's system of democratic centralism and the principle of collective leadership.

39. /"To protect the people's democracy, we must augment the legal system and must make democracy systematized and legalized."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 136)

(By Chen Chunlong [7115 2504 7893])

In Marxism, the academic theory on the state and law holds that democracy and the legal system are the "upper layers" of a definite economic foundation and that the relations between them are dialectically united: On the one hand, people's democracy is the basis and prerequisite for the building of a socialist legal system. If politically the people do not have the status of being masters, and do not enjoy various democratic rights, then the people's wishes cannot be duly reflected in the legal codes and the socialist legal system cannot be established. Therefore, Marx contended that we must "make law become the conscious manifestation of people's wishes," and that "law must be generated along with people's wishes and be created and established by people's wishes." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 184) Without democracy, there will be no socialist legal system. On the other hand, the socialist legal system gives definite protection to the realization of people's democracy. As for certain classes making demands for democracy, in order that their democracy be realized, they must seize the political power, and, by means of the political organization, or government, elevate their own wishes into law, that is to say, "in addition to organizing their own power in the form of a state, they must provide their wishes, determined by these special conditions, with the general manifestation form of the state's wishes, that is to say, law." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 378) Law, as manifested this way, is different from other manifestations of the wishes of the ruling class. Since they appear in the form of the state's wishes, they have the character of the power and strength of the state and possess legal effects which must be observed by the country as a whole. These effects provide a firm protection for the realization of democratic rights.

After leading the masses of people to seize the political power, the proletariat should make use of the form of the socialist legal system and have the democratic demands made by the people in the course of the revolution and their triumphant results duly recorded and firmly acknowledged, and should prescribe in detail the various democratic rights that the people may enjoy. Moreover, the new changes in the situation should be continuously substantiated and replenished and should have new contents added thereto. In this way, the vast masses of people will be able to enjoy the democratic rights as masters of the country which are formally recognized by the constitution and law and are fully backed up by the power of the state. At the same time, they can in their own right exercise their own democratic rights. In the event their rights are violated, they can seek protection from the law of the state. Hence, to protect people's democracy, the socialist legal system must be strengthened.

Unfortunately, our party has not had a clear-cut understanding of the dialectical relationship between democracy and the legal system, particularly of the important function of the legal system in the protection of

democracy. Over the past 30 years, we have collected many valuable experiences and also many deep and painful lessons.

In the early period of the founding of the PRC, people's democracy did make certain healthy progress. In 1954, the first NPC was convened. The congress formulated our country's first socialist type of constitution and certain other important legal statutes. The legal form was adopted to confirm the fact of people of our country being the masters of the nation and also to specify the democratic rights of the people. Following the basic successes in socialist transformation and the establishment of a socialist system, for the sake of promoting the rapid development of the socialist enterprises, we should have further displayed socialist democracy in the political life of the nation and perfected the socialist legal system. It was thus regrettable that, beginning from the later period of the 1950's, democracy within the party itself was the first to be violated and in its wake promotion of the people's democracy was sadly disrupted. As for the socialist legal system, frequently the "leftist" viewpoint took command, believing that it was only a synonym for dictatorship or despotism, a tool for use against the enemy. No attempt was thus made to connect it with democracy. In this way, the deviation in understanding and the missteps taken brought about an unhealthy state in the democratic system and the abnormal situation of there being no legal protection of democratic rights. This gave Lin Biao and the "gang of four" a golden opportunity. In the course of the "Great Cultural Revolution," they made use of the power in their hands and outrageously infringed on the basic rights of the people. They carried out a fascist type of dictatorship. From the chairman of the state, vice chairman, vice committee chairman, vice premier at the top to party members and the masses of people at the bottom, they did what they wished, "grasping" them, arresting them, or molesting them. They would at any time slander and vilify other people, and arrest and sentence other people. The people, for their part, had no power to stop them or any legal weapon to protect themselves. Just as Comrade Peng Zhen once said: "If there is no socialist legal system, then there is no socialist democracy. This is proven by the lessons which Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' taught us over a decade of years." Thus, in precisely summing up the lessons taught by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" about ransacking democracy and treading underfoot the legal system, and also summing up the lessons of an imperfect system of democratic centralism and of a failure to pay due regard to the legal system, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out that to protect the people's democracy, we must strengthen the legal system and must systematize and legalize democracy so that this system and law will not suffer any change in the event of either a change in the leadership or the leadership changing its views or attention.

To systematize and legalize democracy means that we must make democracy into a system and law and that we must make the democratic rights of the people be duly recognized, concretely specified, and firmly protected by the system and law. In this way, democracy and the legal system will be clearly connected with each other and the longstanding one-sided understanding of the essence of the legal system will be rectified. In the past, we committed the error of criticizing the democratic principle of the legal

system, we talked only of its dictatorial role and failed to mention its function of protecting people's democracy. We also failed to talk about the dialectical union of democracy and the legal system and even went so far as to set them against each other. In reality the principle of the modern legal system is a democratic principle advocated by the capitalist class in their struggle against the despotic dictatorship of feudalism and, at its emergence, was related to democracy. A socialist legal system should banish the hypocritical elements in the capitalist legal system so that democracy and the legal system may be joined together in an even better way. Refuting the relationship between the legal system and democracy and refuting the role of protection of the legal system on democracy are both divergent from the Marxist theory on the state and law.

To advocate that democracy be systematized and legalized means that we must systematically sum up the past experiences and lessons and pay attention to perfecting the system and reforming the system. This points out the direction for the practice of democracy in the political life of our country and for the building of the socialist legal system. As pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," our failure to systematize and legalize democracy within the party and democracy in the sociopolitical life of the state and our failure to provide laws that had been enacted with the necessary authority, accounted for an important reason why the party and the state found it difficult to prevent and stop the outbreak and development of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has summed up past experiences, paid close attention to the role of the socialist legal system and to making socialist democracy systematized and legalized, and, as a result, our country's socialist democracy has continuously expanded in content while the socialist legal system has continuously been perfected. Over the several years since December 1978 to the present, the state, through a definite democratic procedure, has formulated or revised a series of important statutes including the constitution, criminal law, criminal procedural law, civil procedural law (on trial), electoral law, organic law of the NPC, organic law of the State Council, organic law of local people's congresses at various levels and of local people's governments at various levels, organic law of the people's court and people's procuratorate, marriage law, nationalization law, law on environmental protection (on trial), law on economic contracts, income tax law, trademark law, law on Sino-foreign jointly financed enterprises, and so on. This has initially changed the condition whereby our state laws were extremely imperfect and many statutes had still not been enacted, and marked a big step forward in the direction of making democracy systematized and legalized. This has played an exceedingly important protective and promotional role in the brisk development of the modernization construction enterprises in our country.

40. /"This method of 'four big ways' of doing things, seen as a whole, has never played any positive role."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 221)

(By Wang Dexiang [3769 1795 4382])

The method of the "sida," or "four big ways," namely, speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters, first began in the 1950's, and, during the 10 years of internal disturbance, reached the climax of development. In 1975, it was incorporated into the constitution as "a new form of socialist revolution." At the First Session of the Fifth NPC, in 1978, as it was then still impossible to sum up the serious experiences of the 10 years of internal disturbance, it was again written into the constitution as one of the important rights of the citizens. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, steps were taken for an overall restoration of order out of chaos and it was necessary to correctly sum up the experiences and lessons of the "sida" method. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "If now we sum up the experiences of history, we cannot but admit that, seen as a whole, this method of the 'four big ways' has never played an active or positive role." (p 221) At the Third Session of the Fifth NPC in August 1980, it was resolved to adopt the recommendation of the party Central Committee to cancel the provision in the constitution pertaining to the "four big ways." This was an important resolution related to protecting the people's democratic rights and protecting normal social order under socialist conditions. It received the unanimous support of people of the whole country. Why is it said that the method of the "four big ways," viewed as a whole, cannot product positive results?

First, the method distorted the nature of democracy and freedom under socialist conditions. As everybody knows, socialist democracy is the most comprehensive, most real, and most perfect democracy in mankind's history. Its manifestations are: The people are the masters of the country; they have the right to control the affairs of the state, affairs of society, the various enterprises of the economy, culture, and national defense; they also enjoy the extensive rights and freedom of citizens and their various categories of rights are on the basis of equality and are protected by the constitution and law. In form, the method of the "four big ways" manifests a democratic right of the people but because in itself it is a product of "leftist" guiding thought, it divorces itself from the party's leadership, fails to talk about centralism, or discipline, or the legal system, and encourages people to do according to their wishes. Hence, any person, regardless of his motive, may use it (particularly the big-character posters) to "question" another person or persons, stir up trouble, even accuse or frame a case against other people, spread rumors, vilify other people, or avenge past grievances while the party under attack has hardly any chance to divulge the true state of affairs, or is even deprived of the right to divulge the true state of affairs. This is seriously distorting the nature of socialist democracy and freedom. Socialist democracy and freedom are real and perfect. In addition to being enjoyed by the great majority of the masses of people, they can also correctly handle the relations between democracy and centralism, between freedom and discipline,

and between democracy and the legal system. No democracy or freedom is absolute; rather, they exist in a relative sense. Democracy is spoken of in the same breath with centralism whereas freedom is spoken of with discipline. Socialist democracy can hardly do without democracy under the leadership of the party or without discipline or order. When advocating the cancellation of the "four big ways," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must allow the masses to possess full right and the opportunities to speak out in a responsible way against the leadership and make positive recommendations but to speak out freely and to air views fully are obviously unsuitable for these purposes." (p 221) This is entirely correct. In our country, the forms and means of realizing socialist democracy are many-sided and extremely extensive. According to the provisions in the constitution of our country, the system of the people's representative congress is the basic organizational form and the political system for our people to be masters of the country and to realize socialist democracy. The people have the right, through various forms and ways, to realize their control of state affairs, of social affairs, and of the economic and cultural enterprises. On the contrary, the "four big ways" not only cannot enrich these forms but can only bring confusion to the political life of our nation and cause losses and damages to the democratic rights of the people. This point has been repeatedly proven by realistic life in our country.

Second, the method of the "four big ways" infringes on the socialist legal system. Democracy and the legal system are the two indivisible phases of social life in our country. However, as big and noisy movements of the masses form the logical outcome of this method and because the method in itself makes it difficult to thoroughly carry out the laws of the state, it cannot but bring about the refutation of the socialist legal system. Some people make use of the big-character posters and hold great debates to utter irresponsible allegations, make exaggerated criticisms and even go so far as to frame up pure fabrications, without sharing any legal responsibility. On the other hand, people who are victims of attacks in the big-character posters oftentimes have to admit their alleged guilt, without the right or opportunity of making a rebuttal. This is publicly treading on the basic rights of a citizen as prescribed in the constitution. One of the basic principles of the socialist legal system is the union of a citizen's rights and obligations. Any citizen, concurrently with enjoying the various basic rights prescribed in the constitution, must carry out the responsibilities he bears to society and must perform his obligations. The method of the "four big ways" was carried out under conditions of a departure from restrictions imposed by the constitution and law. It causes a split between a citizen's rights and obligations contained in the social legal system. It enables a portion of people to enjoy rights without having any obligations and makes another portion of people bear the obligations but enjoy no rights at all. In this way, it violates the basic principle of the socialist legal system.

Third, the method causes a split among the masses and violates normal social order. Employed as a tactic in political maneuvers, and when a certain political force has absolute control, it frequently brings about a situation

of one person alone having the say, or of a complete leaning to one side. But within the populace there are bound to be opposing views and absolute unanimity can never be lasting. As a result, the method becomes a catalytic agent causing a split among the ranks of the populace, stirring up contradictions between two camps and prompting the outbreak of factionalism. Over the period of the 10 years of internal disturbances, under the name of the "four big ways," instigations and incitements by rowdy elements or counter-revolutionary factions have intensified contradictions among the masses, caused an inflationary growth of factionalism, and brought about large-scale struggles and unrest which in turn disrupted production and normal social order and seriously damaged properties of the state. This seriously affected political stability and unity.

Fourth, incorporating into the constitution the "four big ways" as an important right of the citizens is neither scientific nor reasonable. The constitution is the basic law of the state, guiding the general conduct and rules of life in society. Clauses in the constitution must be in a rigid legal form and must conform with the basic requirements of a legal standard. Their contents must be precise; their meaning must be clear; the line of demarcation between right and wrong must be clear-cut; they should never be ambiguous or specious, otherwise they can either never be carried out or else they may be used by people for ulterior motives. Speaking from the legal standard, the "four big ways" are not precise in content, or clear in concept and their line of demarcation between right and wrong is not at all clear-cut. It is impossible to have a strict legal procedure in exercising the "four big ways," otherwise the method itself will lose the significance of its existence. It can thus be seen that its existence is merely a pretext to disrupt and violate democracy and the legal system.

To say that the "four big ways" never did play any positive role in the social life of our country is based on looking at the situation as a whole and refers mainly to its basic influence on life in society. It has no reference to any one concrete case of having "spoken out freely or aired views fully," or "holding great debates," or "writing big-character posters." For example, in the "5 April movement" of 1975, the populace consciously rose to denounce the crimes of the "gang of four." On that occasion, many of the poems and "big-character posters" appeared via the channel of the "four big ways." They played the useful role of mobilizing and organizing the populace to take part in the struggle against the "gang of four," and thus had an important historical significance. However, this should not deter us from the evaluation that the "four big ways," seen as a whole, had played only a passive and disruptive role in social life.

41. /"In a socialist society, class struggle exists objectively; it should neither be lessened nor enlarged. Actual practice has shown that serious errors will be committed if it is either lessened or enlarged."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 168)

(By Zhu Tiezhi [2612 6993 1807])

The existence of class struggle at the present juncture in our country is an objective fact that cannot be ignored. Since last year, steps have been



taken, and are still progressing, against serious criminal activities in the economic sector while currently a struggle is being waged against activities of a general penal nature. Both are important manifestations of class struggle. Why is it that after the elimination of the exploiting class, class struggle still exists? First, despite the attempt to eliminate the exploiting class, remnants of it are still in existence. The lawless elements among them are still all the time looking for opportunities to carry out disruption and subversion in the various sectors of politics, economy, ideology, culture, and social life. Second, despite the elimination of the exploiting class, its thinking and ideology will continue to remain for a long time. Its corrupt ideas will, through various channels, corrode our party members, cadres, and the populace, and make some of them degenerate into new exploiting elements, new counterrevolutionary elements, and perpetrators of serious crimes in the economic and other sectors. Third, the elimination of the exploiting elements as a class refers only to the situation in the mainland. In Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao of our country, the exploiting class is still very much intact. The reactionary elements there will naturally employ various means to proceed with corrosion in the mainland. Fourth, our country is currently in an exceedingly complicated international environment. Imperialism and hegemonism not only are attempting to overrun our country but are resorting to a thousand ways and means to infiltrate into our country and wreck us politically and economically. Fifth, following the development of our foreign intercourse, the corrupt ideas of Western capitalism and the way of life of the capitalist class will make inroads into our country. Given the above-mentioned reasons, even after the elimination of the exploiting elements as a class, class struggle can really still continue to exist within a certain scope and, under certain conditions, may even be intensified.

We must, on the one hand, perceive the objective reality of the existence of class struggle in our country, but, on the other hand, should not unduly exaggerate this reality. After the elimination of the class stance of the exploiting elements in our country, the remaining elements of the exploiting class are comparatively scanty, and of them the lawless elements are even smaller in number. Because we have a superior socialist system and because the state has already adopted various protective measures, the adverse factors of various kinds of class struggle both internally in our country and abroad can influence us only to a certain extent but cannot run rampant everywhere. Internal factors as well as international influence may well be able to generate new elements of the exploiting class, but this cannot be in really large numbers. Reactionary elements abroad of the capitalist class may be able to dispatch a number of hostile elements and special agents to the mainland to conduct ransacking and sabotaging activities but in the face of the powerful people's democratic dictatorship, the scope of their activities and the extent of their destructive capacity cannot but be vastly restricted. Thus, the various hostile elements can only form a very small gang of reactionary forces but cannot form an integrated exploiting class with a large number of constituents. This means that our struggle against them will progress in only a definite sphere, vastly different from the conditions both before liberation and in the initial period of the founding of the PRC.

Concerning the problem of class struggle in a socialist society, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have advanced a series of correct thoughts of which some still have an important guiding significance for practice at present and from now on. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of the public ownership of the means of production, the Eighth PRC National Congress adopted a resolution pointing out that since the exploiting class in our country had been eliminated and the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist class had been basically solved, the main contradiction in the country no longer existed. Rather, the rising major contradiction was that between the people's daily increasing material and cultural needs and the regressive social productive force. In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his treatise "On the Problem of Correctly Handling the People's Internal Contradictions," also advocated in a timely manner the correct understanding and handling of the problem of the people's internal contradictions, calling on people to launch an attack on nature. Undoubtedly this type of thinking is entirely correct. It was unfortunate that subsequently this correct ideology was not insisted upon and, in fact, for a period of time, was forsaken, resulting in the serious error of enlarging the class struggle. In this way, in 1957, the struggle against the rightist elements further deepened the error already made. In October of the same year, the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee again advocated taking as the principal contradiction in our country the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist class and the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The Lushan conference in 1959 erroneously started the criticism against Comrade Peng Dehuai and took the divided opinions in the party as the continuance of the struggle between two big opposing classes. In September 1962, the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee again advocated that during the entire historical period from capitalism to communism, classes, class contradiction, and class struggle had existed from beginning to end, and further claimed that this was true every year, every month, and every day. In the "Four Clearances" campaign in 1964, the slogan advocated was "to take class struggle as the key link," and "to heavily castigate the party's ruling clique taking the capitalist road." In 1966, the "Great Cultural Revolution" of "one class overthrowing another class" took place. In this way, the error of expanding the class struggle was increasingly deepened, bringing enormous losses to the party and the people.

Reviewing this section of history and firmly remembering the past experience and lessons can deepen our understanding of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's correct views on the class struggle and avoid repetition of the error of expanding the class struggle.

However, we must turn our attention to the other side, that is, we cannot subjectively lessen class struggle and should not be careless or relax our vigilance. When we say that class struggle exists within a certain scope, the scope refers to where class struggle truly exists. We cannot artificially narrow this scope and, all the more, cannot obliterate it altogether. The party Central Committee, simultaneously with rectifying the error of expanding the class struggle, has also turned to rectifying the

viewpoint that class struggle is no more. Nevertheless, some comrades, proceeding from one extreme to the other, have said something to the effect that the "proletariat dictatorship had no opponent," and thus completely negated the objective existence of class struggle, relaxing the dictatorship over the hostile elements. As a result, in certain units and localities, various hostile elements seized the opportunity to rise again, launched their mad attack on us, disrupted the socialist modernization construction, and brought to the party and the state some measure of losses. For this reason, we must insist on maintaining class struggle within a certain scope, and determinedly deal blows at the various hostile elements. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out when speaking on the question of dealing with economic criminal activities: "If our party fails to pay close attention to, and determinedly crush, this vicious wind, then it would be entirely possible for our party and the state to face the problem of whether or not to 'change our countenance.' And this is not alarmist talk!" (p 358)

In certain localities at the present moment, criminal activities are running rampant, seriously endangering socialist construction and the safety of the life and property of the people. Elements who have committed serious penal crimes are newly born dregs of society, dark social elements, and enemies of socialism. Our contradiction against them is one against the enemy and our struggle against them is a serious confrontation struggle in the political arena. If we fail to play our dictatorial role and heavily and speedily punish and crush them but talk about "mercy" and "humanitarianism" to them, then we would be cruelly treating our own people and committing an extremely serious error. We must have a clear understanding of this point.

#### X. On the United Front

42. /"The united front of our country has become a wide-reaching alliance between the socialist workers based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and patriots who support socialism."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 173)

(By Li Qing [2621 7230])

This is what Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly stated concerning the object, nature, and scope of the united front of the new period at the Second Session of the Fifth CPPCC. Subsequently, in his talk at the Third Session of the Fifth CPPCC, he further explained this problem, pointing out: "Our country's revolutionary and patriotic united front has an unprecedentedly far-reaching character. Built on the foundation of socialism and patriotism, it has become even more consolidated and developed. We must further strengthen the extensive unity of the whole body of socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and patriots who support the unification of the fatherland." (p 383) This denotes that following our country's entry into a new historical era, with realization of the four modernizations as the central task, our revolutionary united front has also entered into a new historical stage of development.

Why is it that in the new historical period, the scope of the united front is not smaller than before but is larger? This is because over the past 30 years, the state of the social classes in our country has been fundamentally changed. Concerning this, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his article "The United Front of the New Period and the Tasks of the CPPCC," has made a scientific analysis.

First, "the status of the working class of our country has been greatly strengthened." In the initial period of the founding of the PRC, staff members and workers in the whole country numbered only 8 million people. They were distributed between state-run enterprises, private enterprises, and public-private jointly operated enterprises. Following the completion of the socialist transformation of the capitalist private ownership system, the working class of our country has become masters of the united socialist enterprises. By 1981, the number of staff members and workers in the whole country had reached the gigantic scale of 100.9 million people. Following this enormous development and strengthening, our working class has played an increasingly important role in the life of the nation and the life of the society.

Second, the farmers of our country have early taken the road of collective cooperation, and "have already become collective peasants with a history of more than 20 years." Their contributions to socialist construction have become increasingly larger. The alliance between workers and peasants has become even more consolidated and developed.

Third, "the vast masses of intelligent elements of our country, including by far the majority of the intelligent elements from the old society, have become a part of the working class." Steeled and tested by prolonged practices in socialist revolution and construction, these vast masses of intelligent elements have achieved a great improvement in their political consciousness and skill in business, and are consciously serving the socialist enterprises.

Fourth, "following the democratic transformation and socialist transformation, the various brotherly nationalities of our country have long ago taken the socialist road, and have formed a new type of relations between the nationalities which has the qualities of socialist unity, fraternal love, mutual aid and cooperation. Great progress has been made by patriotic people of different religious sects of the various nationalities."

Fifth, after the socialist transformation, the national bourgeoisie as class no longer existed. "Among them, by far the great proportion who possess labor power have been transformed into self-supporting workers in the socialist society..." "At present, as workers, they are making their contributions to the socialist modernization and construction enterprises."

Sixth, the various democratic parties and factions of our country "have all formed political alliances between a portion of the socialist workers with whom they are separately related and a portion of patriots who support socialism and have all become political forces in the service of socialism

under the leadership of the CPC." This transformation has laid an even better political foundation for the long-term coexistence, mutual supervision, and close cooperation between the CPC and the various democratic parties and factions.

Seventh, following development of the internal situation and expansion of the international influence of our country, the patriotic consciousness of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and our nationals living abroad has been continuously elevated. Their heart toward the fatherland, "they have daily asserted their important and positive role in the direction of realizing the great task of unification of the fatherland, supporting the fatherland's modernization and construction, and strengthening the international antihegemony struggle."

These changes illustrate that the political foundation of the united front of our country has become much firmer and more consolidated than before. The united front of the new era in the country has become a vast political alliance formed by the entire body of socialist workers, patriots supporting socialism, and patriots supporting the unification of the fatherland, including compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and our nationals living abroad. This intensive change and important development of our united front is the natural result of the triumphant progress of the socialist revolutionary and construction enterprises of our country.

In the new historical period, the party and the state will gradually realize the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, and build our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist nation. In the 1980's, we wish to energetically accomplish three big tasks: Stepping up economic construction, striving for the return of Taiwan to the fold of the fatherland and thus realizing the fatherland's unification, and opposing hegemonism and protecting world peace. In order to realize these gigantic tasks, we must continue to develop and strengthen the patriotic united front. Generally speaking, the targets of our united front are those who are relatively intelligent, possess extensive socialist relations, and embody fervent wishes to serve the country. All of the targets of the united front may be said to be, to a certain extent, a reservoir of wisdom and intelligence and will play an important role in the four modernizations. Likewise, many people can also be an important force in the realization of this gigantic task of the unification of the fatherland. In the new era, the task of the united front is to organize well these mighty contingents. Precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Let us mobilize all positive factors, strive hard to convert the negative factors into positive factors, unite all the forces that can be united, be of one heart and mind, pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, maintain and develop a stable and united political situation and engage in the struggle to build our country into a modern and strong socialist state." (p 173)

In the new era, the political foundation of the united front is socialism and patriotism. We should vigorously strengthen the education on socialism and patriotism so as to enable the united front of the new era to become

even more consolidated and developed. Our country has already established the socialist system and will still need a prolonged period of efforts to realize the long-range objective of communism. There is little doubt that the entire body of socialist workers and patriots who support socialism should be united together on the basis of socialism to make their contributions to the socialist enterprises. The patriotic united front should include the compatriots in Taiwan, in Hong Kong, and in Macao and our nationals residing abroad and should include all patriots supporting the unification of the fatherland. It may not be possible to demand that all of them support socialism. If they can only fervently love the fatherland and support the unification of the fatherland, then even though they do not approve of the socialist system, we should also have them united into our fold. The reason for calling the united front of the new era the patriotic united front is that, under the banner of patriotism, we should unite together even more extensively classes, strata, and people who fervently love the fatherland, to realize the fulfillment of the three great tasks of the 1980's and to engage in the common struggle to make the fatherland prosperous, wealthy and strong, and united. This precisely manifests the unprecedentedly wide-ranging character of the patriotic united front of the new era and it is precisely because of this that it has great vitality.

43. /"The people's political consultative conference is an important organization which develops people's democracy and keeps in liaison the various sides of the people's masses."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 173)

(By Wang Chunjing [3769 2504 2529])

The above denotes the important role of the CPPCC in socialist modernization and construction. At the same time, it points out the direction of the development of the work of the CPPCC.

The CPPCC is a united front organization with a wide-ranging representative character under the leadership of the CPC. It was born after the triumph of the democratic revolution. In 1949, the Common Program of the CPPCC was signed which delegated to it the execution of the functions of the NPC. It played an exceedingly important role in the building of the PRC. In 1954, our country's first constitution was promulgated and the CPPCC no longer performed the functions of the NPC but served as an organization of the united front, continuing to play an important role in the political life of the nation. In 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong said that any problem that was important must go through consultations. It was extremely important that the leadership of the various parties, factions, nationalities and organizations jointly took part in consultations on important affairs of the state, because while, generally speaking, new China's affairs were on the right track, the procedure or methodology was still not completely perfect and the procedure of consultations and discussions could add to its perfection. In compliance with this guiding thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, the CPPCC united the patriotic forces from all sides and played an important role in the political life and social life of the nation. However, beginning from the later period of the 1950's, due to our party having committed

certain errors in its guiding thought, the CPPCC was not able to play its role well. Particularly during the 10 years of internal disturbance, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wrote off at one stroke the glorious history of the CPPCC and called it the "dark lair of monsters and demons." As a result, the work of the CPPCC came to a standstill. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee vigorously restored order out of chaos and the CPPCC was restored and had a new birth. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Concerning China's socialist modernization and construction enterprises and important affairs and policies of the state as well as political life and the various social and economic problems related to the four modernizations, we continue to need the CPPCC for consultation and discussion, to carry out mutual supervision, to supervise and to perform its supervisory role in the enforcement of the constitution and the legal statutes." (p 173)

Political consultations and democratic supervision constitute important forms in the manifestation of the people's democracy, and are therefore the most important tasks of the CPPCC. Under the guidance of the party's policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "showing utter devotion to each other and sharing honor and disgrace with each other," the CPPCC, through various forms, carries out consultations and deliberations on the important affairs and policies of the state, and on such important problems as the four modernizations and the people's livelihood, and, by means of criticism and recommendations, plays the role of democratic supervision. For example, the CPPCC on various occasions made recommendations and criticisms concerning the pros and cons of various enterprises. All of them were rich in content and touched on various aspects such as industry and communications, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, and fishery, science and technology, finance and trade, politics and law, and science and education. To a definite extent, they reflected the conditions of work currently on the various fronts as well as the big and important problems confronting the people's masses. At the First Session of the Sixth CPPCC, conference members tabled more than 1,000 recommendations. Indeed, the spirit of democratic consultations has been a good tradition of the united front of our country. Actual practice has shown that further developing this superior tradition will help in smoothly furthering the progress of our various enterprises. In our undertaking of modernization and construction, we have come face to face with many new conditions and new problems and we must all the more follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping's example of "opening up wide the road for wise council and for talents, firmly insisting on the principle of the 'three abstentions,' namely, abstaining from seizing on others' mistakes and shortcomings, from putting a label on others, and from coming down with the big stick. We must allow the full reflection of the views, demands, criticisms and suggestions from various quarters in order to help the government to centralize the correct ideas, be able to discover promptly and rectify the defects and errors in work, and thus promote the forward progress of various enterprises." (p 173)

Effecting liaison with various sides of the people's masses has been determined by the wide-reaching character of the CPPCC. On its part, the CPPCC should fully develop its own special virtues and make them play an

important role. Components of the CPPCC embrace members of various democratic parties and factions, democratic people not aligned to any special party or faction, various people's organizations, representatives of various circles, members of the minority nationalities, compatriots in Taiwan, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, returned nationals from abroad, and specially invited personages. According to 1982 statistics, there were 1,850 local political consultative organs in the whole country; members of the CPPCC and members of local political consultative organs at various levels numbered over 200,000 people in the country. This is an enormous political force which cannot be underestimated or overlooked. This number of people embraces a large number of young and strong intelligent elements, specialists in various industries and trades, scholars and noted personages. They have wisdom, talent, broad knowledge and strong wishes to make their contributions to the four modernizations. To a definite extent they may be termed as a treasure reservoir of the wisdom of the Chinese people. The "talent-for-border-areas" campaign recently started by the democratic parties and factions is an important measure displaying the function of the intelligent elements in modernization and construction and possesses positive significance in developing the economy and culture of the frontier areas and areas inhabited by the minority nationalities. This clearly denotes that the CPPCC can well utilize its wide-ranging special characteristics to fully demonstrate their capability and play an important role in such directions as effecting liaison with people of various sides and mobilizing them to contribute their strength to the modernization construction.

The CPPCC is an organization of the united front and is not an organ of power. The supreme organ of power in our country is the NPC. But the NPC cannot replace everything. It has to depend on the CPPCC to perform and complete much of its work. On its part, the CPPCC, as an organ in the nature of the united front, organizationally possesses the special feature of being wide-ranging. Its work forms are flexible and multifold. In particular, inside the united front it can perform such functions as undertaking political consultations, readjusting mutual relations, and promoting people of various circles to learn and study hard, to work energetically and with enthusiasm, to submit plans and policies for the four modernizations, in short playing a positive role which can hardly be taken over by organs of power of the state. Thus, in our country, we have organs of power of the state and also have organs of the united front. The two differ from each other in nature and play a different role, but they have the same objective. The CPPCC and the NPC promote each other and complement each other. In this way, the socialist democracy of our country can be more fully displayed and the development of the socialist modernization enterprises can be better facilitated. Any skepticism about the important role of the CPPCC, believing that it is an organization that can be done without, is completely erroneous.

CSO: 4004/52



FORCED CROSSING OF THE DADU RIVER WAS MADE BY 17 FIGHTERS OF THE RED ARMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 p 48

[Article by Jian Qi [0313 6549]]

[Text] Concerning the exact number of brave warriors of the Red Army who made the forced crossing of the Dadu River during the Long March, over the years there have been various versions. One version said the number was 18; some people said it was 17 and even the reports open to the public are not unanimous. Following a study made by relevant departments of the RED STAR NEWS, published on 30 May 1935 (the fifth day after the river crossing) by the Political Department of the Red Army, and the WARRIOR NEWS published by the "Jian" Political Department, and after interviewing several elderly comrades, it was pointed out that on 25 May 1935, the number of brave fighters of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army who made a forced crossing of the Dadu River was 17 and not 18.

Issue No 186 of the WARRIOR NEWS, dated 30 May 1935, carried the names of the 17 brave fighters as follows: First Regiment of the First Division of the First Red Army Corps: Commander Xiong Shanglin [3574 0006 2651] of the Second Company; platoon leader Luo Huiming [5012 2595 2494] of the Second Platoon; squad leader Liu Changfa [0491 7022 4099] of the Third Squad, vice squad leader Zhang Biao [1728 5903 0344], fighters and squad members Zhang Guicheng [1728 2710 2052], Xiao Hanyao [5135 3352 1031], Wang Huating [3769 5478 0255], Liao Hungshan [1675 3163 1472], Lai Quifa [6351 4425 4099], and Zeng Xianji [2582 0341 0679]; squad leader Guo Shicang [6753 1102 5547] of the Fourth Squad, vice squad leader Zhang Chengqiu [1728 2052 3808], and squad members Xiao Guilan [5135 2710 5695], Zhu Xiangyun [2612 4382 7189], Xie Liangming [6200 5328 2494], Ding Liuming [0002 3177 3046], and Chen Wanqing [7115 5502 3237].

To commemorate the forced crossing of the Dadu River by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, in May this year, along the shore of the Dadu River at Anshu market in Shimian District of Sichuan Province, a grey granite commemoration tablet (see picture on front cover of this issue) [picture not reproduced] was erected. The tablet is 6.26 meters high; 3.7 meters wide; and 3.2 meters thick. On the lower part of the tablet is engraved a picture of the 17 fighters facing a barrage of bullets from the enemy, braving the wind and the waves, and steering the boat straight ahead toward the opposite bank.

## OBSERVATIONS ON TWO NEWS ITEMS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 83 inside back cover

[Article by Li Xia]

[Text] Two interesting items have appeared in the newspapers recently: One is the recommendation by Gao Yang, party first secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, of Lu Wenfu's novel "Wei Qiang" [Enclosing Wall] to cadres throughout the province; the second is the announcement by the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee requesting that party members and cadres study Qiao Wan's report "Stories of Sanmenli" as material for party consolidation. Through an allegory of how a certain building research department repairs a wall, the short novel "Wei Qiang" satirizes in a delightful and uninhibited way a family of gossipers and empty talkers and enthusiastically praises a hard-working family. Comrade Gao Yang said that everyone should give considerable thought to these familiar characters and thus learn and draw some experiences from them. "Stories of Sanmenli" develops the lofty spiritual realms of several peasant party members in the new era, and the writing is extremely moving. These two comrades in the Hebei and Jilin provincial party organizations happened by chance to suggest works of literature as material for political study. This kind of action provides us with inspiration.

For many years, some comrades who organize political study have gone too much by the book in organizing study and have made study rather dull and uninteresting. There has not been sufficient thought given to how to make it easier for the masses to understand the essence of a document being studied and how to solve any particular problems that come up. I believe that if one has clarified the content and the aims of study and if one has understood and appreciated the cultural standards of the cadres, their ideological foundations, and their ability to grasp things, then we might get twice the results with half the effort if we organize some more entertaining activities in conjunction with study, such as seeing a film which might be of use for study, carrying out some pertinent investigations or research, asking experts or model people to give reports or reading some outstanding articles. This represents skill in political and ideological work and leadership.

In actual fact, the reason is very simple. Marxism states that in reality, the human brain does not perceive the world in one way only. It can perceive it through theory but also through art and literature or various other mediums. The source of outstanding pieces of art and literature is life itself and this work scientifically encapsulates life and illustrates life in a very moving way.

The conclusion drawn by such works are without doubt the same as those drawn by advanced contemporary politicians and ideologists, but in a different way. These kinds of outstanding pieces of work can have a very important and special role to play in understanding and clarifying political theories. We often discover that a theoretical question which has not been fully understood for a long time, or a question of understanding which proves difficult to appreciate, may quite unexpectedly be understood or grasped in, for example, a film or a book. Thus, as the phrase goes, "you look for someone a thousand times, turn your head back, and there he is, standing in the light of the lamp."

Marx put a great deal of emphasis on the educational role of works of art and literature. In his piece of work, "The English Bourgeois," he highly praised an outstanding group of English writers, saying that "the political and social truth which they have exposed to the world is greater than everything that all politicians, political experts, and moralists put together have exposed." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 10, p 686) Let us look at an example nearer home. The book and the film "Reaching Middle Age" and the social impact that they had in propagating and implementing the party's policies concerning intellectuals are there for all to see.

In the past works of art and literature or other kinds of academic creation have been used to help the study of politics. During the Yanan period, the party constantly published pieces of work, such as Lu Xun's "Answers to Questions of Beidou Magazine" and Guo Moruo's "Tri-Centenary of Jia Shen" for people to study. The old comrades of the Yanan period remember even today the important role that these pieces of work played in rectifying the style of writing and preventing arrogance as a result of victory.

Of course everything has its rational limits. Political study should still be concerned primarily with the study of theoretical works and documents to grasp the true essence of political topics. If literary appreciation meetings and film events are organized simply because literature is deemed useful to political study and if investigation groups or inspection teams are arranged simply because investigation and research are deemed important, then this would be in opposition to the original intention of this article.



