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20 December 1983

CHINA REPORT RED FLAG

No. 21, 1 November 1983

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CORRECTLY CONDUCT CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM, CONSCIENTIOUSLY SOLVE THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 83 pp 2-6

[Article by Zhang Zhixiu and Liu Yantian]

[Text] The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has decided to start an all-round party rectification this winter. Through pilot projects of party rectification, we have found that in order to prevent the party rectification from ending up as making a show, in order to fulfill the tasks of unifying our thoughts, rectifying our work style, enforcing discipline, and purifying our organizations, and in order to build our party into a firm nucleus to lead the implementation of the socialist modernization program, during the party rectification, we must conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism. Particularly, the leading cadres of our party at all levels must really set examples by their own actions and carry out criticism and self-criticism in a conscientious instead of perfunctory manner.

I

Once, a democratic personage asked Comrade Mao Zedong whether the Communist Party would end in failure, since many parties in power had ended in failure. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong replied that we would not, because we had the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. The nature of the party in having this weapon and the way this weapon is used is determined by the proletarian nature of the party. From its innate nature, the proletariat wants to continuously forge ahead; therefore, it does not have any shortcomings or mistakes that it grudges to part with. If it refuses to carry out criticism and self-criticism or refuses to publicly admit and correct its own mistakes, it will block the way of its own progress. This history of the party has proved that when we become proud because of victory in our revolution and construction and throw away the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we will continuously commit mistakes and cause our party's undertakings to suffer setbacks and failures. On the other hand, when we maintain our modest and prudent work style and are able to listen to the criticism from the masses of the people and to always carry out self-criticism, we will be able to commit fewer mistakes and avoid committing major mistakes and thus continuously promote the development of the party's

undertakings. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has done a lot of work to bring order out of chaos. One of the important parts of this work has been to restore and carry on its fine work style of criticism and self-criticism, to publicly admit and correct the "leftist" mistakes that it committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to publicly admit and vigorously correct the unhealthy practices inside our party in order to further win over the confidence and appreciation of the masses of the people.

At present, there have still been many serious problems inside our party. This is a situation that fails to meet the demand for building socialism with Chinese characteristics and for developing a regularized and modern revolutionary army. Therefore, we must resolutely solve these problems. In carrying out pilot projects of party rectification in some units, we analyzed the nature of the mistakes committed by party members and found that the problems in most people had been caused by their prolonged failure to receive ideological education and education in basic knowledge about the party and their prolonged failure to take part in rigorous regular activities of their organizations with criticism and self-criticism as the major content of these activities. These problems are of the nature of ideological understanding and are contradictions within the party. In dealing with these problems, we certainly should not once more pursue "leftist" practices. However, neither should we turn a blind eye to these problems or let things slide. We have sharply pointed out that, during the party rectification, everybody must adhere to the truth and must not be concerned about face-saving and that everybody must carry out conscientious criticism and self-criticism against the mistakes which have emerged and vigorously correct them. Otherwise, it will be impossible for us to achieve the aim of this party rectification.

Criticism and self-criticism is an effective method to solve inner-party contradictions. This has already been proved by the Yanan rectification movement and our experiences in carrying out our normal inner-party political activities. It has also been proved by the experiences we have gained from our pilot projects of party rectification. In the face of inner-party contradictions and the problems of ideology and understanding within the party, the policies of applying fists to punish people or to evade these contradictions and problems are all manifestations of weakness and incompetence. They not only cannot solve the problems but will only aggravate the contradictions. Only by presenting facts and reasoning things out, by strengthening the education in communist ideology, in the goods of the party, and in the criteria for party members, by carrying out patient and painstaking ideological and political work, and by developing positive ideological struggle--carrying out correct criticism and self-criticism--can we make the comrades who have committed mistakes consciously free themselves from their shortcomings and mistakes and return to the Marxist stand and the party's correct line. We can only use this method to solve inner-party contradictions and problems of ideology and understanding. Concerning this issue, all the practices of evading or reconciling contradictions and all attempts to solve problems with simple methods for momentary gratification are wrong.

II

We think that at present there are three problems that hinder the correct carrying out of criticism and self-criticism.

1. The negative impact of the excesses committed in the 10 years of internal disorder is still working. At present, some comrades are still horrified and disgusted with criticism and regard criticism as "punishing people." Others are afraid of repeating the "leftist" mistakes and dare not conduct positive ideological struggle. They say: "What is the use of a lively scene of developing democracy at present, if it will be difficult to do the work of implementing policies in the future." Some leading cadres fear that criticism goes too far and results in "not letting old wounds heal." To counter these problems we should carry out an education by comparing the different practices of the Yanan rectification and the "Great Cultural Revolution" and enable people to understand clearly that the practice of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," in wantonly violating the norms of the party's activities and in framing and adopting fascist means to deal with those party members and cadres who were not willing to follow them was entirely a kind of counterrevolutionary action and was one of their major steps for usurping party leadership and state power. This practice has nothing in common with the criticism and self-criticism upheld by our party. Our criticism and self-criticism is governed strictly by principles. In conducting criticism and self-criticism, we must persist in distinguishing between the right and wrong in accordance with the requirements of the party constitution and in helping our comrades to be aware of and to correct their shortcomings and mistakes by means of presenting facts and reasoning things out and in the manner of seeking truth from facts. Concerning issues of principle, we should never reconcile differences without clarifying the principle or try not to offend anybody. However, we should pay attention to preventing our criticism from going too far. Therefore, our criticism and self-criticism is entirely aimed at helping people to improve, at perfecting the organizations of the party, at purifying party ranks, and at heightening the party's unity and combat effectiveness. Through this kind of education, we will not only enable people to be clear about the diametrical difference between the party's basic principles, tasks, policies, and methods for this party rectification and the set of practices in the "Great Cultural Revolution." At the same time, we will also enable people to realize that in carrying out this party rectification, we have summed up the experiences and lessons drawn from the previous party rectifications and previous rectifications of work style and that this party rectification is a rectification from above under the leadership of the upper level and in an organized manner. It is not a rectification directed only at the lower levels and not at the upper levels. Nor is it a rectification directed only at the upper levels and not at the lower levels. Even less is it a rectification aimed at finding the faults of a few typical persons to fiercely criticize. On the contrary, it is aimed at solving the problem of whether every party member satisfies the standards of qualification and it requires the leading groups of the party organizations at all levels to take the lead in conducting criticism and self-criticism. Therefore, as long as we resolutely act in accordance with the decision of

the CPC Central Committee, we will not only avoid any repetition of the previous excesses of struggle in this party rectification, but will entirely be able to cure the "inner wounds" left by the past.

2. Individualism characterized by worries about personal gains and losses and the serious mentality of "benign and uncontentious persons being indifferent to matters of principle" are still causing trouble. On the question of conducting criticism and self-criticism, quite a few party members entertain three fears: They are afraid that criticism of the higher authorities will lead to retaliation and affect their promotion to higher offices and ranks; they are afraid that criticism of other people will hurt others' feelings and make it difficult for them to work together; and they are afraid that criticism of themselves will bring shame on them and be harmful to them. Their attitude toward inner-party ideological struggle is "to refrain from putting in a good word for or speaking ill of others so as not to offend others" or "to turn a blind eye to the events beyond their immediate surroundings so as not to run any risks." A small number of people are also quite indifferent to unhealthy practices, saying: "We do not complain if other people engage in unhealthy practices and we do not feel discouraged if we cannot engage in these practices for the time being but we will certainly not refrain from helping ourselves when conditions permit." A few leading cadres are afraid of losing face or are afraid that their achievements will be negated; others, being afraid of hurting other people's feelings or affecting old relationships, refuse to criticize or punish former comrades-in-arms, senior cadres, or subordinates even though the latter deserve criticism or punishment, and they even intercede for them in various ways to shield them. Moreover, some people who have certain problems are afraid to criticize others for fear of "drawing fire on themselves" and a small number of people who, like "a tiger whose backside no one dares to touch," reject all criticism and fly into a temper when criticized. In order to rectify these erroneous ideas and to take a correct attitude toward criticism and self-criticism, we first of all conducted education in fostering lofty ideas of communism and in the party constitution so that all people could understand the requirements for vanguard fighters of the proletariat and how to become qualified Communist Party members. In the course of our study, we paid particular attention to Section 5, Article 3 of the party constitution and stressed that all party members should "be loyal to and honest with the party, match words with deeds and not conceal their political views or distort facts; earnestly practice criticism and self-criticism, be bold in exposing and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in work, backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds." We also called on all party members to integrate theory with practice and to see whether they measure up to these requirements. In coordination with publicizing the heroic deeds of advanced personalities who were brave in giving their lives for the cause of communism, we repeatedly explained that if a party member does not have lofty ideals or the determination to serve the people wholeheartedly, he will lose a spiritual support, obscure the demarcation between right and wrong, between honor and disgrace, and between the beautiful and the ugly and, when contradictions arise between party and personal interests, tend to worry about his gains and losses, discard revolutionary

principles, make compromises, or surrender to various erroneous ideas or practices. We criticized the acts of being vague on matters of principle, feigning compliance with the party, remaining indifferent when the interests of the party and the people are being infringed upon, being afraid to wage struggle against unhealthy practices, bad people, and bad deeds, engaging in factionalism, distorting facts, and bearing resentment against other people and retaliating against them. In light of the glorious history of the army, we emphatically pointed out that with respect to ideas and acts which are harmful to the interests of the party and the people, we should carry out selfless and dauntless struggle as we did in battle and that even though we are isolated for the time being or attacked, we should not vacillate but should firmly believe that the party and the people will always be able to draw the correct conclusions on the rights and wrongs of the case. If we fail to hate, expose, criticize, and struggle against erroneous words and deeds and even yield to them by sacrificing principles, we reflect impurity of party spirit, which is as shameful as an act of cravenly clinging to life and sneaking away instead of braving death on the battlefield. In the early stage of party rectification, we paid particular attention to this education in order to strengthen courage and develop consciousness to carry out criticism and self-criticism.

3. Being afraid that the leading cadres will fail to distinguish between right and wrong, some comrades dare not practice criticism and self-criticism. Quite a few party member cadres and party members hold that there is now a tendency; that is, it is not easy to find support for practicing criticism, those practicing criticism sometimes even come under attack, and those who say fine words or are good at flattering can easily earn praise and even reap some profit. Some people also hold that the leading cadres are not likely to have the determination to criticize the disgusting style of those people who turn a deaf ear to suggestions and who fly into a rage when criticized and those few leading cadres who take advantage of their power to make things hard for those criticizing them. They also hold that those having these shortcomings and mistakes will not be likely to admit their errors and make self-criticism. To counter this idea, we pointed out at our meetings that suppressing criticism and retaliating against those making criticisms are disgusting acts which are in violation of party discipline. More importantly, we vigorously initiated criticism and self-criticism with practical actions in an effort to create a normal and democratic atmosphere. In initiating criticism and self-criticism, first, the leading cadres should be bold in practicing self-criticism and they should be able to criticize other members of the leading body and modestly listen to the criticism of the masses; and secondly, we should support healthy trends and suppress the unhealthy ones and take a clear-cut attitude toward what to approve and what to oppose. Comrade Deng Xiaoping sharply pointed out: "Unhealthy tendencies are very conspicuous now. It is necessary for the leading cadres to rectify them first. The masses are watching them. If they have rectified them, a solution can easily be worked out for the lower levels." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 120) So long as the leading cadres genuinely initiate criticism and self-criticism, party members and cadres will gradually dispel their misgivings and go into vigorous action.

III

How can we carry out correct criticism and self-criticism in the course of party rectification? Our impressions are as follows:

1. Conscientiously study the documents on party rectification and have a good grasp of this ideological weapon. The current party rectification is first of all a profound movement in Marxist education in which every party member is confronted with the question of receiving education and measuring up to the requirements of party membership. Viewed from the situation in the experimental units, more than 70 percent of party members joined the party after the "Cultural Revolution." They have revolutionary fervor and the initiative to work for the party, but because they have not received systematic education in the basic theory of Marxism and the basic knowledge of the party and because they lack rigorous training in the regular activities of party organizations, many of them fail to understand how to be qualified party members. Even some of the veteran party members who had joined the party before the "Cultural Revolution" have also been tainted with a lot of nonproletarian ideas. They think more about their own affairs than about the work of the party. Therefore, both the new and the old party members have the task of integrating their study with practice. They should make clear the importance and significance of the current party rectification, promote their understanding of the characteristics, program, and aim of the party and the line, principles, and policies of the party laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and establish or reestablish ideologically the standards for becoming qualified party members and cadres, thus laying a solid ideological foundation for correctly mastering and applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. The process of studying the documents is one for deepening our understanding and mastering the weapon and also one in which every party member wages struggle against various erroneous ideas and acts, and particularly against his own shortcomings and mistakes. After studying the documents, we can make clear ideologically the standards for distinguishing between right and wrong and apply them in judging ourselves and the leading cadres and in pondering our problems. In this way, we bring forth the desire to struggle against erroneous ideas and to rectify unhealthy tendencies. In the forum held after the end of the experimental party rectification in selected units, all comrades talked about the importance of studying the documents well and mastering the weapon.

2. Adhere to the principles of "unity-criticism-unity," of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," and of "achieving the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." Because the comradely relationship between one person and another was undermined during the 10 years of internal disorder, scars still remain in people's minds and sentiments to this day. Therefore, in practicing criticism, we should pay attention to educating every party member so that they can proceed from the interests of the party and the people, from the desire for unity, and from concern and care for comrades, speak frankly and sincerely, and help one another. We oppose raising questions from individual interest or from the interests of factions

or mountain strongholds. We also oppose such unprincipled struggles as engaging in personal disputes, giving vent to personal spite, and seeking personal vengeance. For this reason, we stand for unfolding "heart-to-heart" talks in order to link ideas between the leading cadres, the rank and file party members, and between party members, and to solve the outstanding problems before meetings are held. We stand for the spirit of seeking truth from facts and stress that it is necessary to attach importance to politics in conducting criticism and that it is necessary to base ourselves on facts. We stand for making criticism and self-criticism in a gentle and mild way and should refrain from carrying out malicious attacks. We should give those who are unable to straighten out their minds time to think over their problems and at the same time allow those criticized to explain matters or to argue their case. If there are things which they find it inconvenient to explain themselves, leading cadres should help to explain the problems at an appropriate time, in a limited scope, and on their own initiative. With respect to the individual party member, we should adhere to the doctrine that "there are two sides to everything," that is, we should not only affirm his achievements and progress but also seriously criticize his shortcomings and mistakes. When criticizing shortcomings and mistakes, we should strive to present facts and analysis, make criticism, point out their harmfulness, offer our hopes, and thus integrate severity and intensity with a scientific character. With respect to those comrades who have realized their mistakes and have rectified them in their practical actions, we should welcome them warmly, affirm their progress, and encourage them to lay down the load on their minds and to march with light packs. On the basis of carrying out criticism and self-criticism, distinguishing right from wrong, and understanding the nature of mistakes, we should take serious disciplinary measures against erring comrades. With respect to the small number of people who hold on to their erroneous political stands and refuse to rectify them and those who disobey the decisions of the organization, seriously violate organizational discipline, and refuse to make conscientious self-criticism, we should not only conduct serious criticism and ideological struggle but also take the necessary disciplinary action against them. Because we adopted these practices, we not only carried out criticism and self-criticism fairly smoothly but also attained very good results.

3. Grasp major issues and be bold in coming to grips with major issues. This is a central link determining whether or not we can do a good job of criticism and self-criticism. So long as we grasp the major issues, other issues can be easily solved. Viewed from the situation in the experimental units, a common phenomenon is an insufficient understanding of one's major issues. Failing to set high demands on themselves or having set low demands on themselves, some people failed to see or refused to grasp their own major issues, holding that since they had not committed political errors, did not practice graft and embezzlement, and had not refused to shoulder responsibilities, they had nothing to be criticized about. They even said that there were a lot of other people who had more problems than they did and that they were small-fry compared with those people. Some people are willing to talk about the general problems of ideological understanding and the shortcomings and mistakes in their work but they are

slightly evasive as soon as they touch on political lines, organizational principles, and such questions as "taking advantage of one's power to seek personal gain." With respect to these comrades, in addition to conducting ideological and political work in light of the different conditions, we should also utilize the force of the leading cadres and the masses to help them by serious and convincing criticism, to enable them to give up the idea of trying to scrape past by making a few casual remarks, and to enlighten them regarding conscientiously realizing their major issues, sum up both experiences and lessons, and march forward in a more satisfactory way.

4. The leading cadres should set an example by taking the lead in making criticism and self-criticism. We noted in the experimental units that if the leading cadres are strict in appraising themselves and take the lead in criticizing their own shortcomings and mistakes, the misgivings of the masses can be dispelled, criticism and self-criticism can be carried out from one level to another, and people will conscientiously criticize themselves. Conversely, if a party committee fails to adhere to principles and lacks the sincerity to accept criticism, conducting criticism and self-criticism will become empty words. Not only will it be impossible to solve any problems, but it will make future ideological struggle more difficult to wage. Therefore, in the course of party rectification, we attached great importance to doing a good job of the ideological work of leading cadres, and particularly of the person holding primary responsibility in the party committee. As a matter of fact, although our leading cadres have all sorts of shortcomings and mistakes, they have nevertheless received the education of the party for a long time and shoulder great responsibilities. Once instructed, most of them will set store by the cause of the party and will make criticism and self-criticism bravely and correctly with great dedication and a high sense of responsibility.

As to the problems of "people of three categories" and other serious criminals, they do not come within the scope of criticism and self-criticism. We should seriously handle the problems of these people in accordance with the relevant clauses of the resolution of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification. An important objective of the current party rectification is to purify the organization. And the key to the purification of the organization is to weed out the "people of three categories." We must not lower our guard on this issue.

Our experimental party rectification in selected units has proved that by carrying out criticism and self-criticism vigorously and correctly we can heighten the consciousness of the leading bodies in implementing the line, principles, and policies of the party and reach political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee; we can rectify unhealthy tendencies within the party, improve the quality of party members politically, and build closer relations between the party and masses; and we can strengthen the unity between leading collectives and between party members, and promote the transformation of work style and the improvement of efficiency. Naturally, we do not carry out criticism and self-criticism for only a short period of time. Nor is it a permanent solution. We must soberly understand that the

capitalist and various nonproletarian ideas and political dirt from inside and outside the country are assaulting our party at all times. For this reason, for the purity and soundness of the party's ideology, work style, and organization, we should take up the Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism and carry out active ideological struggle constantly and conscientiously.

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HOW DID KARL MARX APPLY THE CONCEPT OF 'ALIENATION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 83 pp 7-10

[Article by Li Ji; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Editor's note: In recent years, some comrades in our theoretical circles have propagated in their articles so-called socialist alienation. They hold that "alienation" is a basic category of Marxism, and have quoted some statements from Marx' works as their basis. But how did Karl Marx apply the concept of "alienation"? In order to help everyone fully understand this issue, this magazine specially publishes this article.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, some philosophers and Enlightenment thinkers, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, had already put forward the thinking of alienation (which also means to make over) and regarded it as an explanation of the origin of state power in history (that is, people make over their power to political organizations). In the classical philosophy of Germany, particularly in the works of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the concept of alienation was extensively used as a philosophical category in the system of speculative philosophy. In some of his theoretical works, particularly those of his earlier period, Karl Marx also used the concept of alienation. However, in different periods of Karl Marx' ideological development, the status and meaning of the alienation concept in his theory underwent changes.

Before establishing a materialist conception of history, Karl Marx was first influenced by Hegel's idealism in his ideological development. He affirmed the alienation of conception, and "comprehended a phenomenon as an alienation of essence."¹

Prior to the period from summer 1843, when he criticized Hegel's philosophy of right, to spring 1845, when he wrote the "Theses on Feuerbach," Karl Marx was influenced by Feuerbach's humanism, which was commented on by Lenin as his having "deviated from Hegel and moved toward Feuerbach."² In Hegel's opinion, alienation meant the alienation of absolute idea, or the concept of speculative idealism. But Feuerbach used the concept of alienation to criticize religion and theology.

One of his basic topics of discussion was that "gods are the alienation of man's nature," that is, gods are created by human beings rather than human beings being created by them. Men broke their nature away from themselves and transformed it into gods, which in turn were antagonistic to men. Feuerbach admitted the existence of an abstract and constant nature of man, and based his standpoint on the foundation of humanism. Under the direct influence of Feuerbach, Karl Marx by then treated "alienation" as the central concept of his theory. In addition, he transferred it from the scope of pure theory into the practical sphere, and studied the historical phenomenon of society. He analyzed the capitalist economic relationship, and put forward the ideology of alienated labor, through which he tried to reveal the essential relationship between labor and private ownership, and with which he merged the philosophical, economic, and communist theories into a complete system.

Alienation of labor is a labor activity of workers under the capitalist production pattern. Karl Marx expounded the four stipulations of the alienation of labor. 1) Alienation between a worker's labor and the products he produced. The more products a worker produces the less he has to consume, and the more commodities a worker creates the less is his commodity value. 2) Alienation between the worker and his activities, that is, the labor of the worker belongs to somebody else rather than himself, and belongs to an external thing rather than to his nature. From the worker's point of view, labor is compelled and forced, rather than voluntary. 3) Alienation between man and his nature of the same category as in the above-mentioned stipulations. "/Man's nature, in the same way/...is transformed into a nature which is /alien/ to man, and is transformed into /a means of his individual existence/."3 4) The above-mentioned three kinds of facts will "directly bring about /alienation between one person and another/."4 When a person is antagonistic to himself, he is also antagonistic to others.

"In short, through /alienated and externalized labor/, workers have produced a relationship between a person who is not a participant in and who stands apart from production and this kind of labor," have "produced a relationship between capitalists...and this kind of labor. Thus /private property/ is the product, result, and inevitable consequence of /externalized labor/...."5 As a consequence, Karl Marx came to a conclusion which negated private ownership. He pointed out: "/Communism/ is the /active/ sublation of /privately owned property/, that is, /of the self-alienation of man/."6 At the same time, he understood theoretically the decisive role of production activities, and expressed, in a rudimentary style the important idea that a certain type of production pattern would bring about a certain kind of social relations, which brought him closer to historical materialism.

However, the standpoint of Karl Marx at that time still bore obvious traces of Feuerbach's humanism. They were not only manifested in the ideology of the alienation of labor, which has been mentioned, but also manifested in other aspects: First, he agreed with the standpoint of the alienation of man's nature; for example, he held that a state was "the objectification of

man's nature."⁷ He held that the rule of money was the self-alienation of man,⁸ and any person who had been alienated "is still not a /real/ being of a category."⁹ He even held that "both the propertied class and the proletariat are the self-alienation of man."¹⁰

Second, Karl Marx comprehended the emancipation of mankind as the complete elimination of man's alienation, and regarded communism as "the real /occupation/ of /man's/ nature," "as man turns to himself and to /society/, (that is, man)" as "existence and nature" and "the real solution of the struggle between the individual and his category."¹¹ This obviously shows the influence of Feuerbach's humanism. Therefore, no wonder Karl Marx at that time praised Feuerbach as having "provided the philosophical foundation for socialism."¹²

During the period from "Theses on Feuerbach" to "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (December 1847-January 1848), Karl Marx worked out fully the materialist conception of history. By then, this completely new scientific conception of history was regarded as "a real positivist science" which started where speculative philosophy ended; whereas "alienation" was regarded as only a "temporary term which can be easily understood by philosophers."¹³ Alienation was no longer used by Karl Marx as the main method of analyzing problems, and the phenomenon itself could only be correctly explained by means of historical materialism. Also, alienation originated from certain kinds of productive forces and the social divisions of labor which was decided by the forces, rather than from the self-alienation of man. When people asked why social relationships were turned into an alienating force which was against them, Karl Marx pointed out: "In short, it is the division of labor. Its stages are decided by the level of development of the productive forces at the time."¹⁴ Therefore, the basis for eliminating the alienation of state and social relations was "the high level and enormous growth of productive forces," and the elimination of private ownership, as well as "the readjustment of applying communism to production."¹⁵ Thus Karl Marx criticized the young Hegelians as indiscriminately applying the concept of alienation. He pointed out that they treated "every objectification or relationship" as "the alienation of the /self/," and hence "transform the relationship and the individual into completely abstract phrases on alienation."¹⁶

At the same time, Karl Marx criticized Feuerbach's humanism and the standpoint of "the true socialism," based on his ideology. He pointed out that Feuerbach regarded "/man/" as the motive force of historical development, and regarded history as a whole as "the process of self-alienation of '/man/'" rather than studying the contradictions of the true society and the objective foundation of history, meaning that he "transforms history as a whole into the process of ideological development."¹⁷ As for "the true socialism" Karl Marx pointed out that it explained socialism by means of "the alienation of man's nature," and wrote some phrases, such as "externalization of humanity" and "dethronement of the category of the general," beneath the work of French socialism. This showed that it emasculated the actual class content which was reflected in the theory, and pursued the thinking that "the interests of human nature are the interests of man in general."¹⁸

Karl Marx resolutely opposed the practice of drawing conclusions on communism from the abstract nature of man and held that communism did not "start with the search of '/nature/'" but was "the most practical movement, pursuing practical aims with practical means."¹⁹ This was the criticism of the view of alienation of Feuerbach's humanism, as well as a "purge" of his "past philosophical belief."

In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," which is the first programmatic document of Marxism, Marx mentioned "externalization" only once, and applied it to criticize "the true socialism" on the standpoint of alienation.

In some important works, such as "The Poverty of Philosophy," which was written prior to the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "Wage Labor and Capital," "The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," "The Civil War in France," and so forth, written after the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Karl Marx did not apply the concept of alienation.

From the late 1850's to the 1860's, Karl Marx applied the concept of alienation in the process of writing "Das Kapital." In the preface to "The Critique of Political Economy," which directly provided a scientific foundation and method, and in the introduction to "The Critique of Political Economy," which was extracted from the economic manuscripts of the period from 1857 to 1858, Karl Marx never used the term alienation. This clearly shows that Karl Marx, unlike in his early period, when he applied alienation to explain phenomena in economics, politics, religion, ideology, and so on, to illustrate the historical development of society, applied the concept of alienation in "Das Kapital" and in his preparatory works to describe some economic phenomena in the study of economics. In his study of economics, Karl Marx limited the application of the concept of alienation to illustrating the historically temporary nature of the relationship between capital and labor and of the capitalist form of production, rather than with the general methodological meaning. By then, Karl Marx had brought into play his idea of alienated labor of the early period. However, he had completely overcome the element of humanism in the idea, and alienation was no longer the central concept of Marxist theory.

Karl Marx put forward the concept of "alienated labor" and "/labor's alienation/"²⁰ to show the antagonistic relations between labor conditions, which are created by labor and labor itself, and labor products. Therefore, he talked about alienation of capital, alienation of interest and profits, and alienation of production conditions. Karl Marx said: "The key does not rest with /materialization/ but rests with /alienation/, externalization, and externalism, and rests with the power of the enormous thing which does not belong to the workers but belongs to the personified production conditions, that is, capital. The power of this thing treats social labor itself as an important element of the self, and places it in an antagonistic position."²¹ Under the condition of alienated labor, "the growth of labor's material conditions is not expressed as /the force for constant growth of labor/, " "but is expressed as the supporting labor in the constant growth of these /material conditions/ and the power to oppose labor."²² In the

wake of scientific and technological inventions, as well as the development of machinery, this kind of alienation developed into complete antagonism. Under the condition of alienated labor, workers suffered every kind of ruin and slavery, and they were exploited most cruelly by capital.

Within the relationship between capital and wage labor, this kind of "/extreme pattern of alienation/" "is an inevitable point of transition." It is the premise for capitalistic production and exchange and, at the same time, "contains within itself the disintegration of all kinds of /narrow premises of production/, but is still only a distorted and reversed pattern."²³ This process of reversion was a kind of historical necessity, but it "is by no means a kind of /absolute/ necessity of production,"²⁴ but rather a kind of temporary necessity. The tendency of this process would inevitably sublate the foundation of this "reversion" as well as its form, that is, alienation of labor. This means that alienation of labor is an inevitable and temporary phenomenon caused by capitalist private ownership, and should vanish in the wake of the elimination of capitalism. This was the conclusion drawn by Karl Marx after analyzing the pattern of capitalist production through the alienation of labor.

To sum up, Karl Marx experienced a process of development in the application and the status of the concept of alienation. Before historical materialism came to the fore, alienation was the central concept of Marxist theory. It contained the brilliant idea of alienated labor, and was obviously influenced by Hegelian philosophy and, in particular, Feuerbach's humanism. It was only after the emergence of historical materialism that alienation was correctly explained, and it was no longer the central concept of Marxist theory. In "Das Kapital" and other manuscripts, Karl Marx applied alienation to reveal the antagonistic relationship between capital and wage labor, with historical materialism as a guide, though he applied the concept many times so as to reveal the essence of capitalist exploitation. Karl Marx' application here no longer meant general "alienation," but "alienated labor." Alienated labor was an inherent phenomenon of capitalist production relations and possessed an historically temporary nature. Therefore, we must not treat alienation as an eternal phenomenon of man's social life, nor must we transform the concept of alienation into a universally applicable category which transcends a specific historical stage.

In the discussion of socialist society, Karl Marx did not apply the concept of "alienation." In the "Critique of the Gotha Program," Karl Marx only said: "What we have to deal with here is communist society, not as it has /developed/ on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it /emerges/ from capitalist society; and which is thus, in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."²⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. "Differences Between Demokritos' Natural Philosophy and Epicurus' Natural Philosophy," (second half of 1840-March 1841), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 40, p 231.

2. "Philosophic Notes," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, pp 386-387.
- 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 20. "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" (April-August 1844), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, pp 97, 98, 100, 120, 102.
7. "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (Summer 1843), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 293.
8. See also "On the Issue of the Jews" (Autumn 1843), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 448.
9. Ibid., p 343.
10. "The Holy Family" (September-November 1844), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 44.
12. "Marx to Ludwig Feuerbach" (11 August 1844), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 450.
- 13, 15, 16, 17, 19. "The German Ideology" (1845-1846), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 31, 316, 39, 39-40, 316-317, 77, 236.
14. "The German Ideology" (1845-1846), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," 1966 Moscow Edition, Vol 3, pp 100-101.
18. "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (December 1847-January 1848), "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 277-278.
- 21, 24. "Economic Manuscripts" (1857-1858), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46 (Part 2), pp 360, 361.
22. "Economic Manuscripts" (1861-1863), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Russian Edition, Vol 48, p 83.
23. "Economic Manuscripts" (1857-1858), "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46 (Part 1), p 520.
25. "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875), "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT OF
'ALIENATION' USED BY MARX

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Over the past few years, some comrades in theoretical circles have talked about the so-called "alienation" of the socialist society on various occasions through their articles and speeches, and in various ways. According to these comrades, under socialism, there is not only the alienation in ideology, but also the alienation in political and economic fields, and all this is based on the Marxist theory, because in Marx' works, there is a "thoroughgoing" "theory of alienation," and "alienation is in the basic category" of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. These views on "alienation" have brought about confusion in the people's thinking. They are of no help to people in gaining a correct understanding of Marxism and socialism, but can only guide them to reproach, suspect, and negate socialism and make them lose confidence in the socialist and communist cause and in the Communist Party. In view of this, it is quite necessary to conscientiously study and explain the situation in which Marx used the concept of alienation in his works so that people can see clearly whether these views have good grounds or are groundless.

As a matter of fact, in Marx' works, there is not an unchangeable concept of alienation. At different stages of the development of his thinking, the positions and roles of the concept of alienation he used were also different. There was a starting point for the development of Marx' thinking, that is, the Hegelian idealism in the philosophic field, and revolutionary democracy in the political field. From this starting point to the formation of historical materialism, there were two important turns in Marx' thinking. First was the turn from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism, which started in 1842 when he published several articles in the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, including his criticism of the debate at the Sixth Rhine Provincial Parliament on freedom of publication, and articles on forest larceny law and defending separation of politics and religion. At that time, Marx worked for the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG and was in the center of the whirlpool of struggle. Facing the reality, he discovered the contradictions between the ideological factors of Hegelian idealism,

which existed in his brain, and objective reality. It was in the course of seeking a solution for these contradictions that Marx began the turn from idealism to communism in his thinking. The two articles--"On the Jewish Question" and "Toward the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right" published in the "German-French Yearbooks" of 1844, in which Marx drew a conclusion of "appealing to the masses and appealing to the proletariat," showed that he was a revolutionist. It symbolized the completion of the above-mentioned turn in the development of Marx' thinking. However, judging from the entire ideological system, Marx at that time still had not yet completely extricated himself from the influence of classic German philosophy, especially Feuerbach's humanism [ren ben zhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030--this, and all subsequent mention of "humanism"]. The second turn took place between 1845 and 1848. During this period, with the cooperation of Engels, Marx made a profound study on some important theoretical problems at that time. This was a period in which both of them put forth the materialist conception of history, which was concentratedly reflected in their works, such as "On Feuerbach's Programs" (spring 1845), "The German Ideology" (1845-1846), and the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (December 1847-January 1848). Historical materialism was the first great discovery of Marx. At the end of the 1840's, Marx concentrated his theoretical researches on political economy. Later he founded the theory of surplus value. This was his second great discovery. With the discovery of this theory, the theory of socialism was, for the first time, expounded in a scientific way and the scientific system of Marxism was expounded and proved in an all-round way. Lenin said: "Since 'Das Kapital' was published, the materialist conception of history is no longer a hypothesis but a scientifically proved tenet." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 10) As we already know, Engels once pointed out that owing to these two great discoveries of Marx, socialism was developed from a fantasy to a science. From this brief review of the formation and development of Marxism we can see clearly that the whole course of development of Marx' thinking comprises both the criticism of Hegel and Feuerbach and the criticism of his own thinking. All the stages in this course were related to and differentiated from each other. Therefore, every viewpoint of Marx must be studied in light of each specific stage and be related to the whole course. A clear understanding of this is of important significance in gaining a correct understanding of the position and role of the concept of alienation used by Marx, because the way Marx used this concept in his works was closely related with the above-mentioned course of development of his thinking. If we talk about alienation in abstract way, disregarding the changes in these different stages and the relations between the concept of alienation Marx used and the whole course of the development of his thinking, we will be unable to gain a correct understanding of the viewpoints of Marxism.

It was in the period of the first turn in the development of his thinking that Marx used the concept of alienation for the first time. At that time, the word alienation was quite popularly used in Germany, a country rich in philosophy and tradition of thinking, and Hegel's theory of alienation of spirit and Feuerbach's theory of alienation of human nature exerted a great influence on young Marx. Feuerbach's humanism, which took the theory of alienation of human nature as its core, attracted Marx all the more, since

it exposed the secret of religion, criticized Hegel's idealist philosophy of dialectical thinking, and played an enormous role of emancipating minds in Germany. It naturally became a weapon for Marx' criticism of the old world. Marx realized the turn from idealism to materialism through the influence of Feuerbach. This was also the reason why he used the concept of alienation to criticize the capitalist society. In 1843, he wrote "The Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right" to criticize Hegel's idealist concept of the state. In this article, Marx likened the state to religion in the political sphere. Therefore, it is also a kind of alienation. Obviously, the concept of alienation used by Marx at this stage was transplanted from Feuerbach's alienation of religion. Later, in his "On the Jewish Question" and "Toward the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right" published in the "German-French Yearbooks," Marx expounded that money was alienation of man's labor and nature. Thus, Marx had advanced from exposing the "holy image of self-alienation" to exposing the "non-holy image," and from criticizing religion to criticizing the secular basis on which religion had emerged. This shows that there were already changes in Marx' use of the concept of alienation. However, since Marx had not yet started his research on political economy at that time, the concept of alienation he used still had the color of the traditional German philosophy of dialectical thinking. In his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx set forth the viewpoint of alienation of labor and made an overall exposition on it. The concept of alienation he used this time referred to alienation between workers and the products of labor, that is, the products created by the workers in turn became an alien force ruling and enslaving the workers. This shows that he had made great efforts to overcome the original nature of abstract dialectical thinking of the concept of alienation and tried to bring to light through alienation of labor the essential relations between labor and the private ownership system. The setting forth of the concept of alienation of labor made him approach historical materialism. This change reflects the difference between the concept of alienation he used and that used by Hegel and Feuerbach.

However, in this period, Marx' thinking was still inclined to Feuerbach's humanism. Nevertheless, the concept of alienation he used had directly originated from Feuerbach. For this reason, in this period, when he used the concept of alienation, although the concept of alienation of labor was more advanced than Feuerbach's humanism, he still could not completely free himself from the influence of Feuerbach's humanism. Although in raising a question, Marx' starting point was concrete men of a certain class under capitalism, the main body of the theory of alienation, which was the starting point of his theory, was still men of an abstract nature, which had not been freed from Feuerbach's viewpoint of "alienation of man's nature." This was a contradictory phenomenon in this stage of development of Marx' thinking. For example, in his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," he did not go on talking about general and abstract men, but talked about the workers and the capitalists as two opposite and alienated poles, but he still had not been emancipated from the conceptions of Feuerbach's philosophy, such as "man's nature as a category," "men's existence as a category," and the unchangeable "man's essential force." He still could not make a scientific answer to the question of what was man's nature. Therefore, he

had to use the concept of alienation, which had been used by his predecessors, to criticize the capitalist system, which destroyed man's nature, and moreover, regard the alienation and negation of man's nature as a law in history, so as to explain the emergence and dying out of the private ownership system and to prove the inevitability of the realization of communism. He interpreted communism as man's "real possession of man's nature" and "a return of men to themselves and to the men of the society (that is, men)." Thus, he held that communism would solve the contradictions "between men and nature," "between men and men," "between existence and essence," and "between the individual and the category." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 120) It is true that from the expositions of young Marx on communism, we can clearly see that the concept of alienation occupied an important position in his works at that time. It was the central concept he used to analyze the capitalist society and to relate philosophy, economics, and the theory of communism to each other. However, he still took as the premise the abstract man's nature as a category in using this central concept. This shows that he had not yet extricated himself from the profound influence of Feuerbach's humanism.

If we say the theory of alienated labor was put forth by Marx during the first turn in the development of his thinking, then, we can also say that the more profound change from "the contradiction between individual and category" to the discovery of the "contradiction between productive forces and production relations" took place during the second turn in the development of his thinking. This is because Marx had initially established the basic viewpoint of historical materialism through making a direct analysis of the economy and history of the capitalist society, and had made a scientific answer to the question of what was man's nature. In his "On Feuerbach's Program" written in 1845, Marx began to conscientiously eliminate the influence of Feuerbach. To counter Feuerbach's viewpoint which interpreted man's nature as a category, Marx pointed out precisely: "Man's nature is not an intrinsic abstract thing of an individual, but in reality, a summation of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) Thus, the orientation was fundamentally changed in the study characterized by seeking man's nature from individuals and from men themselves. The study of man's nature was placed on the basis of analyzing social relations, that is, on the basis of reality. In his "The German Ideology," Marx further pointed out: "All historical conflicts have their roots in the contradiction between the productive forces and the way of contact." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 83) This means that the human society as well as its development are not results of the development of man's nature as a category, but the results of the development of the productive forces; that social relations are the results of history rather than the results of man's nature as a category; and that the motive force for the development of human society are the contradictions between productive forces and production relations and between the economic basis and the superstructure, rather than the alienation and return of man's nature. Thus, Marx had thoroughly extricated himself from the influence of Feuerbach's humanism and got rid of the viewpoint of man's nature as a category being alien to man. The alienation of man was no longer a starting point of his theory and was no longer used in studying problems,

and the role and position of the concept of alienation in Marx' works were also fundamentally changed. For example, in "The German Ideology," alienation was discussed by Marx and Engels with an obviously reserved attitude. They wrote: "Of course, this 'alienation' (a word easily understood by the philosophers) will be eliminated only when the two premises in reality are possessed." (Ibid., p 39) Here, a quotation mark and an explanation, "a word easily understood by the philosophers," were added to the word "alienation." This was not an accidental phenomenon. It shows that Marx and Engels were trying hard to draw a demarcation line between their views and the concept of alienation which was widely used at that time in German philosophy, and that the role of the concept of alienation they used this time was different from that of the concept they had used before. In other words, after Marx established the basic viewpoints of historical materialism, alienation was no longer a central concept in Marx' works, still less was it a basic category of Marxism.

Although in some mature works of Marx, the concept of alienation was continuously used, it was used only for the purpose of describing some economic phenomena in the capitalist society. At the same time, the concept of alienation itself was also changed from a central concept to explain economy and history to a target that needs to be explained by economy and history. Just as was proved by Marx in his mature works, the secret of the phenomenon of alienation in the capitalist society can be really analyzed and revealed only when capitalism is explained by such scientific categories as productive forces, production relations, wage labor, and surplus value. However, regardless of all this, and regardless of the discovery of historical materialism and the theory of surplus value, some comrades hold that the concept of alienation was used by Marx "consistently and throughout" all his works from the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" to "Das Kapital." What they have taken as a ground is that the concept of alienation was also repeatedly mentioned in "Das Kapital." However, they have seldom analyzed and explained in a conscientious manner in what sense Marx used this concept in "Das Kapital," and what the difference in principle was between the concept of alienation he used during this period and that used in his youth. In order to better explain the question, we would like to quote as follows several passages concerning the concept of alienation from "Das Kapital" and make some concrete analysis.

The concept of alienation appears more than 20 times in Marx' "Das Kapital" and "The Theory of Surplus Value." In most cases, it is used on the basis of the theory of surplus value and in a strict sense to criticize the erroneous views of vulgar economics and classical bourgeois economics.

/First, in "Das Kapital," when Marx described the phenomenon of alienation in the course of capitalist production, what had been taken as its basis and starting point was no longer the man himself or man's nature, but was production relations under capitalism./

In a footnote to a chapter in the "Accumulation of Capital" of "Das Kapital," James Mill was quoted by Marx: "This is a remarkably peculiar property of productive consumption. Whatever is productively consumed is capital, and

it becomes capital only by consumption." Marx immediately pointed out after that: "James Mill, however, never got on the track of this 'remarkably peculiar property.'" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 626) In order to explain this "property," Marx used the concept of alienation. However, the concept used here was already greatly different from that used in 1844 when he wrote "Excerpts of James Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy.'"

James Mill was a British vulgar economist. At the beginning of 1844, Marx read his "Principles of Political Economy" and made some excerpts from it. At the same time, Marx made a criticism of Mill's anti-historical attitude toward capitalism, which regarded capitalist relations as being unchangeable. In this criticism, the concept of alienation was used. But at that time, Marx held that, "Man--this is the basic premise for private ownership." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 33) This means that the private ownership is the result of the alienation of man, and that alienation refers to man's "alienation of the nature of labor." (Ibid., p 93) When quoting Mill's "remarkably peculiar property," Marx only pointed out that the capital (money was used at that time) consumed in production was man's "property which has been made alien to man and become a material existing beyond man." (Ibid., p 18) To explain the alienation of capitalism with man as the premise and starting from man could not expose the essence of the capitalist productive consumption which "consumes the labor force," or, in other words, exploits the "living labor" of the workers. Therefore, it had not explained the peculiar property set forth by Mill.

In "Das Kapital," since Marx had already founded the theory of historical materialism and surplus value, when the same problem was discussed by means of the concept of alienation, the situation was fundamentally different. Marx said: "In order to convert money into capital, something more is required than the production and circulation of commodities. We saw that on the one side the possessor of value or money, on the other, the possessor of the value-creating substance; on the one side, the possessor of the means of production and subsistence, on the other, the possessor of nothing but labor-power, must confront one another as buyer and seller. The separation of labor from its product, of subjective labor-power from the objective conditions of labor, was therefore the real foundation in fact, and the starting point of capitalist production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 626) In short, the foundation and starting point of capitalist production is the capitalist production relations. So, Marx continued: "On the one hand, the process of production incessantly converts material wealth into capital, into means of creating more wealth and means of enjoyment for the capitalist. On the other hand, the laborer, on quitting the process, is what he was on entering it, a source of wealth, but devoid of all means of making that wealth his own. Since, before entering on the process, his own labor has already been alienated from himself by the sale of his labor-power, has been appropriated by the capitalist and incorporated with capital, it must, during the process, be realized in a product that does not belong to him." (Ibid.) Then he pointed out: "The laborer therefore constantly produces the material, objective wealth, but in the form of capital, of an alien power that dominates and exploits him;

and the capitalist constantly produces labor-power, but in the form of a subjective source of wealth, separated from the objects in and by which it can alone be realized; in short, he produces the laborer, but as a wage-laborer." (Ibid., pp 626-627) This means that since the capitalists own the means of production and the labor-power of the workers becomes a commodity, before the process of production starts, the labor-power, which is a source of wealth, is already possessed by the capitalists and has been alienated from itself; and in the process of labor, the laborers produce objective wealth, or capital, which exploits and dominates them and has been alienated from them. Therefore, the foundation and starting point of alienation of labor is capitalist production relations.

From this we can see that when describing the economic phenomenon that the laborers produce capital which is alienated from themselves in the process of capitalist production. Marx no longer used man as the premise and did not start from the nature of man. Instead, in explaining this phenomenon, capitalist production relations were taken as the foundation and starting point. On the premise of capitalist production relations, since "whatever is productively consumed," as was mentioned by Mill, originates from the possession of the products of workers, then, the process of "becoming capital by consumption" should be interpreted as a "process of consuming labor-power by the capitalists." (Ibid., p 626) The "remarkably peculiar property" which had not been explained by Mill was then explained by Marx here in a scientific way. Obviously, this could be done only when capitalist production relations rather than "man" were taken as the foundation and starting point of the alienation of the capitalist society. No wonder that, when Adolf Wagner, the German vulgar economist, misinterpreted Marx' "Das Kapital" and took "man" as the starting point of Marx' political economy, Marx pointed out diametrically that Wagner "has even lost sight of my method of analysis, which takes a certain socioeconomic period, rather than man, as the starting point, and which is entirely different from that of German professors, who have merged all concepts into one (showing off their skills in verbal battles with their articles and speeches and forming a system with language)." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 415) This shows that there is also a problem of methodology in using the concept of alienation, that is, the problem of the starting point of alienation: Either start from man's nature or from a certain economic period. Marx adopted the latter attitude. There was a great difference in principle between this attitude and the one he had adopted before which started from man's nature in explaining alienation. Obviously, the view holding that there was a thoroughgoing "theory of alienation" in Marx' works cannot be proved to be correct in "Das Kapital."

/Second, in "Das Kapital," Marx held that, being a phenomenon or false appearance of the capitalist society, the form of alienation completely concealed the sources of surplus value; the form of alienation mentioned by Marx on this occasion referred to capital, which was alien to labor, or an alienated object, including various forms of it--interest and land rent. The form of alienation cannot explain the essence of capitalism, but needs to be explained by the theory of surplus value./

In a chapter entitled "The Trinity Formula" in Volume 3 of "Das Kapital" and in the appendix of Book Three of "The Theory of Surplus Value," Marx used the concept of alienation when he made a criticism of the "theory of the three key elements in production" and the "trinity" formula advocated by the French bourgeois vulgar economist Say. According to Say, labor, capital, and land are the three key elements in production and the sources of value. The owners of these key elements receive incomes respectively from the productive service provided by the key elements they own: The laborers get wages, the capitalists get interest, and the land-owners get rent. Thus, the three kinds of income which are originally created by wage laborers, were interpreted by Say as having their independent sources, and the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and land-owners and the antagonistic relations between various social classes were also concealed. In a chapter entitled "Conversion of Surplus Value Into Capital" of Volume 1 of "Das Kapital," Marx made an exposition on this. He pointed out: "Since past labor always disguises itself as capital, that is, since the passive of the labor of A, B, C, and so on takes the form of the active of the non-laborer X, bourgeois and political economists are full of praises of the services of dead and gone labor, which, according to the Scotch genius MacCulloch, ought to receive a special remuneration (in the shape of interest, profit, and so on). The powerful and ever-increasing assistance given by past labor to the living labor-process under the form of means of production is, therefore, attributed to that form of past labor in which it is alienated, as unpaid labor, from the worker himself, that is, to its capitalistic form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 667-668) To this Marx pointed out that this form of alienation was "an antagonistic social mask they wear today" (Ibid., p 668) and a "form of false appearance" of the capitalist society. ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 939) Under these disguises and false appearances, "the form of surplus value being alienated and hardened has been completed, the internal relations have finally been severed, and the sources of surplus value have been completely concealed." (Ibid., p 938) What Marx said here means that, as a form of alienation of labor, capital (including various forms of it) has completely concealed the exploitation of wage labor, which is the source of surplus value, and become a disguise and false appearance of the capitalist society. Thus, it has concealed the production relations under capitalism, that is, the antagonistic contradiction between labor and capital and between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, Marx pointed out that by concealing the sources of surplus labor, the value of alienation "has completely made a mystery of" the nature of capital and surplus value ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 544), which "greatly helps the defenders" of capitalist society. (Ibid., p 559) He also pointed out that the more vulgar political economy "recognizes various forms of capitalist production on the basis of the form of alienation, the more it will approach the essential factors of ordinary ideas and float among the essential factors of nature in its own theory." (Ibid.) He further pointed out that recognizing capitalist production merely on the basis of the form of alienation is "in conformity with the interests of the ruling class, because it announces that the sources of

income of the ruling class are naturally inevitable and always reasonable, and regards this viewpoint as a doctrine." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 939)

That proves that in "Das Kapital" and "The Theory of Surplus Value," Marx no longer regarded "alienation" as a key to reveal the secrets of real society and took it as an essential concept of modern society, but instead, regarded it as "a form directly opposed to surplus value itself." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, p 544) Talking about the so-called alienation without exposing the essence of the law of surplus value in the capitalist society will also be taken as a ground for bourgeois economists in defending capitalist society. It also proves that alienation, which is a reflection of the superficial phenomena, or even false appearance, of the capitalist society, cannot help people understand the secrets of the capitalist society. At the same time, it can be explained in a scientific way only on the basis of the theory of surplus value. Since the concept of alienation cannot reveal the essence of capital but can only conceal its sources, it therefore cannot become a basic category of the theory of surplus value. Nothing but the theory of surplus value alone, which is a reflection of the essence of the capitalist society, can thoroughly expose the tricks of bourgeois economists of every hue in concealing the evils of capitalism.

/Third, in "Das Kapital" and "The Theory of Surplus Value," Marx was opposed to talking about labor and alienation in an abstract way. He made a strict distinction between labor and wage labor. The form of alienation was only related to wage labor, therefore, it is not eternal and cannot be applied in all kinds of labor and in all forms of society. It can only be applied in the capitalist society./

In the chapter "The Proletarian Opposition Faction Which Opposes Political Economists in Accordance With Ricardo's Theory" in his "The Theory of Surplus Value," Marx used the concept of alienation to criticize Ricardo's erroneous views.

Marx pointed out that David Ricardo and other bourgeois economists had also noticed the antithesis between labor and capital under capitalism and the inevitable form of alienation of wage labor. "The wealth created by wage labor, that is, the essence of the labor alienated from itself, becomes the wealth of others and thus the antithesis of itself, its productive forces become the productive forces of its products and thus the antithesis of itself, the process of its becoming rich becomes the process of its becoming poor and thus an antithesis of itself, and its social forces become the social forces dominating itself and thus the antithesis of itself." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, pp 284-285) However, these economists interpreted the form of alienation, which was inevitable only under wage labor, that is, "the definite, specific, and historical form, as a general and eternal form and a natural truth, and interpreted this production relationship as an absolutely (not historically) inevitable, natural, and reasonable relationship." (Ibid., p 285) The mistakes of Ricardo and others were due to the fact that they did not

distinguish between labor and wage labor. According to them, since wage labor did not take the form of labor determined by society, and all kinds of labor took, in essence, the form of wage labor (those who are fettered by capitalist production relations hold this view), "then, the definite specific social forms assumed by the material conditions of labor--the produced means of production and the land--with respect to wage labor (just as they, in turn, conversely presuppose wage labor), directly coincide with the material existence of these conditions of labor or with the form possessed by them generally in the actual labor-process, independent of its concrete historically determined social form, or indeed independent of any social form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 931) This means that Ricardo and others had extended the specific form of alienation of wage labor to a form possessed by general labor. Therefore, Marx pointed out: According to Ricardo, "the changed form of the conditions of labor, that is, alienated from labor and confronting it independently (whereby the produced means of production are thus transformed into capital, and the land into monopolized land, or landed property), this form belonging to a definite historical period thereby coincides with the existence and function of the produced means of production and of the land in the process of production in general." (Ibid., pp 931-932)

Here, the following two points were made clear by Marx: 1) Wage labor under the capitalist system is different from labor in general, or general labor, leaving aside socioeconomic formation. Therefore, the existence and function of the means of production produced by wage labor under the conditions of capitalism are different from those of the means of production produced by general labor. 2) Only the means of production produced by wage labor can take the form that is alienated from itself, that is, the form of capital. Therefore, the form of alienation belongs to a definite historical period and is not a general and eternal form. What Marx said here did not refer to the alienation of general labor or any other forms of labor, but to the alienation of wage labor. It means that under the capitalist system, since labor power has become a kind of commodity, labor of the laborers also becomes alienated from the laborers and opposes them. As a result, the capitalists make a fortune while the laborers become poor.

When criticizing Adam Smith, another British classical economist who wrongly took profit, land rent, and wage as the sources of value, Marx also clearly pointed out: The form of alienation of labor "produces value only when it is a form of wage labor and a condition of wage labor." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 73) In other words, only wage labor can be alienated and become capital, because "only when capital is a kind of relationship--judging from the viewpoint that capital is a compulsive force for wage labor, compelling wage labor to provide surplus labor or impelling productive forces to create relative surplus value--can it produce value." (Ibid.) This shows that Marx was not talking about labor and the alienation of labor in an abstract way, but was explaining the form of alienation around wage labor. This is where the difference lies between the concept of alienation he used in "Das Kapital" and that which he used at earlier stages. Only when labor under the capitalist conditions is recognized as wage labor can the

mistake be corrected, which takes the concept of labor as an abstract concept and that of alienation as an eternal one.

To praise labor in abstract terms, to the neglect of the production relations in certain historical periods, is not a scientific attitude of Marxist historical materialism, but a repeat of the hackneyed tune of the bourgeois economists. It is under the pretext that where there is labor there is alienation that some bourgeois economists have advocated that capital is eternal, and emerged with the emergence of mankind and will perish with the perishing of mankind. Obviously, the purpose of talking about the so-called alienation in abstract terms to the neglect of the specific historical form of labor and exaggerate it as an eternal category is to absolve the wage labor system from guilt. If alienation were eternal, then, the capitalist society would forever exist. Can this reactionary logic of bourgeois scholars not help us gain a sober understanding of the question of "alienation"?

To sum up, the role and position of the concept of alienation were changed in Marx' works along with the formation and development of Marxism. There was a great difference between the concept of alienation Marx used earlier and that which he used later. However, one point is common, that is, it was used to criticize the capitalist society. In all of Marx' works, we cannot find any of this concept that was used to criticize socialism. Now, although some comrades are also quoting Marx, they are not criticizing capitalism as Marx did but are criticizing socialism with the abstract and eternal concept of "alienation." They have talked a great deal about the "alienation" of the socialist system, saying that this "alienation" exists at all times and in all places. They hold that the "alienated" force will continuously emerge in the development of socialism due to the activity of the main social body. We should say that this, at least, does not conform to Marxism. In our country, since the completion of the socialist transformation, the exploiters have been eliminated as classes and the wage labor system of capitalism no longer exists. Therefore, the socialist system itself will not engender "alienation." True, socialist society "emerges just from the capitalist society and, therefore, bears in the economic, morality, mentality and other fields, the vestiges of the old society from which it has emerged," and the remains and their consequences of the alienation of labor under capitalism. However, vestiges are not equal to the capitalist system itself, or the wage labor system itself; and the "remains and their consequence" are not innate in socialism. Therefore, we must make a concrete analysis of the vestiges of the old society as well as the remains and their consequence in the socialist society, in light of Marxist historical materialism. Both Marxism and socialist theories must be developed, and must be developed with the development of social practice of mankind and the development of science. The viewpoint holding that "alienation" exists in the socialist society and in the economic, political, and ideological spheres, is not a development forward, but a retrogression, a retrogression to the period prior to the emergence of Marxism, a retrogression to the period of Hegel and Feuerbach.

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COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL REPUDIATION THEORY OF THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

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[Article by Xu Chongwen [1776 1504 3306]]

[Text] In the late 1960's, young students' and workers' movements surged one after another in quite a few countries in the Western world, pushing a few "Western Marxist" schools to the fore on the ideological front, and the Frankfurt school was the most influential of them. These schools of the "new left" in Western society had the greatest esteem for the theory of social repudiation of the Frankfurt school and regarded with reverence its famous representative Herbert Marcuse as the "most important theoretician of Marxism in developed industrial society." They said that his work made what was so far "the most experienced analysis of developed capitalist society," and "pointed out the most fundamental and urgent problem of the current age" and was therefore standard textbooks for student movement. What then is the social repudiation theory of the Frankfurt school and what in particular is the ideological theory of Herbert Marcuse? I am going to assess this school in this article.

I

The origin of the Frankfurt school should be traced back to 1923, when the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research was set up at Frankfurt, Germany. This research institute was established with funds donated by rich grain merchants and belonged formally to Frankfurt University, but in fact was an independent institute. The first head of the institute, Ge-lu-en-bao [2706 1774 1869 1027], intended to make this institute a link between the Western and Eastern ideological trends of Marxism. Therefore, whether in organizing the research institute or in the "library of socialism and the labor movement," sponsored by the institute, or in publishing books, he adopted a policy of "incorporating things of a diverse nature." The institute tried to have contacts with both East and West, both communist parties and social democratic parties, and both the "orthodox faction" and the "left faction," while being separated from the labor movement in practice. It became an academic center that researched Marxism and the history of the socialist labor movement within the sphere of academic circles.

It was precisely in 1930, when the crisis of overproduction spread over the whole capitalist world, that Max Horkheimer became the head of the social

research institute. Adolf Hitler took advantage of the crisis to deceive the masses of people by means of making bewitching propaganda of phoney socialism and nationalism in order to seize state power at an earlier date. This urged Max Horkheimer to redefine the orientation of the social research institute's work. He wanted the institute to combine philosophy and sociology and to analyze and criticize modern society. For this reason, he founded the SOCIAL RESEARCH JOURNAL, while recruiting men of talent (including Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Weisengrund Adorno, who later became the representatives of this school together with Max Horkheimer). He invited them to work in the social research institute or to contribute to the journal in order to devote themselves jointly to the development of a kind of new theory--social repudiation theory. The reason Max Horkheimer called the theory social repudiation theory was that he held that the main clue to Marxist works was criticism. This was based on the fact that the titles and subtitles of many of Marx' significant works contain the word "criticism." However, he also held that Marx was later "lured" by science and shifted from being characterized by criticism to being characterized by science. He opposed this shift and upheld the restoration of the essence of Marxism as a theory of repudiation, just as Max Horkheimer advocated. Social repudiation theory was characterized by a desire to destroy all established reality and to prove that it is not true. Therefore, it emerged as a theory that negates everything. Max Horkheimer and his colleagues applied this kind of social repudiation theory to the discussion of some social phenomena of that time and to the assessment of the ideological trends and schools and their representatives of other philosophies. This announced the birth of the Frankfurt school. Obviously, this kind of social repudiation theory was founded on the basis of pitting the critical characteristics of Marxism absolutely against its scientific characteristics and of separating those two characteristics.

As Adolf Hitler gradually seized power in Germany, Max Horkheimer moved the social research institute from Germany to the United States of America. He first merged it with the Department of Sociology at Columbia University, and later merged it with the University of California. It was not until the termination of World War II that, at the invitation of the FRG, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Weisengrund Adorno moved the social research institute back to Frankfurt, but Herbert Marcuse and other members remained in the United States of America.

The Frankfurt school was originally a school of the academic circles and had no substantial impact. However, after the mid-1960's, its influence expanded gradually in quite a lot of countries of the Western world. This was chiefly because at that time, the "new left" movement was surging in some developed capitalist countries to resist the welfare state capitalism which had developed to its peak and to resist the capitalist control and administration of the system of daily life. The members of the "new left" were mostly petit bourgeois elements. They had in common with the Frankfurt school the same class origins and the same experiences of being expelled and oppressed by monopoly capitalism, and also had a mood and motive to "thoroughly destroy" developed capitalist society. Herbert Marcuse's book entitled "One-Dimensional Man" showed that the "new left" had a loathing

for and aversion to modern capitalist civilization and had the desire to "destroy" this civilization. Theodor Weisenrund Adorno's article entitled "Dialectics of Negation" provides the slogan of negating everything for the advocacy of the political program of "thorough destruction." Therefore, very naturally, the social repudiation theory of the Frankfurt school was esteemed by the "new left" and regarded as its own ideological weapon.

However, as the internal and external contradictions in the capitalist system became aggravated, increasingly great differences of opinion occurred among the principal representatives of the Frankfurt school concerning the question of how they were to apply their basic theory to modern problems. These differences finally led to their separation. Herbert Marcuse always supported the "new left" movement in theory and in practice until his death in 1979, when he was invited to give lectures in the FRG. In contrast, after he retired in 1959, Max Horkheimer shifted, step by step, to reformism from the original radical doctrine and finally became an apologist for the capitalist class. Theodor Weisenrund Adorno expressed and stated in theory the thoughts and aspirations of the "new left," but in his actions he did not support the "new left" in putting its theory into practice. Moreover he was involved in a series of disputes with radical students. These deep theoretical and political divergences among the first generation of the principal representatives of the Frankfurt school have directly affected the contradictions and conflicts between the "left" and right factions of the second generation of this school. At present, the Frankfurt school has already disintegrated organizationally. Its principal representatives, Ha-bo-er-mei-si [0761 0130 1422 2734 1835], Shi mi te [2457 1378 3676], and Nie-ge-te [3206 2706 3676] have also been separated. However, in ideology, this school is still spreading its influence widely in the Western world.

II

The reason the Frankfurt school and its famous representatives Herbert Marcuse and others acquired a great social reputation was chiefly that they carried out a unique analysis of the new characteristics of the developed capitalist society after World War II and especially after the 1960's. The social repudiation theory of the Frankfurt school was even praised as a sample of "modern Marxism" by some people in the West. However, Herbert Marcuse and Ha-bai-er-mu-si [0761 0130 1422 2734 1835] advocated the ideas that the "proletariat was merged" and that "Marxism was outdated." Obviously, this "modernization" runs counter to Marxism. It is imperative to point out that since World War II, along with the development of science and technology, the internal structure of the working class in Western developed countries has undergone a fairly great change. The workers in the material production sector are relatively reduced in number, while those in the non-material production sector have increased, and a change in the relations between physical labor and mental labor has also taken place. The measures of "high consumption," adopted by the Western developed countries, mitigated class contradictions for a certain period. The Frankfurt school paid attention to studying the new conditions which emerged in Western society. This was an aspect worth affirmation. However, all these changes occurring in the Western developed countries have not changed the position of the

working class as wage laborers. In the Western developed countries, the increasingly serious economical and political crises will inevitably lead to the reintensification of the class contradictions which have temporarily been mitigated. Therefore, the ideas that the "proletarian class is merged" and that "Marxism is outdated" are completely erroneous. Since Herbert Marcuse and others denounced Marxism and regarded it as being outdated concerning certain problems, what then is the main content of their analysis of current society? What kind of conclusions have they drawn?

Herbert Marcuse held that even though developed capitalist society was more prosperous and had a greater competitive strength than at any time before, it still retained its oppressive nature and failed to improve people's destiny. It employed its nonterrorist means to achieve an economic and technological standardization. It is a totalitarian society which transforms man into a deformed being and demands that human instinct, spirit, and social life be subordinate to it. In this aspect, science and technology has become the positivist reason for capitalist society to suppress individuality. Man is deprived of his initiative, creativeness, and the object of his labor and becomes an even worse slave of material conditions. Therefore, modern capitalist society is a modern slavery that flaunts the banner of rationality. In this kind of society, while the means of production, tools of production, and labor productivity increase rapidly, individuality shrinks more and more and becomes an out-of-date concept. Although this kind of society reduces the amount of necessary labor, it has quickened the labor rhythm and makes the workers much more tired. Thus, viewed from the angle of respecting man and giving play to man's potential, it is an even more irrational society. In this society, the time that increases correspondingly, along with the development of productivity, is not the free time related to the free society that Marx longed for. But it is the recreational time related to an oppressive society. This kind of "recreational time" serves to maintain the existing oppressive social system. In this kind of society, although there is an enormous increase in material needs and the satisfaction of these needs for the individual, these kinds of needs are not the primary needs of man but the needs imposed externally on man by the consumption patterns of the dominant ideology. Through creating and satisfying these kinds of "false demands," the capitalist system of rule postpones the crisis of overproduction on the one hand, and, on the other, gives the individual the illusion of freedom, democracy, and equality, so as to subject people to its control and to lull their class consciousness.

From the conclusion of this analysis, that developed capitalist society is a society devoid of individuality, Marcuse derived his theory for carrying out a modern utopian revolution. He said that what this totalitarian society of developed capitalism had given rise to was not a shortage of materials and goods but control over the satisfaction of the demand for materials and goods. This urged the entire man--both his reason and senses--to become the object of administration and to produce and reproduce the goals, values, and lies of this system and the paradise advocated by its ideology. Behind this emerged actual and universal slavery which made man lose his dignity amid a freedom that had been defined beforehand.

Therefore, revolution would still break out in a developed capitalist society. However, this revolution was not the proletarian revolution mentioned by Marx, but a modern utopian revolution. Marcuse declared: During the historical period from now on developed industrial society needs a theoretical and practical movement "from Marx to Charles Fourier...from realism to surrealism." ("Thesis on Liberation") "We must face such a possibility: the path to socialism is from science to utopia instead of from utopia to science." ("Five Speeches")

In content, the so-called modern utopian revolution means, first of all, a substitution of "instinctive revolution," "ideological revolution," and a "revolution caused by disgust" for proletarian political and economic revolution. Marcuse was of the opinion that while reconciling conflicting forces and merging the proletariat with other classes, developed industrial society blocked the satisfaction of the instinctive desires of man by its pursuance of high productivity. In addition to giving rise to a thinking mode and a psychological type, it has deeply affected man's second nature by its consumption-oriented economy and policies and changed the mix of man's physical needs and motives, thus giving rise to a suppressive physiological mechanism. This forces revolutionaries to repeat, after the victory of their revolution, the implementation of the principles of a suppressive nature that must have been eliminated by the revolution. Therefore, he declared that the scope of revolution must be expanded to include the psychological foundation of human actions and the structure of human instincts and that an ideological revolution, a revolution of instincts, and a revolution caused by disgust for the existing society must be carried out, first to thoroughly transform people themselves and then to give rise to a political and economic revolution. True, stressing ideological revolution and the self-transformation of revolutionaries is of positive significance in preventing the degeneration of the revolution and in promoting the deepening of the revolution, but it is unrealistic to think that this revolution can be divorced from or can replace practical political and economic revolution and can be carried out in isolation.

Marcuse's theory of modern utopian revolution has also made the subject of revolution become ambiguous. Sometimes, he said that the focus of revolution had already moved elsewhere and that we had to place our hopes on the lower strata of the discarded and the foreigners, the exploited and oppressed among the minority nationalities, the unemployed, the disabled people who could not find a job, the technological and scientific intellectuals, and the students studying in schools who had not yet been merged. Sometimes, however, he said that the principal force of the revolution could only take shape gradually in the very process of the transformation, and that at the beginning of the revolution, we could not expect that a well-prepared revolutionary force would exist.

Marcuse held that in a developed capitalist society, all the freedom of speech and assembly and the system of tolerance and democracy were means for making capitalist values and spirit permanent and were the instruments of rule by which the ruling class corroded the revolutionary force, and that observation of these "rules of competition" meant surrender to the

ruling authorities. Therefore, concerning the strategy of struggle, the theory of modern utopian revolution advocates the adoption of the method of provocation, to disrupt the laws and regulations of freedom and democracy of the capitalist system and thus expose the system's fascist nature. It upholds uniting all rebellions to launch a "campaign of rejection" against the developed industrial world, that is a complete, thorough, and absolute separation from all existing things. In Marcuse's opinion, only by arousing the disorganized anarchists to conduct a political and moral resistance with reason and instinct, to reject taking part in any crimes and tricks of the ruling clique, and to be disgusted with any prosperity of capitalism, can we destroy this system. For this system can neither "tolerate" nor "suppress" these means.

However, the practice of the "new left" movement in Western society since the 1960's has proved that the modern utopian theory of revolution and the strategy of struggle advocated by Marcuse is, after all, an erroneous theory and childish strategy of struggle, despite its aspect of exploring for a way to eliminate the oppression in developed capitalist society. This theory and strategy cannot in the least shake, once and for all, the rule of monopoly capital, but will only mislead the "principal force of the revolution" onto a path of "adventurism." Marcuse himself was later aware of this. In his later years, he once talked about the degeneration of the political and social system of capitalism, the increasingly great failure of this system to satisfy the basic needs of the human race, and the radical change that might result from this situation. However, the tendency of the "new left" of being fond of launching attacks of revolt may lead to fascism. If Western society wants to attain a new form of free socialism, it is necessary to firmly unite the radical intellectual circles with the workers there and to adopt a constructive revolutionary strategy of dominating the capitalist system through penetration and direct attack.

To sum up, the Frankfurt school has exposed some aspects of the unfair and unreasonable phenomena in modern capitalist society, and people can to a certain extent refer to their views in understanding and criticizing modern capitalist society. Marcuse and others criticized modern capitalist society for its running counter to human nature and had the subjective desire to overthrow capitalist society. However, they did not look for the means for resolving the contradictions and conflicts in the process of the development of social reality or rely on the proletariat and the broad masses of laboring people to develop class struggle and carry out socialist revolution. On the contrary, they drew the conclusion that the problem must be solved by awakening the abstract nature and instinct of the human race. Incidents in history often resemble one another in a surprising manner. In the 19th century, the French utopian socialists also played a very positive role in criticizing capitalism, and their ideological achievements became, directly, one of the three major sources of Marxism. However, because they could not see the historical mission of the proletariat, they placed their hopes for the establishment of future society on the enlightening and awakening of innate human nature and instinct. As a result, "the significance of critical and utopian socialism decreases in inverse ratio to that of communism as history develops." ("Selected Works of Marx and

Engels," Vol 1, p 283) Marcuse and others picked up the weapon of the utopian socialists of social criticism, while denouncing Marxism as being outdated, so they have repeated the tragedy of utopians and misled people. Obviously, this goes counter to Marxism. In order to develop Marxism and push it forward, we need to use the basic principles of Marxism to study new conditions and solve new problems and should never push the scientific socialism that the founders of Marxism developed from utopian communism back to its old origins.

III

The Frankfurt school's criticism of modern developed capitalist society is based on its specific philosophy. It treats social repudiation theory as a synonym for Marxism, and has sung its own praises by advertising this theory and thus become well-known in the world. However, the basic philosophical characteristics of this social repudiation theory are the giving of an idealist and humanist color to Marxism. This is shown in the three aspects:

1. It used the opportunity of the publication of Marx' "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" to distort Marxism in an idealist and humanist manner. Immediately after the publication of the full text of the "Manuscripts" in 1932, Marcuse wrote an article entitled "A New Source for Proving Historical Materialism" expounding on it and said that the "Manuscripts" could place the discussion of the source and original significance of historical materialism and of the entire theory of socialism "on a new footing." ("Research Into the Philosophy of Repudiation") What he meant by the "new footing" was the regarding of human beings' essence not as the sum of their social relationships, but as being isolated entities that were not objectively restricted by anything and the regarding of alienation as a humanist phenomenon that was deeply rooted in the essence of human beings. Marcuse regarded abstract human beings, their essence, and alienation as the basic principles for the explanation of history, and thus concluded that the basic contradiction of capitalist society is the contradiction between the essence and existence of human beings, and regarded revolution as a practice to eliminate the form of alienation in general, denying its nature of class struggle. In analyzing and repudiating Hitler's fascism, this school concluded that its source was certain types of abstract human nature and personality such as "the type of attitude with a thirst for power and a tendency to submit to authority," the so-called "somasochism," the so-called "domineering personality," and so forth. Even in exposing the totalitarian nature of developed capitalist society, it ascribed the essence of the problem to the loss of human nature.

2. It overstates the (subjective) dynamic role of human beings and denies the "ascendant position of external nature." In the field of epistemology, it opposes the theory of reflection and in historical outlook, it opposes the theory of the decisive role of social existence. The representatives of the Frankfurt school call themselves materialists, but from the very beginning they avoided the fundamental question of whether thought or

existence, spirit or matter, is the origin. On the other hand, they have imbued materialism with another kind of meaning. Both Horkheimer and Marcuse were of the opinion that the reason the theory of social repudiation is regarded as a kind of materialism is its thorough concern for the happiness of men and its belief in the idea that in order to obtain happiness we must transform the relations of production. They were also of the opinion that a true materialism is not established on the theory that regards matter as the origin, nor on a new kind of metaphysics of monism, but stressed the dialectical process of the continuous development of the interaction between subject and object. However, when they expounded on the interaction between subject and object, the Frankfurt school only gave an account of the dynamic role of the concept of man in the external world through practical activities, but said nothing about the precedent position of the external world or its restrictive role over the thoughts and activities of man, or even publicly publicized the "precedent nature of subject." This shows that the so-called "true materialism" of the Frankfurt school is in fact a kind of idealism, and has nothing to do with materialism.

The Frankfurt school regards the theory of reflection as being the same as the mechanical understanding of reflection and criticizes the theory of reflection as a theory of passive photographic reflection of the objective structure. Contrary to this theory, this school advocates the view that "cognizance is not to surrender before the reality which surrounds people like a stone wall. Cognizance proves, by the process of history in which the human race has become enlightened, after being submerged by a sea of facts, that reality originates from man and can, therefore, be changed by man." (Shi mi te [2457 1378 3676]: "Marx' View of Nature") This view of the Frankfurt school that advocates only "creation" and denies reflection is obviously wrong. For the creative activity of the human race in transforming the objective world by the practice of revolution is closely linked with and interacts with the correct reflection of the objective world by man's thinking. Negating the subjective activities of correct reflection will result in making creation impossible and in acting blindly without any practical achievements and encountering obstacles everywhere. Finally, this will only turn people into blind slaves of inevitability.

Concerning historical outlook the Frankfurt school is of the opinion that man--man in reality and man as an integrated entity--and the individual men who live in reality are the main subject of history and the main content of the concept of historical laws. Accordingly, it says that concepts do not reflect the inevitability that objectively exists in the development of reality, but that, on the contrary, cognizance of the development of reality is deduced from concepts and thus is manifested as the relationships of inevitability. "Subject emerges as a decisive factor and, after all, the mandate in history must be given by man." "The essence of man's freedom lies in the choice of a practice." ("Research Into the Philosophy of Repudiation" by Marcuse) Obviously these views confuse truth with falsehood. For though people can make such and such a "free choice" in accordance with what they think, this by no means signifies that man has thus obtained freedom and can give mandates to make history and displayed inevitability. The facts are precisely the contrary. Inevitability opens

its way through various kinds of fortuity and only by correctly understanding and applying the objective laws can people make these laws serve certain goals and thus obtain freedom.

In studying the prospects for the emancipation of the human race, the Frankfurt school has shifted to Freud's theory of psychoanalysis. In his book entitled "Eros and Civilization," Marcuse held that during the 1929-1933 economic crisis in capitalist society, the working class in Europe, as the motive force of historical transformation, failed to take action to prevent the fascists from seizing state power. This historical fact shows that under a capitalist system people are not only ruled over and exploited by external oppressors, but also dominated by the ideology that hinders their emancipation. That is why he held that Freudianism had to be used to "supplement" Marxism and put forth "sexual liberation" and the "civilization of sexual desire" as his utopian ideal. This means that in order to liberate man, we must first liberate sex, and once sex is liberated, there will be no need for any social control over individuals by means of systems or by appealing to people's instincts or for any "collectivization" of individuals. Thus life will become reasonable and individuals will become independent. In this way the Frankfurt school and Marcuse have departed from the path of socialism pointed out by Marx, and shifted to the path of what Freud called the suppression and liberation of sexual instinct.

3. It keeps dialectics within the limits of the history of human society and the limits of ideology and negates the dialectics of nature. The Frankfurt school also advocates dialectics, but by upholding the banner of what they call opposing the practice of relating dialectics to ontology, it negates the dialectics of nature and the objective and material nature of dialectics and thus turns dialectics into a flexible and subjective application of concepts. Sometimes it regards negation as negating everything in a pessimistic and nihilistic manner and advocates that the loftiest principle of existence is the negation of everything and that all opposites will eliminate one another and what will be left after the elimination is decline and nonexistence. Therefore, "the social theory of repudiation does not have any concepts to bridge the gap between the present and the future, nor entertains any hope or shows any promise of achieving anything. It is always a negation." ("One-Dimensional Man") However, sometimes it holds that the negation in things can be neutralized by certain forces and can even be turned into affirmation, and as a result the actual dialectical solution of contradictions must be effected by external factors.

These views of the Frankfurt school are not peculiar only to this school. They are a direct reflection of the humanist ideological trend of modern Western philosophy in the research into Marxism and are closely linked with Hegelianism, Freudianism, and existentialism. In a period when the influence of Marxism has been daily expanding worldwide since the beginning of the 20th century, some humanists have also tried to sell their theories under the banner of Marxism, but in essence their theories are only an attempt to make Marxism humanist. They exaggerate the subjective dynamic role of man beyond any boundary. In dealing with the problems of the relationships between man (subject) and object, between man and society,

and between man and nature, Marxism points out, on the one hand, that man has a dynamic role in understanding and transforming the world and, on the other hand, it stresses the "precedent position of the external natural world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 50) It also points out that man has to be restricted by object--society and nature. From the viewpoint of humanists, this seems to "belittle man." It seems to them that only by completely reversing the above-mentioned relationships and regarding pure subjectivity as the basic source of all objectivity can we actually raise the position of man and thus "respect man." However, in fact, this is only a kind of idealism that upholds the abstract development of the dynamic role of man and it runs diametrically counter to Marxism.

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From the above simple review of the prolonged process of development of the Frankfurt school in the past 50 years and of the ideological theory of the school, we can see that while exposing and criticizing the suppression and alienation in developed capitalist society, this school has failed, despite its repeated exploration, to find a correct path for breaking away from the suppression and alienation. What has been even worse is that it has led the "new left" in Western society to run into obstacles time and again. One of the fundamental reasons for this is that it has departed from the dialectical materialism and historical materialism of Marxism and has shifted from materialism to idealism, from making concrete analysis of the social relationships in reality to making abstract humanist psychoanalysis, and from science to utopia. Facts have proved that although in the 100 years since Marx' death human history has undergone unprecedentedly and tremendously great change, the theory of scientific communism created by Marx continues to be the most powerful ideological weapon by which the proletariat and the advanced human race throughout the world repudiate the old world and develop a new world. Surely, we will lose our way if we are divorced from Marxism.

However, on the other hand, despite the fact that practice has already proved that in general the ideological theory of the Frankfurt school is wrong, this school has to a certain extent analyzed a few new phenomena in developed capitalist society, and its observations and analysis related to certain questions are to a certain extent significant. Therefore, conscientiously researching into and analyzing the ideological theory of the Frankfurt school, absorbing the ideological material it provides us with, and correctly answering the questions that it has failed to answer correctly, while eliminating the erroneous ideological trends in it is something we should do in our process of adhering to and developing Marxism. The vitality of Marxism lies precisely in the need to use it to continuously analyze and study new situations and problems that will emerge in practice and to closely integrate it with concrete revolutionary practice in various countries at different times.

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ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MENTAL AND MANUAL LABOR

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[Text]

I

All social labor represents the sum of both manual and mental labor. However, during the different stages of human social development, the nature and state of the relationship between mental and manual labor has varied. The nature and state of the relationship between mental and manual labor is determined by the developmental level of the productive forces and basic contradictions in society--namely the developmental progress of the contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations and between the economic foundations and the superstructure.

In the earliest stages of human social development, the level of the social productive forces was very low and man mainly used his two hands and primitive tools to struggle against the natural world. Because the level of production was very low everyone had to carry out a tremendous amount of manual labor and thus there were no surplus products and it was not possible to separate out some people as specialists in mental labor. As the productive forces developed, a demand was created for a certain number of people to specialize in mental labor and thus surplus products emerged, and hence the possibility arose for these people to separate themselves from manual labor. As a result, unified social labor gradually developed into two different kinds of labor--manual and mental, and thus mental labors were born.

Throughout history the division of work between manual and mental labor has been linked to the emergence of classes. The minority carried out mental labor while the majority worked to provide surplus labor, having to spend their entire lives carrying out large amounts of manual labor. However, this division of labor was an objective demand of social development and was thus unavoidable. Indeed, one could almost say it was the necessary path that human society had to take to pass from the stage of barbarism to the stage of civilization. Any major development in the material or spiritual civilization of human society is closely linked to the development of the social division of labor.

The actual means of manual labor are a man's four limbs and his flesh, while in the case of mental labor it is mainly the brain. The special thing about the brain is that it is able to perform abstract thinking and, to varying extents, it is able to elevate dissipated and fragmented practical experiences into theories. In addition it is able to perceive internal relationships and developmental laws amongst occurrences and in this sense it is able to break through the limitations of manual labor and enable man to understand nature and the world in his working environment and hence also conquer nature and change and improve the world. Naturally, those who carry out manual labor also use their brains and to a certain extent they too think abstractly while working manually, but, under conditions in which the productive forces are not well-developed and in which man is forced to spend most of his time in carrying out manual labor, only a certain number of people specialized in mental labor are able to fully exploit the special role of mental labor. And it is this which represents the major significance of the social division of labor between mental and manual labor.

In the slave and feudal societies, the main function of mental laborers was to carry out class rule, social administration, religious duties, cultural education, and certain specialized activities involving research and experimentation. In general all these activities were under the strict control of the ruling class and, in fact, served to strengthen the exploiters' exploitation and domination, and thus a sharp opposition developed between mental and manual labor. "Those who work with their minds rule, those who work with their hands are ruled." This saying illustrated very well the relationship at that time between mental and manual laborers. Thus the essential nature of this opposition was a class opposition between the exploiter and the exploited. However, certain parts of the production management functions of mental labor also played a role in organizing social production and this was necessary for an increase in the scale of social production development. Engels said: "When man's labor productivity is still extremely low, and when only a very small amount of surplus can be provided in addition to the necessary means of production, then increases in the productive forces, enlargement of exchange, the development of the state and the legal system, and the establishment of culture and the sciences can only be achieved with an even greater division of labor, and the basis of this division of labor is the major division of work between the majority who carry out purely manual labor and the minority who organize labor, manage commerce, control state affairs, and who will later handle the arts and sciences." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 221) Because of the emergence of a division between mental and manual labor, science and technology saw very definite advance, and it was only then that large-scale cooperation developed, that labor productivity increased, and that the productive forces actually developed and progressed. And it was in this context that Engels said: "Without the ancient slave system there would be no modern socialism." (Ibid., p 220) Such activities as divination, religious worship, and sacrifices were mainly carried out in order to preserve the spiritual domination of the exploiting class and to dupe and benumb the masses. However, within these activities it was sometimes possible to see distorted links with such things as agriculture, the

curing of ills, or the launching of battles and wars, and this to a greater or lesser extent gave birth to the roots of a very simplistic kind of scientific thinking and this too was very useful in terms of social development. Activities such as the handling of education, culture, the arts, and the sciences, all of which are forms of mental labor, were all clearly embossed with the hallmark of class, but at the same time they did also, to a certain extent, represent the interests, aspirations, and desires of some of the working people, and together they preserved for future generations useful knowledge and material and forms of art and literature. This too was also useful for society and its development. As for activities involving the natural sciences which contained even greater amounts of real truth, these contributed in an even greater way to the development of human society.

When capitalist society arrived, as the productive forces developed, the division between mental and manual labor grew even greater. Capitalist production is a socialized form of major production characterized by the application of machinery and equipment--"the replacement of manpower with natural power and the replacement of established practice achieved through experience with the conscious application and use of the natural sciences." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 423) In capitalist society these kinds of replacements were seen to increase constantly. Science and machinery are both products of the division of work and integration between mental and manual labor. If there was no mental labor and if we have always to depend on manual labor then we would never have developed the steam engine. Marx said: "The natural world produced no machines, it did not produce engines, railways, cablegrams or weaving spindles. All of these are the products of human labor, they are the apparatus with which man's will has come to tame nature or the natural essence of the apparatus with which man functions in the natural world. They are /the apparatus of man's brain, produced by man's hand/ [passage within slantlines published in bold-face]; they are the materialization of the strength of knowledge." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46, p 219) Man's invention of machinery brought the development of the productive forces onto a new and higher level. New divisions of labor grew and machines gave rise to newer machines, right up until the present day when electronic computers are being developed within the system of automatic machinery. Originally mental labor usually fell outside the sphere of the production process but today it has directly entered the process of production and become a leading and component part of production development. As Marx said: Today "in order to become a part of production, direct and immediate involvement is no longer necessary, all that is now needed is to be an apparatus of the collective laborer or to fulfill one of its functions." ("Das Kapital," Chinese Social Sciences Publishing House, Vol 1, p 523)

In modern capitalist society one phenomenon very well worth noting is the extremely fast increase in the numbers of mental laborers. In some industrially developed countries the number of people employed as mental laborers has now come up to or exceeded half the total work force. Of these mental laborers, only a portion could actually be listed as being rulers or exploiters while the vast majority are employees who have lost possession of

the means of production or who only possess a very small amount of the means of production, making a living by either entirely or mainly depending on their own labor. Marx and Engels said very early on that "capitalist classes have wiped out all kinds of employment that have in the past always been revered and honored. The capitalist class has made such people as doctors, lawyers, teachers, poets, and scholars into employed workers paid by the capitalist class." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 253) This is very different from the situation in slave and feudal societies, when most mental laborers were either born into or were in some way attached to the ruling class and thus today mental laborers have begun to be a component part or ally of the working class. This situation illustrates that in present society we should not continue to regard the contradiction between mental and manual labor as being completely a contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class, indeed one could even say that in some senses it is a contradiction between, on the one side, manual laborers and the majority of mental laborers and, on the other side, the capitalist class. At the same time there have been clear developmental changes in the cultural and educational levels of manual laborers. Amongst employed manual laborers in developed capitalist countries, between 80 and 90 percent have completed secondary school education or above, of whom, in some countries, around one-third have also received tertiary education. Of course this situation does not imply that there have been any changes in the working class' suppressed position in society; what it does mean is that the capitalist class is simply carrying out a doubly heavy form of extortion of the blood and sweat of the working class.

Some comrades believe that present capitalist countries have already got rid of the essential differences and opposition between mental labor and manual labor. This does not correspond with the facts. Although within present capitalist society most mental laborers are also exploited, the capitalist system has not, nor is able to, eliminate the essential differences and the opposition between mental labor and manual labor. The intellectuals who serve the monopoly capitalist class not only control the media, and draw up plans and policies for the ruling class, they are also themselves exploiters. They themselves are integrated with the control and power of the exploiters and in economic, political, and even spiritual life they occupy a governing position, completely opposed to the essential interests of the mass of working people. To fail to appreciate this point is to fail to see and understand the essential nature of the relationship between mental and manual labor in the old society. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand that throughout history the division of labor between mental and manual labor has, it is true, promoted the development of the productive forces, but, because the means of production have always been in the grasp of the exploiters, it has always been the workers who have suffered and been harmed as a result. In capitalist societies, developments in science and technology have increased social wealth but they have not and cannot lighten the enormous burdens on the shoulders of the exploited; on the contrary, they have increased the powers of control over labor, with the result that most people are forced to spend their lives doing a great deal of physical labor and thus become lifelong slaves to the apparatus. Scientific discoveries are of use to production but they can only be used in

production when they are of benefit to the exploiters and when they bring excessive profits to the capitalist system. Culture, art, and literature are created by the working people, but those who enjoy these fruits are mainly the minority of exploiters. In the past, workers were deprived of the right to education for a very long period and today capitalists have begun to pay attention to so-called "investment in intelligence" but if they do not extort even more surplus value they simply remove batch after batch of mental laborers from the production process, as with manual laborers. All of this seriously hampers the development of social production. The basic cause of this kind of opposition is the system of private ownership of the means of production. Only by eliminating the system of private ownership can these fundamental differences and oppositions be completely removed.

II

After the proletariat has gained power, enormous changes occur in the economic and political status of the workers, while fundamental changes also occur in the relationship between mental and manual labor. In our country both mental and manual labor are vital to society and both mental and manual laborers are masters of the country and the society. The division of labor is different in that there are no differences of high and low pecuniary rewards. The relationship between manual and mental laborers is one of comradely mutual cooperation and the relationship of opposition between them no longer exists.

China used to be a semifeudal, semicolonial society with a vast population, backward productive forces, and extremely underdeveloped cultural and educational standards. The old society did not provide us with a well-developed material and technological foundation nor the necessary conditions for cultural and educational development. The construction of socialism under these kinds of conditions has thus been much more difficult and complex than in countries with well-developed productive forces and smaller populations. Underdeveloped productive forces, little modernized equipment and machinery, and low cultural and educational levels amongst workers have determined that socialist construction in China will for a long time predominantly involve manual labor and thus the laboring efforts of the peasants and workers will still continue to be the irreplaceable strength behind the modernization of China. Thus we must educate the younger generation and ensure that not only will they give full respect to, but in addition will prepare for a long period of manual labor, thus practicing in earnest what is advocated. Any views or actions which suggest disregard for manual labor are incorrect. Manual labor is at present vital. Will it be necessary after production has become highly developed? Highly developed and advanced automatic machinery also requires manual, human operation, regulation, and repairs. At the same time all work which is focused on mental labor also requires a certain amount of manual labor and in some cases requires the consumption of large amounts of manual labor. It should be said that a suitable amount of manual labor is necessary for healthy human development. The great utopian socialist Fourier said: "The human spirit requires activity and furthermore demands and provokes physical

activity." Marx said with even greater depth and accuracy: "Manual labor is the greatest disinfectant that exists for preventing all social ills and poisons." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 31, p 538)

However, socialist modernized construction cannot always depend solely on physical strength. It also needs to rely on knowledge and technology, in other words, mental labor. The socialist system has made some new and even greater demands on mental labor in comparison with former societies, and it requires that the entire society place mental labor in an even more important position.

Socialist production is socialized large-scale production based on the system of public ownership of the means of production. In capitalist societies, the means of production are in the hands of the capitalists and capitalist enterprises are organized and managed by the capitalists and their representatives, but this is not the case in a socialist society. In our country the means of production have come into the hands of the mass of working people and for the first time the people have become the masters of their society. In this way the management of the national economy and of society in accordance with the demands of the development of socialized large-scale production is not only a necessary requirement of social development, it is also the basic function of the socialist state. Not only must the workers manage the state and the society, they are also required to manage every sector, every enterprise, and other grassroots units. The people's affairs are managed solely by the people. This is a new task for the people which in previous societies the working people did not and could not have.

Socialist management falls into the category of complex mental labor. Engels said: "Not only must one grasp the political machinery, one must also grasp all of social production, and here what is required is not merely impressive-sounding words, but a richness of knowledge." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487) The management of the national economy requires farsightedness, comprehensive appreciation of the situation, a thorough command of the process of social development and the relationships between each of the links of reproduction, an understanding of the laws of economics and of the party's policies, an ability to promptly raise relevant questions, to handle them and to solve them, and an ability to organize the masses, to lead the masses, and to guide their forward progress. The management of different enterprises and sectors requires a professional grasp of the special developmental laws of each of the enterprises and sectors. Not only must one grasp knowledge of the natural sciences, one must also grasp social scientific knowledge. The more the production modernization develops, the more the national economy becomes complex, the more knowledge one needs to grasp. Otherwise one will simply find oneself stuck in "the realm of necessity," coming up against brick walls and being punished by the natural laws and the laws of social development.

At present the levels of management and administration in China are rather backward. We still have a great deal of blindness in socialist construction. As far as the management of the national economy and enterprises is

concerned we still find ourselves in many ways stuck within the realm of necessity without actually appreciating the predicament. Backward administration and management brings with it a great deal of unnecessary damage to the development of the socialist cause and the lessons to be learned are many and far-reaching. To change this situation we find ourselves urgently required to improve our standards of management and administration and also to improve our abilities in mental labor in management and administration. We find ourselves required not only to train more expert management personnel, but also to ensure that every worker is able to participate in the management of the enterprise and society and to accurately exploit his role as master of the situation.

The development of modernized production requires us to place mental labor in an even more important position. An important characteristic of modernized production is the way in which science and technology have become direct productive forces to an even greater extent than before. This can be seen mainly in the following ways: 1) In the production process the application of science has become even more important than before. The numbers and quality of technical and processing experts and management personnel in material production sectors, the extent to which they have grasped the relevant technology with which they work, the design and testing of the products, equipment, and technological processes in their own sectors and enterprises, their planning, organization, and coordination of the entire production process, as well as their creative and inventive abilities and their vigor for developing new undertakings, all of these things have not only become direct component parts of the production process but of direct creative value, in addition, they now also frequently determine the developmental speed and economic results of an enterprise, or of production on an even larger scale. With large numbers of technical personnel of high standard, who are able to work in cooperation with the workers, production will be able to develop even more quickly, otherwise modernization will simply not move forward. 2) As the forerunner of production, scientific research determines the future prospects for expanded large-scale reproduction, and thus has become an enormous motive force in production development. The accumulation of knowledge and the fruits of scientific research have become an enormous source of production development. The fruits of today's scientific research are transformed into tomorrow's material wealth. In order to ensure that tomorrow's production develops even faster, exhaustive preparations in theoretical research and scientific experimentation are vital. The greater the theoretical breakthroughs, the more they will be able to promote development of the productive forces. 3) The gradual increases in modernized machinery and equipment require that workers continuously improve their technological standards and their abilities in mental labor. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Only if the workers have fairly high scientific and cultural standards and rich production experiences as well as advanced mastery of their work can they play an even greater and more important role in modernized production." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 85)

The main reason for the present backwardness of China's productive forces is the backwardness of science and technology and knowledge. In order to

elevate production we must elevate science and technology. In a sense it is true to say that the speed of development of science and technology and the level of mental labor together determine the speed of development of China's national economy and also determine the time in which we can catch up with industrially advanced countries and narrow the gap between us and them. In order to study science, grasp science, develop science and put scientific results into practice we must quickly elevate the intellectual standards of the workers.

The present backwardness of China's productive forces is only temporary. The replacement of manual labor with machinery and the replacement of ordinary machines with automatic machinery is an inevitable trend of social development. The extent of mechanization of China's agricultural and industrial production is far greater than before liberation and as the glorious objectives cited at the 12th party congress are gradually realized, the extent of mechanization and modernization will continue to increase and speed up. After the replacement of manual labor with machinery more and more workers will be available to carry out nonmanual labor, to study, to tackle key problems and projects, and to carry out scientific research. On the other hand, in order for workers to use machines well, to be able to repair them, and to improve them, they must understand the function and operation of the machines and some fundamental principles related to the machines, and this hence requires higher cultural and technological standards. With the replacement of normal machines with automatic machinery, the amount of physical strength involved in a worker's labors will be smaller and thus manual labor will drop into second position, while mental labor takes up the dominant position. The greater the extent of automation, the greater the position of mental labor. The adoption of electronic computers has meant that some mechanical and repetitive mental labor has been taken over by machines and so manual labor will diminish even more. Thus mental labor is able to generate even greater creativity. While the means of labor develop, constant changes are occurring in the structure of raw materials in the production process, in the structure of manufacturing processes, in product makeup, and in enterprise and departmental structure, and these changes will all make new, even greater demands on mental labor. The serious lack of highly trained technological personnel and management cadres in industrial production in China today, as well as the lack of trained operators and technicians in key positions has meant that some modernized machinery and equipment cannot be used to its full potential and this illustrates the way in which the standards of mental labor at the moment do not meet the demands of production development. If we do not concentrate on improving the cultural and technological standards of the workers, then this situation will become even more serious.

In our construction of socialism, not only must we construct a highly developed material civilization, we must also construct a highly developed spiritual civilization. These two kinds of civilization are mutually conditioned and have a mutual aim. The development of a spiritual civilization requires without doubt the development of a material civilization, while the development of a material civilization must provide the motive force for the development of a spiritual civilization. The construction of

a socialist spiritual civilization is the common task of all workers, but mental laborers carry a particularly important and significant responsibility. The construction of a socialist spiritual civilization includes both cultural and ideological construction. The most important thing in ideological construction is the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate and arm the masses so that the people may establish a correct world view. Cultural civilization includes the construction of more and even richer cultural products to correspond with the demands and requirements of the times. Cultural construction also involves using the communist world view and the richness of natural scientific and social scientific knowledge to educate future generations and to help the workers to elevate the standard of their moral and cultural knowledge. In this respect the mental laborers fighting on the various battlefronts have a glorious mission and their task is an arduous and enormous one. The more the socialist material civilization develops, the greater the people's demands on the socialist spiritual civilization, and thus the heavier the responsibility of the mental laborers.

However, judging by the situation in China at present concerning mental labor, we are a long way from fulfilling the demands of modernized construction. Comrade Hu Yaobang said with great accuracy that "the vast majority of workers lack scientific and cultural knowledge and there is a serious shortage of skilled workers and scientific and technological personnel." ("Comprehensively Open Up a New Situation in Socialist Modernization") This situation is thus seriously hampering the development of modernized construction. Speedy improvement in the scientific and cultural standards of China's workers is a serious and urgent task facing us at the moment. We must come to appreciate that knowledge is now our most important weapon in gaining new victories. If, during the revolutionary battles, we had not grasped the laws of the class struggle and the skills of military science and battle command, then we would not have vanquished our enemies and thus, today, if we do not grasp the laws of socialist construction and if we do not increase understanding and knowledge concerning the construction of the four modernizations and our skills in mental labor, then there is no way in which we can complete the tasks that confront us in these new times. We must come to appreciate our important task and to see the weak points in our cultural knowledge and work hard to overcome them. Stalin said: "If the working class cannot shake off its lack of knowledge, if it cannot create its own intellectuals, if it cannot grasp science, and if it is unable to come to terms with the fundamental principles of science required to manage the economy, then it cannot truly become the master of the country." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 11, p 64)

III

The objective position of mental labor in a socialist society has determined the necessity for us to focus on the division of labor and on the coordination of mental and manual labor, and to accurately handle the relationship between mental and manual labor, and this thus means focusing on both manual laborers and mental laborers.

At this point we should clear up one important theoretical point. Under socialism, will the division of labor between mental and manual labor exist for a long period of time, or will it be eradicated very quickly? Some comrades believe that it will be eradicated very quickly and that it should be eradicated very quickly. This view is not entirely realistic.

The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism tell us that the social division of labor, including the division between mental and manual labor, is not the subjective will of the people but, rather, it is determined by the developmental level of the society's productive forces. The latter determines the surplus labor time and surplus labor force of the entire society and it also determines the potential and need for people to carry out manual and mental labor and thus also determines the division and balance between manual and mental labor. Only if the labor productivity of the people improves, if the quantity of surplus products increases, and if there is an even greater surplus of the fruits of people's labors after satisfying immediate needs, can there be more time available to perform mental labor and can there be more manual laborers who remove themselves from manual labor and carry out mental labor. In a situation in which the amount of surplus products is small, labor productivity is low, and the vast majority of people in the society are obliged to perform manual labor, to force a certain number of mental laborers who are vital to society to perform manual labor which falls outside the limits of the rational division of labor is the same thing as reducing the amount of mental labor time vital to society. Similarly, to unrealistically draw off some manual laborers to carry out mental labor beyond their abilities represents a contravention of the rules of the social division of labor and is thus damaging to the development of society.

At present the productive forces in China are not very well developed and the country's material wealth and surplus products are very insufficient. This situation thus necessitates that the vast majority of China's workers still mainly perform manual labor, while only a small amount of time and a small number of people are involved in mental labor. Only if the productive forces improve and the country's material wealth and surplus products increase can more manual laborers move over into the realm of mental labor and specialize in mental labor, and only then will manual laborers have sufficient time and the necessary conditions to study and research and to carry out mental labor in addition to their regular manual labor.

At present the division of labor between manual and mental labor in China manifests itself in the division of labor between the peasants, the workers, and the intellectuals. The peasants and the workers mainly carry out manual labor, while during their work they also expend a certain amount of mental power. The intellectuals mainly perform mental labor, while during their work also expending a certain amount of physical effort. When we look at the figures we see that the fact that the overall level of the productive forces is low in China means inevitably that peasants and workers represent the larger of the two percentages, while the intellectuals represent the minority. This is a reality of China today and what is more this situation is likely to continue for some time to come. In the long term it will

change, and this means that the number of peasants and workers performing only manual labor will gradually fall, while the number of intellectuals performing mainly mental labor will gradually increase. The actual physical part of the workers' and peasants' labors will gradually be reduced, while the amount of mental work involved will gradually increase. At some time in the future we will see the number of mental laborers exceeding the number of manual laborers in China and the amount of time spent in creative mental labor during every working day of the worker and peasant masses will be greatly increased, while the amount of pure and repetitive manual labor will be greatly reduced, and thus the social gap between mental and manual labor will be reduced or even eliminated. But this cannot happen yet, it being a very gradual process. If we take a look at the nature of the situation, we see that the division of labor between China's workers, peasants, and intellectuals no longer bears the hallmark of class opposition and class separation, and the reason for this is the elimination of the system of private ownership of the means of production, everyone having thus become masters of the state and the society. Everyone is making his or her labors serve socialism and serve the good of the people. Like the workers and the peasants, the intellectuals are also workers and they are a component part of the working class. The only differences lie in work rank, work style, and the proportions of manual and mental effort expended during work.

We say that today's intellectuals are an integral part of the working class and this is not because socialist construction needs intellectuals or is dependent on intellectuals but rather it is because basic changes in the socialist system and the process of growth and development of the intellectuals have caused fundamental changes in the intellectuals, so that the large majority of them have now become an objective and integral part of the working class. The concept of the working class has always implied those who perform manual labor. Lenin said as early as 1900 what we should primarily and most importantly be concerned with is not the drawing of a man-made boundary between the intellectuals and the workers, nor the establishment of "pure worker organizations, but rather the intimate integration of the two." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 320) Earlier than this, in 1893, Engels said, in a "message to the Congress of International Socialist University Students," "it is from these ranks that a mental labor proletariat should emerge. They, along with and in the same ranks as their manual laboring brothers, will play an important role in the coming revolution." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487) Facts illustrate that within the proletariat revolutionary movement of every country, there is a batch of people drawn from the ranks of the intellectuals, whose destinies are linked with the proletariat class. They enter the ranks of the proletariat class and bring knowledge into the proletariat, promoting the development of the proletariat revolutionary cause. It is often from amongst these same people that the leaders emerge to represent the overall interests and direction of the movement. The problem is that in a capitalist system, the class structure makes it impossible to completely integrate the mental laboring proletariat with the manual laboring proletariat. Only with the establishment of a socialist system can the road be open for their integration and can the necessary firm economic and political

foundations be laid. In old China the vast majority of the intellectuals did not possess the means of production and thus they were in actual fact allies of the working masses. Today, with the establishment of the system of public ownership of the means of production, the intellectuals, like the workers and the peasants, rely totally on their own labors and serve socialism. Their basic interests are the same as those of the workers. This unity is not only seen in the content of their work and in their fundamental aims, but also in the mutual dependence and inseparability found in the cooperation within the division of labor. In view of this situation, if intellectuals are not seen as an integral part of the working class, then how, as workers, should they be classified? Furthermore, China now has more than 20 million intellectuals, 90 percent of whom have been trained as such since liberation, and the vast majority of whom have come from the worker or peasant masses, and indeed some were themselves originally workers. For what reason can we exclude them from the ranks of workers and consider them as "aliens"? According to the doctrines of Marxism, class divisions or distinctions can only be made on the basis of economic position, and no other criteria may be used. If we do not consider the intellectuals to be workers, then we are contravening the fundamental principles of Marxism.

The number of intellectuals in China is very small (the number of people in China with a university level education only represents 0.6 percent of the total population and among the population above the age of 25 this percentage is only 0.9 percent). For this reason the intellectuals are extremely valuable. Intellectuals, particularly high level intellectuals, represent that portion of the laborers in the working class who have grasped the most in terms of science and culture. Because of their specialized study and training, these people in general have very high cultural standards, possess expertise, and have made definite attainments in the natural or social sciences. In the field of material production they are directly involved in the production process, creating value. In the fields of nonmaterial production, whether it be the sciences, education, culture, the arts, hygiene, sports, or theoretical research, their work is all linked to the construction of spiritual or material civilization and their work is all vital for modernized construction. Their work is directly linked to the development of the four modernizations construction program. Without them the four modernizations would come up against enormous obstacles. Thus we must pay attention to intellectuals, respect the work they do, and wipe our prejudice against them, thereby setting up all possible conditions necessary for them to be able to exploit their intelligence and knowledge. Of course several thousand years of the opposition and gap between mental and manual labor, as well as the extremely negative influences left in the minds of mental laborers as a result of the will of the exploiting classes, mean that intellectuals today still have some shortcomings. They must continue to raise their ideological consciousness and they must make a more conscious effort to improve their sense of being masters of their affairs as well as their loyal and selfless spirit of dedication to the cause of the working class. At the same time they should constantly improve in their work, closely integrating their work with reality and making greater contributions in creating, inventing, managing,

administrating, propagating knowledge, maturing people's moral integrity, and enriching the people's material and cultural lives, as well as creating a new style of interhuman relations.

The division of labor between mental and manual labor is not the same thing as completely separating the two. At the same time as admitting the rational division of labor between the two, we must also recognize the general trends and demands of historical development and consciously create all possible conditions for promoting an even better integration between manual and mental labor. The path to gradually achieving this integration is mainly to be found in constantly improving the scientific and cultural levels of the workers. It must be appreciated that under the socialist system, as modernized construction develops, not only will the proportion of mental laborers within the total work force increase, but also the amount of mental labor involved in manual labor will also constantly increase, and thus the extent to which manual and mental labor are integrated will constantly deepen and expand. In view of this, if we do not pay attention to improving the political and ideological consciousness and scientific and cultural standards of every single worker, and if the workers and peasants do not study and learn about new scientific and technological know-how, but instead regard study as something "nonessential" or as "an extra burden," then it simply illustrates a lack of farsightedness and a lack of understanding of what modernized construction is and a lack of concern for the fundamental interests of the working class. If, on the other hand, study and learning are promoted and if great efforts are made to grasp modernized scientific and technological knowledge, then this illustrates earnest, down-to-earth, and farsighted promotion of modernization and the correct expression of the workers' and peasants' role as masters of their affairs. Thus every worker and peasant must put great efforts into studying and try hard to improve their cultural standards and to grasp modernized science and technology. In order to ensure that the workers and peasants have greater opportunities for education, the state and all regions, departments, and enterprises must adopt all possible means to create better conditions for them to study in.

We must put particular emphasis on training the younger generation. Today the number of young workers under the age of 35 makes up between 60 and 70 percent of the total work force. The vast majority of them are in the first line of production. In 7 years, that is, in 1990, today's youth of between the ages of 14 and 18 will be between 21 and 25 years old, and that point in time will be the key period of economic prosperity. By 2000 they will be between 31 and 35, in their prime. Of the peasants, young people also represent the majority. The turning of a new page in the four modernizations construction program and the writing of a new chapter in socialism will mainly depend on them. These people lie at the crux of the question of whether or not we can improve the intellectual backwardness of the worker and peasant masses and change the economic backwardness of China. In a sentence, the way in which these young people grow up is intimately linked to the future and destiny of socialist modernization. Thus we must strategically emphasize the training of this younger generation. Young workers and young peasants must improve their study consciousness and they

must make full use of all possible study methods and conditions for study, studying culture and science and technology and gradually overcoming the limitations of the division of labor, grasping as much knowledge as possible and working hard to become experts and creative and innovative specialists in all trades, good at using their brains and their hands and thus becoming the vanguard for the construction of a socialist spiritual and material civilization.

In our socialist society the restrictions caused by the level of the productive forces mean that the division of labor between mental and manual labor will continue to exist for a long time to come, but this does not mean that the situation will remain frozen and unchanging. The more the productive forces develop, the more intimate the integration between manual and mental labor, and by the time we reach the lofty era of the communist society, while some unessential differences between manual and mental labor will still remain, all essential differences between the two will have been eradicated.

CSO: 4004/53

TENTATIVE DISCUSSION ON LABOR CONTRACT SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 83 pp 33-35

[Article by Yue Guangzhou [1878 0342 2507]]

[Text] To introduce the labor contract system and to reform state unified responsibility and arrangement of the employment system characterized by employing and promoting without any chance of dismissing and demoting represent an important trial in reforming the existing labor system.

The employment system used in China now has been formed over a long period. In early postliberation days, we "took over" all the government employees and teachers that were working during the rule of the KMT and the workers and staff of the bureaucratic capitalist enterprises; this measure was followed by the "takeover" of the workers of the state-private joint ventures. Arrangement has always been made by the state for the employment of the graduates from universities, polytechnics, and technical schools. In general, the units and enterprises employing these people are not allowed to dismiss them on their own account, nor are these people permitted to find other jobs.

The economy in China developed quite rapidly in the early days of liberation. A great many enterprises were in the early stage of their development and they required a great many laborers. Under such conditions, the negative aspects of the system of unified responsibility and arrangement of employment were not yet striking. But during the later period of the First 5-Year Plan, the shortcomings of this system began to crop up. During this period, the production scale of many enterprises was basically fixed and the number of their workers had in the main reached saturation point. But under such conditions, these enterprises could not but continue to employ workers under the arrangement of the state. As a result, the enterprises were overstaffed. Directed against this situation, the state trial-implemented the contract worker system toward newcomers in 1958 with certain results. But theoretically, we did not have a definite idea as to what kind of employment system to introduce that would be in line with the socialist system. We were also not in a position to solve well such questions as wages of contract workers, their social insurance, and their welfare. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the "gang of four" turned things upside down and slandered the system of contract laborers and

temporary laborers as having the purpose of splitting the working class and restoring capitalism. Consequently, a great many contract laborers and temporary laborers were turned into permanent laborers. It was also laid down that the newly recruited workers for perennial production posts must be permanent workers. This measure resulted in strengthening the system of unified responsibility and unified employment arrangement.

Practice over the past long period has proved that the employment system characterized by unified responsibility and unified employment arrangement with promotion but without demotion has many defects. First, the employing units are not in a position to select, employ, and decrease or increase their workers according to the needs of their production and work. Often the enterprises cannot employ the people they need, while those who have been employed cannot be dismissed. In addition, the enterprises do not have enough internal motivation to employ workers economically and there exists equalitarianism in the distribution of wages. Therefore it is common to find that enterprises are overstaffed and under this condition it is difficult for them to improve their economic management, labor productivity, and economic results. Second, the arrangement for employment is totally in the hands of the state, and the laborers have no right to choose their jobs. Once they become permanent laborers of enterprises they cannot but carry out their tasks, even though the jobs provide them no chance to display their advantages; and as a result, a number of talents have been deprived of the opportunity to display their expertise. Third, some people hold that "those who have entered the gates of state-owned enterprises and become permanent workers are the lucky guys." Therefore those who are employed by state-owned enterprises are reluctant to make progress, not diligent in their work, and rely on "eating out of the same big pot" of socialism. The leadership of enterprises is not in a position even to handle those who have seriously violated labor discipline and refuse to repent after repeated education. Therefore it can be easily seen that this employment system, far from meeting the needs of the development of the national economy, has become a stumbling block, and it cannot but be reformed.

In their efforts to reform the employment system over the past 2 to 3 years, many regions, departments, and units have one after another introduced the labor contract system. Although the concrete methods of the labor contract system are yet to be perfected, this system has already demonstrated its vitality and it represents the orientation for reforming the employment system. First of all, the introduction of the labor contract system is in line with the needs in the development of the national economy. Marx said: "The nature of big industries determines the exchange of labor, the exchange of positions, and the overall flow of workers." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 534) In the process of their production, enterprises are often subject to the control of various factors such as state planning, market demand, and the supplies of raw materials and energy, and consequently their requirements in quantity and quality of labor force are also subject to frequent change. A number of enterprises have been closed down, suspended, merged, or shifted to other production and this situation has happened constantly; therefore it is imperative that various regions,

departments, and units readjust and redistribute their labor force among them. Second, the introduction of the labor contract system will enable the employing units and the laborers to choose each other and this situation is in the interest of developing production and displaying the talent of laborers. Various economic forms will exist simultaneously for a long time to come during the socialist stage. The collective enterprises with funds raised by the masses belong to the laborers of these enterprises. These enterprises carry out independent accounting, with their own responsibility for both profits and losses, and therefore these enterprises must be entrusted with full decisionmaking powers in employment. The state-owned enterprises are relatively independent economic bodies and they are economically responsible to the state; therefore, in order to be able to manage well their own business, they must also be entrusted with certain decisionmaking powers with regard to such aspects as staff and workers, finance, and goods and materials. We must create conditions to enable those who are needed to join the enterprises and those who are not needed to leave them. If enterprises do not have the right to choose the persons they need, if the persons they employ are at variance with their actual needs for a long period, and if the enterprises have to take over the task of arranging employment for the persons distributed to them by society, there will be no way for these enterprises to increase their economic results. To work represents the means for earning a living, therefore the laborers should be permitted, in choosing their jobs, to consider whether the specialization and technology are in line with their capability, the amount of their labor payment, and labor conditions. The fact that the laborers have the right to choose their jobs is no doubt in the interest of displaying individual talent. The selection of jobs can be carried out once or many times, depending on the intention of both sides. In short, to enable the employing units and laborers to choose each other is in the interests of both sides. But under the permanent labor system it would be difficult to do so. Experiment on the labor contract system shows that this system is able to encourage laborers to work more actively, study technology, and abide by government law and labor discipline, and that its role in enabling enterprises to use the labor force more rationally so as to improve labor productivity and economic results is apparent. The labor contract system has been popularized among newly recruited workers in the Shenzhen special zone of Guangdong Province. It has benefited the enterprises concerned and has been welcomed by the broad masses of workers. The enterprises in the city that have been cited as advanced units are all implementing the labor contract system. This situation shows that the labor contract system is better than the permanent labor system.

Some comrades will probably ask, what are the main differences between the labor contract system under the socialist system and the labor contract system under the capitalist system? The answers are, first, these two different labor contract systems are based on different economic foundations. The labor contract system in capitalist countries is based on the means of production with private ownership. Under the capitalist system, laborers are divorced from the means of production and therefore the laborers cannot but sell their labor to capitalists. The labor contract system under the capitalist system reflects the relationship of employer and

employed between capitalists and workers. The labor contract system in China is based on the means of production with public ownership; the laborers no longer work for the exploiting class but for society and themselves. Under the capitalist system, it appears that the contract signed between employer and employee represents equality between the two sides, while in reality the contract conceals the relationship that workers are subject to exploitation by capitalists. In China, one of the two sides involved in the labor contract system is the units employing workers and these units represent a socialist country and the laborers themselves. The other side is elements of the labor collective that represents part of the owners of the publicly owned means of production. The relations of both sides involved in the contract are relations of equality that are based on unanimity of basic interest. Second, the two different labor contract systems are implemented with different purposes and with different results. In capitalist society, the contracts are signed with the purpose of enabling capitalists to exploit surplus value to the maximum. In pursuit of profits, capitalists constantly expand their productivity and step up their exploitation of workers, and as a result there has appeared the contradiction between blind expansion of production and the purchasing power of laborers. In addition, capitalists constantly use new technology to constantly expand the organic structure of capital but the demand for laborers of this capital is shrinking. Therefore unemployment represents a permanent companion of capitalist society. To maintain a reserve army of labor is in the interest of capitalists, to make up the necessary labor force at any time and to step up the exploitation of their employees. This situation is an imperative condition for the development of capitalist production, and also represents a condition for capitalists to mercilessly exploit workers through the labor contract system. The purpose of the production of our country, which is socialist, is to meet the increasing needs of people's material and cultural life. The introduction of the labor contract system in China is aimed at overcoming the defects of the employment system that is characterized by such aspects as unified responsibility and arrangement of employment by the state, employing without any chance of dismissing, and promoting without any chance of demoting, so as to fully and rationally use the labor force and to enable workers to display their talent in the interest of improving labor productivity and economic results and developing social productivity even more quickly. When the national economy is developing more rapidly, it will be able to expand labor employment and improve labor conditions, so as to give consideration to workers' intermediate and long-term interests. Therefore we can in no way confuse the labor contract system in China with that in capitalist countries.

Some comrades worry that the introduction of the labor contract system will make the ranks of workers unstable and that this situation is not in the interest of production. Compared with the existing employment system, the introduction of the labor contract system will no doubt increase the movement of workers. But this movement is limited because with the introduction of the labor contract system, the state will define legal regulations with regard to workers' employment period, dismissal, and resignation. For example, in introducing the labor contract system, the period of validity of contracts may depend on the needs of production and work; that is to say,

the period may be shorter or longer or there may be no fixed period of validity, which means there is no limit. With regard to labor contracts with a limited period, it is necessary for the enterprises and laborers concerned to put forth the suggestion for terminating their contract before its expiration, and all this must be done according to stipulation. Contracts may be signed again and renewed after their expiration according to the needs of production and with the consent of the workers themselves. In general, workers are willing to continue working with the enterprises that have worked hard to improve their management, that have implemented the principle of distribution according to work, and that are concerned with their life. The situation of the experiment on the labor contract system shows that the ranks of workers are mainly stable. It is because, provided that it is required by production and the workers accord with the necessary conditions, there is no reason for enterprises to discharge the original workers and employ new ones; the workers themselves are also not willing to leave the enterprises when they find that it is more suitable and beneficial for them not to do so. The movement of workers will occur only when enterprises find it necessary to discharge some of their workers or when some workers feel that they cannot but find other jobs. Such movement of workers is limited and in addition it has more advantages than disadvantages.

Some other comrades have said that with the introduction of the labor contract system, workers will feel that there is "pressure" and that they will lose their sense of responsibility as masters of the country. In fact, for workers to feel "pressure" in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the state does in no way contradict a strong sense of responsibility as masters of the country. Such "pressure" is indispensable because, with this pressure, the broad masses of workers will work more actively in production and construction. When the defects of the system of "everybody eating from the same big pot" remain unresolved, there will be neither "pressure" nor "motive force" for workers and, under this condition, it is impossible to fully display the initiative of workers as masters of their country.

Still other comrades have opposed the introduction of the labor contract system and an important reason is that they have totally confused the labor contract system being advocated with the contract worker system that was implemented in the past. In fact, there are differences between these two systems. First, there is a difference in wages, social insurance, and welfare. In the previous contract worker system, many kinds of treatment are below those of permanent workers. In particular, there is no social insurance for workers, and consequently they worry about their future and the future of their families. In future, the introduction of the labor contract system must be based on the system of wages, social insurance, and welfare that is different from the previous contract worker system so that the actual income and treatment of contract workers are not lower, under the same conditions, than those of permanent workers. Second, these two different systems have different status. In the past, contract workers in enterprises were regarded as temporary workers who were inferior to others. The labor contract system that is to be implemented will have a wider sphere, all the staff of an enterprise will be equal, and therefore people's ideology will also gradually change.

The system of state unified responsibility and arrangement of employment, coupled with employment without discharging and promotion without demotion has been implemented in China for more than three decades, and it will be very difficult to thoroughly reform this system. In implementing the labor contract system, people must be made to fully understand the necessity of reforming the existing employment system and at the same time it is also necessary to create conditions for the implementation of the labor contract system. Seen from a certain significant viewpoint, it can be said that the latter is more important than the former. It is because the employment system with unified responsibility and arrangement of employment is coupled with the original wage, insurance and welfare, and personnel systems. If the labor contract system is not coupled with new wage, insurance and welfare, and personnel systems, it will be difficult to implement this system smoothly. Following the experiment on the labor contract system, the question of other systems needed to complement this system and other links will become more outstanding. Therefore it has become an urgent task to study and define the wage, insurance and welfare, and personnel systems that are in line with the labor contract system.

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INSPECTION, SUPERVISION, AND LEADERSHIP WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 83 pp 36-37

[Article by Yuan Shi]

[Text] Strengthening inspection and supervision and seriously carrying out organizational work is a decisive and important link in leadership work. Particularly at present when we want to effectively implement various policies and guiding principles formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress, it is all the more necessary for us to treat the strengthening of inspection and supervision as a basic requirement in improvement of leading style and method.

Bureaucratic style such as disputing over trifles, shifting responsibilities to others, and nobody taking up responsibilities is usually related to lack of serious inspection and supervision. Because, as a result of lack of inspection and supervision, those who proceed from interests of individuals and small groups will either use both hard and soft tactics in dealing with higher leadership's guiding principles, policies, and decisions or adopt a selective attitude by using those beneficial to them and leaving aside those which are not beneficial to them. As a result of lack of inspection and supervision, those who pay no attention to efficiency and the quality of their work refuse to make progress and take responsibilities can muddle along peacefully. Those "good people" who dodge difficulties and evade contradictions can also get along very well. All in all, bureaucratism, formalism, red tape, and other unhealthy practices will emerge and develop due to lack of inspection and supervision. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out as early as December 1978: "At present, a serious problem in enterprises, institutions of various localities, and in party and state organs at various levels is that no one takes up responsibilities." "Once a work is assigned, nobody will ask whether the work has been carried out or not and no one will care about the consequences." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 140-141) Obviously, such a situation does not meet the need for the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

In order to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, we are now facing a series of reforming tasks and the party's ideology, style, and organizations are also to be straightened out. While marching forward, we will

inevitably meet various complicated situations and problems and various obstacles. It is, therefore, very important for leading departments to make correct plans and decisions. But issuing notices is only half doing the work--the easier half. Stalin said: "It is of prime importance to have correct policies, but the policies will be useless if they are not carried out or are distorted in practice." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 9, p 141) "It can be said with certainty that 90 percent of our shortcomings and defects result from lack of correct inspection of our work." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 329) This summation of experience and bitter lessons is still beneficial to us even today.

Not all plans and decisions of leading departments are perfect and a relatively long process of continuous strengthening of our understanding and repeated exploration in our practice are needed in order to continuously perfect the plans and decisions. In this process, many things need to be tested. Here, inspection and supervision play a very important role in the testing. By carrying out inspections and supervision, we can judge what is rational and can be promoted and what is incorrect and needs to be revised. Even if a plan or a decision is correct, we should also adopt effective measures and appropriate methods in the course of its implementation in light of concrete conditions and practical situations. We must not seek rigid uniformity and copy others without discrimination. The process of inspection and supervision is a process of integrating the party's guiding principles and policies with the practice of each specific department and locality in a more proper manner.

Of course, we must give full play to the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of people in carrying out our reforms, just as in all revolutionary practices. It is precisely for the purpose of listening to opinions and voices of the masses and pooling of their wisdom that leading departments look to the masses and go deep into practice to inspect and supervise various work. This can not only keep close ties between leaders and the masses, but can also make the masses master the party's guiding principles and policies more swiftly and bring about swift changes in various work.

Many facts indicate that where there are only plans but no inspection, or only decisions but no supervision, work will not be improved there for a long time and even some simple problems cannot be resolved for many years. Where inspection and supervision work has been carried out properly, the problems can be resolved more rapidly and remarkable achievements can be made in various work. The 14 principal enterprises in consuming energy in the Tianjin Municipal Metallurgical Bureau were all elected as Class 1 or Class 2 enterprises in saving energy this year, making rapid progress in saving energy. This is closely related to the implementation of various energy-saving measures by the municipal metallurgical bureau, such as inspection and supervision of energy-saving work, guarantee of the supply of quota, the practicing of the punishment and reward system, and the carrying out of technological innovation. Provided we not only make plans but also inspect our various work just as a teacher reviews and corrects students' papers and quality control personnel inspect products, and grasp the work thoroughly, we will make accomplishments.

In order to properly carry out inspection and supervision work, we must pay attention to the following:

While assigning tasks, we must raise relatively concrete demands and make necessary working methods clear according to concrete situations. Some localities and units may also make some changes according to their own conditions provided unified requirements are met.

In carrying out inspection, we must pay attention to major points, namely, whether decisions and instructions of leading departments have been carried out or shelved, whether they have been carried out properly or perfunctorily, correctly, or in a distorted manner. It is necessary to firmly grasp those who fail to earnestly implement decisions and instructions, neglect their duties, practice formalism, and pay no attention to practical effects, and to seriously deal with them according to the nature of the problems so as to educate others. Good typical examples must be praised and experience should be summarized and promoted. In carrying out inspection, we must pay special attention to the opinions of the masses and to whether or not our plans correspond with practice, whether or not they are correct, and whether or not they are complete or perfect, so as to make necessary revision and supplement and to promote our work to develop more favorably.

We must integrate inspection and supervision work with assessment of cadres so as to examine cadres' political quality, moral integrity, revolutionary enthusiasm, professional abilities, and their working performance. Based on this, we can select those cadres who have the intention of creating new things, have revolutionary enthusiasm, and are able to create a new situation, and dismiss those who are satisfied with the existing state of affairs, seek no progress, engage in unhealthy practices, and have waning revolutionary will. All in all, we must gradually establish a series of effective measures for inspection and supervision so as to make inspection work a regular system and must not make changing and interrupted efforts by sometimes grasping the work and sometimes loosening the work. The crux is that leaders at various levels must pay serious attention to this work. Provided we firmly grasp this link, we will greatly upgrade our leadership level and efficiency and we will more properly carry out various guiding principles and policies of the party.

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DEVELOP INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES WITH INTELLECT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 83 pp 38-40

[Article by Li Bin [2621 3453]]

[Text] In order to achieve socialist modernization we must focus on the development of intellectual resources. However we cannot simply rely on finances to develop intellectual resources, we should make full use of the intellectual resources available to us and the existing intellectual strength in our society. This represents an extremely important guiding ideology for the party in the development of intellect. Over 30 years of practice have proved to us many times that the organization of the sciences and education is like the organization of the economy, in that all potential should be used to its fullest and the least amount of money should be expended to carry out the largest possible number of projects. In addition, we should use fewer people and less material and financial resources to achieve the maximum economic and social results.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee more and more comrades have come to understand the importance of developing intellect while understanding has intensified of such things as "the key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology" and "the basis for training scientific and technological personnel lies in education" and similar strategic ideologies. However some comrades have still not fully understood how the development of intellect should be carried out and what such development should depend on.

The development of intellectual resources must to a certain extent depend on financial resources. Because of errors in the guiding ideologies in the past, investments in intellectual resources shrank and this resulted in dislocations between the development of economic construction and scientific education. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee we have been taking steps to change this and, as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out at one session of the 6th National People's Congress: "The State Council has decided to gradually increase investments in cultural construction every year from now." The relevant departments of the central authorities and all regional levels of government have also drawn up plans for educational development and increasing funds for education and scientific research and are thus working hard to bring about a

change in the backwardness of education and scientific research. Financial resources are able to create the necessary material conditions for the development of intellectual resources. In general, without classrooms, teaching material, reading material, experimental equipment and various other things vital to education and scientific research, it is impossible to carry out such education and scientific research. At present we must increase investments in education, especially investments in secondary and primary schooling in the rural areas and border regions and thus gradually improve teaching and educational conditions in these areas. However material resources and intellectual resources and their uses are very closely connected. Material resources can only be exploited to their fullest when grasped and operated by people with specific intellectual and technical skills. Only by exploiting the people's potential and allowing intellectual resources to come into play can the utilization of material resources be improved, and thus also can even more intellectual resources be developed. Hence, while we stress the development of intellectual resources we should also stress investments in intellectual resources and emphasize the role of people, focusing on exploiting their intellectual resources. In other words, we should exploit the potential that exists in intellectual strength and thus use intellect to develop intellectual resources. This should be the guiding ideology that the entire educational sector and scientific and technological world, as well as all units which have intellectuals in them, should adhere to, for only in this way can we ensure that the development of intellect proceeds along the right lines and advances on a wide road.

It has been determined by the law of intellectual development itself that intellectual resources be developed through intellect, and furthermore it is an objective demand arising out of the present situation in China. China is a large country with poor initial foundations and funds are required in every aspect of modernized construction. Even greater amounts of money are required in certain key areas such as energy and communications. Thus, in the short term, there cannot be any large-scale increases in investments in intellect and in addition, the numbers of people required for our country's modernized construction must increase several fold. According to predictions from the relevant departments, in order to ensure that the 1990's see economic prosperity, the country needs to increase by more than 10 million the number of university and college graduates who possess knowledge of modernized science and technology, and increase by several tens of millions the number of trained workers who have attained specific scientific and cultural standards and who have the ability to operate advanced production tools and grasp advanced production technology. There is an enormous discrepancy between these figures and the numbers of people that the country's various schools, colleges, and universities (including those soon to be built) can actually produce. Even looking at universities and colleges, the actual figure of trained people that they could produce is only half of the predicted necessary figure. This is a very big contradiction. How can this difference be resolved, where is the answer? There is only one answer and that is the rational utilization of the investments in intellect available to the state and the various levels of regional government, the full exploitation of all intellectual potential,

and further development by relying on existing intellectual resources. This represents an important lesson in China's work in developing intellect and intellectual resources.

When compared with the needs of the country's economic construction and social development, China's intellectuals are too few in number and their distribution is very irrational. Some talent has been suppressed for many years while in other cases, not all the potential has been allowed to develop. There is quite a rich quantity of intellectual resources in China's universities and colleges. In some older universities with solid foundations the ratio between teachers and students is not satisfactory and thus in many cases the teachers' roles have not been given their full rein. This represents enormous potential and universities and colleges equipped with good numbers of teachers, material resources, equipment, and potential should be developed further. After working hard to complete their own teaching tasks, colleges and universities of higher education can, if they have any surplus, organize some of their teaching staff to work in coordination with work units, and help organize radio and television university, night school university, and university courses by correspondence. In addition, technical personnel could organize various training classes and research classes, establish some specialized foundation courses and some courses in technology as well as courses in economics and administration and management. In addition, lectures could be given on the latest developments in science and technology and management experiences. In this way we can train the scientific, technological, and management personnel so desperately needed for the four modernizations while also ensuring that the teachers' own knowledge is constantly replenished and enriched. In recent years there have been many exchanges of personnel between provinces and towns, with all parties replenishing their numbers of students and technological personnel in short supply and this has proved a very good way of developing intellectual resources with intellect.

In order that China's economy develops and flourishes and that the four modernizations are carried out, we must improve the scientific and technological abilities and qualities of the cadres and employees in all organizations and enterprises throughout the country as quickly as possible. People's qualities vary and the role that these qualities play in production and the results that they produce are different as well, indeed they may even be contrary to predicted expectations. At present, 70 percent of cadres working on the economic front in China have educational levels below junior middle school level while over 70 percent of workers in industry have technological grades of between level one and three, and one-quarter of the entire country's workers need to take remedial cultural and technological classes. If this situation is not changed then it will be very hard to meet the demands of the four modernizations. In order to solve this contradiction the most economic course of action would be to organize training in rotation for existing cadres and employees on the basis of work and production needs. Some party members may be sent to various party schools to study and others may be selected to study at universities, colleges, and staff and employee schools. This course of action does not require very great increases in state investments, it

mainly relies on the intellectual resources of existing enterprises and schools and making use of the present period of readjustment to rationally organize staff labor and study. In the case of remedial cultural classes for young city workers, the large numbers and enormous amount of work involved means that, apart from factories running their own employees' schools, we must make use of the potential in some solidly based middle schools staffed by good teachers to run remedial cultural classes for workers of nearby small and medium scale factories. Many middle school teachers have rich teaching experiences and they can provide guarantees for the quality of the teaching. Middle schools all have classrooms and equipment for experiments in science and thus all that is needed is that time be rationally organized and the utilization ratio improved and in this way the problem will be easily solved. In some towns, such activities have already been undertaken and the results have been very good.

China's intellectuals have a glorious tradition of patriotism and they want to use their knowledge to repay their motherland for what it has given them. The question today is how to organize these comrades and develop diversified and multi-level activities relating to the development of intellect, and in this way give full rein to their role. There are many academic organizations and associations in China and they have in total around 10 million members. Recently the democratic party groups took active and positive steps toward coordinating with the various academic organizations and associations and organizing schools, lecture courses, science and technology markets and various other intellectual activities, thereby raising the scientific and technological standards of the mass of scientific and technological workers, cadres, and the worker and peasant masses. These actions have also produced evident economic results and have been warmly welcomed by the masses. The Hebei Accounts Association which was recently praised by leading comrades in the central authorities is just one example. The Hubei Accounts Association invited several retired experts in accountancy, all over 60 years of age and all with a warm love for the socialist cause, to edit and publish a "Finance and Accounts Newsletter" which was thus able to provide training for more than 3,000 accountants and finance workers. The association also invited Chinese and overseas experts to give lectures on various related subjects. In 3 years, not only did they develop intellectual resources they also amassed financial resources of around 1 million yuan in funds. This example illustrates how retired intellectuals represent an indispensable force, and thus we should make full use of their enthusiasm to train others for the motherland so that they make great contributions to socialist modernization.

There are several millions of scientific and technological personnel and teachers in China carrying out scientific research and various specialized jobs and many of these experts have shown creativity and inventiveness. We should propagate and spread their creations and inventions as the scientific associations everywhere are doing right now. It is an outstanding tradition among scientists to propagate their own scientific work themselves. Even the greatest and most famous scientists from Copernicus to Galileo and Einstein all actively propagated and promoted their own scientific work. Such comrades as Li Siguang and Zhu Kezhen from China

also propagated their own scientific work, thus presenting us with outstanding models. The dissemination and propagation of science occupies an extremely important position within the construction of a socialist spiritual and material civilization and its targets are the cadres, workers, peasants, and students. If scientists and engineers directly disseminate the latest scientific research results and technological knowledge among the cadres and working masses and thus raise their scientific and technological standards, then such knowledge can be quickly transformed directly into the productive forces and thus improve economic results. This is an important way in which intellect is used to develop intellectual resources and it is also an important and integral part of social education. At the same time, such work of disseminating science also builds up a reserve strength in science and technology numbering many hundreds of thousands. The future of science belongs to the younger generation and if we are to train outstanding scientific and technological experts then we must start with young people in secondary and primary schools. We must launch all kinds of scientific and technological activities to inspire young people's interest in, and pursuit of science, increase knowledge and develop ability. Thus the dissemination of science is also an important supplement to secondary and primary school education and it represents an important aspect of the development of intellectual resources. It should become one of the most important tasks in China's socialist modernization program.

There are many different ways of using intellect to develop intellectual resources. For example, organizing teachers to take advanced or refresher courses, sending teachers, scientists, and engineers abroad to observe and study and take part in academic exchanges, thereby constantly improving their intellectual capabilities, are all important ways of developing intellectual resources. In conclusion, as long as we fully appreciate the importance of using intellect to develop intellectual resources, actively make use of all potential, and mobilize all positive factors, then we will be able to create many diversified and effective ways of developing intellectual resources and thus prepare huge numbers of qualified talent for making the economy prosper.

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

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

[Text] XI. On Army Building

44. /"The army must be consolidated."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 1)

(By Zhong Can [6945 3605])

With a view to eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the army and building our army into a modern, regular and revolutionary one, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has discussed the significance, content, policy and principle of army consolidation in great depth in many of his speeches. Studying these expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's in depth is of great importance to the successful accomplishment of our work of army consolidation.

Army consolidation is an integral part of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's resolution to change the whole political situation which was thrown into disarray by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to bring about stability and unity, and to bring our country onto the correct path of socialist modernization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping first put forward the notion that "the army must be consolidated" in January 1975 when he was asked to take charge of the day-to-day work of the party and state. At that time, Premier Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, the "gang of four" was running amuck, the "Cultural Revolution" was doing serious damage on various fronts, and there were a lot of problems in army building. In the face of such a serious situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put the interests of the party and state before personal safety, ignored the possibility that he might be toppled a second time and resolutely put forward the proposal that "the army must be consolidated." At the same time, he also set out to consolidate the railroads and the iron and steel, coal and national defense industries. Shortly after this, he made the important policy decision to "carry out consolidation in all fields." The work of consolidation soon produced results and a new

atmosphere and situation arose in many places. Although this work was later stopped, the policy decision on consolidation had already struck roots in the hearts of the people and won the support of the whole party, army, and nation. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping brought up the question of consolidation again and clearly set forward the specific content, method, and requirements of consolidation in the light of changed conditions. The main points of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on army consolidation, including various aspects of army work, are as follows:

The first aspect deals with ideological consolidation. Acquiring a correct line is the basis of consolidation in all fields. Lin Biao vigorously promoted the personality cult with ulterior motives. It was in the army that he first proposed to study the "quotations" and the "three constantly read articles" and to "achieve quick results." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carved up the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and vulgarized Mao Zedong Thought. What they did produced a great impact on the army. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng upheld the viewpoint of "two whatevers." He suppressed the discussions on the question of the criterion of truth and continued to put shackles on people's mind. This also affected the army to some extent. If this situation remained unchanged, it would have been impossible to do a good job of army consolidation. For this reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly educated the army in the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and the four basic principles. He urged the army to seriously study the basic theory of Marxism, comprehensively and accurately comprehend and master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, oppose the "two whatevers," and make a special effort to eliminate influence of "left" ideas while taking care to overcome right interference. He emphasized the need to proceed from reality, conscientiously study new situations and new problems in army building under new historical conditions, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization with the communist ideology as the core, and consciously maintain political identity with the party Central Committee so that the army can set an example in implementing the party's line, principle, and policies.

The second aspect deals with organizational consolidation. The organizational line is the guarantee of the realization of the ideological and political lines. After the Third Plenary Session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said this in connection with the situation of cadres, including army cadres: "A serious problem that confronts our country is not so much a question of the correctness or incorrectness of the line and principle of the four modernizations, as the lack of a large number of capable people who can realize this line and principle"; "it is the lack of a batch of cadres who are in their prime and have professional knowledge." (p 193) In view of the old age, low level of proficiency, and unadaptability of our cadres in the modernization program, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent and raised the question of selecting successors. He emphasized time and again that what comes first in the selection of cadres is the political criterion, that is, whether the

person supports the political and ideological lines of the Third Plenary Session. He clearly pointed out: "People who made their fortune by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their like in rebellion, people who are seriously infected with factional ideas and people who engaged in beating, smashing, and looting must never be promoted. Not a single one of them should be promoted. Those who have already assumed leadership posts must be removed. If we do not heighten our vigilance and if we allow them to occupy leading posts, resort to two-faced tactics again to strike root and establish links and cover themselves up well, even a small number of them will bring us unforeseeable disasters." (p 283) At the same time, he also discussed time and time again the need to boldly make exceptions in selecting capable people and to firmly grasp the cultivation and selection of professions so that outstanding cadres who are relatively young can take over the baton sooner. In accordance with these expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's, the army has done a good deal of work in connection with the consolidation and the task of manning leading groups at all levels, and has achieved notable results.

The third aspect deals with the consolidation of rules and regulations and the restructuring of organizational systems. The establishment and perfection of various rules and regulations are an important guarantee of socialist modernization. They also constitute an important component of efforts to strengthen the regularization of the army. Comrade Deng Xiaoping closely combined consolidation with the restructuring of organizational systems and closely combined structural reform with the perfection of rules and regulations. He pointed out: In accordance with the requirements of structural reform, we need to have perfect rules and regulations, methods of work and methods of leadership, and to clearly define the system of responsibility. As early as 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping noted how Lin Biao and company turned the army into a "swollen" setup and thus called for efforts to "make the swelling subside." After the smashing of the "gang of four," he pressed for efforts to "streamline the army and increase its combat effectiveness" and profoundly expounded the need to carry out structural reform in streamlining the army. In order to properly consolidate the army, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee drew up rules and regulations for practically all realms and aspects of the army in accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's suggestions so that the armed forces would have something to go by and could more easily achieve unity in understanding and in action. All these rules and regulations are necessary for consolidating the army and strengthening its fighting capacity. The structural reform and the establishment of rules and regulations will contribute immeasurably toward the modernization of the army and the strengthening of its combat effectiveness.

The fourth aspect deals with the rectification of the style of work. The outstanding style of work cultivated by the army in the course of protracted revolutionary struggle is of great significance to the implementation of the party's line, the preservation of the true qualities of the people's army and the fulfillment of various tasks. However, this fine style of work was also badly shattered by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Comrade Deng Xiaoping attached great importance to the rectification of the army's

style of work. He said: "Consolidation primarily refers to the consolidation of leading groups and the rectification of style." (p 117) In 1975, he summed up the problems of the army in five words, namely, "overstaffed, undisciplined, arrogant, extravagant and lazy." With the exception of the problem of "being overstaffed," which is a question of structure, the rest were all related to ideology and style of work. In view of these problems, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly emphasized the need to restore the fine traditions of our army, carry forward the revolutionary heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice displayed during the years of war, and strengthen organizational and political discipline. He held that this is the only way to defeat a powerful enemy, ensure the absolute leadership of the army, carry out the party's line and policies, and speed up the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of the army. Today, through a host of vivid instances such as the project to divert water from Luanhe to Tianjin and the joint efforts made by armymen and people to build spiritual civilization villages, one can clearly see that the fine traditions and style of work of our army have been restored and carried forward.

The fifth aspect deals with the consolidation of preparations for war. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" one-sidedly emphasized "putting the human factor above all else," criticized the so-called "purely military viewpoint," and undermined our army's military training and development of armaments. In view of this situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping particularly emphasized the need to promote the development of armaments in order to speed up the modernization of our army and to put education and training in an important position strategically in order to bring up a large number of qualified personnel who have fine military, political, and cultural qualities and who meet the needs of modern warfare. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on these issues have provided our army with a clear-cut guiding ideology for making preparations for war and charted the correct orientation for army building in the new period.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions concerning "the army must be consolidated" have given a great impetus to our army building. In recent years, in particular, our army has conscientiously implemented Comrade Deng Xiaoping's general policy, principle, and demands concerning the consolidation of the army and carried out consolidation in an all-round way in the course of implementing the line, principles, and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, thus guiding the armed forces onto the correct path of revolutionization, modernization, and regularization. Our army has carried out streamlining, reorganization, consolidation and the restructuring of organizational systems, reformed and perfected various rules and regulations, readjusted and consolidated the leading groups at all levels, strengthened the development of armaments, rectified its ideology, work style and discipline, strengthened education and training from the high plane of strategy, raised its military and political qualities and strengthened its fighting capacity. In this way, our army has embarked on a road of rapid development in modernization.

45. /"The army must raise education and training to a strategic position."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 56)

(By Wu Jitian [0702 4764 3944])

Comrade Deng Xiaoping first put forth this idea of raising education and training to a strategic position in 1975. At that time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had wrought serious havoc in the army as on various other fronts of the country. They vigorously criticized the "purely military viewpoint," asserting that the more military and technical training one receives, "the farther he will deviate from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." They also vigorously slashed the number of military colleges and academies, thereby seriously undermining the work of education and training and precipitating an obvious decline in the military and political qualities of the armed forces. Under such circumstances, Comrade Deng Xiaoping who had just come out to take charge of the work of the Military Commission gave Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tit for tat with a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision and courage by proposing that "the army must raise education and training to a strategic position." Although the implementation of this important thinking was later frustrated by the movement to "counter the right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts" triggered by the "gang of four," it was able to produce a great impact among the vast number of commanders and fighters. As soon as Comrade Deng Xiaoping returned to work after the smashing of the "gang of four," he brought this thinking to the fore again as an important principle for consolidation and army building at a forum of the Military Commission in August 1977. He pointed out: In order to raise the qualities of the army and strengthen its fighting capacity at a time when we are not engaged in any fighting, it is necessary to raise education and training to a strategic position. Afterward, he further substantiated and enriched the idea of raising education and training to a strategic position by giving further instructions regarding the content of such education and training and how this was to be implemented in practice.

The need to raise education and training to a strategic position is determined by the basic functions of our army and by the requirements of modern warfare. Armies fight with weapons. It is only through rigorous training that they can acquire fighting capacity. Engels once pointed out: "No one can win a battle on the strength of zeal alone without training and organization." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 203) Comrade Mao Zedong also emphasized all along that the army cannot fight unless it has undergone hard and strict training. Zhuge Liang, a statesman and strategist of ancient China, also said: "Without training, an army of 100 men cannot stand against one man; with training, one man can stand against a hundred." ("Zhuge Liang," p 87) During the war years, our army mainly learned warfare through fighting in war. However, even then our army paid great attention to making good use of the intervals between battles to conduct training. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation: "Rest and training are essential to the armed forces, and the best opportunity for doing this is when the enemy is taking the defensive." "The intervals between battles should be made use of to

conduct training with concentrated effort. This goes for the field army, and the local armed forces as well as the militia." In times of peace when the armies are not engaged in fighting, education and training should become an important means for strengthening army building and increasing its fighting capacity. Thus, our army must take education and training as the focus of its work. In particular, our army must realize that the widespread application of modern science and technology in the military field, the weaponry has been progressively renewed and developed. This has led to important changes in the methods of fighting and made higher demands on the commanders in relation to the art of command and tactical skills. At present, the military and political qualities and the scientific and cultural levels of our army, particularly the ability of the cadres in directing modernized composite battles, still fall quite short of the requirement of modern warfare. It is only through vigorously grasping education and training that we can put an end to this state of affairs at an early date. Proceeding from the functions of our army and the present situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized the need to raise education and training to a strategic position. This policy seizes hold of the principal contradiction of army building in the new period and meets the needs of modernization. It is an important development of Mao Zedong's military thinking and is of great significance to the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of our army.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only put forward the policy of raising education and training to a strategic position but clearly pointed out that in order to properly implement this policy, the army must study diligently and train hard in the first place and it is necessary to solve the problem of cadres through properly running schools. This is a profound summary of experience about the education and training of our army and is the only way to strengthen education and training under the new situation.

The education and training of the armed forces includes military training, political education, the imparting of the knowledge of science and culture, and so on, which are organically linked and promote each other. Without rigorous training, it is impossible to make good of education and training in these aspects and raise the qualities of the troops in an all-round way. Crack troops come from rigorous training. This is a common law for managing troops at all times. It is only through rigorous training that the troops can temper themselves in the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor difficulties and the style of heroism and tenacity. Only in this way will the vast number of commanders and fighters be able to skillfully master the use of weapons and develop the ability to stand the stiffest tests. In particular, the rapid development of armaments and the ever rising degree of modernization in our army not only have increased the difficulty and intensity of training but have set higher demands on the scientific and cultural levels of the commanders and fighters. This makes it all the more necessary for the troops to develop the spirit of hard and strict training, devote more efforts mentally and physically, endure hardships, study assiduously and keep improving. Only in this way will it be possible to combine people who have a high degree of political consciousness and are full of revolutionary heroism with modern weaponry and science and technology, and train our army into an invincible crack force.

The military and political qualities of the cadres is a decisive factor in army building. We often say we can tell how good a general is by the men he leads. When the qualities of the cadres have been improved, it will then be possible to improve the quality of education and training in the whole army accordingly. Colleges and academies are bases for training cadres. It is only through formal training in colleges and academies that we can effectively improve the military, political, and cultural qualities of the cadres and raise their educational and professional levels. In modern times, a common law of army building in all countries is that army cadres must be brought up in military academies. In wartime, the overwhelming majority of our army cadres were unable to attend school. This is determined by the historical conditions at that time. After liberation, our party attached great importance to the setting up of military colleges and academies. Many such colleges and academies were gradually set up and a large number of cadres with notably higher military qualities and cultural standards were trained. Many of these cadres later became the leadership backbone of our army. This shows that when there is no fighting going on, army cadres can and must be trained through colleges and academies. Today, we are trying to build a modern and regular revolutionary army. Under the new situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized the need to "solve the problem of cadres through running schools" and bring into play the role of colleges and academies as "the department of collective cadres," This instruction has indeed grasped the key link in army building. In accordance with this instruction of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's, our colleges and academies can steadily supply the armed forces with a large number of well-trained and capable people who have a better grasp of the art of command and can meet the needs of modern warfare. In this way, it is possible to make the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent.

The policy to raise education and training to a strategic position reflects the desire of the vast number of commanders and fighters of the whole army. It has also emancipated people's minds to a very large extent. In recent years, the whole army has conscientiously implemented this policy and incessantly eradicated the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As a result, military colleges and academies have been rapidly restored and developed. One can see that the quality of military training in the armed forces has been conspicuously raised and the traditional style of work has been carried forward. A wave of enthusiasm for assiduously acquiring the knowledge of science and culture and training army-civilian personnel is in the ascendant and the combat effectiveness of the troops is greatly strengthened. The fruitful results achieved by our army in conducting education and training is an eloquent proof that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction that "the army must raise education and training to a strategic position" is the correct guiding policy for strengthening army building in the new period.

46. /"We must improve the weaponry and speed up the modernization of national defense on the basis of a steady growth of the national economy."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 350)

(By Zhang Yunyi [1728 0061 5030])

With these few lines, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called our attention to the need to improve armaments in the modernization of national defense and put forward the fundamental principle for correctly handling the relationship between the modernization of national defense and economic construction. This is of extremely great significance in guiding the modernization of national defense.

In an international environment in which the danger of war still exists, it is important that we should modernize our national defense because it is a reliable guarantee for our socialist construction. The modernization of armaments is the material foundation for the modernization of national defense. Therefore, sufficient attention must be given to this. On the question of the relationship between man and weapons, Marxists are always opposed to the theory that "weapons decide everything." They hold that it is the human factor that is decisive in war. Engels said: Weapons "cannot move on their own, they have to be used by brave hearts and strong hands." The history of growth of our army is one which shows the defeat of a superior enemy with inferior equipment. In accordance with the historical experience of our army, Comrade Deng Xiaoping upholds this Marxist viewpoint under new historical conditions. He pointed out: As long as we keep up the just war and the people's war, we will be able to fight and triumph over our enemies with our existing weaponry even if they attack us now. "In this world there are people who claim that technology decides everything. We must not wholly and blindly believe this." (p 74) Actually, even in modern warfare, it is unlikely that only the most advanced weapons and equipment will be used. In the battle between the British and the Argentines over the Malvinas Islands, only 2 of the 18 British warships sunk by the Argentine troops were hit by missiles; the remainder were all hit by ordinary bombs and rockets. Conventional weapons also formed the greater part of the offensive weapons used by the British troops. However, although we oppose the theory that "weapons decide everything," it does not mean that we can content ourselves with the backward state of our weaponry. Lin Biao one-sidedly emphasized "fighting skills within 200 meters" and willfully belittled the role of weapons and equipment. This is wrong. We must eradicate the pernicious influence of this notion. Engels said: The entire organization and the combat methods of the army and the outcome of war depend on economic conditions, on man and on weapons. Lenin also said: "Anyone would think it is a stupid act if an army does not intend to grasp all weapons and all means and methods of struggle that are, or are likely to be, available to the enemy." Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the theory that "weapons decide everything" in his article "On Protracted War." However, he also maintained that we must "develop new war industries," saying: "The reform of our military system requires its modernization and improved technical equipment, without which we cannot drive the enemy back across the Yalu River." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 478) The history of

development of our army is, on the whole, one in which inferior equipment was used to defeat a superior enemy. However, this inferiority was only relative, not absolute. Moreover, as the revolutionary war progressed, the weaponry of our army was also steadily developed and improved. Back in the days of the Red Army, our army had made use of captured radio stations as field headquarters. Eventually, artillery and aviation schools were set up one after another and armored corps were established. By the time of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, arsenals capable of producing planes and tanks were set up. All these played an important part in increasing the combat effectiveness of our army. Based on the characteristics of modern weaponry and the important effect it has on war, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out explicitly that in order to cut down unnecessary sacrifice in future wars, it is necessary to work against time in developing our weaponry. To achieve this goal, every effort must be made to cut down the number of army personnel. He said: "We must cut down the number of army personnel and spend the money thus saved on the renewal of equipment. This is our policy." (p 249)

With the swift development of science and technology following World War II, armaments have undergone phasic changes, and so has their effects on war. The emergence of intercontinental ballistic missiles, strategic bombers, and submarine-launched missiles and the widespread use of armed helicopters in battlefields have broken down the traditional boundary between the front and the rear and turned the rear into the front. The formation of ground assault forces that are comprised mainly of war tanks and infantry chariots and the emergence of ground neutralization systems which are made up of cannons, rocket guns, and land-to-land missiles with ranges of several hundred kilometers have broken down the previous limitations in which the two belligerent parties had to fight in a given battlefield and armies could launch different attacks at the same time. The application of synchronized electronic devices with electronic computers as the main body have pushed the work of exercising command, reconnaissance, and communications into a new phase. All this has not only brought about a series of profound changes in strategy and tactics, the mode of war and military organization, but has boosted the role played by armament itself in war. An important reason why Israel was able to launch a surprise attack against Egypt in the third Middle East war was that it had completely and effectively jammed Egyptian radio communication and radar devices beforehand. Egypt's radio communication was broken off, its radar was rendered ineffective, and command was paralyzed. The Egyptians were able to break through Israel's Barif defense line successfully in the fourth Middle East war precisely because they had learned their lesson from the third Middle East war. They had devoted major efforts to developing sophisticated reconnaissance techniques and electronic devices. Half an hour before actual fighting, they were able to jam practically all of Israel's radar and army radio communications and most of its long-range ground communications. In this way, Israel's ground commanders were unable to order the planes to attack the targets and the pilots were unable to receive radio distress signals from the ground forces. In the battle between Britain and Argentina over the Malvinas Islands, British battleships were repeatedly attacked by Argentine troops and sustained heavy losses because the British side lacked air advance warning systems. These

specific examples of battles show the important role of advanced military equipment in future wars. Thus, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must also pay attention to technology. We will suffer if we do not pay attention to technology." (p 74)

Our army has greatly improved its armaments since the founding of the People's Republic. It is equipped with fine conventional weapons produced in China. In addition, it also possesses atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, long-range missiles, submarine-launched missiles and other sophisticated strategic weapons for self-defense. Military maneuvers held in a certain place in north China in 1981 signaled a new step forward made by our army in the direction of regularization and modernization. But, on the whole, we still lag behind the advanced world level in the field of armaments. This gap is where the weak link of our army lies, but it is also where the potentialities of our army building lies. The political qualities of our army are first rate by world standards. In the future, as long as our army adheres to the policy of continuously improving its armaments on the basis of steadily strengthening its revolutionization, it will find its might redoubled and will be able to make still greater contributions toward safeguarding the motherland and world peace.

The improvement of the weaponry must be preconditioned by the steady growth of the national economy. Advanced weaponry gives concentrated expression to, and sums up the new achievements of modern science and technology. It is costly and cannot be developed without a solid and strong economic foundation. Our economy and science and technology are still fairly backward. Under such circumstances, we must devote major efforts to developing economy and science and technology before we can improve our weaponry. When Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the relationship between economic construction and defense construction 27 years ago, he said: "One reliable way is to cut military and administrative expenditures down to appropriate proportions and increase expenditures on economic construction. Only with the faster growth of economic construction can there be more progress in defense construction." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") This view is still correct and applicable. In view of the current situation in our country, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also emphatically pointed out that we must work within our capabilities in our efforts to speed up the improvement of armaments. He said: "The modernization of the national defense is only possible if it is based on the development of industry and agriculture in the whole country. In any case, if we do our job properly, we will be able to speed up the improvement of armaments with what is available in our country." (p 75)

47. /"Judging from problems existing among the troops and from the actual situation, the most important thing to do is to study and solve the problem of how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions of political work and increase the combat effectiveness of our army under new historical conditions."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 114)

(By Sun Yongmin [1327 0516 3046])

Our party has always attached great importance to political work in the armed forces. Our army has developed a whole set of fine traditions in

conducting political work during the protracted revolutionary war. However, ever since Lin Biao took charge of the work of the Military Commission in the early 1960's, particularly during the decade of internal turmoil, our army's political work suffered serious setbacks at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They ostensibly emphasized the importance of political work, clamoring about "giving prominence to politics" and asserting that "politics can brush aside everything." In reality, they did everything in their power to undermine our army's fine tradition of political work in their vain attempt to do away with the party's leadership over the army and fundamentally change the proletarian nature of our army. They practiced formalism and metaphysics in political work, which led to the prevalence of the style of lying, bragging, and talking idly. They clamored about "smashing the General Political Department" and conspired to destroy the political organ of our army organizationally, thus throwing army political work into confusion. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng advanced and adhered to the policy of "two whatevers." This move seriously hampered our army's efforts to eradicate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in army political work. At this important historical juncture, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward and emphasized time and again the need to study and solve the problem of how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions of army political work under new historical conditions before the All-Army Political Work Conference in June 1978 and in his address at that conference. He repeatedly pointed out that in order to restore and carry forward fine traditions, we must keep to the principle of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in everything and integrating theory with practice, and pay attention to the task of studying new circumstances, solving new problems and creating new methods. This correct view has played a very important part in setting the guiding ideology right, in correcting the orientation of army political work and in restoring and carrying forward the fine traditions of political work.

Our army's fine traditions of political work were based on the set of theories, line, policies, principles and methods formulated by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation for our army's political work. These fine traditions include the following aspects: To guarantee the absolute leadership of the party over the army; to resolutely carry out the party's political tasks; to persist in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate the troops and properly carry out ideological work; to persist in carrying out political work in conjunction with other tasks; to uphold the three major principles of political work, namely, unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and the disintegration of the enemy troops; to carry forward political, military, and economic democracy; to fully bring into play the role of party branches as fighting bastions; to strictly observe the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention; to keep to the principle of seeking truth from facts in political work; to conscientiously implement the party's line and policies concerning cadres; to carry forward the fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living; to turn the PLA into a big school, and so on. These fine traditions have played an immeasurable part in the history of our army. They have given the troops a high sense of political consciousness, and enabled them to

know whom they are serving and what they are fighting for and to consciously cultivate the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people. They have instilled into the troops a tenacious will to fight and the heroic aspiration to crush all enemies, and enabled our army to develop into a strong combat force with strict political and military discipline. They have helped our armymen to become one with the people and thus win the sincere support and backing of the masses. Practice shows that the party's political work in the army has a strong bearing on the strength or weakness, victory or defeat, existence and development of our army. At all times and under all circumstances, political work can only be strengthened and must never be weakened.

In the socialist period, the building of a modern and regular revolutionary army also needs the guarantee of political work. We must pay attention to the renewal of armaments, the improvement of the quality of education and training and the development of political work because they are the vital factors in army building. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Under new historical conditions, "the fundamental task and content of our political work have remained unchanged and our fine traditions are the same as before. However, times have changed, and so have the conditions and the targets. Therefore, the methods of solving problems should also be changed." (p 114) In other words, we must also boldly blaze new trails when we carry forward the fine traditions of army political work under new historical conditions. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's talks on army political work have inherited and developed the fine traditions of army political work and thus added splendor to this work. For example, in view of the interference from the "left" and right sides which still existed after the Third Plenary Session, he proposed that the troops must identify with the party Central Committee politically and ideologically. This became an exemplary viewpoint for implementing the party's line, principle, and policies and further developed the fine traditions of the party's absolute leadership over the army. In view of the new situation in which a large number of cadres would be transferred to civilian work and fighters would be demobilized and return to their localities every year, he put forward the concept of training personnel who can serve both the army and the localities and striving to turn the army into a big school, thus charting a new path for leading troops in the new period. This not only contributes to the exploitation of the intellectual resources of the cadres and fighters and to the creation of more material wealth, but helps promote the building of spiritual civilization in the army and propel army education and training forward. It is an important policy decision that benefits the country, the people, the army and the soldiers. In saying that the troops must learn science and culture and master the knowledge of modern science and culture, he has pointed out to us a new way to increase the combat effectiveness of the troops. This is important for improving the military and political qualities of the cadres and fighters and for accelerating the fulfillment of various tasks undertaken by the troops. Proceeding from the actual situation of a generally high average age in the leading groups of the army, he proposed lowering the average age of the army cadres. In so doing, he has grasped the key to the creation of a new situation in army work. In view of the rift between the army and the

government and between the armymen and the people produced by the decade of internal turmoil, he proposed that every effort be made to improve army-people relations according to new situations. The emergence of a new thing like "armymen and people making a joint effort to build spiritual civilization villages" is the concrete application of this important idea.

In short, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward a whole set of guidelines, principles, and policies for our army to conduct political and ideological work under new historical conditions. Thanks to the concern and guidance given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the past few years, our army political work has embarked on a correct road of development, fine traditions have been quickly restored and developed, and new developments have been made in content as well as in form. The progress made in political work has brought about the strengthening of the combat effectiveness of the troops. Following the promotion of a large number of young cadres who have a high degree of political consciousness, good military qualities, and great proficiency into the leading groups at all levels, the command and management capabilities of the troops can now better meet the requirements of modern warfare. The in-depth education in the party's line, principle and policies and the activities for building spiritual civilization, which have as their fundamental content the "four hases, three stresses, and two defiances" (that is, have high ideals, moral integrity, knowledge and physical strength; stress on army appearance and bearing, decorum, and discipline; and defiance of hardships and difficulties and of sacrifice) have heightened the revolutionary ideals and patriotic spirit of the commanders and fighters and strengthened their organizational discipline and moral concept as revolutionary soldiers. The activities to master the knowledge of science and culture and train personnel that can serve both the army and the localities have enabled the commanders and fighters to enrich their knowledge and stabilize their thinking, given the troops enormous help in mastering the new weapons, new technology and new tactics, and brought about fruitful results in the reform of training and in technical renovations. Practice shows that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on army political work are in line with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and conform to the objective reality of army building in the new period. They are powerful ideological weapons for conducting army political work in the new period and are important guidelines for creating a new situation in army political work and increasing the combat effectiveness of our army.

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IT REALLY DOES NOT WORK NOT TO STUDY THEORY

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[Article by Wei Fuhai, secretary of Dalian City CPC Committee and mayor of Dalian]

[Text] I graduated from the training department of a school of the CPC Central Committee not long ago. I systematically studied the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and combined theoretical study with the CPC line, principles, and policies with considerable results. During my study I also linked theory with practice, summed up my experience in socialist construction, and studied the practical experiences of China in carrying out socialist construction. All these have helped raise my theoretical level with the effect that I have raised my self-consciousness in implementing the CPC line, principles, and policies and I have become much more interested in studying Marxist theory.

When I was first informed that I was assigned to study at the school, I understood it showed that the CPC was concerned with my study and I myself felt that I must study. But at the same time I felt that to devote 1 year to the study was too long and that it was rather too bad to spend so much time in studying at the school because much actual work was waiting to be done. I began my study with these feelings. But when I began to touch upon the subject of philosophy, I began to realize the usefulness of the study and consequently I became interested in it. Following a deepening of the study, my understanding of it also developed from "it is useful to study" to "it is necessary to study" and I further felt that "it does not work not to study." Following this change, my attitude toward the 1-year study in the school also drastically changed from the feeling of "rather too bad" at the beginning of the study to "it is a golden opportunity" in the later period of the study.

This study helped me understand that in the final analysis, the level of leadership that is usually referred to by us, the capability of leadership, and political maturity all refer to the level of Marxist theory. The situation is the same for a country, a city, or a prefecture. The cadres who have not acquired a certain level of Marxist theory will no doubt face more difficulties in their work and therefore they are not in a position to make still greater contributions to the country.

Many things, and particularly some complicated questions and problems, are not easy to understand unless we carry out theoretical analyses and study, and do not just consider matters as they stand. We will be able to master the nature, features, and law of many things and do a good job of our work only when we are able to hold and use this weapon of theory.

For example, how to appraise Mao Zedong Thought and how to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought from the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years. It is impossible to answer this question unless we have mastered a high level of Marxist theory. Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated the necessity of correctly grasping the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought as a whole, and this advocacy represents a major theoretical principle. It is because Comrade Deng Xiaoping has mastered this principle that he can, in very complicated situations, clearly distinguish between right and wrong in major matters and consequently he has been able to deny the principle of the "two whatevers" and resolutely defend the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and the position of Comrade Mao Zedong in history to unify the ideology of the whole CPC.

Another example is whether the introduction in rural areas of the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output represents retrogression. This question also can only be resolved and analyzed and measured by resorting to Marxist theory. Seen from the viewpoint that the relations of production must accord with the development of productivity, the introduction of the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output to readjust the relations of production is much closer to the development of productivity in rural areas at the present stage. The introduction of this system is in the interest of mobilizing the initiative of peasants and promoting the development of agricultural production. The rural areas in China have prospered now thanks to the implementation of the contracted responsibility system with payment linked to output. Should we stubbornly cling to the old viewpoint of the principle that is characterized by "big in size and collective in nature" and continue to see things according to their appearance and not their nature, we might come to the wrong conclusion that the introduction of the responsibility system is "retrogressing."

Having improved my understanding of the importance and necessity of theoretical study, I made an appraisal of myself. On the one hand, I understand that as a cadre with more than three decades of experience and with positions ranging from departmental director to workshop leader, I have acquired certain experiences in the practice of industrial production and a certain theoretical knowledge of professional technology. But on the other hand, I am deeply aware that although I am sharing the responsibility of understanding and transforming the world, I have not been able to systematically grasp scientific knowledge, that is to say, I have yet to master the world outlook and methods of dialectical materialism. I am a backbone element who is leading the broad masses of people in building socialism and yet I am not in a position yet to systematically grasp the theory of scientific socialism. I have been working for a long period as a leading cadre who is responsible for the economic work of a region and yet I

have never studied political economics. And as a city CPC secretary I have never systematically studied the history of the CPC, let alone the ancient history and modern history of China. These analyses helped me understand that my knowledge is too little and that this situation is far from meeting the needs in the development of situations and the four requirements for cadres characterized by the four aspects of more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent. Consequently I have realized the urgency of study.

During my study in the school, I combined theoretical study with preliminary study of practical questions in economic construction, such as how to prevent and overcome "leftist" mistakes, how to study in a deeper way the law of socialist economy so as to enrich and develop the theory of socialist construction, how to perfect the socialist system and coordinate the relations of various aspects, and the position of key projects and its relation to the strategic goal defined by the 12th CPC National Congress. During the holidays, I compiled material about urban housing construction, about imports of technology by coastal cities using foreign capital, and about the restructuring of the system of distribution.

In recalling my study in the school, which lasted for 1 year, I have many impressions. One of the most profound impressions is that I have become more and more interested in theoretical study. Now I have become gradually accustomed to consider things theoretically and as time passes by I have also paid attention to combining theory with practice. With regard to the study of theory, there is no other way but to study it unremittingly. Although a certain amount of time is needed to study theory, such study is rewarding because when we are able to give theoretical guidance, we will be in a position to carry out work from a strategically advantageous position in order to get twice the result with half the effort. In the past, I usually squeezed time by cutting down the time for rest so as to handle more actual problems, and I have consequently improved the results of my work. In future, I will continue to squeeze time, but not for handling more actual problems; I will spend more time in studying theory. Facts prove that to have studied theory well is useful in correctly guiding actual work from the point of view of theory and this work method will give much more results. If I say that the past method brought results in the form of "addition," the results of the work under correct theoretical guidance will be in the form of "multiplication."

I will continue to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and, in addition, I want to study cultural and scientific knowledge so as to improve my knowledge in an overall way. I will consider my graduation from the school as a starting point for my new study. At present, I will first of all study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." I also plan, after a certain period of work, to study the construction and development of the city of Dalian by resorting to Marxist principles, so as to further understand the theory I have studied.

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