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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 3, 1 February 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS MUST STAND IN THE VAN OF OPPOSING BOURGEOIS
LIBERALIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The struggle against bourgeois liberalization has a vital bearing on the destiny of our party, the future of our socialist cause, and the results of the policy for all-round reform and opening up. This is in no way alarmist talk. Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and Liu Binyan stubbornly advocated bourgeois liberalization. They gave speeches and published articles everywhere to incite the people, and they cherished a very clear goal and directed the spearhead at a clear target, that is, to oppose the four cardinal principles. They negated the socialist system, sullied our socialist system by calling it "a feudal or semifeudal system in essence," and trumpeted "total Westernization" which in essence is to go the capitalist road. They attacked the people's democratic dictatorship, propagated Western-style bourgeois freedom and democracy, and stirred up trouble. They vilified the party, openly clamored that they would "change the color of the party," and tried to abolish the party's leadership. They regarded the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as "leftist," ossified, and old traditional concepts, took a critical attitude toward them, and attempted to abolish the guiding position of Marxism in all fields. Obviously, if this trend of thought were allowed to spread unchecked, it would not only disrupt the existing stable and united political situation, but would also obstruct the implementation of the policy for reform and opening up and cause a major setback to our socialist cause. China's Marxists will certainly not allow such things to happen, and the vast number of members of our party resolutely oppose these things. All Communist Party members who are willing to dedicate themselves to the communist cause must take a clear-cut and resolute attitude to uphold the four cardinal principles and stand in the van of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization.

What attitude a Communist Party member adopts toward the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization is an important criteria for testing his party spirit. Our party Constitution stipulates that Communist Party members are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class and must dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism. In the present stage, adhering to the four cardinal principles and concentrating all strength on socialist

modernization is the political foundation for uniting the whole party. Adhering to the four cardinal principles is a basic requirement for a Communist Party member in terms of party spirit and party discipline. If he fails to do this, he will lose the qualification for being a Communist Party member. Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and Liu Binyan stubbornly indulged themselves in bourgeois liberalization and refused to mend their ways despite the party's repeated admonition. It is a matter of course to take disciplinary action against them inside the party. Adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization are not only duties but also rights of all party members in order to safeguard the party spirit principle. Now, the party central leadership has called on us to fight against bourgeois liberalization. If we are still hesitant and wavering, then we will be lacking in the necessary party spirit and lacking a sense of discipline.

Opposing bourgeois liberalization is a task for the whole party, and is also an unshirkable duty for those party members who are engaged in ideological theoretical work. In recent years, there have been confused ideas and the leadership was rather weak and incompetent on the ideological and theoretical front. For various reasons, some comrades had many misgivings and dared not speak out to safeguard the four cardinal principles. Some comrades who aired correct opinions were even suppressed and attacked. However, those who advocated bourgeois liberalization were rather arrogant and fearless in the knowledge that they had strong backing. The erroneous arguments that negated the four cardinal principles could even go unchecked in our newspapers, journals, and forums. It is now time to change such abnormal phenomena. Marxists should be full of courage and the confidence to speak out. There are two basic points in the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee: First, to adhere to the four cardinal principles; and second, to carry out our reform, open up to the outside world, and enliven the economy. The trend of bourgeois liberalization not only opposed the four cardinal principles, but also disrupted the implementation of the policy for reform, opening up, and economic invigoration. We should use the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism and proceed from facts to thoroughly and sharply refute their fallacies. Of course, this must be fully reasonable and scientific, but it must not be handled in a simplistic manner, still less can we criticize things which do not belong to the scope of bourgeois liberalization. It is completely necessary to take disciplinary action against a very small number of people who violate discipline and advocate bourgeois liberalization. However, we should not require everybody to undergo a political examination. As long as people who followed the trend of bourgeois liberalization and made some erroneous remarks can acknowledge their mistakes and are willing to correct them, we should not continue to blame them any more.

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UPHOLD COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 3-4

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The CPC is the strong core in leading the people throughout the country in building socialist material and spiritual civilizations. The party has acquired this status as the core in protracted revolutionary struggle. No political party in China except for the CPC has been able to maintain close ties with the masses and lead the country forward in the more than 60 years since the May 4th Movement. It was with Communist Party leadership that the Chinese revolution was full of promise and won great victory after surmounting various difficulties. Without the Communist Party there would be no new socialist China. This is an historical conclusion. Revolution as well as construction need Communist Party leadership. Today, only by upholding Communist Party leadership can we smoothly carry out reforms and the policy of opening to the outside world and realize the four socialist modernizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is an unshakable principle that China is led by the Communist Party and that the socialist modernization of China is led by it. If this principle is shaken, China will regress into disunity and chaos, and it will not be able to realize modernization."

In advocating bourgeois liberalization and opposing the four cardinal principles, Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others essentially opposed Communist Party leadership. They attacked or vilified the Communist Party with words, which produced a bad influence and caused serious consequences among some young students. This naturally aroused the indignation of large numbers of cadres and people.

Fang Lizhi said that the Communist Party "did a few good things over 30 years," but "overall, it has been unsuccessful." In saying this, he not only vilified our party but showed contempt for the people across the country. Since the founding of the PRC, the Chinese people of all nationalities, under CPC leadership, have abolished all types of exploitation, established a new socialist system, and made tremendous achievements in economic and cultural development. These facts are obvious to all. But Fang Lizhi and others disregarded these facts and went all out to attack party leadership and to negate the outstanding achievements made by the Chinese people over the

30-odd years. This obviously is not a matter of understanding but indicates ulterior motives. In the past 30 years and more, our party has made mistakes, including serious mistakes such as the "Cultural Revolution." But these mistakes have been corrected by the party itself. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our party has experienced many mistakes, but each time we have corrected our mistakes by relying on the party, not by departing from it. The party Central Committee today is resolutely developing party democracy and people's democracy and is resolutely correcting past mistakes. Under such circumstances, some people have gone so far as to call for weakening or even liquidating party leadership. This cannot be tolerated by the broad masses. This would actually lead only to anarchism and the disintegration and complete collapse of the socialist cause."

Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others ran around here and there delivering speeches; slandering our party as being "black"; saying Communist Party secretaries know nothing but "how to persecute others"; and saying the state under party leadership is "dictatorial," "autocratic," and "lacking democratic factors." Their objective was to abolish party leadership. In order to attain this objective, they advocated a bourgeois, multiparty system. Wang Ruowang said bluntly: "The important thing is that the party itself needs reform," and "we should practice multiparty politics." In fact, the bourgeois, multiparty system is a product of contention within the bourgeoisie. On the surface, the replacement of one by the other looks very democratic. But in essence, it is a rule by the bourgeois "party," serving the interests of only a few exploiters. Actually, Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others attempted to transform our party, a proletarian party, into a bourgeois party. Didn't Fang Lizhi always say that it is necessary to "change the party's color" and "transform the party"? The party transformation he advocated meant to transform the Communist Party according to bourgeois liberalist features, just as when he said: "Only when people like us have joined it, can its image be changed." Some people advocate that "factions within the party should be brought into the open" to encourage factions and undermine the unity in the party. In fact, they are also attempting to change the character of our party. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" of our party stipulates: We must "oppose all forms of factionalism and factional activities that undermine the party's solid unity." To advocate open factions is in direct violation of the party "Constitution" and the party's "Guiding Principles." If there are many factions in the party, the party will be demoralized, divided in action, and unable to shoulder the responsibility of leading the people throughout the country. In that way, isn't it tantamount to abolishing the party leadership? The CPC is a party representing the interests of the broad masses of the people. In China, only the Communist Party can lead the people in taking the socialist road of common prosperity. If the CPC leadership is abolished, the 1 billion people will lose a rallying force, and China will be fraught with chaos and division, will depart from the socialist road, and will take the capitalist road.

Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others slandered the masses' sincerity in supporting and loving the party and satirized the masses' love for the party as being the "same as loving something with religious piety." They strived

to instigate dissension among the masses against the party. They said that under party leadership, the intellectuals "do not have an independent personality" and openly incited students to create disturbance on the streets. However, several persons with ulterior motives cannot undermine the close relations between our party and the masses. "The people are indispensable to the party, and vice versa." This truth has been proven by history and will remain proven. The troubles made by a small number of students have been stopped. Those young people are making self-examination. After they clearly understand the essence and purpose of the speeches by Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others, they will enhance their immunity to bad influence and will rally more closely around our party.

The attacks on party leadership by Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and others also show us in a negative way that we must strengthen party leadership. One major reason the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization could spread unimpeded and become rampant in some localities and units was because party leaders there did not take a clear-cut stand, were not firm in attitude, and became weak and powerless in the face of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. This is a serious lesson.

In order to persist in party leadership, the first thing to do is for leaders of party organizations at all levels to be clear-minded, take a firm attitude, and refuse to draw back when dealing with matters of principle and questions of right and wrong. If we expect the cadres and the people to stand firm, our leaders must stand firm themselves. Party leaders at all levels must steadfastly uphold the four cardinal principles, vigorously support the activists who support party leadership, and clearly show the people the correct orientation, enabling the vast majority of the masses not to become poisoned, bewitched, and vacillated by the words of those motivated by ulterior purposes. Party organizations at all levels and every communist must maintain unity with the party Central Committee, uphold the four cardinal principles and implement the party Central Committee's political line, principles and policies. At the same time, they should influence, persuade, and lead the masses with their own exemplary actions to make joint efforts in realizing the resolutions formulated and the splendid goal set by the party.

The CPC is a great party and able to lead the people of all nationalities to march forward and create a beautiful future. For the purpose of enabling the party to give still better play to its key role in the four socialist modernizations drive and exercise its leadership still more effectively and correctly, our party is exerting efforts to improve its leadership. We will continue to oppose bureaucracy and continue to rectify unhealthy tendencies and persist in and carry forward the party's fine traditions. All of the measures taken to improve party leadership have won and are winning the firm support of the cadres and masses. Any word or deed used in an attempt to weaken or do away with party leadership by taking advantage of our reform will be resolutely opposed by the people of the whole country.

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IT IS IMPERMISSIBLE TO NEGATE SELFLESSNESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 5-9, 10, 11

[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] Selflessness constitutes an important component of socialist and communist ethics. During the period of the new democratic revolution and after the founding of the PRC, our party consistently persisted in using the spirit of selflessness to educate party members and cadres and to inspire the fighting will of the broad masses. In the new period of carrying out reform, opening up to the outside world, and engaging in socialist modernization program, there is naturally no reason whatsoever not to continue to energetically promote selflessness. This is not only an indispensable component of the building of socialist spiritual civilization but also an important guarantee for the building of material civilization.

Some time ago, however, some people wrote articles to criticize selflessness, holding that "selflessness is not a communist slogan" but a "slogan of slave owners," that "the slogan should no longer be taken over in the socialist society," that "without selfishness human feelings would be incomplete and man himself would be nonexistent," and that selfishness is irrepressible. Some others opposed the slogan of utter devotion to others without any thought of self, holding that even in the communist society there will still be selfish considerations in people's devotion to others. These views have inevitably confused people's minds. They must be clarified because they are obviously unfavorable to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, reform, the policy of opening up, and socialist modernization.

Selflessness Is a Traditional Virtue of the Chinese Nation and the Entire Human Being. Selflessness, as Advocated by Our Party, Has Clear-Cut Meanings. It Means Having No Selfish Motives.

Selflessness is a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation and the entire human being. In Chinese history there has been no lack of advanced people who, in their daily activities, were impartial and selfless and showed devotion to public duty and who, when necessary, placed righteousness above family loyalty and were ready to die at their posts, to offer selfless tributes, or to make self-sacrifices for the national interest, state independence, and social progress. These people include Wen Tianxiang, who

recited the immortal line "What man was ever immune from death? Let me but leave a loyal heart shining in the pages of history" and who was unyielding until death; Deng Shichang, who heroically gave his life in resisting foreign aggression; and Tan Sitong, who was ready to shed blood for political reform and who, shortly before his execution, vehemently shouted: "I am happy to die a worthy death." Although there were different circumstances and levels in their selflessness, they displayed such moral integrity, national courage, and dedicated spirit that for thousands of years they have been on everybody's lips. In the histories of other countries, there have also been heroes who had selfless values and who dedicated their lives to the public interest, truth, justice, revolutionary causes, and human progress. In advocating selflessness, we should not only carry forward this traditional virtue but also add new meaning to, and further develop, it so that it can reach an unprecedented level in Chinese history.

In the article "The Role of the CPC in the National War" written in October 1938, Mao Zedong pointed out: "At no time and in no circumstances should a communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, wholehearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 488) Later, when expounding the need for the people's democratic dictatorship to have the leadership of the working class, he again pointed out: "It is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless, and most thoroughly revolutionary." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 416) Other revolutionaries of the older generation in our party also expounded on numerous occasions the noble quality of selflessness. In his book "On the Cultivation of Communists," Liu Shaoqi explained in detail that selflessness and unconditional subordination of personal interests to the interests of the party and the people are the supreme principle a communist should observe. Zhou Enlai also pointed out: The working class is "the most reliable, promising, and selfless class." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 2, p 66)

The selflessness advocated by our party has clear-cut meanings. It is a unified, complete concept. It is opposed to selfishness. "Public interests" and "private interests" always have many meanings. The former refer to the interests of the public and the people; the latter refer to selfishness, namely, benefiting oneself at the expense of others or seeking private gain at public expense. In advocating selflessness, we do not deny personal interests but take the recognition of personal interests as a precondition. Our purpose in making revolution is to work for the interests of all people, including myriad personal interests. By practicing the principle of distribution according to work, the socialist society has given consideration to, and flexibly integrated, the interests of the state, the collectives, and the individuals. When these interests do not conflict with one another, people are not asked to give up their personal interests. On the contrary, with the development of the collective and state interests, personal interests will also be promoted. In developing the economy, education, science, and culture, our fundamental starting point and end-result are nothing more than

to create conditions from various aspects so that the needs of the individuals (including their families) can be satisfied to a greater extent. In the communist society, where the productive forces are highly developed, there will be better conditions to satisfy their personal needs in material and cultural life. Now, some people censure our efforts to promote selflessness as an attempt to deprive people of their personal matters, interests, and right to live. This is a confused and distorted view of the concept. Marxism has always held: To "make history," people must be able to live. For this, they need, first and foremost, clothing, food, shelter, and other things. If people are really not permitted to have personal interests and needs, they will not be able to live a normal life. How can they begin to talk about selflessness! This is a question we can judge with common sense. During the 10 years of turmoil, under the signboard of revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted and tampered with many originally correct things, set the state and collective interests against those of the individuals, and negated justifiable personal interests and rational personal needs. This must be resolutely rectified. However, we should not for this reason go to another extreme by holding that individualism and selfishness are also good. Selfishness and justifiable personal interests are two different things; individualism is also different from personal matters, justifiable personal needs, and personal right to live. These concepts should not be confused either.

Negating selflessness begins with confusing and distorting concepts. However, this is not a dispute of concepts. The essence of the matter lies in whether or not there is a spirit of selflessness, whether or not the proletarian political party should take selflessness as a moral requirement and spiritual motive force to be promoted first among its members and then in the whole society, and whether or not it is necessary to advocate selflessness in the period of socialist construction. There are differences of principle on this series of questions.

The Proletarian Political Party Must Promote Selflessness. In the History of the Proletarian Revolution, There Have Been Innumerable Selfless People and Deeds. Without the Spirit of Selflessness There Would Have Been No Victory of the Chinese Revolution.

The proletarian political party takes upon itself the task of emancipating all mankind. With the exception of the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, it does not have its own special interests. Its character, its historical mission, and the needs of the revolutionary struggle determine that it must call on its members to practice selflessness. Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not directly use the term "selflessness" but all of them attached great importance to promoting the spirit of offering selfless tributes and making sacrifices for the cause of the proletarian revolution and the interests of the broad masses. They themselves were also the typical examples of practicing this spirit all their lives. To study the proletarian revolutionary theory, Marx willingly bore the torments of poverty and illnesses and sacrificed his personal health and family happiness. In the history of the international communist movement and in the long revolutionary struggle led by our party, there were innumerable instances of people who, for

the sake of the proletarian revolutionary cause and the people's interests, worked selflessly and sacrificed their personal interests and even their lives. In his revolutionary career, Wilhelm Wolff, a German proletarian revolutionary, was arrested and thrown into prison on several occasions. He was forced to go into exile abroad and sacrificed his all. In the title page of the first volume of "Das Kapital," Marx dedicated the book to Wolff. As Marx said admiringly, in the courageous struggle to defend the Paris Commune, "the Parisians died enthusiastically for the Commune in numbers unequalled in any battle known to history...The women of Paris joyfully gave up their lives at the barricades and on the place of execution." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 17, pp 378-379) In the Soviet revolutionary civil war and the war to defend the country, heroic figures, such as Ostrovsky, Matrosov, Zoya, emerged in large numbers. In China, giving up enormous family wealth, Peng Pai determinedly joined in the revolution; by writing "Poverty," a famous article filled with noble spirit, Fang Zhimin categorically rejected the enemy's attempt to lure him into surrender with promises of high position and handsome salary; filled with the heroic spirit that "it does not matter if I am beheaded so long as the doctrine is true," Xia Minghan walked to the execution ground; Dong Cunrui gave his life to blow up an enemy pillbox; Huang Jiguang plugged the opening in an enemy pillbox with his body, and so on. All of them radiated the dazzling light of the noble quality of selflessness. The martyrs did not make sacrifices in vain. Without their courageous death, there would have been no victory of the Chinese revolution. Their selfless spirit has developed into a force of great inspiration, calling on more people to plunge into the mighty torrent of revolution and push history forward.

Those negating selflessness say that acts of utter devotion to others without any thought of self are completely nonexistent in the world. This is entirely contrary to the facts. The heroes cited above and their moving deeds forcefully refute this view. In enemy prisons, to keep the party's secrets, protect party organizations, and save other comrades, many communists readily suffered cruel torture and even sacrificed their lives. Was this not utter devotion to others without any thought of self? In the battlefields, knowing perfectly well that there would be dangers and sacrifices, many revolutionary fighters were the first to assault and the last to retreat. To shield other comrades and units and to ensure a victory in the overall situation, they willingly sacrificed their lives. Was this not utter devotion to others without any thought of self? For the sake of others' happiness, a great many unknown heroes waged courageous struggles, performed immortal deeds, and eventually sacrificed their precious lives. Did not they likewise demonstrate the spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self? Negating this spirit is undoubtedly sacrilegious to the Chinese revolutionary history and totally disrespectful to the martyrs.

In Building Socialism We Should Promote Selflessness. In Carrying Out Reform and Opening Up We Must Oppose Selfishness and Individualism Characterized by the Practice of Benefiting Oneself at the Expense of Others and Seeking Private Gain at Public Expense.

Is it necessary to continuously promote selflessness in the new period of building socialism and achieving modernization? Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave a clear-cut reply to this question in 1980. He pointed out: "We should educate all party members so that they will act selflessly, put overall interests first, work hard, perform their official duties honestly, and uphold communist ideas and morality." He also pointed out: "During the long years of revolutionary wars our political orientation was correct and we based our actions on analyses of the actual situation. We promoted the revolutionary spirit, which inspires people to work tirelessly, observe strict discipline, make sacrifices, act selflessly, and put the interests of others first, the spirit that gives people revolutionary optimism and the determination to overwhelm all enemies and surmount all difficulties in order to win victory. And we did win great victories. In our effort to build socialism and achieve the four modernizations under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee, we need to encourage this same revolutionary spirit. A party member who lacks this spirit is not fit to be a communist. But this is not all: We must call on members of the party to foster this spirit among all our people, particularly our young people, through exemplary deeds, so that it becomes the main pillar of a culturally and ideologically advanced civilization in the PRC. Our country will then be looked up to by all revolutionary- and progressive-minded people in the world and admired by all who feel frustrated and suffer from spiritual emptiness for lack of purpose in their lives." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 326, 327)

To achieve socialist modernization, we must make the utmost efforts and work strenuously. We must also overcome all difficulties and obstacles. For this reason, we still need the spirit of selfless dedication and sacrifice. Without this spirit, not only will it be impossible to carry out our construction well, it will also be difficult to carry on with our normal social life. The reason is self-evident. In the socialist society, justifiable personal interests fundamentally coincide with the social interests as a whole. However, there will inevitably be some contradictions between the interests of the individuals and the collectives, between partial and overall interests, and between the immediate and long-term interests. To regulate these contradictions, it is necessary to have a correct policy and to give consideration to the interests of all parties. On the other hand, it is also necessary to enforce the legal system, step up education, oppose selfishness and the practice of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, taking advantage of one's position and power to seek private gain, and injuring the public interests to profit the private interests, vigorously promote the spirit of selflessness, and call on people, particularly party members and advanced elements, to work selflessly for the public interests, to place the overall and long-term interests of the people in the first place and, if necessary, to sacrifice their personal interests.

In our practical life, the gleam of selfless spirit can be seen everywhere. Martyr Li Fengshan, who laid down his life on the frontline in Lao Shan, had declined his grandfather's arrangement for him to go to the United States to inherit property. In his will he wrote: "Perhaps some people will hold that going to the United States is a most welcome opportunity, which only a fool would give up. But I think the motherland needs such fools." "Only when our soldiers shed their blood and give their lives is it possible for students to read aloud, lovers to chat intimately by the moonlight, and old people to lead a quiet life in their old age." "To make it strong and prosperous, the Chinese nation desperately needs this noble spirit of dedication." To make the motherland strong and prosperous, Deng Jiaxian, a noted nuclear scientist who passed away some time ago, and other scientists and many cadres, technicians, and workers engaging in geological prospecting and mining, readily sacrificed their personal fame and gain and family happiness. Unknown to the public, they worked day in, day out for several decades in remote areas or in desolate mountains and hills. In spite of the arduous work and the relatively poor working and living conditions and material remuneration, a great many middle and primary school teachers still work diligently and conscientiously, throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the work of educating the younger generation. Some of them have scored quite outstanding successes. There are also people who, like Zhang Hua, step out bravely when other people are in dire peril. They are willing to trade their lives for others' security and happiness. Such heroes and model figures are ordinary people with flesh and blood. They have their own personal needs and family happiness, but they merge all this with the interests of the collectives, the nation, and the state. It is precisely because of so many ordinary and devoted people that we have attained tremendous results in socialist construction. Their spirit is well worth commendation and promotion. Contrary to what some people have said, promoting this spirit is not an impractical fantasy transcending certain stages.

Being still in the initial stage of socialism, we must practice distribution according to work, develop the socialist commodity economy and competition, and encourage some of the people to become prosperous first, before the objective of common prosperity is achieved. Efforts to educate the people in ethics should be suited to this socioeconomic condition and should safeguard and ensure the implementation of the current economic policies. In promoting the spirit of selflessness, we do not negate rational differences in distribution. Nor do we negate distribution according to work and the commodity economy. With regard to those who are imbued with the spirit of dedication and sacrifices and who have made special or major contributions, we should especially give them material rewards and lavish more care upon them. By and large, promoting the spirit of dedication and sacrifices and spreading the idea of cherishing the general interest and subordinating personal interests to those of the collectives and the state are favorable to the implementation of the principle of distribution according to work and the development of the commodity economy. It should also be noted that there are numerous levels of social relations and that economic relations is the basic, but not the only, social relation between people. In a socialist society, distribution according to work is the basic principle for

distributing consumer goods. However, it is not the only criterion for dealing with people's mutual relationships and, therefore, we cannot regard remuneration and its amount as the only motive for people's actions. Many things and actions cannot be measured in money terms. In developing the socialist commodity economy, we should act according to the law of value in economic life. However, not all relationships between people are relationships of money exchanged at equal value. Martyr Cai Jinhua said: "The value of a soldier cannot be measured in money terms. Even if I were given thousands or tens of thousands of yuan to stay a day longer on the Lao Shan frontline, I would not want to. However, for the sake of the motherland, I am willing to fight battles here for a long time and even to die." It can be imagined if, in our social life, all people are selfish and that all acts revolve around money, what will become of our society and how will it exist and develop!

Under the new situation of carrying out reform and opening up, it is even more necessary for party members, especially the leading cadres of the party, to attach great importance to and earnestly practice such noble ethics as selflessness. They should pay more attention to resisting and opposing all ideas and acts that benefit oneself at the expense of others, seek private gain at public expense, take advantage of one's powers and positions to pursue personal interests, and put money above all else. Otherwise, how can they lead the people in building socialism! In the course of reform and opening up over the past few years, a number of party cadres, including some leading cadres, have engaged in unhealthy practices and some have even fallen into the quagmire of committing crimes. The ideological root invariably lies in the malignant swelling of selfishness and individualism. The interference and damage of these acts on reform and opening up also prove, by negative examples, the extreme importance of promoting selflessness and opposing the various selfish ideas and acts mentioned above.

Several years ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping severely criticized some people's erroneous ideas of negating such revolutionary spirits as selflessness. He pointed out: "As far back as the period of the new democratic revolution, we took communist ideology as a guide in all our work, calling on party members and other progressive people to act and speak within the bounds of communist morality, commending and trying to spread the spirit of such slogans as 'serve the people wholeheartedly,' 'the individual is subordinate to the organization,' 'be selfless,' 'utter devotion to others without any thought of self,' and 'fear neither hardship nor death.' We have now entered the socialist period, yet some people have had the audacity to criticize these high-minded revolutionary slogans. What is worse, this preposterous criticism, which should have been rejected, has found sympathy and support among some people in our own ranks. How can a communist imbued with party and revolutionary spirit tolerate such things?" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 326-327) The strange thing is, that a few years later, the things criticized by Comrade Deng Xiaoping have reemerged. This is worth pondering.

Selfishness and Benefiting Oneself at the Expense of Others Are Not Regarded as Social Morality Even in the Capitalist Society. The View That Selfishness Is Irrepressible is Erroneous.

The capitalist society is one based on private ownership, in which the commodity economy has highly developed. The economic relationships between people are really ones of interest and cold-blooded cash transactions. However, even in such a society, not all relationships between people involve money and not all people and actions are selfish. The bourgeois laws and ethics at once protect and restrict selfish motives and interests. It is impossible to be unlimitedly selfish. There are contradictions between individual and social interests in any societies. If all people are so selfish that they show no consideration for social interests, not only is it impossible for an individual to survive, but the society cannot develop as well. This is an irrefutable fact. Even Claude Adrien Helvetius, a bourgeois thinker who maintained that selfishness is human nature, also stressed the importance of safeguarding social interests. He held that personal interests must be combined with the social ones, that the latter should be placed higher than the former, and that even sacrificing personal interests is also justifiable (naturally, what he called social interests are essentially the interests of the bourgeoisie). In the history of capitalist development, many representative figures of the bourgeoisie also demonstrated the spirit of self-sacrifice; in the practical life of capitalist countries, it is by no means rare that people carry out such noble acts as finding it a pleasure to help others and sacrificing their own interests for the sake of others. Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, and many other scientists, in particular, even reached a noble plane of selfless dedication and self-sacrifices in their life-long struggle for human progress and the scientific cause. This also shows that it is by no means only the communists that have the spirit of selflessness or that the spirit of selflessness by no means exists only in the communist society. From numerous literature and art works, we can see that the moral character of selflessness is likewise held in esteem and respected in the capitalist society. Having profoundly experienced the scourge of rampant selfishness, many people increasingly cherish and admire the noble character of selflessness. Ours is a socialist society based on the system of public ownership. We have no reason whatsoever to favor the unrestricted development of selfish motives and desires, nor should we lack the noble character and conviction, including selflessness, which serve as the soul of our nation and state. Such a character and conviction can generate an extremely great cohesive force and a centripetal force, enabling all the people to unite closely and to exert themselves. They can also encourage people to overcome the numerous difficulties on the road of advance and forge ahead courageously. This is the genuine superiority of our society. On no account should we discard our fine traditions and genuine superiority on any pretext.

Selflessness Can Be Universally Practiced in the Communist Society. Promoting Selflessness in the Socialist Stage Reflects the Integration of the Advanced and Extensive Characters of Morality.

Some people set the promotion of selflessness against the free development of the individual, holding that even in the communist society there will still be selfish considerations in people's devotion to others and that it will be impossible for selflessness to exist in the communist society. This view is untenable. As Marx put it, the free development of each individual is conditional on the free development of all people. He also said: "Only in the collective can an individual have the means to develop his talent in an all-round way, that is to say, only in the collective is it possible to have individual freedom." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 82) The relationship between the free development of the individual and all people is the unity of opposites, each being the condition of the other. In the socialist society, all major social differences and inequalities which are caused by the insufficient development of social productive forces have been eliminated and the free development of individuals can be genuinely realized. However, the freedom and free development of individuals at that time should neither obstruct other people's freedom nor infringe upon social interests; individuals will still be required to obey society; and acts of selfishness and benefiting oneself at the expense of others will still be impermissible. The only difference is that all these will have become people's conscious actions and habits by then. Therefore, selflessness will then become a moral standard extensively practiced in the whole society.

In the socialist stage, promoting selflessness reflects the combination of the advanced and extensive characters of morality. In promoting selflessness there is the significance of not only assessing and affirming ideas and acts that exist in reality but also guiding the morality and conduct of more people through assessing and affirming such people and things. The supreme ideal of our party is to build the communist society. We do not give it up on the ground that it takes protracted struggle to achieve because this is the need of history. Likewise, we should not refrain from promoting selflessness just because many people have not attained such a plane of selflessness. The social being of the working class and the public ownership of the means of production serve as the social and material bases for the promotion of the selflessness; the scientific world outlook of Marxism, however, serves as a theoretical basis for the promotion of this spirit. For this reason, selflessness is not extremely rare, accidental phenomena in our society but is marked by organization, continuous development, and growing popularity.

Let the flowers of selfless spirit bloom more resplendently in the four modernizations practice!

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MARXISM IS A COMPLETE SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK

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[Article by Duan Ruofei [3008 5387 7236]]

[Text] The "CPC Central Committee's Decision on the Guiding Principles for Socialist Spiritual Civilization" points out that Marxism is a scientific world outlook of the working class. It is extremely important to point this out at the present time. This has fundamental bearings for correctly understanding the role and function of Marxism, for straightening out misunderstandings of Marxism, and for adhering to and developing Marxism. Therefore, this article will make an academic and theoretical exploration of Marxism as a complete scientific world outlook.

On this point, some readers will probably think: Is it worth exploring such common knowledge?

Common knowledge is familiar to everyone. But as Hegel said, familiarity does not indicate real knowledge. As to the common knowledge that Marxism is a complete scientific world outlook, not every comrade really understands it.

If they really understand this knowledge, why do they assert that Marxist methodology has shortcomings just because Marxism does not include some branches of science? And why do they see Marxism as a treasure house containing all subjects of sciences in the world?

If they really understand this knowledge, why do they divide Marxism, which is a unified and complete world outlook, into revolutionary Marxism and Marxism under construction?

If they really understand this knowledge, why do they regard Marxism as an encyclopedia and turn to it for ready-made answers to current problems?

Hence, it is necessary to further discuss the question of Marxism as a complete scientific world outlook.

Our viewpoint that Marxism is a complete scientific world outlook is based on the explanations of the founders of Marxism and on the establishment of

their theses. They had many explanations for this question. Let us cite some of them.

1. In 1859 Marx published the epoch-making work "Critique of Political Economics." Engels commented on it in the same year. He wrote, as his first comment: "Our party has a great strong point; namely, it has a new, scientific world outlook as its theoretical basis. We are busy enough to study this world outlook." "The result of these studies is the book in front of us." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 118-119) This commentary article was later sent to Marx for a review.

2. Marxism began to be established in the 1840's. Its complete theoretical system began to take shape in the 1870's. The book "Anti-Duhring" written by Engels between 1876 and 1878 basically reflects the level of Marxism in the 19th century. This book explains the Marxist theoretical system by criticizing Duhring. In the preface to "Anti-Duhring" which was written in 1878, he reminded the reader of the following: "This book does not replace Mr Duhring's 'system' for another system, and I hope the reader will not overlook the inherent relationship between various views I express." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 46)

What does the "inherent relationship" refer to? In his second preface to "Anti-Duhring," which was written in 1885, Engels gave a very explicit answer to this question. He said: This book is a "consistent exposition on the dialectics and communist world outlook Marx and I stand for--and this exposition covers a wide range of spheres." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 49)

What merits attention is that in this preface, Engels called "world outlook" the thesis that he and Marx had developed. He wrote: "This world outlook of ours first appeared in Marx' article 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and 'The Communist Party Manifesto.' After a period of 20 years, namely, after the publication of 'Das Kapital,' its influence began to expand at a faster rate." (Ibid.) He added: "The larger part of the world outlook expounded by this book was established by Marx. Only a small part is mine." (Ibid.)

3. Engels pointed out once again in March 1895: "Marx' world outlook is not a creed but a method." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 406)

The above examples suggest: 1) The founders of Marxism really regarded the thesis they established as a world outlook. 2) Not only does the chapter on philosophy in "Anti-Duhring" belong to the sphere of "world outlook," but its chapters on political economy and socialism, as well as "The Poverty of Philosophy," "The Communist Party Manifesto," "Critique of Political Economics," and "Das Kapital" also belong to the sphere of "world outlook."

What, after all, does the world outlook established by the founders of Marxism really mean?

A remark of Engels' provides us with the basis for an answer to this question. His remark is: "Our theory is not a dogma but an exposition on a development

process that consists of a series of stages joined with each other." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 576)

From this important remark and from analyzing the main theoretical works of Marx and Engels we can see the following: Based on the achievements made in the fields of philosophy, and the social and natural sciences in the 18th and 19th centuries, Marx and Engels worked in cooperation to illustrate a systematic and general view on the world we live in. This is a world outlook. This world outlook regards the world as a limitless process of the movement, change, and development. Engels said: "A great, basic thought maintains that the world is not a congregation of unchanged matters but a congregation of processes, among which matters that are seemingly stable undergo constant change, forming, growing, and dying out. In the course of such a change, the world develops forward and will finally blaze a trail for itself in spite of all superficial contingencies and all temporary retrogression." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 239-240) The basic stages of this development process are: 1) The change of the celestial body and the formation of the earth; 2) the origin of life and the evolution of living beings; and 3) the emergence of human beings and the development of society. The Marxist world outlook is a systematic and scientific explanation of this development process.

To be familiar with the Marxist world outlook, one should understand its main characteristics. In my opinion, at least three points need special attention:

1. This is a scientific world outlook. In other words, this world outlook is established on a solid scientific basis. Marx and Engels fully established their world outlook according to the supreme achievements in the fields of philosophy and the social and natural sciences in the 18th and 19th centuries. These achievements mainly consist of classical German philosophical works such as Hegel's philosophical works, Feuerbach's philosophical works, theses on ideal socialism, classical political economics, theories on classes and class struggle, studies of primitive society, hypotheses on nebula, the science of cells, Darwin's theory of the evolution of living beings, the theory of conservation and change in energy, and the theory of the periodic law of chemical elements, totaling over 10 scientific achievements. Lenin said: "Marxism is the highest development of the science of history, economics, and philosophy in Europe. This is a conclusion that corresponds with logic." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 198) Natural science should, of course, be added to this. The achievements in philosophy and sciences (social and natural sciences) at that time provided the necessary materials for forming a systematic idea on the movement, change, and development of the material world. In line with this, Marx and Engels completed the development of their scientific world outlook and gave a description of the basic framework of this world outlook. This world outlook is the supreme crystallization of human civilization, and of modern European civilization in particular. It is based on profound scientific knowledge. The future development of history and science will revise, enrich, and perfect it, but its basic frame will always remain tenable. It is the basis and point of departure for our future studies.

2. The world outlook established by Marx and Engels is an exposition on the basic stages of the movement, change, and development of the world. In this world outlook, the most important concept is the concept of history; and in the concept of history, the most important concept is the concept of capital. It was Marx and Engels who first used materialist dialectics to study history and reveal the general law of historical movements, thereby forming a materialist historical concept and bringing about a Copernican revolution in the concept of history. Subsequently, Marx concentrated his efforts on the study of a special stage in the development of history--the formation of capitalist society. He discovered the basic law of capitalist movements--the law of surplus value--and disclosed the laws of production, existence, development, and depletion in the capitalist social organism as well as the law governing the change of this organism into a higher stage of social organism. This constitutes the core of the Marxist world outlook. (For reference, see "Anti-Duhring," p 6, The Joint Publishing Company, 1979) Differing from utopian socialist, Marx and Engels did not form an idea on human future according to the concept of morality but discovered a new world by criticizing the old one. From the conflicts between the development of the social productive forces of capitalist society and its capitalist production form, they scientifically proved the historical inevitability of the transformation from a capitalist society to a socialist society. The development of a capitalist society will inevitably lead to a socialist society. This is the last link constituting the Marxist world outlook as well as the conclusion of this scientific world outlook. Therefore, Engels said that modern materialism takes scientific socialism as its theoretical basis. (For reference, see "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 673) It is precisely in this sense that Engels called Marx' world outlook the communist world outlook (for Marx and Engels, the words "socialism" and "communism" are generally interchangeable).

3. The above expositions deal with the core or conclusion of the Marxist world outlook. From these expositions, we understand that the Marxist world outlook is systematic and is of a dimensional, multilevel, active, and open nature. It is also a theoretical conclusion of the development process of the world. As it is not a congregation of abstract viewpoints, it cannot be generalized as a congregation of abstract viewpoints. Some books on world outlooks do not portray the systematic, multilevel, and active nature of the Marxist world outlook. In particular, these books exclude the concept of capital and the conclusions on socialist (communist) society. Keeping the "core" and "conclusions" outside the range of "world outlook" is even more incompatible with the intention of the founders of Marxism. In my opinion, we should study profoundly the world outlook established by Marx and Engels; find out about its original features; absorb the achievements in scientific development (social sciences and natural science) in the 20th century; revise, enrich, and perfect the contents of this world outlook; and compile books on the Marxist world outlook that have been enriched with scientific achievements in the 20th century. This is a major task in perfecting Marxist theory.

I would like to discuss the definition of Marxism.

Marxism is a rich, profound, and great scientific theoretical system. We can define it from the following different angles.

From the relationship between the working class and Marxism, we can define it as the thesis on the conditions for the emancipation of the working class or as the world outlook of working class.

We can also define it from its main contents. Lenin gave a definition to the main points of Marxism. He said: "Marxism is a system of Marx' viewpoints and theses." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 580) Those "Marx' viewpoints" Lenin mentioned refer to philosophical viewpoints, namely, philosophical materialism, dialectics, and the materialist concept of history; the "theses" refer to economics and the thesis on socialism. The "system" in this definition expresses the inherent relationship of Marxist theoretical contents. According to what Lenin said, economics is the proof and application of Marx' philosophical viewpoints, and socialism is the conclusion arising from such economics.

I would like to view the definition of Marxism from the angle of the subjects to be studied by this branch of science. As a branch of science Marxism must have its own subjects to be studied. Only in this way will it be valuable by existing independently and will it never be replaced by other sciences.

In 1938 Stalin gave a definition to Marxism in the conclusion of the "History of the CPSU": "The theory of Marxism-Leninism is a science concerning social development, a science concerning the workers' movement, a science concerning the proletarian revolution, and a science concerning communist construction." ("A Concise Study of the History of the CPSU" (B), p 390, the People's Publishing House, 1975)

In 1950 Stalin gave another definition to Marxism in the "Question Concerning Marxism and Linguistics." He wrote: "Marxism is a science concerning the law of natural and social development, a science concerning the revolution of the exploited and oppressed masses, a science concerning the victory of socialism in all countries, and a science concerning the construction of communist society." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 538)

In giving a definition to Marxism, Stalin proceeded from the subjects to be studied by this branch of science. This is his good point. But his judgments were parallel to each other. They did not indicate that Marxism is a complete world outlook, they did not suggest the inherent logical relationship between the three components of this world outlook, and they did not reveal the key point of this world outlook. This is his bad point.

I would also like to define Marxism according to my level of understanding.

Marxism is a science concerning the general law of world development. Particularly, it is a science concerning the general law of social and historical development. More particularly, it is a science concerning the general law of capitalist development, its transformation into socialism, and socialist and communist development.

This definition is characterized by the following points: 1) The three judgments constitute an entity in its progressive form; 2) they give prominence to the key point of the Marxist world outlook and portray the two discoveries made by the founders of Marxism (the law of social and historical development and the absolute law of the capital movement); and 3) they reflect the three components of Marxism and their inherent logical relationship.

Of course, whether this definition is complete and accurate needs to be further studied.

A definition should be appraised in terms of scientific value.

In "Anti-Duhring," Engels defined life: "Life is the existence in the form of protein. This existence form is in essence the constant renewal of the chemical components of protein." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 120) This definition was the theoretical result of a long-term study. Engels further pointed out: "In science, all definitions have only a small value." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 122) "To know about the revolution and point out what it is, we should study all forms of life and give explanations by analyzing their relationships. In the daily application of a definition, however, the simple explanation on the most ordinary and yet the most characteristic nature of a thing is frequently useful and even necessary." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 667)

In my opinion, we should view the definition of Marxism this way, too. In other words, we should be able to see the limit of its scientific value and should not assume that a thorough understanding of Marxism can be acquired once the definition of Marxism is memorized. On the other hand, we should admit that the definition of Marxism is useful and necessary for making ourselves familiar with the most ordinary and yet the most characteristic nature of Marxism.

We will be able to explain misunderstandings of Marxism as long as we accept the definition of Marxism and admit that Marxism is a scientific world outlook. "A Roundup on the Question of 'Adhering to and Developing Marxism'" carried by GUANGMING RIBAO on 25 June 1986 said: "Many academics believe that there are two 'blank points' in Marxist methodology. One is psychology and the other is mathematics." This reflects a kind of view on Marxism but this view is a misunderstanding since it regards Marxism as a general warehouse of knowledge embracing all sciences. According to this view, there are countless "blank points" in Marxist methodology, such as the theory of relativity that emerged in the 20th century, quantum mechanics, the theory of genes, and genetic engineering, which had not yet been discovered when Marxism was developed. It is beyond doubt that Marxism in the 20th century should be enriched and developed according to the achievements in modern science. This is the problem: What is the essence of Marxism that was established by Marx and Engels according to the achievements in philosophy, social sciences, and natural science resulting from the development of civilization in Europe in the 19th century? As mentioned above, Marxism is a science concerning the general law of the development of the world, human

society, and history, and in particular, the general law of the transformation from a capitalist society to a socialist (communist) society; it is not the congregation of specific sciences. Therefore, it does not hold water to say that there are "blank points" in Marxist methodology just because the Marxist world outlook did not embrace some branches of science that had been developed when this world outlook was established.

We will be able to explain the misinterpretation of Marxism, namely, dividing Marxism into two parts--revolutionary Marxism and Marxism under construction--as long as we accept the definition of Marxism and admit that Marxism is a scientific world outlook. The question of world outlook is a decisive factor in the entire theoretical system of Marxism. It has enabled Marxism to become Marxism. Its application in different historical periods can produce different conclusions. This is the theoretical result of applying the Marxist world outlook. This result is of a lower degree in comparison with this world outlook. It is doubtless that we will combine this world outlook with economic structural reform and socialist modernization. But if we divide Marxism into two parts, we will confuse things of different degrees. If we look upon the entire theoretical system of Marxism as a big, tall tree, its world outlook would be the trunk of the tree, under which the theoretical results of the study of the revolution or construction would be the leaves and fruit on the branches. The above method of division is not appropriate because the leaves and fruit are seen as the entire tree and the tree trunk disappears from sight. Moreover, this method of division may possibly bring about confused ideas among some comrades. It seems that there is not much left in Marxism that is useful for a country in the socialist period. As a result, these comrades will lose sight of the role of the Marxist world outlook in guiding our structural reform, socialist construction, and advance toward communism. If we deviate from the guidance of this scientific world outlook, we will find ourselves in the dark.

If we accept the definition of Marxism and admit that it is a scientific world outlook, we will be able to answer this question: Is Marxism "outdated" and therefore cannot answer and resolve current problems?

Can Marxism answer and resolve current problems after all?

If we do not look at Marxism as a scientific world outlook but instead as an encyclopedia, naturally, it cannot answer and resolve major problems in construction, reforms, and opening up to the world.

Furthermore, we will find it impossible to derive answers to current problems from the general principles of Marxism. Can we derive answers to problems in economic and political structural reforms from the dialectical principles that everything is moving, changing, and developing?

Lenin pointed out long ago: "Seeking specific answers from the general truth of pure logical development means vulgarizing Marxism and mocking dialectical materialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 12, The People's Publishing House, 1984)

In such cases, what can Marxism be used for?

If we regard Marxism as a scientific world outlook and use it to guide our actions, research works, and explorations, it will help us answer and resolve our major problems. There is a world of difference whether or not there is such guidance. After the Opium War, many advanced leaders including Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, and Sun Yat-sen began to seek truth that would save the nation. They did not find Marxism but instead found the theory of the bourgeois revolution. Therefore they could not implement an anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary program. Naturally, they could not extricate China from its state of semicolonialism and semi-feudalism. The sound of the gun of the October Revolution brought Marxism to China. Many advanced persons began to view China's destiny with Marxism and scientifically analyzed the character and development trends in Chinese society, as well as its relations with the outside world. This enabled them to implement a correct anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary program, to find a correct path for the Chinese revolution, to lead China first in the democratic revolution and then in the socialist revolution, and to bring the country to a socialist society in the mid-1950's. Historical experiences over the last 100 years, both negative and positive, fully suggest the following truth: Without the guidance of Marxism, the liberation of China and the victory of its people would have been impossible. The role of Marxism in the socialist movement is like that of a compass in directing a ship at sea toward its destination. In this sense, Marxism can help us answer and resolve many major problems confronting us. In other words, when seeking answers and when solving current major problems, we cannot and should not deviate from the guidance of Marxism. Here we come across the ancient philosophical questions of the dialectical relationship between generality and particularity (individuality) and of how to view the meaning and role of "generality." Nominalists and pragmatists in the Middle Ages in Europe, modern empiricists and rationalists, and Chinese dogmatists were always quibbling over these philosophical questions and could not find a correct answer to them. The debate in recent years over whether Marxism can answer and resolve current major problems has once again proved that the relationship between generality and particularity (individuality) is really the quintessence of dialectics (apart from being the quintessence of the issue on conflicts) and is the most difficult philosophical question to comprehend and master.

Resting on "generality" and repeating truth again and again will not help us find correct answers to current problems; however, deviating from "generality" and judging cases as they stand, without applying the Marxist world outlook, will not help us find correct answers either. Only by combining generality with particularity (individuality) and by combining the universal truth of Marxism with the specific conditions in socialist construction, can we find correct answers to current problems. This is our conclusion. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Combining the universal truth of Marxism with China's specific conditions, taking our own path, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, these are the basic conclusions we have drawn by summarizing our long-term historical experience."

For Marxists, the important question in deeds is to change the world. So it is a matter of course for them to find correct answers to current problems. But Marxist classical works do not provide us with ready-made answers. Therefore it is necessary for us to explore and create new things. What we would like to stress is this: For the sake of victory and success in our explorations, for the sake of pushing history forward, and for the sake of the people's prosperity and happiness, it is necessary to consciously apply Marxism, which is a scientific world outlook, to our explorations.

Not only did the founders of Marxism establish Marxism, but they also told us how to treat their theses. Engels said: The entire world outlook of Marx "does not provide ready-made dogmas but a point of departure for further studies and the methods to be used in these studies." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 406) Engels wrote these words in March 1895. He died in August the same year. These words were the last yet the most important views of the founders of Marxism on the theses they established. We should bear them in mind, profoundly understand them, and use them to treat Marxism.

A complete scientific world outlook, Marxism has provided us with the universal law for understanding and transforming the world, for criticizing the old world and creating a new one, and for building socialism and communism. It has pointed out the basic orientation of historical development and provided scientific methods for exploring truth and mastering laws. Consciously taking Marxism as a guide to our actions is our unique strong point. We should unremittingly adhere to and develop Marxism and firmly take Marxism as a guide to our actions.

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SEVERAL EXPERIENCES CONCERNING CONDUCTING MARXIST EDUCATION AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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[Text] During the past 2 or 3 years, among students of our Tianjin University there were about 200 study groups of different types which persisted in studying Marxism. In the second half of 1986, further progress was made in the study of Marxism. To guide the study along its course of development, in November of the year the schools' party committee and CYL invited students to a contest in basic knowledge of Marxism, attended by more than 7,000 students. Marxism is drawing the attention of more and more students. Works of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Zedong, which had not been borrowed from our school's libraries, or of which only very few had been borrowed, were all borrowed by students in recent years.

The appearance of such a gratifying situation in Tianjin University is not accidental. From despising Marxism to thinking highly of it, and from drifting away from Marxism to getting close to it, the students of our school have experienced a winding course.

Unshaken Confidence

Like college students in other parts of our country, in the past few years students of our school also had an incorrect understanding of Marxism. Some students held that the 100-odd-year-old theory of Marxism is now antiquated, and others alleged that Marxism had guided the Chinese revolution to victory but that it could not guide our modernization drive. And in the eyes of some students, Marxism appeared to be a synonym for "leftism," and they thought that studying Marxism-Leninism at this moment meant repeating the practice of "telling lies, talking big, and uttering hollow words." At the same time, some people in society denied that Marxism was the theoretical basis for guiding our thinking, denied the universal truth of Marxism, and described Marxism as "one among contemporary school of thought." The effects of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization created and increased confused ideas among university students. Some believed in the "doctrine of Malthus," some were interested in Sartre's "existentialism," and there

emerged intense popular interest in Freud, Bacon, and Hammer [as published] among a certain number of students, but they were not very interested in studying Marxist theory.

The harsh reality posed for us a number of questions deserving serious attention. Why did such phenomena, which had never been seen before, emerge among college students? Is it still necessary to guide students to study Marxism in colleges and universities today? Can university students of today accept Marxism? Is Marxism still efficacious? Can university students of today still be controlled? We seriously "examined" these questions and made a cool-headed analysis of them.

First, we came to realize that the emergence of the aforementioned ideological problems among university students was not accidental; it had profound social and historical reasons. Our party has always taken Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical basis for its guiding ideology. However, as a result of the long-standing "leftist" mistakes in the guidelines and misunderstanding of some major Marxist viewpoints, our party made serious miscalculations one after another in the socialist revolution and construction after we began building socialism in an all-round way, and consequently the "Cultural Revolution"--the 10 years of internal disorder--broke out. The grim reality warranted deep thinking by the entire party and the whole nation, of course, and by our university students of today. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" always peddled their counterrevolutionary stuff directly under the signboard of Marxism, they wantonly trampled on Marxism and defamed it seriously. After we corrected the past "leftist" mistakes and criticized the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" young students usually could not distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. Thus their misunderstandings about Marxism are understandable. With the restoration of order in different fields, Marxism will shed its rays of truth gain and illuminate the hearts of university students. Our confidence in this is unshaken. However, university students must be allowed to have time to think over their problems deeply.

Second, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have changed the situation of national isolation and implemented the policy of opening up to outside world. Under such circumstances, university students are sensitive to new things. They compared the present situation of our country with its historical conditions and compared our country with some capitalist countries. When they found that the economy of some Western countries is more developed than ours, and that their production standards are higher than ours, young students believed, being innocent and due to lack of historical knowledge of modern China, that China had to seek methods to make it strong and the people prosperous from the philosophy, sociology, and political systems of Western countries while learning advanced technology and modern management from them. The road they wanted to follow had already been beaten by people with lofty ideals before Marxism was propagated in China, and had been proved inaccessible. Young students took a wrong path, but it could be seen that they had a strong wish to make our country strong and prosperous at an early date, and the spirit of seeking truth. Such being the case, we are convinced that young students will find

Marxism as the end-result of their exploration, and that they will understand the universal truth of Marxism after they compare it with different Western ideological trends.

Third, we are now pursuing the policy of opening up to the outside world. With the windows open, it is hard to stop some flies and mosquitoes from flying in. Under such circumstances, bourgeois ideology and culture of different types in the world are seizing the opportunity to come in. As expected, they have produced some effects and been given expression among our university students. For this reason, we should no longer cherish the illusion that young people can study Marxism with the door of the classroom closed. We must learn how to conduct Marxist education among young students under the new situation and under the condition of opening up to the outside world. We should not take a passive attitude and complain but should make efforts to raise our theoretical level under the new situation so as to display the vitality and fighting power of Marxism.

Our university is socialist in nature and its primary task is to train a large number of people who can uphold the four cardinal principles and have the aggressive spirit of reform, who must have lofty ideals, moral integrity, and a strong sense of discipline, and who are well educated. When students are active in thinking and seeking truth, if we do not guide them with Marxism in time, it means dereliction of our duty. When students begin forming their world outlook and outlook on life, if we fail to point them toward a clear political orientation and to lay a solid ideological foundation for their growth, we will feel ashamed before the people and this generation of young people as well.

Methods Must Be Correct

Under the new situation, how do we guide students to study Marxism?

FIRST, WE SHOULD NOT ONLY SOLVE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY STUDENTS BUT ALSO CONCENTRATE ON SOLVING PROBLEMS REGARDING STAND, VIEWPOINT, AND METHODOLOGY.

In conducting Marxist education among university students of today, if we do not start with solving practical problems raised by students, then the education is aimless. From our Marxist education conducted among students in the past, one of the lessons we have to draw is that we talked only about general principles, and these general principles we talked about were usually abstract conclusions. They are correct in themselves but they are irrelevant to real life. Thus the results were not satisfactory because students did not understand and apply them. In addition, if we do not start with solving practical problems raised by students, they will find the education uninteresting and unattractive because they are keenly interested only in problems raised by themselves. If we do not start with solving problems raised by students, they mistakenly think we avoid realistic problems and sidestep concrete problems, and take the view that since Marxism cannot tackle social problems of today, it is really outmoded and useless. In conducting Marxist education among university students, we must therefore start with solving concrete problems raised by them.

However, in no way does this mean that our Marxist education is only for the purpose of solving practical problems. This is because problems among students involve different aspects and they will arise at all times. Only by helping university students establish a correct world outlook and have a good grasp of scientific methodology, in other words, only when they have a correct stand, viewpoint, and methods, will they be able to tackle problems of basic importance. We must therefore make efforts to guide them to study fundamental principles of Marxism so as to raise their political and theoretical levels.

For example, when talking about unhealthy tendencies in society, some students liked to complain about the party for not making efforts to stop them. Through study, they gradually came to understand the complex nature of objective things and to know that "the Communist Party is in a position to push forward the revolution step by step, but it is not in a position to eliminate all evil practices in the country overnight." In consequence, complaints obviously waned. They said: "We should not prove our insight only by means of making complaints and cynical remarks. Instead we ourselves should rectify our style of study to push the improvement of party conduct and social conduct at large. We must first have a down-to-earth style of work and then we can achieve something."

SECOND, WE MUST BOLDLY LET STUDENTS EDUCATE THEMSELVES. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST TRY TO GAIN THE INITIATIVE IN EDUCATING THEM AND GUIDING THEM TACTFULLY.

University students have a fairly high level of knowledge and the ability to study independently, therefore they should and can concentrate their study mainly on self-education. In the course of their self-education, of course, we should lose no time in giving them guidance and helping them not to lose their bearings in the course of advance.

For example, 2 years ago students of our school showed a warm interest in the question: "What kind of people should university students of today be?" Understanding students' psychology of being eager to become useful persons, we wasted no time in arousing all students of our school to attend discussions on the "image of university students of the 1980's." During discussions many erroneous viewpoints were exposed. However, the students did not mind severe criticism of these erroneous viewpoints from among themselves, but they could hardly agree with criticism from other people. This is exactly the psychology of young students. When the discussions had just started, many students overestimated themselves, some even believing that they should start with the post of "deputy magistrate of a county" after graduation. However, with the discussions going deeper, the students gradually realized their innocence and deficiencies, especially their deficiencies in Marxist political theory and in social experience. Some students said: They cannot run their dormitories well, let alone lead a county. Whether they can fulfill the concrete work they will undertake after graduation is still a question, they added. As a result, they were not so blind as before and became more active in studying theory and attending social activities. Making the best use of the situation, we called on

the students to attend the activities of studying the works of Marx and Lenin, participating in social practice, and practicing part-work and part-study. Finally, the students expressed thanks for the education given them, which they believed served as a great help to them.

Advocating self-education does not mean letting things drift. As teachers we must be more far-sighted than students. We must promptly study measures to deal with those problems of a universal nature which are related to orientation and tendencies, and study policies for guiding students before problems arise. In conducting Marxist education, we must have a good grip on initiative and leadership so that the self-education activities of studying Marxism among university students will develop along the course charted by the party. For a time the "craze for Jean-Paul Sartre" and the "craze for Po Yang" affected a certain number of students of our school. After reading their books, the students felt perplexed and depressed, they could not understand and tackle a large number of practical and ideological problems. We did not blame and criticize them for this in an oversimplified way. Grasping their internal positive factors of seeking truth and seeking to know what is what, and taking the characteristics of youth into consideration, we helped and guided them to learn how to use the Marxist viewpoint to analyze problems in a lively and vivid form suited to their psychological traits. For example, when bourgeois liberalization was in flood in the second half of last year, we aroused the students to discuss the problem so as to enable them to have a correct understanding of the relationship between freedom and discipline and between democracy and legality. At the same time, we also criticized and dealt with some cases of violation of discipline in time. By stressing democracy while emphasizing law and discipline, we maintained the political situation marked by stability and unity in our school.

In short, so long as we genuinely respect our students and progressively raise their level of understanding, they will give full play to their initiative and enthusiasm in the course of self-education. They will also create many lively and vivid forms of self-education, such as concentrated study in spare-time party school and by attending party lectures, non-concentrated study through regular activities of the party and CYL organizations, group study through salons and mass organizations established on a voluntary basis, study of monographs through discussion, study of different schools of thought by making comparison, and mass study through emulation drives.

THIRD, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO PERSEVERE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF CARRYING OUT POSITIVE EDUCATION WHILE CHANGING THE CLOSED METHOD OF EDUCATION.

Our country is facing a new historical period of opening to the outside world. We must adhere to the principle of opening to the outside world not only in the building of material civilization but also in the building of spiritual civilization. For this reason, in conducting Marxist education among university students we must change the past closed method of education and adopt an open method of education. University students stay in colleges and universities where knowledge and information are concentrated. Every day large amounts of different types of information, some even contradictory,

enter their brains, and the media at home and abroad, through modern equipment, spread different kinds of influences on university students, which is independent of our will. Meanwhile, passive censure of our society also disturbs our system of positive education and hinders the development of our work. Therefore, only by energetically improving the method of education will we be able to better meet the needs of social development.

Marxist theory itself is an open scientific system. It continuously enriches itself and develops by using and absorbing the latest achievements of other modern sciences, it exists through comparison with all types of non-Marxist ideas, and it develops, expands, and enhances its combat effectiveness through endless struggles against anti-Marxist ideological trends of all shades. We are convinced that Marxism is an invincible scientific truth. Over the past 100 years, the bourgeoisie has never ceased criticizing it, but it has not been defeated by such criticism. Such being the case, how can we fear university students comparing Marxism with Western schools of thought?

The open method of education stressed by us is aimed at broadening the horizons of our students and letting them have contact with more ideological trends and schools of thought so that they can study and understand Marxism through comparison. However, we should not take a laissez-faire attitude in promoting the open method of education. We should not give rein to all schools of thought and let students choose them at will, nor should we end the study of Marxism in the classroom and leave all kinds of bourgeois ideological trends to run their own course without restriction. We should adopt a correct policy in promoting the open method of education, and should not take no responsibility for what we do for students. We are of the opinion that we must adhere to the principle of relying mainly on positive education while promoting the open method of education. Students studying at colleges and universities are all around 17 to 18 or 21 to 22 years of age. Most of them do not have much social experience but have the shortcoming of divorcing theory from practice. They are very malleable. On the whole, they do not know well how to tell the true from the false and how to distinguish between right and wrong. Under such circumstances, if they are stuffed with all kinds of erroneous ideological trends indiscriminately, their minds will be poisoned. This will do no good to their healthy growth. The immunity of a newborn baby from disease is always very weak. If he is put to live in filthy air, he can hardly become strong, but will get seriously ill and even die.

Facts show that as long as we integrate the principle of relying mainly on positive education with the open method of education, we shall achieve positive results. For example, students of our school once liked to compare Marxism with Western schools of philosophy, and even with the "Bible." If we had thought such comparisons stained Marxism and had stopped them doing so, then they might have studied Western philosophy more intensively because of their rebellious psychology. We did not passively stop our students from making such comparisons. On the contrary, we studied and made comparisons together with them. We recommended them, of our own accord, some representative and influential works of Western philosophy and helped

them analyze these works in a scientific way by affirming the progressive parts of these works and pointing out their limitations, one-sidedness, and reactionary nature. Expounding the basic tenets of Marxism through comparison is a more convincing method of education for college students.

FOURTH, WHILE GUIDING COLLEGE STUDENTS TO ASSIDUOUSLY STUDY THE WORKS OF MARX AND LENIN, WE MUST ENCOURAGE THEM TO THROW THEMSELVES INTO SOCIAL PRACTICE ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE.

Marxism cannot come into being spontaneously in the heads of young students. We must therefore guide them to conscientiously read the works of Marx and Lenin and to probe into their fundamental theory. However, it is hard to understand the fundamental tenets of Marxism if they are not integrated with practice. Young students usually like to belittle practice and do not know how to integrate theory with practice. If they are not guided to go deep into the realities of life and to make contacts with workers and peasants, they cannot have a deep understanding of Marxism, let alone use Marxism to solve different practical problems. We therefore guided our students to undertake social surveys and provide society with services for promoting scientific and technological advancement during summer and winter vacations and in their practical courses before graduation. At ordinary times, we also aroused the students' CYL organizations to promote friendship with CYL organizations in factories, PLA units, and rural areas so as to enable students to establish contacts with society. After going deep into society and offering services for industrial and agricultural production, a large number of social activists emerged from among the students. Being impressed by the might of Marxism during the time of going deep into society and offering services for industrial and agricultural production, they came to realize the correctness of the party line, principles, and policies and promoted mutual understanding with party members and cadres. Many students even submitted their applications for party membership to party organizations after taking part in social activities.

Some students of our school swelled with pride after just learning a little professional knowledge and reading several Marxist books, thinking that they had become both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient. They often said: "If I were a mayor" or "if I were a manager," I would do this or that. After coming into contact with production activities and social life, however, they became aware that there was still a long way to go from applying the theory they had learned, and that one who had studied revolutionary theory had to apply it to practice. Therefore they paid more attention to integrating theory with practice in a down-to-earth manner in the study of Marxism.

FIFTH, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO INTEGRATE THE STUDY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL TENETS OF MARXISM WITH THE STUDY OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE.

Marxism is the science of guiding the proletariat to carry out revolution and construction. Only by continuously absorbing nourishment from the latest achievements of the natural and social sciences will we be able to better apply Marxist theory to practice. When new science and technology are today

developing at a tremendous pace, we will hardly be able to understand Marxism and to develop and persevere in it unless we acquire more modern scientific and technological knowledge.

In the past some students thought that Marxism was antiquated. One of the "reasons" for their argument was the tremendous development of modern science and technology. So, have new science and technology overwhelmed Marxism, or have they further proved the correctness of Marxism and enriched it? This is a question we must answer. Our school is a polytechnic, which provides very favorable conditions for answering the question. In carrying out Marxist education among students, we paid adequate attention to the latest achievements and discoveries in modern science and technology and to the development of the technological revolution and carefully guided young students to study marginal and interconnected branches of learning, thus enriching the study of Marxism among students. At first, students found that systematics, information science, and cybernetics were more convincing than Marxist philosophy, and that they could even replace Marxist philosophy. However, having intensively compared systematics, information science, cybernetics, and the theory of sudden change with Marxist philosophy, they found that many tenets in methodology are in fact concrete applications of materialist dialectics. Of course, they have enriched the content of dialectics in some aspects. For example, the theory of sudden change has made the content of the principle of moving from quantitative change to qualitative change richer. In this way, students can acquire a better understanding of both Marxism and other modern sciences, and the social sciences and the natural sciences can permeate each other and integrate with each other. This method of study helps university students widen the range of their knowledge and suits their need to hunt for new knowledge. The method of study through discussion and exploration is well accepted by students.

The Burden Is Heavy and the Road Is Long

Thanks to the vivid and lively method of study, over the past few years we have achieved initial results in conducting Marxist education among college students and guiding them to study Marx' works. Now they can apply more materialist dialectics and less metaphysics in dealing with social problems, they know better how to think independently and not to echo the views of others. For example, when Po Yang's book "The Ugly Chinese" spread among a certain number of students, some said: "When we first read the book, we clapped and shouted 'bravo' because it spoke what we could not speak. However, when we read it again, we felt more and more that there was something wrong with it. Emotionally we could not accept what the book alleges, that the culture of China is a 'culture of the soy sauce jar,' because the Chinese nation is not as bad as it describes." After reading some works of Marx and Lenin, students said: "When we read Po Yang's book again, we found that the 'total Westernization' he advertises does not suit the actual conditions in our country and will get nowhere in socialist China. The problem we have to face at present is that some people believe our country cannot compare with other countries in any respect and underestimate our own capability. Under such circumstances, it is imperative for us to fill

people with revolutionary spirit so that the whole nation will be able to strive to make progress. However, wantonly vilifying our nation can do nothing but sap our morale and injure the self-esteem and self-confidence of our nation." Facts show that through the study of Marxism, many students have found themselves more clever than before, and found that they can answer questions that they could not answer before and tackle problems that previously puzzled them.

Our efforts to guide students to study Marxism have pointed out to them a clearer political orientation and enhanced their political enthusiasm. In recent years more than 3,000 out of 10,000 students of our school have applied for party membership, and several hundred of them have been admitted to the party every year. Our school's party committee attaches great importance to building up the party ideologically and organizationally among students. As a result, students take the trust the party puts in them as a driving force for progress and closely link their future and destiny with those of the party. Many students say: "Party organizations understand and trust us so much, therefore we love the party more ardently, we have more faith in Marxism, and we will follow the party undeviatingly."

However, we are clearly aware that the extensive study of Marxism among students has only just started. We still have to make arduous efforts to lead the study in depth so that more students will take part in the study of their own accord. In recent years the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization ran wild, and its advocates, mostly distinguished personages and scholars in society, vilely deceived many young people, and especially college students. Students of our school were also affected by the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in varying degrees. If we fail to see this and think that eliminating the effects of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is easy, then we are not facing reality. To counter the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, we must pose many major theoretical questions and arouse students to discuss them by the method of self-persuasion and seeking truth from facts so as to guide them to use the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism to criticize and repel the attack of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Doing so will certainly help students grasp Marxism in depth and apply it to practice in a more systematic way. This is a long-term task, which requires all political and ideological workers, all teachers, and all students to make great efforts together. We have full confidence that we shall fulfill the task.

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TAKE A CLEAR-CUT STAND IN OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION--ROUNDUP OF A FORUM HELD BY RED FLAG EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

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[Article by RED FLAG reporter]

[Text] On 14 January 1987, the RED FLAG Editorial Department invited over 20 philosophy and social science workers in Beijing to a forum on opposing the bourgeois liberalization. The participants took the floor one after the other.

The deputy editor in chief Wang Renzhi and Ma Zhongyang attended the forum. Comrade Wang Renzhi said: The focus of the work for this year in the field of political ideology is to oppose bourgeois liberalization to consolidate and develop the situation of stability and unity, and ensure our construction, reform, and opening up to the outside world to progress along the road of socialism. As we are engaging in the work of ideological theory, we should earnestly implement the spirit of the central authorities, correctly wage the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, and truly take a clear-cut stand, adopt a determined attitude, take reliable steps, introduce appropriate methods and avoid mistakes and "leftist" deviations. It is hoped that everyone will speak without any inhibitions and air their views.

The participants all agreed that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee our party through bringing order out of chaos has shifted the stress of work to concentrate our strength on developing the social productive forces and upholding the reform and opening up to the outside world. Meanwhile, it was also proposed to uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization. These are the two aspects of the theories and policies which complement each other in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. If we do not uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization, we cannot possibly ensure our country's modernization construction, reform, and opening up to the outside world to healthily advance along the socialist road. The struggle against bourgeois liberalization really has a bearing on the fate and future of our party and country. All party theoretical workers should go into action and apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to refute the various fallacies of bourgeois liberalization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always stressed that upholding the four cardinal principles is the basis for us to run the country. If we

do not uphold the four cardinal principles but engage in bourgeois liberalization, we cannot possibly bring about a political situation of stability and unity, engage in construction, and smoothly carry out the reform and opening up to the outside world. Liberalization would lead us on the road of capitalism. In 1983 at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out that the spiritual pollution should not be spread to the ideological front. This was another criticism of bourgeois liberalization, as the essence of spiritual pollution is bourgeois liberalization. In May 1985, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that following the downfall of the "gang of four" an ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization arose. In June, he also explicitly pointed out that engaging in bourgeois liberalization means taking the capitalist road. In September, at the National Conference of Party Delegates several leading comrades of the central authorities who enjoy high prestige and command universal respect all criticized the tendency of not attaching importance to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Last year, the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee made a special decision concerning this issue. However, over the last few years, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization ran amok and became more and more serious; and some people delivered articles and speeches openly opposing the four cardinal principles. Recently, some students stirred up troubles, which is precisely the result of the spread of this ideological trend.

After reviewing the situation of the spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization over the last few years, the forum participants pointed out that it is necessary to review in a deep-going way the guiding thinking of ideological work over the last few years. Many comrades believe that if the leaders of our ideological and theoretical front had been brave in upholding the four cardinal principles in the face of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization rather than adopting a weak, slack, laissez-faire, and conniving attitude, such an ideological trend would not have run rampant as it did. This was mainly reflected in the handling of the issue of opposing bourgeois liberalization. During a very short period of time in opposing bourgeois liberalization, the specific ways of doing things taken by some localities and units were not appropriate. However, some comrades used it as an excuse to negate spiritual pollution; and some people employed such mean tricks as distorting the facts and spreading slanderous rumors to calumniate the opposition to spiritual pollution as the "cleaning-the-dirt movement" and a "mini cultural revolution." In 1984, in his report on the work of the government Comrade Zhao Ziyang reaffirmed that "spiritual pollution should not be spread to the ideological front." Nevertheless, many people just would not listen but continued to negate spiritual pollution and launch personal attacks against the comrades who persisted in upholding the principle of the central authorities concerning the opposition to spiritual pollution. Notwithstanding there have been some mistakes in the way of opposing spiritual pollution, people just should not totally negate this struggle. As it is impossible not to make a single mistake in any work involving the country as a whole, it is all right as long as we can sum up the experiences and correct the mistakes. It is totally wrong to fundamentally negate the correct direction of opposing spiritual pollution by grasping some shortcomings concerning the way of doing things.

The consequence of negating the opposition to the spiritual pollution is the further spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Many of the existing views which contradict the four cardinal principles were formed when we negated the opposition to spiritual pollution.

Some comrades pointed out that at a time when the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization was spreading further and many cadres and theoretical workers of the party felt worried and concerned about it, some comrades proposed the so-called policy of relaxation, leniency, and generosity and the statement of "making more discussion and less criticism." However, in fact, being lenient only to those people engaging in liberalization without mentioning a precondition and the four cardinal principles is not truly being lenient to everyone. The comrades who were brave in upholding Marxism and criticizing bourgeois liberalization did not experience "relaxation," "leniency," and "generosity" but simply experienced being tied up and gagged. Whenever they delivered speeches or articles, they were jointly attacked by some people. This guiding thinking is, in fact, to give up the Marxist weapon of criticism in the ideological field and set the "double hundred" principle initiated by the party to promote the prosperity of science and culture against the scientific and revolutionary spirit of criticism embodied in the Marxist theory. Some comrades said that one of the important questions is whether the ideological struggle should be carried out in the ideological field. Should we still take up the Marxist weapon of criticism? It is true that before the "Cultural Revolution," and especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," due to the practice of "taking the class struggle as the key link," engaging in mass criticism and broadening the scope of struggle, many simplistic and rude work styles of "leftism" were used, thus hurting many comrades. We must remember this historical lesson forever. Nevertheless, we should adopt a scientific attitude to sum up the historical experiences. Discarding the "leftist" practice of "taking class struggle as the key link" does not mean that we should also discard the Marxist weapon of criticism and not wage struggles against the decadent thinking of capitalism and feudalism in the ideological field. We should uphold the "double hundred" principle. Since there are contentions, there must also be criticisms and counter criticisms. Especially when these people engaging in the bourgeois liberalization are now, in fact, severely criticizing Marxism and socialism, why shouldn't the theoretical workers of Marxism justly and forcefully make counter criticism?

Some comrades pointed out that the weak and incompetent performance in the face of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization was also reflected in only mentioning "leftism" but not rightism. Originally, our party had repeatedly stressed the necessity to seek truth from facts and proceed from reality in determining the principles of work. On the ideological theory front, we should oppose "leftism" if there is "leftism"; and we should oppose rightism if there is rightism. As for when we should mainly oppose "leftism" and when we should mainly oppose rightism, it depends on the actual conditions on the ideological front. One of our previous mistakes in ideological work was not to proceed from the actual conditions but to keep opposing rightism, which resulted in serious consequences. This should be counted as a historical lesson. Nevertheless, in recent years some of our comrades did

not correctly accept this historical lesson. They forgot the Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts and never considered the actual conditions on the theoretical front. They only mentioned opposing "leftism" but not "rightism" and paid no attention to the corrosive influence of decadent capitalist thinking upon our party, socialist cause, and young generation. This is an important reason for the spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Some comrades also pointed out that at the front of ideological theory front, in addition to the issues concerning the guiding ideology, we should also never overlook the issue of slack organizational discipline. Because some comrades upholding Marxism did not get the necessary support and were not organized, our party's strength for waging struggles against bourgeois liberalization was sapped. Therefore, it is very necessary to organize the ideological and theoretical contingents of Marxism and consolidate, enrich, and improve the leadership of the organizations concerned with public opinion and propaganda.

When analyzing the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization, many comrades held that the emergence of anything inevitably has its own cause. Over the past few years, some comrades in the ideological and theoretical circles have indeed expressed many erroneous ideas and delivered many erroneous speeches in the fields of philosophy, social sciences, literature, and art, thus causing ideological chaos. For example, some articles said that everything in a capitalist society seemed to be good. Some people talked about democracy and freedom in an abstract way, equating the essence of democracy with the form of democracy. They lopsidedly advocated the democracy in a capitalist society but evaded the question of the essence of capitalist democracy and the "money democracy" of contemporary capitalism. Some people even lumped together individual interests and individualism, calling for justifying individualism. They held that selfishness should be protected and unselfishness and the slogan of utter devotion to others without any thought of oneself should all be criticized. They held that everything should center around oneself, advocating self-design, self-value, and self-fulfillment everywhere. For another example, criticizing feudalism ideas is of course correct, but some people treated everything as feudalism without making an analysis and extolled capitalism in the name of opposing feudalism. But the feudalism they talked about is a very indefinite concept. Some actually equated China's socialism with feudalism or even said that Marxism has been feudalized in China. This means criticizing Marxism and socialism in the name of criticizing feudalism. Some others described the traditional Chinese culture as having not a single merit but only being a burden and that nothing should be inherited, and so on.

There were various kinds of views on how to deal with Marxism. Some people deliberately set development of Marxism against adherence to Marxism and used development of Marxism to deny adherence to Marxism. Some people publicly stated that Marxism is outdated. Some people mechanically copied "Western Marxism" and defined Marxism at will. Some people said that Marxism is only a school of thought and does not occupy a dominant position. Some people publicly said that the formulation of "letting a hundred schools of

thought contend on the premise of adherence to Marxism" is absolutely incorrect, thus setting adherence to Marxist guidance against the "double hundred" policy.

Some comrades pointed out that denying Marxist standpoints, views, and methods has caused serious chaos in people's world outlook and methodology. When we have dialogues with young people on problems of society and life, we have no common language with them. While you consider problems and have dialogues with young people from a Marxist standpoint, with Marxist views, and in a Marxist way, they answer you from a fashionable standpoint and in a popular way of the contemporary Western countries. In viewing problems, some people pay attention only to the structure and form of a matter, but not to its essence. Therefore, when discussing socialist democracy, they pay attention only to the structure and mechanism of democracy, but deny the essence that socialist democracy is better than capitalist democracy. Some people only acknowledge horizontal comparisons, but deny vertical comparisons. On the problem of seeking differences and seeking common ground, they held that seeking common ground is conservative but seeking differences is creative. In some people's eyes, those who speak out against the four cardinal principles are seeking differences and blazing new trails and are "heroes" who will win cheap applause. Others advocate the "new heroes making history." They say that only outstanding intellectuals make history, and deny that workers, peasants, and laboring people make history. This not only runs counter to historical materialism, but has also artificially created separation and conflict between intellectuals and other laboring people. Some comrades pointed out that we must not underestimate the serious consequences caused by chaos in people's world outlook and methodology. This is a method of "taking away the firewood from under the cauldron." If Marxist standpoints, views, and methods are shaken, then there will be chaos in the essential ideological and theoretical problems, and ideas of bourgeois liberalization will spread unchecked.

Many comrades held that to properly carry out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, the most important thing is that leaders at all levels and party-member cadres must fully understand the importance of the struggle. It is now clear that the struggle against bourgeois liberalization concerns the destiny of our party, the future of socialism, the success or failure of the modernization drive and overall reforms, and also concerns whether our younger generation can adhere to the orientation of socialism. Comrades on the ideological and theoretical fronts must stand in the forefront of the struggle.

The participating comrades pointed out that fighting bourgeois liberalization is a political struggle in the ideological field, and also an ideological struggle. Therefore, with the exception of those who have violated party discipline and state laws, who must be punished in accordance with party discipline and state laws, those who hold bourgeois liberal views and many other erroneous views, should mainly be refuted and their influence eliminated by means of a large number of Marxist theoretical articles. In this way we can educate the masses of young people. These articles must be clear-cut and fully convincing. To win victories in this ideological struggle,

efforts should be made to write many articles with valid reasoning and strong arguments. In this sense, criticizing bourgeois liberalization is also an ideological construction, a construction of Marxist theory, and an important component part of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. To achieve this, we must master a vast amount of information and earnestly study and answer the practical problems that most concern people. It must be realized that speeches of bourgeois liberalization are fierce and bewitching in appearance, but are untenable in theory or even run counter to common sense or are sophistic. As a developing socialist country, China has indeed suffered quite a few setbacks in socialist construction over the past 30-odd years, but when compared with the developing capitalist countries, China's high growth rate and achievements in its construction are known to all. Has the socialist system brought the Chinese people happiness or disasters? The truth is known to all and people know it clearly. We have accumulated abundant experiences in the practice of several decades, which have provided a good condition for making theoretical summarization. We have actually made some theoretical summarization since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Therefore, we have sufficient reason to expound all the correct views and proposals raised by the party. We know that we are not in the wrong and we have reason to be just and forceful. Provided that we can skillfully use historical experience and practical information to make a Marxist analysis in conducting theoretical propaganda, we will certainly refute the ideas and argument of bourgeois liberalization.

Some comrades also pointed out that we must fully understand the protracted and arduous nature of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, and must not act in a simplistic way. Distinctions must be drawn between political and academic problems. The essence of political problems is the four cardinal principles, which have been written in the Constitution and the party Constitution and which no one can oppose. On the premise of upholding the four cardinal principles, different academic and theoretical ideas and opinions can be settled by discussion, criticism, and self-criticism. They unanimously held that in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we must remember previous lessons and must not repeat "leftist" mistakes in history. We must fully realize that those who advocate the capitalist system, oppose the socialist system, and practice bourgeois liberalization are after all just a handful of people. The problem concerning most of those who hold erroneous ideas of one kind or another is a problem of ideological understanding. We must solve the problem of ideological understanding by persuasion, not by coercion.

The participating comrades emphatically pointed out that fighting bourgeois liberalization means upholding the four cardinal principles and ensuring the smooth progress of socialist modernization, reforms, and opening up. We must resolutely implement the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and persevere in overall reforms, opening up to the outside world, and enlivening the domestic economy. We must also vigorously advocate adherence to the "double hundred policy" under the guidance of Marxism and encourage people to make bold explorations, to study new situations, to solve new problems, and to sum up new experiences.

We must encourage people to discuss subjects with a serious, scientific attitude and to contend on the basis of scientific research. While making efforts to remove disruption caused by bourgeois liberalization, we must make a great development in theoretical, ideological, and cultural building of social sciences.

Attending the forum were Comrades Lin Boye, Lu Zhichao, Yao Xihua, Pang Xianzhi, Wang Maogen, Fan Kang, Xu Hang, Su Shuangbi, Wu Shuqing, Wei Xinghua, Huang Meilai, Chen Zhishang, Wu Mu, Wu Xiongcheng, Jia Guan, Jin Huiming, Shi Zhongquan, Zhu Desheng, Shi Jiansun, Cui Zhiduo, Sun Yongren, Song Huichang, and Tang Shaoming.

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COMPRESS THE 'AIR' TO ENSURE STEADY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 27-29

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] According to the central authorities' plan, attention should be paid to the following two aspects of this year's economic work: The first is to foster the social mood of plain living and hard struggle, of building up the country with industry and thrift, of making more contributions, and of strictly observing discipline and to extensively carry out the drive of increasing production and practicing economy and increasing income and reducing expenditure; and the second is to continuously carry out reform and to readjust the major economic relations. To do these two things well, we are confronted with the pressing task of compressing the overheated "air," resolutely curtailing the excessive extrabudget investment, and cutting down on excessively high nonproductive expenses so that the scale of construction corresponds with the current national capacity. This is the key to doing this year's economic work well.

A comprehensive view of the overall situation of the national economy shows that there are many favorable conditions this year and that we can strive to maintain a steady growth of the economy as a whole and achieve better results than last year. As the growth of industrial production is now becoming more normal, we can concentrate our efforts to accelerate the reform within enterprises and attain better economic results. Owing to the enormous increase of major means of production in 1986, this year's material conditions will be better than that in previous years. A number of key construction projects and large numbers of technical transformation projects were completed and went into operation, increasing the production capacity. The brisk market provides favorable conditions for the development of commodity production. The steady growth of the world's economy is favorable to the expansion of our export. With the deepgoing development of reform, the initiative of enterprises and of the masses has been further aroused. The new measures to be adopted this year will also give impetus to economic development. We must be aware of these favorable conditions and be confident of creating a new situation in this year's economic work.

Meanwhile, we should also have a sober understanding of the problems in economic development. In the final analysis, the problems we have encountered

include the excessive scale of investment, the rapid growth, and hot-headedness. Although the scale of the budgeted investment in capital construction is already under control, the growth of extrabudget investment has far exceeded that of budgeted investment. Many localities from south to north and from east to west throughout the country have gone in for large-scale construction. They have competed with one another for rapid growth of production. The general situation is still characterized by excessive investment, an irrational investment setup, and colossal waste in construction.

Above all, there are too many projects under construction. According to a survey, state enterprises undertook about 1,000 large and medium-sized projects last year involving an investment of over 400 billion yuan. An additional 200 billion yuan will be needed to fully complete these projects. Given the current investment level, even if we invest everything in the projects under construction and do not develop a single new project, it will take over 4 years to complete these projects. With the addition of some other projects, it is impossible for our current national capacity to bear such a large scale of production.

The irrational investment setup is an even more serious problem. Excessive investment has been made in processing industry and nonproductive projects. Many localities have constructed luxurious guesthouses, hotels, hostels, office buildings, amusement parks, "centers," sanatoriums, "imitation ancient streets," and temples. Such duplicate projects, investment, and imports are on the increase.

Waste has been enormous in capital construction. Backward design or seeking unduly high standards has caused confusion in construction management and resulted in extravagance and exaction of building resources by various other organizations. Waste in some key construction projects has been colossal.

The question of getting investment in fixed assets under control, readjusting the investment setup, and clearing up the projects under construction was raised several years ago. Although we have achieved some results by stressing the question and adopting measures every year, the question is not yet fundamentally solved. The main reason lies in the failure to reach a common understanding of the guiding ideology. In addition, the irrational system has led to excessive investment and rapid growth of consumption which made it difficult for the state capacity to bear. If we fail to understand the seriousness of this question and continue to allow the situation of excessive investment and consumption to develop unchecked, we will be compelled to undergo a major economic readjustment in a couple of years and then suffer great losses. For this reason, we must be determined now to earnestly solve the question which has an important bearing on the overall situation. Only by doing so can we ensure the steady and sustained growth of the economy and create a fine environment for the reform of the economic structure.

The excessive investment in fixed assets is extremely unfavorable to the steady and coordinated development of China's economy. Extension of the time limit for construction and poor investment returns constitute one of the

direct consequences of excessive investment. When investment exceeds the financial and material capacity and other objective conditions, it will inevitably lead to contention between various projects for investment and materials and failure to carry out construction within the prescribed time. Moreover, it will extend the time limit for completing and starting up projects, increase construction expenses, and raise production costs. The excessive capital consumed in projects under construction will result in a lack of funds for current production and thus make it difficult to develop the available productive forces. Even when the projects are completed, it will be difficult to make the most of them without the supply of energy, transport and communications, raw materials, and basic facilities.

The excessive investment is unfavorable to the readjustment of the production setup and acceleration of the pace of technological progress. Transport, energy, and raw materials are the weak links in China's economic construction and should therefore be the focus of our current investment in fixed assets. The development of ordinary projects on a large scale has adversely affected key construction projects. If we fail to develop the key construction projects, it will be difficult to ensure the supply of energy and transport needed for ordinary projects. Moreover, staying power for China's long-term economic development will be lacking.

The excessive investment has caused an artificial shortage of means of production and led to price increases of the means of production and livelihood and an increase in consumption funds. According to statistics, for every 10 billion yuan increase of investment in fixed assets, besides increasing the means of production correspondingly, it is necessary to directly or indirectly add another 4 billion yuan of the means of consumption. The annual growth and supply of the means of production and consumption are limited. If we go beyond this limit and let the general demand exceed general supply and the national income exceed distribution, it will lead to inflation, price increases, imbalance of accumulation and consumption, and confusion in economic life, and adversely affect the coordinated development of the national economy.

By constricting the economic life, the excessive investment is also unfavorable to the ongoing reform of the economic structure, to correcting the unhealthy tendencies, to fostering a fine social mood, and to improving the management level of state enterprises.

Whether the scale of investment corresponds with the national capacity is a decisive factor in ensuring steady economic growth and also an objective law governing socialist construction. Regarding this question, we must remember the stern lessons of history. The economic setbacks on several occasions since the founding of the PRC are inseparable from the excessive investment in fixed assets. On the first occasion, from 1958 to 1960, investment in fixed assets increased at an average annual rate of 40.2 percent while the rate of accumulation increased from 24.9 percent in 1957 to 39.6 percent in 1960. On the second occasion, in 1970, total investment increased by 49 percent over the previous year while the rate of accumulation reached 32 to 34 percent in the following years. On the third occasion,

in 1978, total investment increased by 22 percent while the rate of accumulation was 36.5 percent. The excessive investment on all three occasions led to fluctuations and imbalance of the national economy, brought about a strain on economic life, and incurred serious economic losses for the state. All this was due to doing things hotheadedly in light of subjective desire rather than China's national conditions and capacity. A sound material basis, that is, doing things according to one's capability, is the premise for developing production. China's newly added national income, totaling some tens of billions of yuan every year, should be used first to improve the living standard of the people. Only then should the remainder be used for accumulation. We cannot invest all accumulation in fixed assets. While investing in fixed assets, instead of merely taking the needs of that year into account, we should also consider the needs of accumulative investment of the construction projects. An ample supply of materials should be ensured to realize investment. These materials should be supplied according to different varieties and standards. If we increase investment by exceeding our material and financial capacity instead of taking into account the actual accumulative capacity and material setup that can be used in construction, it will inevitably lead to the grave consequences of proportional imbalance, inflation, and low efficiency.

To build the four modernizations, some comrades said: What is wrong with developing more projects at a quicker pace? It is understandable that the localities and departments wish to accelerate the development of their own areas. The question is how should the pace be accelerated. If we consider only the needs and not the possibility, such haste will only bring less speed. This is a truth we have learned from real life. Since the reform of the economic structure, it is gratifying that the localities and enterprises have more funds and greater decisionmaking power to make investment and develop construction. However, having funds for construction is not tantamount to having the material conditions for construction. Moreover, the needs of partial investment may not correspond with those of overall investment. Investment can be effective and produce the best results only when the supply of material means corresponds with the volume of investment and when partial construction accords with the needs of overall balance of the national economy. The excessive investment in fixed assets in China at present is mainly evident in developing too many ordinary processing projects. If these projects are developed in large numbers and at speed, it could lead to blindness and duplication which may squeeze out the key construction projects. This is definitely not a good trend. We do not encourage the tendency to make investment blindly.

Since capital construction projects are to last for generations, some comrades say, it would be favorable to the long-term development to develop projects on a large scale and to maintain high standards. We should make concrete analysis of this remark. Generally speaking, both investment in capital construction and scale of construction should not go beyond China's actual circumstances. We should adopt advanced technology in production and construction and never try to take the beaten track or apply outdated, backward technology. Nevertheless, we should not spend huge amounts indiscriminately to blindly seek the so-called advanced equipment and sophisticated

technology in spite of the actual conditions. In the past, we ignored the construction of nonproductive projects which affected economic construction and the people's livelihood. It was necessary to increase the expenses for nonproductive construction and the proportion of nonproductive construction investment in the investment as a whole over the past few years. However, the scale and standard of nonproductive construction should be conditioned by our national capacity. Production and construction constitute the basis of nonproductive construction so the two should develop in a proportional manner. If the two develop in proportion, they will promote each other. If we stray from the material basis and develop too many nonproductive construction projects that are not urgently needed, it will adversely affect our production and construction. Even when the projects are completed, they will not be able to produce better results. We should also oppose the practices of spending huge amounts to build luxurious guesthouses, amusement parks, and "centers" which look good but actually cannot yield better economic results or benefit the people.

To curtail investment, we should cut down the nonproductive expenses and the losing projects, duplicates, and excessive projects not covered in the plan. It is necessary to strictly exercise control over the new projects. The projects under construction should be examined one by one in order of importance and urgency. We must stop, suspend, and develop a number of projects accordingly and maintain the key projects that are badly needed by society and that have an important bearing on the overall economic situation.

With the advent of China's favorable situation and economic development, some comrades forgot our national conditions and their sense of plain living, hard struggle, and building the country with industry and thrift got blunted. Consequently, extravagance has been common and colossal in production, circulation, capital construction, and administrative expenses. This is the essential reason for the excessive investment and consumption. We must carry out a nationwide drive of increasing production and practicing economy and increasing income and reducing expenditure and advocate the social mood of plain living and hard struggle, of building the country with industry and thrift, of making more contributions, and of observing discipline. This should be regarded as the central task of building material civilization as well as building socialist spiritual civilization and improving party style and social general mood. While carrying out the drive to increase production and practice economy, the production departments should increase the production of marketable commodities according to the demands of the market. To increase income and reduce expenditure, we should achieve better economic results. At present, we should resolutely cut down the excessive nonproductive expenses and put an end to the unhealthy tendency of spending extravagantly. We must draw part of the extrabudget funds to the state's key construction projects to increase the staying power of the national economy. To sum up, we should achieve remarkable success in increasing production and practicing economy this year and should continue the drive in the years to come.

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HOW DOES DOUDIANCUN DEVELOP ITS COMMODITY ECONOMY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 30-33

[Article by Fan Yuanmou [5400 6678 6180], Li Zhongyuan [2621 0112 3293], and Kong Jia [1313 0857]]

[Text] Doudiancun, in Fangshan County, Beijing municipality, has 1,183 households, a population of 4,159, a labor force of 1,658, and 5,230 mu of land. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee this village has intensively undergone economic structural reform, continuously readjusted its industrial structure, and strived hard to improve its agricultural material and technological foundation and to vigorously develop a commodity economy, thus gradually enabling its agricultural ecology and rural economy to flow into a favorable cycle. In 1985, Doudiancun's gross industrial and agricultural income was 11.39 million yuan, its per capita income was 920 yuan, and its public financial accumulations were 13.87 million yuan, indicating increases over 1977 of 1,007 percent, 1,050 percent, and 1,090 percent, respectively. Changes were also made in the labor power employment composition: 10.9 percent of the labor force was devoted to farming; 6.5 percent to animal husbandry production; and 82.6 percent to industry and tertiary industry. Doudiancun's actual practices, viewed from the sidelines, manifest the prospects of our country's rural economy's specialization, commercialization, and modernization.

I. A Firm and Stabilized Agriculture Is the Foundation for Development of a Commodity Economy

Marx pointed out: "An agricultural labor productivity rate that exceeds the individual's needs is the foundation for all forms of society." ("Das Kapital," Vol 3, p 885) If this agricultural foundation is weakened or shaken then rural industrial structure readjustment will lose its most needed conditions and the rural commodity economy will not have sustained, stable, and coordinated development.

All along, Doudiancun in Fangshan County has put the establishment of modernized agriculture in an important position, has refused to take reductions in grain production as a price for readjusting the structure of the plantation trade, and has refused to sacrifice agriculture as a price for the development of nonagricultural pursuits. On the contrary, simultaneously

with the all-round development of the rural economy, the village has continuously raised its agricultural production level and made basic improvements in agricultural production relations. In the 8 years from 1978 to 1985 it has basically realized mechanization and specialization of agricultural production and provided it with ample water conservancy facilities, and the foundation and position of its agriculture have become increasingly strengthened. It has adopted mainly two measures to achieve these ends.

First, it has increased the material input into agriculture and improved agricultural production conditions. All along, Doudiancun has paid relatively close attention to farmland capital construction. In the early 1970's, it had already implemented agricultural production conditions by "leveling the land and providing at least one well for each 100 mu of farmland." After 1977, it further improved production conditions through primarily relying on the collective economy's own strength. In water conservancy, it converted open drainages into underground drainages. From 1978 to 1980, altogether 16,000 meters of underground drainages were laid. In agricultural mechanization it firmly insisted on using a sizable portion of the annual profits of village-run enterprises to purchase or remake agricultural machinery fit for use in local agriculture. By 1985, the whole village had in its possession some 250 sets of large and small farming machines with an aggregate motive power of 2,045 horsepower and incurring an aggregate investment of nearly 2 million yuan, thus realizing the mechanization of all the farming stages ranging from tilling the farmland, plowing, sowing seeds, and dressing to intertilling, fertilizer application, weeding, harvesting, and hulling. Compared with 1977, the agricultural labor productivity rate was improved by 1,300 percent. On the average, each large-field labor power could farm 29 mu of farmland, with an annual grain output of 17.5 tons. The specialization of agricultural production also created the conditions for specializing nonagricultural production. Doudiancun's cadres estimated that devoid of high-level mechanization and specialization of agriculture, the busy farming seasons would inevitably fall into the past practice of using "carts and horses, belonging to a particular production team, and assigning the labor power to a specified field." By so doing, not only would agricultural production costs be greatly increased and the agricultural labor productivity rate be lowered but also the production of township and town enterprises would be reduced and income from the industries and sideline pursuits would also be reduced. On the basis of each industry and sideline production in 1985 labor power averaged a daily output value of 18 yuan and enterprises had to close their doors for 15 days because of the busy farming season. Then the whole village's output value from industry and sideline pursuits was reduced by 400,000 yuan. The village's experiences have shown that only through continuously improving agricultural production conditions, and increasing material input can agricultural production's specialization level and modernization level be improved. At the same time, the rise in the agricultural production level will create the necessary external conditions for the nonagricultural production departments to improve their labor productivity rates and economic benefits.

Second, the village has introduced science and technology into the various phases of agricultural production. As early as in 1976, Doudiancun's cadres

had successfully invited technical personnel from the county agricultural science bureau and the municipal agricultural science institute to the village to help introduce scientific farming. In 1977, under the guidance of scientific and technological personnel they undertook 40 pilot projects and obtained nearly 400,000 statistical data; they converted the "3-plantings and 3-harvestings" system with the principal thesis of intercropping and interplanting into the even planting of the two crops of wheat and maize, and created the conditions for agricultural mechanization. In 1978, the new plantation system was pushed on a large scale, resulting in a unitary grain output jump from 383.5 kilograms in 1977 to 616 kilograms, an average per mu increase of 232.5 kilograms. For that year alone, the gross grain output rose by 66.5 percent, amounting to 2,588 tons. In addition, a specialized scientific and technological corps was set up and charged with the functions of periodically examining the quality of the soil, suiting fertilizer application to the localities and to the seedlings, suiting the watering of the fields to the conditions of the sky and the soil, forecasting and preventing insect pests, promoting and multiplying good seeds, and converting agricultural production's experienced pattern to the foundation of modern science and technology. In recent years, Doudiancun's grain yield has averaged around 750 kilograms per mu. In order to rectify the situation of low economic effects from rearing and raising pigs the village carried out pilot tests on the rapid raising of pigs, improving breeds and reforming feed materials. As a result, they were able to convert the original losses in pig raising of 10 yuan per head to a profit of 20 yuan per head. This has helped the development of animal husbandry. In 1980, the whole village raised some 2,500 pigs for sale in the market, an improvement of 560 percent over 1977. Doudiancun's actual practices have amply demonstrated science and technology as the source of the productive forces. Modern science and technology can discover new varieties for agriculture, create new farming artcrafts and double and redouble labor productivity rates, soil productivity rates and material resources utilization rates. They can also transform the utilization forms of resources, making the existing materials resources production departments earn and generate new wealth. The input of science and technology will greatly strengthen this foundation of agriculture, promote the rapid development of the rural economy, and facilitate the transition of traditional agriculture to modernization.

II. Setting Up a Sturdy and Coordinated Industrial Structure in Accordance With a Commodity Economy's Needs

Doudiancun's industrial structure has gone through two big readjustments. Both readjustments' objectives were to set up a systematic commodity production structure and to realize a favorable cycle in agricultural ecology and economy.

The first readjustment aimed at effecting, within the broad concept inside agriculture, a close union between the plantation trade and animal husbandry and the formation of a favorable cycle of uniting the ecological effects and economic effects through agriculture supporting animal husbandry and animal husbandry enriching agriculture. Following the 1978 bountiful grain harvest,

Doudiancum's cadres, having in mind the relatively barren or unproductive condition of the village's soil, clearheadedly came to the conclusion that in order to stabilize grain production and further develop the economy it would be necessary to vigorously develop animal husbandry. This could not only solve the grain surplus and soil fertilization problems but also create the conditions for development of agricultural sideline production and the processing trade. They first started with promoting the scientific raising methods and developing a pig-raising trade. Since 1980, they have introduced feeder ox from Neimenggu to change the pace for raising and fattening. In 1985, the whole village reared and fed 1,600 oxen and in succession built and put into operation three chicken farms each with a feeding capacity of about 10,000 chickens. In 1985, its gross output value of animal husbandry was 1.6 million yuan, an increase of 2,650 percent over 1977, and the ratio of the output value between animal husbandry and the plantation trade rose from 2 to 8 to 6 to 4. The rapid development of animal husbandry has effectively promoted production from the plantation trade. Each year animal husbandry has supplied over 1,000 tons of good-quality organic fertilizer to the farm fields, raising the organic content of the soil by over 44 percent; the unitary output of grain has an annual growth rate of 12.8 percent and the yearly converted grain was over 1,500 tons. The close union between the plantation trade and animal husbandry has changed agriculture from originally being one-legged to two-legged, able now to stand firmer than before and run faster. Moreover, animal husbandry's development has led to the development of the processing trade and commerce as well as the food services trade. In 1985, processing of 1,885 tons of feed materials was done by the feed materials plants while the food plants processed 260 tons of noodles and 185 tons of steamed buns; processed meat from its meat combination plants has been marketed to the Zhongmei Aviation Food Corporation, the Shanghai Aviation Food Corporation and various large restaurants in Beijing. Three county-run restaurants marketed agricultural sideline products produced by the village.

Since 1980, Doudiancun has further readjusted its property structure and enabled its various industries and trades, such as agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fisheries, industry, commerce, construction, transport, and services trades, to develop all-round. In this readjustment, its major measures were the following:

1. Starting from reality and selecting the readjustment direction on the basis of its own strong points. In readjusting the property structure, the market conditions and the elements of the productive forces needed by the different production projects and different industrial departments differ from each other. Only through insisting on starting from reality and having a good understanding of the market's development trend and one's own "strong" or "weak" points in regard to capital, manpower, technology, resources, and so forth is it possible to realize the best union of the main factors of the productive forces and enable the readjustment of the property structure to proceed in active and firm steps. When going into new development Doudiancun took into full consideration its own conditions and the market environment, analyzed the trends of economic development, and chose those industries and trades which had prospects for development and which came within its own

handling capability. In 1980, when it started to build the village-run brick plant, the whole country was cutting down the scale of capital construction and brick plants in various places in the country were closing down. The village made a careful analysis of the situation and came to the conclusion that while the urban markets were suffering from a depression, there were still extensive markets in the rural areas. Besides, Doudiancun commanded the superior features of having good-quality soil for brick-making, rather strong technical power in this connection, and good communications and transportation facilities. Hence, the outlook for its brick-making industry was still good. It thus decided to continue with the construction project. The brick plant was rushed to completion, went into production during the year, and repaid all its loans during the same year. In the past 6 years, the brick plant's production scale has continuously expanded and its economic benefits have increased daily. In 1985 it produced 23 million bricks, a 200 percent increase over 1980. The after-tax net profits of the enterprise have accumulated to 1.78 million yuan. At present, the brick plant has become one of Doudiancun's backbone enterprises.

2. Organizing a systematic production structure and fully displaying all the strong points and comprehensive effects of the property structure. In accordance with the demands of a commodity economy, Doudiancun has supplemented its backbone enterprises with various supporting enterprises, and gradually formed a dragon-like systematic production structure. Brick plants and construction corps have been the large backbone enterprises of the village. In 1985, by establishing a structural parts plant, the village linked together the brick plant and the construction corps and teamed up the building materials industry with the construction industry. By so doing, not only was the structural parts plant able to absorb some 100 labor units and create nearly a million yuan of output value but also the construction corps were given the advantages of the "joint contracting of both building materials and construction," thereby heightening their economic effects. The latter's 1985 after-tax profits amounted to 533,000 yuan, a quadrupled increase over 1984. Concurrently, this has brought about the development of the transport trade. The village's animal husbandry has also had somewhat the same experience. The feed materials industry has linked together the plantation trade and animal husbandry, eventually extending the link to the meat processing trade and forming a chain of operations of "planting, rearing and processing." When this chain of operations was joined with the commercial food trade, the linking of "agriculture, industry and commerce" was formed. The splitting up of the property department is the inevitable result of the technical division of work and production specialization in commodity production. Following the raising of the commodity production level, specialization will naturally require the reciprocal coordination of the various departments, forming a systematic production structure so that through systematic processing the materials resources can be utilized comprehensively and can continuously increase in value, so that products can be diversified and the market continuously developed, and so that the productive forces can circulate rationally. In short, the specialized production structure has extended Doudiancun's commodity production both in depth and in breadth and made its whole property and industrial structure become more coordinated and more flexible.

3. Developing diversified lateral economic relationships. A region, especially a village or a township, is found to suffer from the restrictions of various kinds of natural and economic conditions. The productive forces it possesses must have both strong and weak points. Hence, a property structure which is full of vitality is naturally endowed with the special features of being opened up to the outside, capable of making use of others' strong points to supplement its weak points. The more developed a commodity economy becomes, the greater its need to break through the self-imposed environment of the township or town. In the readjustment of its property structure, Doudiancun has all along paid close attention to developing its extensive lateral economic relations. In 1978, it went into a joint venture with the Beijing Municipality 3d Garments Plant and set up a village-run garments factory. By means of this association, it has made up for its shortage of know-how in this trade, besides gaining the assurance of the marketing of its products. In recent years, its garments plant has continuously improved both the quality of the products and the business operation level. In 1985, its staff was comprised of 413 people, after-tax profits were nearly 300,000 yuan, and its products were marketed to eight counties and regions. At the moment, Doudiancun has established stable and diversified forms of economic alliance and cooperation relationships with some 14 units of various industries and trades.

III. Development of the Rural Commodity Economy Must Be Governed by a Suitable Management Structure

In the course of readjusting its property structure and developing commodity production Doudiancun has paid close attention to closely linking together the development of the productive forces and improving production relationships, to effectively reform the management structure and to form a new management structure that is suited to the new productive forces and the new property structure.

With rural mechanization conditions initially taking shape, the various sides of rural industries rapidly developing and a comprehensive type of economy beginning to be formed, the defects of the original management system associated with the "production brigade-production team-working unit" were all revealed. This original management structure and these management methods lacked a rigid business accounting system and contained rather slim concepts of the value of labor, costs of production, prices, and profits and were particularly not equal to the tasks of managing well the daily developing industrial and commercial enterprises. Facts have indeed shown that the old management structure was incapable of meeting the needs of rural specialized, commercialized, and modernized production. In such a situation, Doudiancun, taking the contract responsibilities system where payment is linked to output as the basis for agricultural production and observing the commodity economy principles of volition and mutual benefit, and exchange at equal value, linked together the various industries and trades to form a reciprocally dependent and jointly developed economic combine. In the second half of 1982, the village established the Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, Industrial and Commercial General Corporation with three branch companies under it, namely, the agricultural and husbandry, industrial, and commercial

branch companies. Under the branch companies, there were 67 contracted units, organized according to the needs of specialized production. The original 14 production teams were converted into 14 agricultural and animal husbandry stations. The contracted units all enforced separate business accounting. Between the units, subordinate administrative relationships no longer existed, while the original system of transfer of funds or materials on a noncompensatory basis was replaced by a compensatory economic relationship rigidly formed by business contracts.

The new management structure has enforced a suitable degree of power centralization and power separation. In accordance with the principles of "united operations and division of management at various levels," a suitable demarcation of the management power and functions of the general corporation, branch companies, and contracting units was made. The powers and functions of the general corporation are as follows: 1) Formulating and issuing the annual plan to the lower levels; 2) united financial control; and 3) responsibility for decisionmaking on major operation policies. The various agricultural stations and enterprises enjoy full autonomous power and, on the basis of economic contractual agreements signed with the general corporation, are able to arrange for their own separate production and operation activities and to formulate their own compensation forms and award and punishment measures, and so forth. As a result of the integration of unity and divided responsibility, power and benefits, the strong points of collective and large-scale operations have been displayed while concurrently the enthusiasm of the contracting units and of the individuals has been aroused and mobilized.

On the side of rendering services to the enterprises, the new management structure has played an increasingly large role and has initially set up three service units; these are the plantation, animal husbandry, and people's living services. For example, the agricultural and animal husbandry company has devoted its main efforts to the services sector. Its scientific and technological unit and farm machines team have been rendering to the agricultural stations such services as providing good seeds, examination and determination of soil fertility, meteorological forecasts, fertilizer prescription, farm medicine supplies, and so forth, as well as a full range of mechanical farming services from planting to harvesting. The plague prevention unit and the breeding station perform services to the animal husbandry stations such as providing breeding stock for animals and fowl, feed prescriptions, plague prevention and cures, technological guidance for breeding, and so forth. The commercial service structure provides services to society in general and to village residents in particular. The peasants can at any time of the day buy cooked food or semicooked food products. The socialized level of the people's living standards has continuously risen.

The new management structure has effectively regulated the income level of the various trades and the ratio between accumulation and consumption, and has enabled the workers engaged in the various industries and trades to receive different incomes, but not too varied from each other. This has fully manifested the underlying principles of distribution according to work and seeking common affluence, ensured the relative stability of the labor

force, also ensured capital accumulation for production development, and caused the various industries and trades to reciprocally promote and coordinate development. Through continuous actual practices and probings, in income distribution the general corporation has gradually perfected and determined the "three higher" grades of distribution principles, namely, the income of agricultural and animal husbandry workers slightly higher than that of workers in village-run industries; the income of workers in industries and trades requiring intensive labor and generally featuring poor production conditions slightly higher than that of other industries and trades and workers therein; and the income of enterprises making great contributions to the state and to the collectives slightly higher than that of ordinary enterprises.

Six years ago Comrade Deng Xiaoping had already pointed out: "Following the development of production and the development of rural social division of work and of the commodity economy, a low-level collective system will develop to a high-level collective system." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 275) Doudiancun's development has fully attested to the correctness of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's conclusion.

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ONE SHOULD TAKE A LONG-TERM VIEW OF THINGS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 34-35

[Article by Tan Jun [6223 6511]]

[Text] Not long ago, a small number of college students in certain cities successively held demonstrations and were criticized and admonished by people at various levels of society. Certain fellow students taking part in the demonstrations have felt anguished and dismayed at their enthusiasm having been misunderstood. Some of the students excitedly protested: "We felt concern with the reform and China's future. What was wrong with that? Could it be that good students should totally 'ignore all outside affairs'?" All this has aroused my somber thought.

A review of history can easily show that all youths' movements which represented people's wishes, were in accord with the laws of historical development, and followed the tides of the times received the people's support and propelled history's development forward. The May 4th Movement and the December 9th Movement were like this and so was the April 5th Movement. Six years ago when the Chinese people emerged from 10 years of disturbances and when a portion of the people were still "nursing" or recollecting or sighing over their "wound," Beijing University students, on the evening of 20 March, when the victory of the Chinese male volleyball team abroad was celebrated, cried out the slogan of "be united and revitalize China." This slogan greatly aroused people's enthusiasm for starting a new life and won hearty support and warm responses from the broad masses.

Today, people who passed through the confusion of the past have incomparably felt the importance of peace and unity in making the country strong and the people well-off. They favor order and peace and abhor confusion and discord. In these circumstances, demonstrations by college students cannot obtain the people's approval and support. This is not difficult to understand. It must be admitted that the intentions of by far the large proportion of the fellow students in the demonstrations were good. The students were concerned with the reform. They fervently love the fatherland and were willing to do their bit to rejuvenate China. But the method of holding demonstrations was not good. It harmed the peaceful and united political and social environment on which the reform depends and it interfered with the strategic arrangements made by the CPC Central Committee on the reform. These are facts seen and known by everybody.

Our somber thinking should not rest only on this point of knowing the objective results of the event. From this event, in order to truly obtain an experience and lesson useful to our future growth, it is still necessary to give more intensive thought to the subjective motive.

At present, the reform is a general trend, favored by all people and historically inevitable. But how should it be carried out? Which road should it take? All along there has been a vigorous struggle between two lines of thought. Should we follow what the CPC Central Committee pointed out as the direction of the reform; namely, the establishment of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the establishment of socialist modernization? Or should we follow what people like Wang Ruowang and Fang Lizhi advocated; namely, "all-out Westernization" and taking over capitalism stock and barrel? Many fellow students have not thought over the matter carefully enough. Some of them are young and inexperienced, lack an overall understanding of the historical and present conditions of China and the Western capitalist countries. They also lack a scientific understanding of the twists and turns and errors in the course of our country's socialist construction and did not deeply study Marxist theories, and are not capable enough of bringing forth any reform measures suited to China's national conditions. On the contrary, they were more easily attracted by the Western nations' temporary prosperity and form of democracy. Hence, when certain people advocated the liberalized ideas of the capitalist class, they readily received an enthusiastic response from a portion of youthful students. Thus, it was precisely under the influence of the liberalized areas of the capitalist class that in certain regions and in certain educational institutions fellow students have called some slogans very misleading. Hence, when we take a second look we should not allow ourselves to be closeted by such thoughts as "subjective desires to be good," or "warm feeling of concern, with the reform being invaluable," or, "good intentions but wrong acts" and not listening to the party's and people's criticisms and admonitions, or, without consciously and earnestly liquidating from our minds the influences of the liberalized thoughts of the capitalist class. If we were unable to determine right from wrong on important problems concerning the party's and the country's future and destiny, then it would be quite possible from now on for us to get results contrary to our wishes.

Martyr Li Dazhao, in his article "The Direction of the Activities of Modern Youth," wrote: "Dear youths! Before commencing your actions, you should have your direction fixed. As in seafaring, the destination must be determined in advance. Only through having the compass rigidly fixed toward the correct direction can the destination eventually be reached. If you waver in your direction and follow the wind, the day of arrival at the destination may never come." ("Collection of Li Dazhao's Works," p 663) So far as college students are concerned, their point of destination is clear enough, but at the midway point how should the compass direct their way? Many fellow students have an earnest desire to take part in the reform, hoping that in their college days they can perform some skyrocketing deeds. However, between the two things of participating in the reform and studying and learning work, the latter after all should be our main task and by far the largest portion of our energy should be devoted to it.

Some fellow students have said: "Advocating studying the books, is it not the same slogan called by the northern military cliques and the KMT reactionaries in their opposition to students' movements?" No, absolutely not! At that time, the masses of people, including young students were all situated in an oppressed and powerless position. The reactionary government which the students opposed was on the verge of toppling and to destroy such a government was a major task above everything else. And if such a government were not toppled there could be no talk of "studying" or "serving the country afterwards." At the time of the December 9th Movement, in the vast territory of northern China, there was hardly any place in the institutions of learning to put a single desk for one to study peacefully and how could studying be carried out at all? On the contrary, today not only people of the whole country have become masters of the house but also our youthful students have become leaders of society. Despite the occurrence of certain things not exactly to our liking, we should by no means seek a settlement to the problem by giving up studies and resorting to the form of carrying out students' movements. If indeed today we should still take the struggles of the May 4th Movement and the December 9th Movement as our own tasks then we would be committing a historical error.

Not long ago I had the opportunity to chat with a fellow student who would soon graduate. He said: "At the time we enrolled in the university we all looked forward to an early graduation. But when graduation day is at hand, we do not want to leave. Here, my deepest regret is that I did not make full and good use of the library and have not been able to read more books and systematically study. I really do not know if I shall have an opportunity of this kind again in the future." I was deeply moved by his words. At present, our country is still not wealthy but the party and government have spent a lot of manpower, and financial and material resources for the sake of creating a good environment for studies. If we do not make full and good use of this environment can we be said to have treated the party and the masses well? It is true that as students we should show "concern with our family affairs, with state affairs and with world affairs." Whatever ideas and recommendations we have should be submitted to the party and league organs and the students' organizations in the university or school and to the relevant departments. These organs and departments have the responsibility to report, step by step, the views to the above. But it should also be seen that after all we are still engaged in the studies. We still do not know well many of the problems in society and we may not be entirely correct in interpreting certain conditions. Hence, some of our views may also be incorrect; or, though correct, they may not be workable for the time being. On such occasions, we should cool-headedly consider if our views correspond to reality and should by no means resort to overheated actions. Basically speaking, concern with state affairs and devoting efforts to studies are one and the same thing since both have the same objective; namely, building up our country well. If we put the two in an opposing stance and are overenthusiastic in settling "state affairs" which our youthful students cannot yet handle at the moment and thus adversely affect our normal student life, by the 1990's, when our economy will be in a high-flying stage and when the overall rejuvenation of our country in the year 2000 will require all of us to stand forth and hold the fort we shall not be equal to the task, then it will be too

late to repent. Would this not adversely affect state affairs just because of our current "overconcern" with state affairs?

Indeed, "one should take a long-term view of things." Our youthful students of the current era should, wherever possible, look further into the future and refrain from doing things in order to be able to accomplish something subsequently. We must grasp the time element, study hard, and ensure that when and as the party and the people need us, we can with full confidence stand forth, accept our fatherland's assignments and take up the heavy burden bestowed on us by the era.

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THE BRUTAL APARTHEID SYSTEM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE'S JUST STRUGGLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 36-40

[Article by Ge Jie [5514 0165]]

[Text] The racist rule in South Africa is a prominent problem in international politics today. The cruel oppression of vast numbers of black people by the South African authorities, the illegal occupation of Namibia, and the brazen aggression against neighboring countries has resulted in a turbulent situation in southern Africa and this has become one of the hot spots threatening world peace at present. Added to this, superpower interference has made the contradictions in southern Africa especially acute and complex, and this has attracted the serious concern of the international community.

The Brutal Apartheid System

South Africa is the only country which affirms apartheid and racial discrimination policies in a legislative form. Soon after the colonialists invaded, the vast number of black people in South Africa were, like all oppressed people around the world, massacred, enslaved, and discriminated against. Since the South African "National Party" took power under the banner of maintaining the purity of the whites and guaranteeing the special rights of the whites in 1948, South Africa's existing racial oppression and racial discrimination has developed into a complete system of apartheid.

This system was initially founded in South Africa to ban interracial marriages, in order to pursue the "purity" of white people's blood. Later, through "population registration," "status" of the people of each race was set down. Those deemed to be "Africans," if they were 16 years of age or over had to carry a "passcard." After their status was determined, segregation of residential areas was implemented and the people of the different races had to reside in areas set aside for them. The many other apartheid laws and regulations are really just detailed stipulations of different treatment for the different races in South Africa. In this country skin color is the deciding factor on whether one can participate in political, economic, and all social activities. People's positions in South African society, including their place of residence, the professions they engage in, the education they receive, personal development opportunities, and treatment in life are

determined by skin color. In South Africa the sumptuousness and prosperity of white society and the poor and miserable lives of the black people form a startling contrast. According to a report of a 2-year investigation carried out by 400 researchers in 20 South African universities: While white South Africans enjoy the highest living standard in the world, one-third of all black children fail to live 14 years because they lack food; while medical facilities for whites in South Africa have developed to a position where they rank foremost in the world in heart transplants, among the blacks, there is only 1 doctor for every 170,400 people; this country produces 60 percent of the energy of the African Continent, but the majority of black people have only firewood as their sole source of energy.

In order to make these practices, which exclude black people, permanent, at the end of the 1950's the South African authorities further proposed the "Bantu homelands" policy (the "Bantustan" plan) and forcibly divided the black people into 10 "national states" based on tribal divisions. They forcibly compressed blacks, who constituted 73 percent of the total population, into land areas comprising only 13 percent of the total land area. After the "homelands" became independent the black people then lost their South African nationality and in the areas occupied by whites, which constituted 87 percent of the land area of South Africa, they became "foreign national" floating labor and they could no longer claim any political rights. Since the 1960's, the South African authorities have, under this pretext, driven over 2 million urban blacks to the "Bantu homelands."

In Namibia, which was illegally occupied by South Africa, the local people's situation is worse than that of the black people in South Africa. Namibia used to be a German colony but during World War I, South Africa sent troops to occupy it. After the war the League of Nations "entrusted" South Africa to govern the area. After World War II, South Africa did everything possible to resist the United Nations' trusteeship and supervision, seeking to directly annex Namibia. The UN Joint Assembly passed a resolution in 1966 abolishing South Africa's right to trustee rule. In 1971, the International Court of Justice determined that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal. However, South Africa paid no attention to the aspirations of the people of Namibia, the UN resolution, or the censure of international opinion. It transferred its entire apartheid and racial discrimination policies and applied them in Namibia.

The South African apartheid and racial discrimination policies applied to the black people of that country and their illegal occupation of Namibia has naturally been firmly opposed by the vast numbers of black people in South Africa and Namibia. In the early period of colonial invasion the people of the two countries engaged in an epic struggle against the colonizers. After colonial rule was established they never gave up the struggle. For a long period the black people of South Africa engaged in a struggle through peaceful petitions and nonviolent passive resistance. The people of Namibia, apart from carrying out peaceful resistance inside their country, also repeatedly sent representatives to the United Nations to present petitions. However, the people's peaceful petitions and passive resistance were met by bloody suppression by the South African authorities.

The decades of resultant anger from oppressing the people finally erupted with an irresistible force. After the Sharpeville massacre (Footnote 1) (In the Sharpeville massacre South African police killed 69 people engaged in peaceful resistance and injured 180) which shocked the world in 1960, the South African black people's liberation organizations such as the African National Congress and the All-African Convention began to build up armed strength and carried out small-scale guerrilla activities. The Namibian people fired the first shot of armed resistance in 1966.

Since the autumn of 1984 the racial conflicts in South Africa have reached unprecedented intenseness. Since that time large-scale demonstrations by the black masses have occurred repeatedly in one place after another. The black masses have been angered and have killed or punished those black officials who have cooperated with the authorities, resulting in paralyzed local black governments in many places. There have also been repeated violent confrontations between the masses and the police. The South African authorities have used all sorts of repressive measures against the masses. Apart from using the police, the South African authorities have also mobilized the Army to move into black townships. In repression they resort to all sorts of measures including high-pressure water jets, tear-gas, armored cars, helicopters, and so on. According to estimates by a foreign wire service over 1,700 people have been killed by suppression or in disturbances since 1984. (Footnote 2) (AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE dispatch from Johannesburg on 14 June 1986) The South African authorities had to declare a state of emergency in the whole country and made a large number of arrests. Even in August 1986 on a list made public by the South African authorities, over 8,501 people were noted as having been arrested. The authorities' bloody suppression did not cripple the South African black people's movement. As one group of leaders was arrested another group appeared, forming a force which could not be stopped and could not be cut off. The struggle of the South African masses for over 2 years has shown that the movement by black people demanding equal rights has developed to a stage where it cannot be suppressed, and the new generation of black people is already prepared and will struggle at all costs to obtain their own due rights.

The situation in Namibia is also like this. The Namibian people have already engaged in an armed struggle for 20 years in order to obtain independence. Also, the Namibian independence question has been placed as an important item on the agenda of all the UN General Assembly sessions.

Unbridled Aggression Against Neighboring States

South Africa's apartheid policy ideologically is basically opposed to pan-Africanism which seeks the liberation of black people and which is believed in by the majority of the African states. The racist regime of South Africa has all along set itself as the antithesis of the liberation movements of the black people of Africa. When the mighty torrent of national liberation struggles entered southern Africa, after a number of southern African states gained independence in the 1960's, South Africa colluded with the colonial powers of Angola, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Mozambique and did everything possible to obstruct the independence process in neighboring

countries. After these neighboring countries successively gained independence it also implemented a policy of aggression against them. It supported anti-government forces in these countries thereby producing political instability. The South African authorities had two major aims: 1) To force the neighboring countries to stop supporting the black people's liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia; and 2) to produce political turbulence in neighboring countries preventing them from achieving stable development so as to prevent them from being a model which the South African and Namibian people could copy.

In order to achieve the above-stated aims South Africa, in its dealing with the newly independent neighboring black states, used both hard and soft tactics, sometimes luring them with promises and at other times threatening them. It completely disregarded the basic principles of international law, and in no way saw neighboring countries as independent states. When it felt it was necessary, it bluntly engaged in armed intervention. Its aggression against Angola, Mozambique, and Botswana has created a great international uproar and has been subject to intense condemnation by international society.

The reason South Africa is so unbridled in its aggression against neighboring states is related to a great degree to the great disparity between its own strength and that of the neighboring states. South Africa uses its own fairly powerful financial power to increase its armed strength. Through many years in building up its power it has gained a military strength far superior to that of any other country on the African Continent. A long period of colonial rule has also produced a heavy reliance on South Africa in terms of communications and transport, ports, investment commodity supply, and even product export. In the economic sphere, neighboring countries are in a situation where they can be easily controlled by South Africa. By intentional delays or temporarily not supplying particular commodities South Africa can apply pressure on the various neighboring countries.

The South African Authorities Cannot Take the Initiative To Implement "Peaceful Change"

South Africa's internal and external policies have been the subject of strong censure by international opinion, and it has now been placed in an unprecedentedly isolated position in the international arena. The calls for economic sanctions against South Africa have shaken the whole world. Even countries which have manifold economic links with South Africa such as the United States and the United Kingdom have had to implement some sanctions. In this situation which way will South Africa go? Can the South African authorities be pressured into making substantial changes in the apartheid and racial discrimination policies? These questions have already become questions of common concern. The Reagan government in the United States, in its "policy of constructive engagement" with respect to South Africa, in essence places its hopes on "quiet diplomacy" being able to impel South Africa to implement "peaceful change." Up to now, the U.S. Government still believes that through peaceful discussion it will be possible in South Africa to establish a system of government different from the present one and in which the people of all races can express their political views. The British prime minister,

Mrs Thatcher, when opposing the implementation of economic sanctions also put forward a similar idea.

In fact, racism in South Africa has a deep economic, historical, social and even psychological basis. In the present situation the South African authorities cannot take the initiative to institute substantial "reforms."

The primary obstacle to reform is the "special rights of white people." In South Africa the whites, who constitute 15 percent of the population, occupy 87 percent of the land. The blacks have no right to own land outside their "homelands," while the total area of the "homelands" of the black people, who constitute 73 percent of the population, is less than 15 percent of South Africa's total land area. The serious lack of land has forced many black people to leave their villages and flow into "white people's areas" to do ill-paid labor for white capitalists and farmers. In this way, the apartheid system not only allows white farmers to enjoy special rights, but white factory and mine managers are able, because of the vast army of unemployed people, to push labor prices down to the lowest possible level and rake in super-profits.

White workers also enjoy many special rights. Very few of them engage in physical labor and many are actually supervisors. In terms of their educational and vocational training, and their employment and wage conditions they enjoy all sorts of preferential treatment over the blacks. In terms of education there are wide disparities in the amount of funds given to the various races. In the 1984-85 period, the amount provided for every white student was 1,385 rand, while the amount provided for each black student was only 115.19 rand.

There are also great disparities in terms of employment opportunities for the various races in South Africa. From materials supplied by South African officials it can be seen that in the South African manufacturing industry the posts of managers, specialists, secretaries, salesmen, supervisors and technicians are manily filled by white people. Meanwhile the majority of people who engage in transport service, production, and manual labor are black people. The situation in other sectors is about the same. The difference in employment opportunities has resulted in the incomes of different racial groups also being greatly different. The following table lists the average monthly wage figures (in rand) for the various races in South Africa (Foot-note 3) (Compiled on the basis of the figures over the years in "The Economic Quarterly--South Africa" of England):

	<u>1978</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Whites	585	767	1,092	1,210	1,300
Indian descendants	250	336	513	585	630
Coloreds	191	254	365	418	440
Blacks	137	189	271	309	330

In such a situation improving the conditions of the blacks can only bring harm to the special rights of the whites. This is what the South African authorities and white factory and mine managers find difficult to accept.

The second thing which must be considered is the effects of racist policies on the ideology and psychology of the South African whites, especially the Dutch Afrikaners. Of the approximately 4.8 million whites in South Africa today 60 percent are Afrikaners. Their political party, the National Party, has held political power in South Africa since 1948. The psychological state that history has produced in these people has played a key role in the South African Government's decisionmaking. The Afrikaners are the descendants of white, predominantly Dutch immigrants and early on were referred to as Boers. They have a history of over 300 years of living in Africa. Quite a number of these people believe that they developed South Africa after subjugating the local inhabitants, and that they are the masters of South Africa. In the process by which they coped with the black people and later the English colonists who occupied a dominant position in some places they all along stressed the maintenance of their own intrinsic characteristics and in fact they developed into an oppressive nationality with distinctive characteristics.

The Afrikaners have a deep-rooted idea of white supremacy and have a preposterous theory. Early on they called themselves "God's chosen people" while the local people who lived in this area of land were seen as a bunch of "heathens" who were "accursed people." It was "natural" for these people to "chop wood and carry water" for the whites. Today it is still the creed of the Afrikaners that "the whites are the masters of South Africa." These people are different from the French immigrants in Algeria and the English immigrants in Kenya. They cut their ties with the Netherlands long ago and have been isolated from the world in South Africa for a long period. They originally engaged in agriculture, but since the beginning of this century have gradually expanded into other professions. As a group they are unable to compete in terms of production or management abilities with the English-descendant whites in South Africa or the whites of the world's economically developed areas. If they do not keep their foothold in South Africa they will have no recourse route. This position has resulted in their psychological state in which they stake everything in a single venture. They will try to guarantee their special rights in South Africa at all costs.

It is because of the above-mentioned economic and psychological factors that in quite a proportion of Afrikaners racist ideas are very serious. The August 1984 report of South Africa's "Humanities Studies Association" noted that in the 1980's, while apartheid and racial discrimination were seen by the world as shameful evils, 90 percent of South Africa's Afrikaners supported the idea of whites and blacks going to different schools and 85 percent supported the measures by which people of different races use different public facilities. Ninety-two percent of them still endorsed the present electoral system which excludes black people, close to 77 percent endorsed the "Group Areas Act" which restricts the people of different races to living within the residential areas set down for them, and nearly 80 percent of these people supported the homeland policy for black people. (Footnote 4) (Taken from JOHANNESBURG STAR, 27 August 1984) These figures show

that although in recent years an increasing number of whites have shown sympathy for the plight of black people and quite a number of whites have joined the black people's struggle the majority of Afrikaners in South Africa still firmly support the racial apartheid system. The force among South Africa's white people opposing changes is extremely strong.

Among the South African Afrikaners there is an extreme rightist force. Although the number of people involved is not large their capacity for activities is great and they are daily becoming more brazen. In recent years each time the South African Government has made one of its negligible reforms these people have criticized the government for "selling the people's interests" and "betraying the people." They support the unstinting maintenance of the great embankment of racist rule and believe that if any crack should appear in the embankment it will eventually be shattered by the great tide of the black people's liberation movement. They criticize the present government for being too soft in its treatment of the black people's activities. Thus, they have taken direct action and have often engaged in terrorist activities. The assassination or attacking of prominent black political activists in South Africa occurs regularly. Since the new Constitution came into effect in 1985 a number of by-elections have shown that the influence of these people is expanding.

Also some people place their hopes for reform on the "enlightened faction" of the whites. On 1 January 1985 five major entrepreneurial associations jointly issued a statement requiring "an improvement in the political and economic situation of the black people," "universal citizenship," "restriction of police powers," and so on. In September of the same year South African entrepreneur representatives went to Zambia to hold discussions with representatives of the outlawed African National Congress of South Africa. In October the Business Alliance, representing 22,740 companies, also passed a resolution requiring the "urgent abolition of all racially discriminating laws and regulations" and "consultation with black leaders." All of these things seem to have caused people to place their hopes on the "enlightened faction." However, this is but one side of the problem. The other side is that the majority of South African entrepreneurs are English-descendants and it is not these people who hold political power in South Africa. Thus their ability to influence South African government affairs is limited. Of the 128 seats in the South African House of Assembly they only hold 27. Although they have a true desire for reform their proposals will not, in the short term, be able to be passed by the South African House of Assembly. The incident at the beginning of 1986, in which the opposition party leader who represents the "enlightened faction" felt that the present government could not carry out reforms and therefore resigned, demonstrates this point. Also, the degree of "enlightenment" of the "enlightened faction" is limited. In order to seek higher profits, raise labor productivity, and reduce labor costs, they demand the destroying of the white workers' iron rice-bowl and the loosening of restrictions on employing black workers. But it is precisely the low cost of labor which has been held down by the racist system which provides them with super-profits. When their personal interests are challenged they remove their "enlightened" features. A demonstration of this is that in April 1985, British and U.S. companies controlled by representatives of the enlightened faction dismissed 14,500 striking workers.

Precisely because of the above-mentioned reasons the moral censure of international opinion has all along failed to have any effect on the South African authorities. Economic sanctions can be a powerful weapon. South Africa lacks oil resources and without oil, South Africa's communications and transportation will stop. There will then be no way to run the armored cars used in the suppression. In 1973, OPEC announced an oil embargo on South Africa. But today South Africa continues to obtain the oil it needs from black market sources. Trade embargoes can put pressure on the South African structure. The mining industry is the prop of the South African economy and its products are mainly exported and sold predominantly to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the FRG. If the West did not buy these products it would deal a fatal blow to the South African economy. However, these mining products are also essential for the West's economic and military development. Thus, although Western countries faced with great pressure both internationally and domestically have undertaken to implement some sanctions, the embargo scope has never extended to the products which are most important to South Africa and the West. However, whether a true embargo of these commodities can be achieved appears very unlikely. The arms embargo is a prime example. In 1963, the United Nations passed a resolution which imposed an arms embargo on South Africa, but it could not effectively prevent some arms-producing countries in the West from selling permits to produce arms in South Africa. Thereby, South Africa developed its own arms industry and achieved self-sufficiency in conventional weapons. The South African reactionary racist rulers, like all reactionaries, will not leave the stage of history voluntarily. The real pressure comes from the vast numbers of oppressed people in South Africa. Over the last 2 and 1/2 years the struggle of the vast numbers of black people of South Africa has developed in depth, the people's consciousness has been raised to an unprecedented level, and the various liberation organizations have continually learned from their experiences. We strongly believe that in their struggle, the South African people will find strategies and policies which accord with South Africa's special situation. In the last few years the few small reforms that the South African authorities have carried out have in fact been carried out under strong pressure from the mass movements.

The Chinese Government and people have all along strongly condemned the racist policies promoted by the South African authorities and the savage acts by which the black people's mass movements have been brutally suppressed, and have all along opposed the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African authorities. The Chinese Government has not established diplomatic relations with the racist regime in South Africa and has not had any relations with it. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the South African people in opposing racial apartheid and racial discrimination, and in their just struggle to achieve racial equality and basic rights. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve independence and the just struggle of the various countries of southern Africa to maintain national independence and sovereignty. China's support is not only on the political and moral levels. No matter whether we speak of the past or the future China's basic policies are to strengthen unity and cooperation with the countries of Africa and to support the just struggles of the people of Africa.

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GRASP THE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON FOR OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 41-43

[Commentator's article in "Cadres' Theory Studies" column]

[Text] An important task on the political and ideological front at present is to take a firm and clear-cut stand in adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. To correctly understand and resolutely wage this struggle and to do it well, meticulously, and in depth, communists, cadres, and leading cadres at all levels in particular should review the important speeches of leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee including Deng Xiaoping as well as the relevant important documents of the Central Committee to arm themselves ideologically and theoretically.

While the party has stressed emancipation of the mind, correcting the effects of "leftist" guiding ideas, and adhering to reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it has on several occasions stressed that it is imperative to adhere to the four cardinal principles and to pay attention to criticizing doubts from the right and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in negating the four cardinal principles. In a speech at a forum on the principles for the party's theoretical work delivered on behalf of the CPC Central Committee in March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The Central Committee maintains that, to carry out China's four modernizations, we must uphold the four cardinal principles ideologically and politically. This is the basic prerequisite for achieving modernization." He proposed that while continuing to criticize the ultraleftist ideological trend spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is necessary to exert great efforts to wage resolute struggles against the ideological trend of casting doubt on or opposing the four cardinal principles, and seriously criticized the phenomenon that "individual party comrades, instead of recognizing the danger of such ideas, have given them a certain degree of direct or indirect support." In "Several Criteria Regarding Inner-Party Political Life" adopted by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in February 1980, it was also explicitly pointed out that it is necessary to oppose and criticize the erroneous views and ideological trends of negating the socialist road, the proletarian dictatorship, the CPC leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, while stressing continuing to oppose the erroneous trends of ideological ossification and the habitual practice of

bookishness. The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Several Historical Issues in the Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981 also pointed out: "The four cardinal principles are the common political basis for the unity of the whole party as well as the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and the fundamental guarantee for the smooth progress of socialist modernization. All words and actions deviating from the four cardinal principles are wrong, and all words negating and sabotaging the four cardinal principles are intolerable." Again in July 1981, in his talk "Concerning Problems on the Ideological Front," Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized the phenomena of slackness and weakness on the ideological front, pointing out that some people "are bent on getting away from the socialist track and the party leadership in the pursuit of bourgeois liberalization." Later, the 7th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee in October 1983, the important speech delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at that session, Comrade Zhao Ziyang's government report submitted to the Second Session of the Sixth NPC in May 1984, the speeches delivered by leading comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the CPC National Conference of Delegates in September 1985, the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee in September 1986, and the speeches by the CPC Central Committee Standing Committee members, including Deng Xiaoping, have repeatedly reaffirmed the central principle on adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. Therefore, to adhere to the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it is imperative to firmly grasp the following two points: adhere to the four cardinal principles, and adhere to reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy. If we should fail to adhere to reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy, it would be impossible to correct all kinds of malpractices existing under the old structure, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics would be out of the question. But if attention is attached to reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy, while the four cardinal principles are forgotten and we fail in opposing bourgeois liberalization, our reform, opening up, and modernization will lose their direction, and even go astray.

Some of our comrades have also talked about adhering to the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but for some time past, their understanding of the party line, principles, and policies has been incomplete, and not all-round at least. According to their view, if reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy are to be carried out, adherence to the four cardinal principles should not be stressed; mentioning opposing "leftism" is all right, but not opposing rightism; mentioning opposing feudal ideas will do, but not mentioning resisting corruption by bourgeois ideas; and they even believe that adherence to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization will impede reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy. Although many important speeches of leading comrades at the central level including Deng Xiaoping and relevant documents issued by our party and government have explicitly discussed how to correctly handle these questions,

they have not studied and implemented them earnestly, but lost their vigilance against words and actions violating the four cardinal principles and pursuing bourgeois liberalization, and even turned a blind eye to the flood of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, given the "green light" for their growth and spread, and provided them with platforms and the media. Anyway, "it is not too late to mend the fold even after some of the sheep have been lost." It is necessary for us to earnestly sum up this grave lesson and to grasp the spiritual essence of the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in an all-round way. At present, it is necessary to earnestly study the expositions of the party Central Committee on opposing bourgeois liberalization and correct the erroneous rightist trend of casting doubt on and negating the four cardinal principles in a down-to-earth way, while continuing to adhere to reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy.

While restudying the expositions of our party on opposing bourgeois liberalization, it is necessary to link closely with the realities in thinking, as well as some confused ideas and erroneous understanding existing inside the party and the society in recent years, think deeply, and deepen our understanding. For example: Why is it necessary to lay special stress on adhering to the four cardinal principles amid the situation of reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy? What are the essence and danger of bourgeois liberalization? What is the great and far-reaching significance of taking a firm and clear-cut stand in adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization for the fate of our party, the future of socialism, and the success or failure of reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy? Should we correctly understand the relation between opposing bourgeois liberalization and the people exercising their own democratic rights as well as the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy and learning the science and technology of developed countries and their advanced managerial experiences? How should we understand such erroneous views as it is necessary to "look for money in everything" if commodity economy is to be developed and the idea that the slogans "being selfless" and "serving the people heart and soul" need be "renovated" and got rid of, as preached by some comrades in the press? Through study, it is necessary to clarify politically, ideologically, and theoretically where the mistakes lie in the pursuit of bourgeois liberalization by those who uphold "total Westernization" in wantonly uglifying the party and the socialist system and demanding to "change the color of the party" and "China's socialist orientation" in order to strengthen our resolution and consciousness in fighting against them. The series of important speeches of the leading comrades of the Central Committee including Deng Xiaoping and the many important documents issued by the CPC have explained the situation and tasks facing us and the guiding principle in the present phase systematically, accurately, and in an all-round way; they have pointed out to us the correct orientation of adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to all-round reform and opening up and have also provided us with the specific policies and methods of opposing bourgeois liberalization. Through study, it is necessary for us to profoundly understand the meaning of the current struggle and to stand at the forefront of

the struggle with a clear-cut and firm stand; at the same time, great attention should be paid to grasping well the correct policy and methods in conducting this struggle, making specific analysis of specific conditions, uniting the party members and the masses on the widest scale, and guarding against the repetition of "leftist" errors so that the struggle may develop healthily.

In recent months, party members and cadres have studied in depth and implemented the spirit of the resolution on the guiding principles for the building of spiritual civilization adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and scored remarkable results. However, in the previous phase of study, some comrades failed to attach due importance to the explicit discussions on adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization in the "Resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee; that is one of the important reasons for the continuous spread and flood of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, which could have been checked. It is imperative to soberly see that adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization with a clear-cut stand is of extremely great significance to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. At present, it is necessary to link closely the expositions of the Central Committee on adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization with the study of the "Resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, to earnestly implement them, and to do our work in a down-to-earth way in particular, in order to consolidate and develop the fine situation of stability and unity with our practical actions and to make new contributions to building the two civilizations.

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WHY IS IT SAID THAT DESPITE PRICE RISES THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF URBAN RESIDENTS HAS BEEN IMPROVED?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 43-45

[Article by Zhang Yigeng [1728 0001 5105]]

[Text] In 1986 all areas and departments of our nation seriously implemented the principles of "consolidating, digesting, complementing, and improving." While consolidating the achievements in price reforms, they gradually and with stress on key points, began to widen locality price differentials, quality price differentials, grade price differentials, and seasonal price differentials for commodities, readjusted the sales price of some industrial products and further relaxed the prices for small commodities. This played a major role in promoting industrial and agricultural production. However, the changes in market prices could not but result in increased livelihood expenditures by the masses, affecting people's lives to different degrees. In 1986 the overall level of market retail prices throughout the nation rose about 6 percent over 1985. In urban areas, apart from the rise in retail commodity prices, there was a continuous increase in the prices of hair-cuts, bathing and such services. Thus, in 1986 the overall level of livelihood expenditures for urban workers rose about 7 percent over 1985.

In order to maintain stability in workers' lives the party and the government at the same time as readjusting prices, appropriately raised workers' wages and provided them with necessary price subsidies. In 1986, on the basis of wage reforms in state organs and educational and health institutional units in the previous year, the state in order to put the wage system in order carried out coordinated wage reform work in industrial and mining enterprises and expanded employment opportunities for residents' families. This has resulted in quite a great improvement in the lives of the great majority of workers. According to initial statistics from a sample survey taken by a relevant department, of urban residents' families throughout the nation, in 1986 the average per capita livelihood income in residents' families was 815 yuan, an average per capita increase of 125 yuan (10.4 yuan per month), or 19 percent, over the previous year. Excluding price rise factors in workers' livelihood expenditures, real livelihood income was still over 10 percent higher than the previous year, a real increase of 22 percent over 1984 before the price and wage reforms. As far as the workers are concerned, in 1986 the workers' average wage for the whole year was 1,310 yuan, an

increase of 162 yuan or over 14 percent from the previous year. Excluding the extra expenditure by each worker of 104.7 yuan made necessary by the price rises, each worker's real wages still increased by 57.3 yuan, an increase of 6.6 percent. According to initial statistics of the sample survey nonwage income of urban resident families increased more quickly, growing by about 34 percent. Of this, the extra income workers got from their work units, through such things as welfare funds (including bathing and hair-cutting expenses) and various types of nonwage subsidies, books and newspapers expenses and health protection, food expenses increased over the previous year by 23 percent. Retirement subsidies and wages from engaging in other labor increased 1.6 times. In other aspects, including price subsidies, retirement funds, support, and gift income, incomes increased by about 14 percent. Following the increased income, resident families' consumption levels were further raised. In 1986 the average per capita livelihood expenditure of urban resident families was 770 yuan, an increase of over 14 percent from the previous year. Excluding price rise factors the real livelihood consumption level increased 6.9 percent. Of course, in a small number of urban resident families, because they have a large number of people to look after and few people employed, the price rise factors have resulted in their livelihood consumption level falling. However, seen from the actual livelihood expenditure situation of the vast majority of residents in the urban areas, it is fully demonstrated that rather than seeing a decline in their standard of living resulting from the rise in price levels, they have actually seen an accelerated growth in income and their lives have actually greatly improved. This is shown in the following:

Major foodstuffs consumption quantities have increased and in foodstuffs consumption attention has been paid to improved nutritional levels. In 1986, following the development of production and the prosperity of the markets, the variety of foodstuffs consumed by resident families greatly diversified and they paid more attention to nutrition. Each person expended an average of 39 yuan on foodstuffs each month, an increase of 19 percent over the previous year. Excluding foodstuffs price rise factors, consumption of foodstuffs grew by about 11 percent. It is estimated that in 1986 the average per capita consumption of meat, poultry, eggs, and aquatic products was 48 kilograms, an increase of 11.6 percent over the previous year. Of this, per capita consumption of pork was 20 kilograms, up 16.6 percent from the previous year; consumption of beef and sheep was 3.2 kilograms, up 6 percent; consumption of poultry was 5 kilograms, up 30 percent; and consumption of fish and prawns was 9.8 kilograms, up 22 percent. Because they are paying more attention to nutritional value, residents' demands in terms of the degree of freshness of green vegetables, melons and fruit, and milk products grew ever higher and consumption volumes increased. It is estimated that the per capita monthly consumption volumes for these items was 13.6 kilograms, 3.6 kilograms, and 0.6 kilograms respectively, increases of 10.7 percent, 19.2 percent, and 5.8 percent respectively over the previous year. The consumption of beer and other low-alcohol wines grew about 34 percent over the same period in the previous year. The consumption of good-quality cakes and sweets also grew quite markedly, while ginseng, royal jelly, medicinal wines and other tonic products have gradually entered a larger number of homes.

Clothing has seen a diversification in consumption and in the development of medium and high grades. In 1986 the real expenditures of resident families on clothing was over 6 percent, an increase from the previous year. What is noticeable was that the growth of ready-made clothing purchases exceeded the growth of cloth purchases, while the growth of wool goods and silk purchases exceeded the growth of cotton cloth and chemical fiber cloth purchases. During the year each person purchased 2.61 pieces of ready-made clothing, a 19.6 percent increase over the previous year. Of this, there was a 45 percent growth in the purchase of silk clothes. Every 100 persons purchased an average 38 meters of woolen cloth and 62 meters of silk. All sorts of new types of knitted clothing, track-suits and knitted wool products have increasingly attracted the interest of children and young people and consumption volumes have continually increased.

Family ownership of high-grade durable consumer goods has continually increased. In 1986 the estimated expenditure by resident families on purchasing color televisions, electric refrigerators, washing machines, and other mechanical and electrical consumer products was 30.8 percent more than the previous year. Family ownership figures have seen new growth. At the end of the year, for every 100 resident families there were: 30 color televisions, 12 more than at the end of the previous year; 18 electric refrigerators, 8 more than at the end of the previous year; 65 washing machines, 12 more than at the end of the previous year; 60 tape recorders, 12 more than at the end of the previous year; and 17 cameras, 5 more than at the end of the previous year.

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HOW TO CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMODITY PRICE INDEX

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 pp 44-45

[Article by Shao Zongming [6730 1356 2494]]

[Text] The national overall retail price index shows the degree of change and the retail price trends of social commodities throughout the country in a certain period and is an important comprehensive indicator of the situation in national economic development. Changes in the overall retail price index contains useful economic information and are an important basis on which to analyze the livelihood expenditures of residents, analyze market changes, determine price and wage policies, and guide enterprises' production operations.

The rise or fall in the overall retail price index indicates the strengthening or weakening of the purchasing power of the unit currency. When the index rises it means that the purchasing power or the currency has declined and its value has gone down. Changes in the index directly manifest the commodity supply-demand relationship in the market and the trend of changes in commodity prices. For example, in recent years following the continual raising of the consumption level of the people the foodstuffs processing industry, the beverage industry, the brewing industry, the fodder processing industry, and the aquatics processing industry have all seen rapid development, and their grain requirements have continually increased. However, because of natural disasters grain production in some parts of the country fell in 1985 and the supply-demand conflict became prominent. Thus, market prices for grain rose, resulting in an increase in the grain price index of 8.6 percent from January to October 1986. This resulted in the national overall retail price index rising about 0.8 percent, precisely reflecting the inevitable relationship between grain supply and market prices.

The total retail price index summarizes changes in average retail prices of various commodities throughout the country in a particular period. However, the price rises which leave an impression on people are generally those which are seen in a particular area or a particular time when pre-price adjustment prices are compared with post-price adjustment prices, or when year-end prices are compared with prices at the beginning of the year. For example, because of the influence of price adjustment tail-end factors from the

previous year, the price of green vegetables throughout the nation in both January and February 1986 was over 11 percent more than the figures for the same period in the preceding year. The price rises were very high but the masses did not comment on them since compared to the price of green vegetables in December 1985, the price had not continued to rise but had actually fallen. The total retail price index reflects a national average price level and within this, while price levels in some areas may have risen, in other areas, they may have fallen or remained the same. For example, in June last year the national urban overall retail price index rose about 3 percent, while at the same time, the retail price index for Zhengzhou city fell 0.8 percent, and the Shanghai municipality price index rose 3.6 percent. Thus we cannot use the national urban overall price index to judge retail prices in Zhengzhou city or Shanghai municipality. Likewise we cannot use the degree of increases in the retail price indexes of Zhengzhou city or Shanghai municipality as a basis on which to judge the national overall retail price index.

The overall retail price index is used as a relative figure to show the trend of changes between two different time periods. It is a relative figure comparing the average price at which retail commodities were sold to urban and rural residents at the time of reporting with the average prices at the base period. Because the comparative base periods are different the numerical values are also different. The national overall retail price index issued by the State Statistical Bureau is generally a figure in comparison with the previous year, but the price rises which leave impressions on people maintain their own base periods. Some even use impressions accumulated over the years to assess the index for a particular year as compared to the previous year which produces great disparities in understanding.

The economic components of the retail price index also involve the degree of influence on residents' livelihood expenditures. However, changes in the overall retail price index are not the only factor affecting increased or reduced expenditures by individual families. The family livelihood consumption index reflects a comparison of family livelihood expenditures at two different times and involves four major factors: the quantity of consumer goods, the quality of consumer goods, the consumption structure, and price changes. If commodity prices do not change and livelihood expenditures increase, this shows that the level of consumption has increased. Conversely, if the consumption structure does not change and expenditures increase, while the same quality and quantity of commodities are purchased, it means that prices have increased, expenditures have grown, and the standard of living has declined. However, the overall retail price index takes the consumption structure and quantities at the report period as constant factors and reflects the trend of market commodity prices and their influence on residents' lives. Thus, if we eliminate the livelihood consumption index, the index of growth obtained is the real degree of the consumption level (including the consumption structure, quality, and quantity) increase. For example, the 1986 urban residents livelihood consumption was over 103 percent higher than that for 1980. The amount of increased consumption due to the increase in the livelihood consumption price index was about 31.2 percent. Eliminating the price factor over these 6 years there was an average annual 7.6 percent increase in the consumption level of urban residents.

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'REGARDING LACK OF GREED AS VALUABLE' AND THE 'THREE SELFLESSNESSES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 p 46

[Article by Jiang Xia [3068 7209]]

[Text] In China's traditional culture, there are the sayings "regarding jade as valuable" and "regarding lack of greed as valuable." What these refer to is what is today called value concepts.

The "Zuo Zhuan--15th Year of Duke Xiang" records: "A man of Song found some jade and presented it to Zihan. Zihan would not accept it. The man who offered the jade said: 'I showed it to a jade expert who considered it to be valuable and thus I have ventured to offer it to you.' Zihan said: 'What I consider valuable is a lack of greed, while what you consider valuable is jade. If you give it to me we shall both lose what we consider valuable. It would be better if we both kept what we valued.'"

These words of the great officer of Qi are quite resourceful, witty, and full of philosophy. He was unwilling to receive the precious jade and lose what he valued, a lack of greed. He did not arbitrarily "renew his concepts." The value concepts he upheld assisted him in his lofty actions. The criticism of "looking lightly on material interests" cannot in any way be linked with the moral concept of "lack of greed." Shifting the situation to today, if we meet someone who offers us a refrigerator or color television in order to get us to collude in something, "lack of greed" can form a resisting force and prevent us from becoming a criminal who receives bribes to do evil things.

From this we can see that China's traditional culture and cultural traditions are not just a pile of erroneous things. "Regarding lack of greed as valuable" and other such value concepts clearly have great positive significance. They can continually absorb the fresh blood of the times and have a practical effect in our lives. To say that our nation's traditional culture completely conflicts with modernization and that "modernization" requires that we do away with tradition and implement overall "Westernization" never worked historically. Today, in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, it can work even less. This is because all our work today is based on the four cardinal principles.

An idea similar to "lack of greed" is "selflessness." The affirmative sense of "lack of greed" is "honesty in one's duties" and so on. Greed and lack of greed are not only manifested in how one treats material wealth, but also in many other areas. Those people who oppose "lack of greed," "selflessness," "honesty in one's duty," and other such values which should be treasured often want to pollute these "values." For example, saying that selflessness is a slave-owner requiring "unconditional tribute" from the slaves is this type of pollutant. This is throwing dirty water on things which have been seen as virtues throughout China's history. It is also throwing dirty water on solemn virtues of the advanced elements of society, the revolutionary martyrs and Communist Party members who gave their blood and their lives. If such statements are not malicious, they are at least unbridled rashness and frivolousness.

Of course, there is no need to investigate and criticize such words. However, there is no harm in providing an example to show how unfounded such ideas are and how they violate historical facts. Lu Hi, an academician in the Hanlin Academy during the time of the Emperor Dezong of the Tang Dynasty, in a memorial, used the idea of "three selflessnesses." He said that "as a leader" a person should "cleanse his heart, esteem the three selflessnesses and be an example to the many." These "three selflessnesses" come from "Li Ji--Confucius Rests." The text reads: "Heaven selflessly covers all, earth selflessly contains all and the sun and the moon selflessly shine on all. These three undertake this to reward the world. This is what is called the three selflessnesses." Although the selflessness referred to here was in the interests of the rulers from the exploiting classes, as far as these rulers from the exploiting class society were concerned, there was no way they could do this. However, using a natural metaphor for human affairs to put forward this requirement clearly is not a slave-owner demanding the "slaves" do this. It is clearly written that this is a requirement for "a leader." The implementation of this requirement, even though it was under the conditions of those times, cannot be said to have no positive significance.

The value concepts which negate "regarding lack of greed as valuable" and "regarding selflessness as valuable" in fact must promote another type of value concept. Perhaps it is the value concept which "regards money as valuable." Why should we not "regard money as valuable"? Is it not clear that if we do not earn wages, we will have no money? If we use the fact that everybody must make money and use money as a valid reason for money worship where one "looks for money in everything" and "only has eyes for money" this is, on the whole, the methodological basis for the argument. However, this is but the confusion of concepts and is not science.

The development of culture must stress accumulation. As long as we are good at selecting the pearls, our nation's cultural traditions can be valuable riches for the people of today.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 87 p 47

[Text] There Are Too Few Good Articles on Education Issues

Comrade Editor:

In 1986, RED FLAG carried several articles on education issues. For example, in issue No 1, there was "Successful Training of Teachers Is a Matter of Prime Importance to the Development of Education"; in issue No 7, there was "Improve the Quality of Teaching While Making Compulsory Education Universal"; in issue No 24, there was "Strive To Create a Favorable Environment for the Growth and Maturity of Students" and so on. All of these articles were quite good. As a reader who has worked for a long period in schools and particularly in teacher-training colleges, I think that the article by Wang Zhaodi in issue No 1 grasped the crux of the problem. The various questions in Wang's article especially the first question were well discussed and the problems were clearly defined. Unfortunately, RED FLAG carries too few such articles. As a teacher I deeply feel that teacher-training education is related to the country's future and the nation's fate!

At present, many problems exist in our nation's teacher-training education. If these problems are not resolved in a timely way, they will indeed affect the course of our nation's socialist modernization. The influence is already evident and in the next decade or two it will continue to show itself.

I wholeheartedly hope that in 1987 RED FLAG will publish further articles on how to do well in teacher-training education and develop discussions and provide proofs as to the relationship between education and the four modernizations. It would be even better if the teachers, students, school heads, and staff of tertiary teacher-training institutes could participate in organized forums, fact-finding meetings, and research meetings to promote the reform of teacher-training education work.

The above views and suggestions are not only my individual ideas but the hopes and requirements of many teachers.

Qu Lindong [4234 2651 2639], Historical Research Institute, Beijing Teacher-Training University

Welcoming the Opening of the "Letters to the Editor" Column

Comrade Editor:

When I read the five letters from readers carried in issue No 1 of your magazine this year, I was overjoyed. The language of the letters was good, the contents logical, and they were very moving. The opening of this column in your magazine manifests the guiding ideology for masses-run magazines. It is not only of benefit in assisting the better running of RED FLAG, but also helpful in strengthening the relationship with the vast numbers of readers.

The masses are the real heroes and among them there is inexhaustible wisdom and strength. Innumerable facts have shown that regardless of the endeavor, by closely relying on the masses, we will be ever victorious. The CANKAO XIAOXI, edited by XINHUA news agency, after celebrating its 10,000th edition last year, started a "Readers and the Editor" column. This has regularly attracted readers' ideas, requests, and suggestions which has allowed them to run the magazine with more vitality. It is hoped that your magazine's "Letters to the Editor" column will be able to continue for a long time and be put before readers either regularly or occasionally. I believe that thus your magazine will indeed be more and more vigorous.

Dong Qingchang [5516 1987 2490], Goods and Materials Bureau, Jiaozuo City, Henan Province

A Suggestion on Increasing the Contents of the "Cadres' Theoretical Study" Column

Comrade Editor:

Since RED FLAG started the "Cadres' Theoretical Study" column it has played a positive role in assisting cadres in their theory study and it has been welcomed by the vast numbers of cadres. However, we feel that there is a blemish. In many cases it involves the explanation of questions and it is insufficiently closely tied to the theoretical education of cadres in various areas. Of course, each province has its own study arrangements and it is difficult to demand that the column accord with the needs of all areas. However, it can be improved and perfected, the contents of the column can be expanded and it can strive to link itself more closely with cadres' theory education in various areas. In this respect, I suggest that more be published on the following: 1) Discussion of the importance of theory study in light of the cadres' situation in terms of their knowledge of theory and their ideological understanding. 2) The methods and experiences of cadres' theory education in various areas, including the educational experiences of regularized training and the establishment of teachers units. 3) Explaining basic Marxist viewpoints and the key points and difficulties of the subjects in the light of practice, introducing self-study methods and so on. Apart from explaining questions, it is possible to have

articles, investigative reports, experience exchanges, coaching materials and so on. If as great an effort as possible is made to make this column more lively and vigorous, it will play a much greater role.

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NEW BLOSSOMS IN FOLK DANCES ARE EXTRAORDINARILY FRAGRANT

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[Article by Jia Zuoguang [6328 0155 0342]]

[Text] The National Folk Music and Dance Competition held some time ago was the largest in scale, highest in standard, and was also the most varied and colorful in content and way of expression among all of its kind since the founding of our People's Republic. The performance in the dance section was especially outstanding. Many excellent works were produced and a number of artists came to the fore. As there were breakthroughs in both the themes and ways of expression, people found many of the programs fresh and new and the directors of these programs reached a considerably high artistic standard. The grand prizes went to the duet dance called "Valentine's Night" and the group dance called "Waist Drums of the Frontier Fortress." The first prizes were awarded to "Carry the Fresh Lotus With a Shoulder Pole and Baskets," "River Water," "Cloth Bleaching," "Fish Catching," and "Lanterns Decorated With Seven Stars." We got some insights from these programs. The special features of these programs were that they embodied a rich flavor of life and folk colors, lively dance languages, a new method of expression which was entirely a creation of their own, and superb skill. By surmounting the boundaries laid by the outmoded form of structures these excellent works successfully created a new image for dances.

In the dance "Carry the Fresh Lotus With a Shoulder Pole and Baskets," the director was so creative that he personified the bamboo basket. With two legs at the bottom of each basket, life was blown into the prop. Such an artistic method that demands a great power of imagination from the producer helped to enliven the prop to such an extent that it vividly reflected the emotions of human beings; the audience was also touched deeply by the real sentiments and was satisfied aesthetically. By bringing the characteristics of dance into full play, the director creatively presented the true face of life. The lively movements that the bamboo baskets demonstrated in coming on and going off the stage, and the image that two legs were grown from their base led the audience to see what real life is through the absurdity of romanticism on the one hand, and on the other to have a purified soul through those smooth lines and beautiful colors. With the employment of very distinct and accurate dance languages, the director was able to portray the image of the lotus in a very succinct manner. This very image of the

fresh lotus that was artistically portrayed seemed to bring people to the market where they visit in their daily life. People thus saw how confident and proud these happy farmers were selling their fresh lotus! The portrayal of such a distinct atmosphere of the times showed how accurate the producer was in presenting the theme of life and how lively his way of expression was. What was described was in fact the joy and happiness of our real life and is now magnified and reflected by an art mirror. The dance "Carry the Fresh Lotus With a Shoulder Pole and Baskets" successfully mingled the four elements of emotion, conception, scene, and form together. It also vividly captured the new mental attitudes of today's village women. We therefore understood why hundreds of millions of television viewers and professional dancers liked it so much. Its success lies in the fact that the director was able to overcome the drawback of sham and plain description in a direct narration. In presenting the theme, what he employed was a new way of artistic expression where modern consciousness is used to absorb the essence of folk traditions. It should be noted that the audience prefers lively and exaggerated ways of expression. Those works which are presented in a straightforward manner are not welcomed by the audience for their themes are too explicit and therefore cannot inspire the imagination of the audience.

The achievements made in the duet dance "Valentine's Night" were very satisfactory. This dance appealed to people most as it reflected village life from another angle. Those simple and honest youths were lovely people. They had a fondness for life and a heart for pursuing beauty. New rhythm, beautiful rhyming and ever-changing forms are the elements of the new folk dance steps that were reborn from the traditional form of dance. Every detail of life was thus brought onto stage. In a crowded place, lovers were waiting anxiously for their sweethearts and their faces glowed with shyness when they mistook somebody for their sweethearts. Every detail of these emotional changes was fully presented to the audience as the dramatic scene went on. Actors acted well and they were highly skillful in every movement; their feelings were so exquisite that they attained a high proficiency in the dance performance. The music of "The Fifth Brother Is Herding Sheep" that expressed the inner state of people's hearts accompanied the dance so well that a harmonious effect was produced. The director related folk traditions and dancing techniques closely with people's lives. He picked up nutrients from daily life and developed the type of dance traditions that people are delighted to have. He did not merely carry forward dance traditions, but also strove to enrich and reform them, and created a dance language that fits into modern aesthetics. Its winning of popularity and warm applause from the audience was therefore a natural thing to come.

Facts tell us that the audience loves good folk dances. Whether they like a particular piece of work or not depends entirely on the work itself. Is it succinct in style, new in content and beautiful in form? Is it accepted by the audience? This competition indicated clearly that folk dances have great vitality and plentiful potentialities for development, and we should adopt a correct attitude toward the traditional form of folk dances. In carrying forward traditional art we should not only start from form but from life as

well. People's mental attitudes can in this way be portrayed and expressed from various angles, such as from a psychological perspective. We have to be analytical in borrowing foreign culture and should not transplant the whole thing into our own without making proper selections. We should be enthusiastic in absorbing and assimilating all essence of foreign culture and in building a mind to explore, to strive for excellence, and to have our own distinguished features in artistic creation. I have observed that a new artistic environment has come into being in response to the fact that folk dance works have gradually established their own characteristics. Under such a condition, not only are blows inflicted on the traditional way of expression and customary fondness for old folk dances, but challenges are also posed in the creation of professional dances. This folk dance competition illustrates that if producers are to produce good artistic works, they have to face both the folk and people, or else they will not be able to absorb nutrients from the lives of the mass.

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A GOOD TEXTBOOK FOR CONDUCTING POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION--
RECOMMENDING 'FENGFANJI'

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[Book review by Li Maoguan [2621 5399 4619]]

[Text] The book "Fengfanji" introduces the advanced model achievements of over 60 leading cadres from central departments and commissions, provinces (cities), counties and units. It describes how, for the good of the party and the people and for the socialist four modernizations, they have been wholeheartedly devoted to public duty and placed strict requirements upon themselves and their relatives. It also tells how they have led their subordinates in the charge forward and worked industriously and selflessly, engaged in effective struggle against all sorts of unhealthy trends and used their practical actions to promote a basic turn for the better in party style. This is a good textbook for carrying out political and ideological education and it will soon be published by RED FLAG Publishing House.

"Only the chrysanthemum keeps its fragrance as time goes by." Our party, in leading the 1 billion people in carrying out the protracted struggle, has brought up and trained a large group of veteran revolutionary cadres who are loyal to the causes of the party and the people, who faithfully and enthusiastically serve the people and who have gone through a long period of tempering and testing. These veteran cadres fought on many fronts during the revolutionary war period, braved untold dangers and rendered outstanding service in enabling the people to free themselves and achieve liberation. After the founding of the PRC, they continued to develop the fine traditions and work styles of the party and continuously realized new achievements for the people. "Fengfanji" is about some of the veteran revolutionary cadres who although in the new historical period have left their leading posts, still scrupulously abide by the party style of communists. They do not claim credit for themselves, do not seek privileges, are strict in discipline, are selfless and "gallop without being whipped." They grasped their strong years to continuously contribute their "surplus energy" to the people and now through detailing their model activities this book presents them with a magnificent song in their later years. From these veteran cadres, we can study the revolutionary spirit and noble moral sentiments by which they fought all their lives for the causes of the party and the people and long maintained heroic qualities.

"Successors to the Long March continue coming forward." The major items in "Fengfanji" introduce the advanced model achievements of comrades who have been newly appointed to leading posts at various levels since our nation's structural reforms and have taken over from the revolutionaries of the older generation the heroic spirit of firmly adhering to the direction of revolutionary struggle. They are leading cadres who accord with the new period and who on the new Long March, do credit to the party and benefit the people through their actions. No matter whether they are comrades who have taken on leading tasks at the central or provincial level or worked in prefectural, county, or other departments, in all cases they have firmly supported the long-range ideas of the party and seen the causes of the party and the people as more important than anything else. They have a deep love for the people and consider anything which affects the people as an important matter. They are concerned with the masses' troubles and help the masses resolve all their various difficulties. They wholeheartedly do many practical things for the people. They go deep into practice to carry out investigative research, listen attentively to the masses' voices and lead the masses in working hard. Having a mutual affinity with the masses, they share weal and woe with them. They set examples by their actions and are honest and upright. Although they have great power all along they maintain an upright attitude and although they are high officials, their spirit of public service never dies. They do not seek to compare themselves with others and are truly honest themselves. They dare to grasp and strike at unhealthy trends, handle matters impartially, firmly support the equal treatment of people before party discipline and state law, do not stress sensibilities or "relationships," do not look at "backing" or "connections," bravely struggle against unhealthy trends and savagely attack evil influences. They are staunch bodyguards in building party style. The model words and deeds of these cadres are a vivid portrayal of the image of our nation's leading cadres in the new period. Their noble spiritual mien, and fine work styles will not only allow the vast numbers of cadres and especially leading cadres at various levels to be deeply educated both politically and ideologically but will also allow the vast masses of people to see from the advanced examples of these outstanding cadres, the inheritors of our party's cause, that there are great hopes. Thereby they will be brimming with confidence that we will achieve a basic turn for the better in party style and realize the four modernizations.

It is hoped that leading cadres at all levels will, like the comrades introduced in "Fengfanji," in the process of correcting party style and achieving the four modernizations, play a model role at all times and in all places and be leaders appropriate to the new period.

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