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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 9, 1 May 1982.

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# CHINA REPORT RED FLAG

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

## CONTENTS

Open Up New Prospects for United Front Work (pp 2-6, 42) (Editorial Department).....	1
A Major Event in the State's Political Life (pp 7-8, 12) (Editorial).....	10
Expectations of the People and the Party--A Talk With Newly Promoted Cadres (pp 9-12) (Commentator).....	14
An Inviolable Basic Principle--Some Understanding on Upholding the Policy of Relying Mainly on the Planned Economy and Supplementing It With Regulation by Market Mechanism (pp 13-19) (Fang Weizhong).....	20
On the Principle of Democracy in the Relationship Between the Leaders and the Masses (pp 20-26) (Xiong Fu).....	32
Communists Should Never 'Retire' (pp 27-28) (Wang Guangmei).....	43
The Use and Prospects of Structural Chemistry (pp 29-33) (Lu Jiayi).....	46
Go Among the Masses! (pp 34-35, 28) (Ding Ling).....	55
Increase Consciousness in Studying Theory (pp 36-39) (Ru Zhi).....	59

What a Theoretical Test Shows (pp 39-41) (Qin Li).....	65
Why Is It Imperative To Oppose Regional Economic Blockades? (pp 41-42) (Qi Xiangwu, Hou Yunchun).....	69
Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Enterprises (pp 43-45) (Wang Shengyi).....	71
Proceed From the Conditions of a City in Improving Economic Results--A Talk on the Method of Leadership Adopted by the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee (pp 46-48) (Di Long).....	77
Voluntarily Ascend Liangshan Mountain (inside back cover) (Liu Zijiu).....	83

OPEN UP NEW PROSPECTS FOR UNITED FRONT WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 2-6, 42

[Article by Editorial Department]

[Text] What have we achieved in carrying out our party's united front work in the last 5-odd years since the smashing of the "gang of four"? It can be said that the work has been done quite well and the achievements have been very great. There has been a basic transformation compared with 5 years ago.

Owing to the 10-year turbulence, 5 1/2 years ago the united front--one of the three magic weapons for the Chinese revolution that Comrade Mao Zedong developed for our party--was destroyed almost completely by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In the past 5 1/2 years, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's united front policies have been gradually revived and lively prospects have taken shape; in certain respects the policies have developed somewhat. Now, the majority of our friends outside the party have peace of mind (although not complete peace of mind), and their patriotic enthusiasm is gradually surging upward. Witnessing the implementation of our party's united front policies and the improvement of the united front situation in our country, patriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and patriotic Overseas Chinese feel contented and relieved; and many foreign friends have expressed their admiration and approval. Because the united front situation has been revived and developed, the political unity in our country has also been greatly strengthened.

The basic transformation of the united front situation is one of the great achievements which our whole party has made in setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder through unswervingly carrying out the CCP Central Committee's line, principles and policies. However, while affirming the successes, we must also see the deficiencies in the work. Our united front work has not been done "to excess" but not enough; it has not been done "too much" but too little; and it has not been done with perfection but with discrepancies and errors. Only in reviewing the problem in this way can we keep a cool head and can more united front work be better and more thoroughly carried out in the future.

## How Should the Whole Party View United Front Work?

In order to do a good job in united front work, we must first of all solve a problem, that is, to fully understand the extreme importance of united front work in the new historical period. At present, many of our comrades, including many comrades who are doing united front work, do not have sufficient understanding of this problem.

It has been completely proven by history that we relied on the three magic weapons, including the united front, in winning the great victory of the democratic revolution during the long struggle of the democratic revolution. Do we still need the magic weapon of the united front in the new historical period of building a powerful and modernized socialist country? The CCP Central Committee has clearly and emphatically expounded on this problem many times. The united front will remain essential and important, with great vitality, and will remain our party's magic weapon in the new historical period and for a very long historical period to come. Do we not stress fulfilling the three great historical tasks of building the motherland, completing the reunification of the motherland, and, internationally, opposing hegemonism? It is absolutely impossible to accomplish these tasks without the magic weapon of the united front. If we overlook or even give up the united front, we will inevitably encounter tremendous difficulties, or even suffer serious setbacks and defeats. More precisely, so long as classes have not been totally eliminated in our country, it is still necessary to have the CCP--the vanguard of the proletariat--and, consequently, the united front under our party's leadership.

We now have two united fronts, one is the international antihegemonist united front, and the other is the domestic patriotic united front. To put it a bit more plainly, the latter is the broadest united front comprising the whole body of socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism and the reunification of the motherland. The comrades of the whole party must pay profound attention to this point: they must absolutely not just rely on the proletariat as an isolated force for fighting bravely, or think that the huge tasks facing us can be accomplished just by adding the peasant class to the proletariat. Closed-doorism and adventurism are certain to lead to grief. Historical and practical experiences have told us again and again that our cause will only be invincible as long as we can intensify the cooperation between our party and the people outside the party, consolidate the patriotic united front under the leadership of the party, unite with as many people as possible, and strive to win their support based on the intimate unity among the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Therefore, for a long period in the future, there will be more and more people whom we are to unite with, and the scope which united front work covers will be wider and wider.

As far as the domestic patriotic united front is concerned, the scope of our work is exceedingly broad. Generally speaking, this work covers the following sectors: 1) the democratic parties; 2) well-known nonparty figures; 3) nonparty intellectual cadres; 4) former Kuomintang military officers who came over to us; 5) former industrialists and businessmen;

6) upper-strata figures among the minority nationalities; 7) patriotic religious leaders; 8) dependents, relatives and friends living on the mainland of people who went to Taiwan; 9) Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and Taiwan compatriots; and 10) returned Overseas Chinese compatriots and Overseas Chinese living abroad. How many people do these 10 sectors comprise? It is not just a few million or a few tens of millions, but as many as 100 million. We must stress unity with them and take the initiative to carry out positive and very careful work regarding them.

This issue is not just limited to the numbers of people in these 10 sectors; it is a fact that there are many superior features among the targets of our work in these 100 million people. There are three main features: 1) they have relatively good knowledge; 2) they have relatively extensive social contacts; and 3) they have a strong desire to work hard for the country. These three features constitute the main current among them, and are extremely important features which we must by no means neglect. It is true that certain people among them have some weak points, or even some stains. However, in light of a comprehensive appraisal, all these weaknesses and stains are minor points, and most of them have now become history. If we just stress these latter features of theirs and disregard the main current, we will become overcautious and put ourselves in a passive position, and therefore we will not dare to go all out to unite with them and win them over, and we will not be able to truly open up new prospects in united front work. Therefore, in view of the actual situation of united front work, what we should stress at present is that we must continue to eliminate the influence of "leftist" thinking, and prevent and overcome the attitude of exclusiveness and the wrong tendency of closed-doorism and adventurism.

We must understand that the internal relations in the united front led by our party are in essence a political alliance between the party and people not in the party. The comrades of the whole party first face a problem of taking a correct view of themselves on this issue. From the overall point of view, our party's contributions to the Chinese revolution greatly exceed those of any other political force in revolutionary movements in recent Chinese history; this is a fundamental and irrefutable fact about the Chinese revolution. Otherwise, how was our party able to qualify for leadership and become the leading party? Of course, we do not mean that because our party is such a great leading party, every party member will naturally be wiser than our friends outside the party. From the individual point of view, there are quite a number of party members who are not necessarily wiser than democratic figures outside the party. Certain party members are even far inferior to democratic figures outside the party! So far as knowledge is concerned, some people who claim to be Communist Party members are not knowledgeable; and so far as mass relations go, they do not get along well with the masses. As for patriotic sentiment, they always criticize our country in every aspect and think that we are inferior to others! Moreover, some of our party members are divorced from the masses. They lack self-knowledge although they are despised by the masses. This is really dangerous. We must take a correct view of the targets for our work among these 100 million people, and also take a correct view of

ourselves. The comrades of the whole party must clearly understand that for a time in the past, under the guidance of erroneous "leftist" ideology, we were unfair to our friends outside the party in many respects; it was not the case that they were unfair to us. We must get rid of the "government office" work style and run the party's united front departments as houses of friends. We must certainly not fear difficulties, fear acting in a rightist fashion, and fear having to face a reckoning. We must unswervingly carry out the party's correct principles and policies. We must certainly not act in a domineering fashion; we must take a comradely attitude to our friends outside the party--treating them as equals and promoting mutual consultation and learning. In a word, we must establish and develop relations of utter devotion and of sharing honor and disgrace. Of course, to make all comrades in the party understand this truth is not a task which can be accomplished overnight. But the situation will be much better if we can convince all our leading cadres at all levels in the party, in particular those comrades in charge of united front work, and urge them to keep this truth in their minds.

What Tasks Should We Promote in Dealing With Domestic United Front Work at Present?

Currently we should tackle the following four main tasks:

The first main task is to step up education in the whole party concerning the united front policies for the new period and eliminate the pernicious influence of "leftism."

How to correctly understand the content, significance and function of the united front under the new historical conditions remains a big problem for many comrades. This requires us to vigorously enhance, in terms of ideology, theory and policy, the level of understanding of the whole party, first of all of the leading cadres at different levels, including comrades working in all departments, of united front work.

How should we deepen our understanding of united front work in the new historical period? The fundamental way is to closely integrate the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and our party's historical experiences with today's new historical conditions and our party's tasks in the new period, and to carry out reeducation in united front theory and policies. We should organize comrades who are engaged in united front work in various fields to conscientiously study the party's guidelines adopted since the third plenary session. We should also organize them to restudy Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant works on problems concerning the united front. In pursuing his studies on problems concerning the united front, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched and made great contributions to Marxism-Leninism. We should by no means overlook or even give up the scientific ideological wealth left behind by Comrade Mao Zedong just because of the serious mistakes he made during his later years. We must absorb wisdom and strength from Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant works and push ahead with united front work in the days to come.



The second main task is to allow all democratic parties and other popular bodies possessing a united front nature to work independently and to bring their enthusiasm into full play.

We must say that this is an extremely important part of the mass line we are adopting in united front work, and one of our extremely important forms of uniting with the vast number of friends outside the party and urging them to contribute to the building of socialist modernization.

Under the new situation in which the Chinese revolution was entering the period of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in good time that we were bound to adapt to the circumstances by changing our usual armed force deployment, organizing and building up a mighty force, including all possible revolutionary friendly forces, with the aid of the weapon of the united front. This correct principle of Comrade Mao Zedong's guided our party to great successes. In summing up the experiences gained in the struggle in north and central China during the early period of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Liu Shaoqi profoundly pointed out that the reason why we failed then to open up a new prospect in our struggle against the Japanese invaders was because some responsible comrades, unable to adapt to rapid historical developments, failed to change in good time their work style and work boldly and resolutely. Today's new historical period can be regarded as the starting period of the resurgence of our cause. Our comrades must adapt to the needs of the great changes and developments in this period, make every effort to create a new way of working which will help to activate an unprecedentedly enormous contingent and open up new prospects. As long as we are adept at working in the new way, including giving full play to the roles of democratic parties and other people's organizations of a united front nature, we will be able to multiply our forces and thus do several times more good deeds than we have done so far. In the past, we gave free rein to the initiative of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and thus mobilized them to actively assist the party and the government in making proper arrangements for employing former industrialists and businessmen. Is this not a convincing example? Historical facts have repeatedly shown that it is perfectly possible for democratic parties and other people's organizations of a united front nature to do a great deal of good deeds so long as we give free rein to their initiative and, in the meantime, appropriately help them in terms of guiding principle, policies and methods. Therefore, giving full play to the wisdom and ability of hundreds of thousands of figures outside the party is a key link for us in learning scientific leadership methods, improving our relations with figures outside the party, and consolidating the political alliance between the party and the nonparty figures.

In short, we must be adept at deploying our available mighty forces. In the early period of the war of resistance against Japan, we had only several tens of thousands of party members. However, as the correct guideline and policies were adopted and a vast number of intellectuals, patriotic veteran military officers and patriotic political forces were mobilized, we

eventually formed a truly mighty army and thus rapidly opened up new prospects. These historical experiences are worth summing up properly, carrying on and developing under the new historical conditions.

The third main task is to vigorously grasp the implementation of policies, including those on democratic parties, intellectuals, Kuomintang personnel who have come over to us, former industrialists and businessmen, dependents of people who went to Taiwan, minority nationalities, people in religious circles, returned Overseas Chinese, dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, and so on.

During the 10 years of upheaval, many of our party members and friends were accused of being "counterrevolutionary." This seriously sabotaged our party's political prestige. The "gang of four" has been smashed for more than 5 years now, but a lot of problems are still left unsolved as far as the implementation of policies is concerned. The policy toward old cadres has probably been well implemented, but other policies have not been well implemented. In some areas, as soon as implementation of policies is mentioned, it means difficulties and demands for money. As a matter of fact, implementation of policies is not always so difficult and does not always require money. For instance, how much does it cost and how difficult is it to make conclusions, rehabilitate people's reputation and make job arrangements? Making job arrangements does not necessarily mean spending more money. We can do it by means of expanding the collective ownership system and developing the individual ownership system. A more difficult problem is the problem of housing, and it is necessary for us to solve this problem step by step. Therefore, it is wrong for us to complain and sigh all the time about the problem of implementing policies. If it is really that difficult, how could some provinces and municipalities have done so well in implementing policies?

An important factor accounting for the fact that the implementation of policies has not been well promoted is that some leading organs do not sufficiently understand local conditions and do not dare to uphold justice. Comrade Zhou Enlai said it well--"understand the situation, study policies, make personnel arrangements, readjust relations." It so happens that at present, some of our leading comrades, including comrades of the united front work department, fail to do this. Some comrades are still worried about making "leftist" or rightist mistakes. Is such a state of mind able to promote united front work? These comrades should change their state of mind and discard their endless worries. Our comrades should always bear in mind that it is our unshirkable duty to do a good job of united front work. We shoulder the unshirkable duty of promoting socialism, building the great motherland and realizing the reunification of the motherland. We must go all out and do a good job in our work for the sake of our cause of socialist modernization. Certainly, besides the problem of state of mind, we must maintain vigilance against people who are still connected with the "gang of four." These people stubbornly delay the implementation of policies and pose a problem of a different nature. We must punish these people with party discipline and absolutely cannot tolerate or be soft toward them.

When acting as governor of Chaozhou Prefecture, Han Yu, a Tang dynasty man of letters, wrote an "Elegiac Address to the Crocodile," giving the crocodile, a local pest, a deadline for departing and going into the sea. He said: "If it can't be done in 3 days, then it can in 5. If it can't be done in 5 days, then it can in 7. If it can't be done in 7, this means the crocodile is not willing to go," in which case the crocodile is "impenetrably thickheaded" and must be punished for refusing to obey orders. There is no harm in our now copying Han Yu's expression. We say, if you don't implement the policies in 1 year, then you will in 3; if you won't do it in 3 years, then you will in 5; and if you won't do it in 5, then you will do it in 7. This is the sixth year since the "gang of four" was smashed, and next year will be the seventh year. If you still don't implement the policies in 7 years, then we will say you are impenetrably thickheaded. This is in essence a major question of principle of whether you are maintaining political unity with the CCP Central Committee. Can we have a vague understanding of such an important question of principle?

Our comrades must fully understand that the question of implementing policies is related to the state's political situation of stability and unity, the strengthening, prosperity and reunification of the motherland, the consolidation and development of the patriotic united work front and the smooth progress of socialist modernization. Despite the scope involved and the workload, we must be determined to do a good job of implementing the various policies. Our party pays much attention to reputation. We adopt a serious attitude toward everything and mean what we say. So how are we going to answer our friends both inside and outside the country if we still cannot do a good job of implementing the policies this year and the following year!

The fourth main task is that we must make proper arrangements for figures outside the party and improve relations of cooperation with them.

What Should We Learn From Comrade Zhou Enlai?

In order to open up a new situation in united front work, we propose to all comrades of the united front that it is necessary to work hard and learn from the good thinking, good work style and good moral quality of Comrade Zhou Enlai.

As we all know, in summing up the experiences of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong laid down three great magic weapons for our party, one of which was the united front. However, as far as actual struggle is concerned, during the decades of the Chinese democratic revolution period and the socialist period, Comrade Zhou Enlai was the one who made the greatest contributions to the establishment, consolidation and development of the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the party. Comrade Zhou Enlai is worthy of the title of an outstanding model in united front work since the building of our party. He won over, united, and educated batches and batches of friends outside the party for the good of our party and the cause of the Chinese revolution. He enjoyed high prestige among his friends both inside and outside the country and added color to our party.

However, when our party made mistakes and suffered setbacks in the course of struggle, many friends understood and forgave many of our mistakes and expressed sympathy and strengthened their confidence in us because there was the lofty image of Comrade Zhou Enlai. The great contributions of Comrade Zhou Enlai to the Chinese revolutionary united front, his glorious figure and mental power will live forever. Therefore, all of us and, in particular, comrades of the united front should strive to learn from the example of Comrade Zhou Enlai.

What should we learn from him? In general, we must learn the following four things:

First, we must learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai's farsightedness and revolutionary breadth of spirit.

Marx and Engels said in the "Communist Manifesto" that all that the proletarians lose during the revolution is their chains and in return they gain the whole world. Marx added that only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat ultimately emancipate themselves. It is because Comrade Zhou Enlai had such Marxist farsightedness and revolutionary breadth of spirit, and could handle all kinds of practical work including united front work with such farsightedness and revolutionary breadth of spirit, that he could adopt a firm stand, fear no dangers, and be unshakable in working in the most dangerous, most difficult and complicated areas during the tortuous and great struggle of the Chinese revolution. It is also because Comrade Zhou Enlai had farsightedness and revolutionary breadth of spirit that he could consistently uphold his lofty ideals and pure sentiments under complicated circumstances and could emerge unstained from filth. In addition, he also had a vast field of vision and stood on the high plane of emancipating the whole of mankind to win over, unite and transform all those who could be won over, fully displaying a proletarian revolutionary's mental power in thinking, politics, morality and justice.

Second, we must learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai's democratic spirit of treating people as equals.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a hero of indomitable spirit in the face of any strong enemies, but he never put on airs in front of the people and the friends of the people. He always treated others as equals, taught others with skill and patience, discussed problems with friends and never looked down on others during discussions. As a result, people never felt uneasy under his leadership. He deeply realized that a leading position is insufficient for one to obtain knowledge and experience, and, therefore, he always turned his face to the masses, made a lot of friends, and improved his own knowledge by absorbing the masses' wisdom through frequent and close contacts with the masses and various forms of frank talks. At the same time, he enthusiastically helped his friends and encouraged others to advance. It is because of this that Comrade Zhou Enlai could avoid rigid ways of thinking and could ceaselessly advance until the day he died.

Third, we must learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai's revolutionary character in being ready to take up the cudgel for a just cause.

Comrade Zhou Enlai not only dared to take responsibility for the toughest tasks during the revolutionary struggles, but also upheld justice in dealing with the questions of right and wrong among the revolutionary contingents. He was bold in insisting on right things, criticizing his own mistakes, helping others when they made mistakes, speaking out from a sense of justice when people were wrongly accused, and taking responsibility for problems which emerged within his scope of leadership. As a result, he aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres. All this means being ready to take up the cudgel for a just cause! All our party comrades have deeply realized what valuable contributions Comrade Zhou Enlai made to protect the party and the people under very complicated historical conditions such as those during the "Great Cultural Revolution." No matter what happens, we must uphold justice and be ready to take up the cudgel for a just cause. This is a character all Communist Party members should have.

Fourth, we must learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai's lofty quality of setting strict demands on himself.

Comrade Zhou Enlai always realized his own shortcomings and therefore always set strict demands on himself. "One is never too old to learn or reform." This is what he always said and he did what he said. This should become a motto for all our party members. He paid much attention to teaching others by his own example, earnestly practiced what he preached and set strict demands on comrades who worked with him. He worked hard around the clock every day and did not slacken his efforts even when seriously ill. His spirit not only is unforgettable to the Chinese people but also has deeply touched many foreign friends.

Comrade Zhou Enlai has left us for more than 6 years now. However, his great contributions to united front work during his lifetime, his spirit, work style, and moral quality will live forever. All of us, and in particular comrades engaged in united front work, should be his students. Today, all our cadres of the United Front Work Department are the successors to our party's united front cause which was opened up and cultivated by Comrade Zhou Enlai. We should feel no qualms about our predecessors and should refrain from being inert and from being weak and incompetent. In the new historical era, we are confident, capable and can find a way to open up new prospects in united front work.

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A MAJOR EVENT IN THE STATE'S POLITICAL LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 7-8, 12

[Editorial]

[Text] The "draft of the revised constitution of the PRC" has been examined and approved by the national constitutional revision committee, and a resolution has been passed by the 23d Meeting of the 5th NPC Standing Committee for its publication and for its discussion by the people of all nationalities throughout the country. This is a major event in the state's political life. We must do a good job of the nationwide discussion of the "draft of the revised constitution."

The "draft of the revised constitution" makes substantial revisions to the current constitution. The current constitution of our country was approved at the First Session of the Fifth NPC in March 1978. At that time, the "gang of four" had been smashed only a short time before and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee had not been convened. Owing to the limitations of the historical conditions at that time, there was not enough time to make a comprehensive summing-up of the experiences and lessons of the socialist revolution and construction in the 30 years after the founding of the PRC, and there was not enough time to thoroughly eliminate the influence of some "leftist" ideas emerging during the decade of turmoil on the articles of the constitution. Consequently, in the current constitution there are quite a few elements that reflect outdated and erroneous political theories and viewpoints and quite a few regulations that do not conform to the practical situation. Although the second and third sessions of the Fifth NPC had made some amendments to one or two articles, no great changes had been made. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978, great changes have taken place and major progress has been made in the political, economic and cultural life of our country. The party and state have shifted the focal point of the work, the party has made a new and scientific analysis of the class situation in the country, the state has scored major achievements in building a socialist democratic system and has set forth further demands, and major reforms of the state leading system and the national economic system are being carried out. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in particular has accomplished the

task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology, comprehensively summed up the historical experiences in the socialist revolution and construction and explicitly defined a path and some major points for achieving socialist modernization that are applicable to the situation in our country. All this was not and could not have been reflected in the current constitution. Moreover, as a fundamental law of the state, many of the articles and stipulations in the current constitution are also not complete, well-knit, specific and explicit. In brief, the constitution approved in 1978 does not keep abreast of the political, economic and cultural reality of our country or suit the needs of the modernization drive of our country. In September 1980, at the suggestion of the CCP Central Committee, the Third Session of the Fifth NPC passed a resolution on setting up a constitutional revision committee to take charge of the work of revising the current constitution. In the past year and more, under the solicitude and leadership of the CCP Central Committee, the constitutional revision committee and its secretariat, acting on the principles that "the leadership should integrate itself with the masses" and that "the experiences of our own country should be integrated with international ones" and proceeding from the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, have carried out extensive investigations and studies to collect opinions from various quarters. After repeated deliberations and discussions, they have set forth the "draft of the revised constitution" for discussion. After examining and revising the draft for discussion chapter by chapter and article by article, the NPC Standing Committee passed a resolution for its publication. After extensive discussions by the people of the whole country and further revisions, it will be submitted to the Fifth Session of the NPC to be held this year for examination and official approval. Revising the constitution is a very serious and earnest job. It is a project of far-reaching significance in building our country politically during the new historical period.

Of the three constitutions we had before, the one approved by the First Session of the First NPC in September 1954 was a fairly good and consummate one. At that time, under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the work of drawing up the constitution was carried out in a very serious and solemn manner. It was during the "Great Cultural Revolution" that the constitution was practically annulled. The next two constitutions reflected in different degrees the abnormal situation in the state's life, but they were very imperfect. However, in 1954, when the work of socialist transformation had just started, it was naturally impossible for a constitution that came into being at that time to reflect the situation of the state after the completion of the socialist transformation. The current "draft of the revised constitution" has retained many of the stipulations of the 1954 constitution that are still applicable today. At the same time, in the light of the great changes in the situation of the country since then and under the guidance of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," it has paid full attention to summing up the great achievements and basic experiences of the socialist revolution and construction in our country in the past three decades and added many new stipulations. The "draft of the revised constitution" has summed up the fundamental experiences in our history in the past 100 years and more, particularly since the beginning of

this century, and recorded the achievements of the people of the whole country in their protracted struggle in the course of the new democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The draft takes as its general guiding ideology the upholding of the four basic principles and, in the form of a fundamental law, defines the fundamental task of the people of the whole country as the building of our country into a modernized state with a high degree of democracy and civilization. It has also showed clearly the domestic guarantee and the international conditions for accomplishing this task--strengthening the unity of all nationalities throughout the country and the unification of the country at home and, in international affairs, upholding the correct foreign policy, strengthening mutual support with the peoples of various countries, safeguarding world peace and promoting the progressive cause of mankind. Acting on historical experiences and proceeding from reality, the draft has defined fairly completely the fundamental political and economic systems of the state and the principles for developing culture and building spiritual civilization and enriched the contents of the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and the needs of the new historical period, the draft pays attention to strengthening the building of state organs and makes some important new stipulations on state organization. In brief, the "draft of the revised constitution" has been revised and drawn up under a correct guiding principle after our party had accomplished the task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology. It has absorbed quite amply historical experiences and lessons and has recorded quite amply the great progress our country has made in various aspects and the orientation of reforms since the third plenary session of the party. It is therefore a fairly consummate and well-considered draft.

As a result of the efforts of the people of the whole country in the past few years, the various aspects of the country have now been restored to normal and have become stable, and the long-term objective of struggle has also been made clear. After being extensively discussed by the people of the whole country, who will sum up their ideas and make further amendments, and after being examined and approved by the NPC, the draft will become the fundamental law of our country during the new historical period. It will be a stable and solemn fundamental law that will function over a very long historical period. It will play a far-reaching and important role in ensuring the long-term stability of our country, in building and improving our socialist political, economic and cultural systems, in ensuring the consolidation of the state and the democratic rights of the people, in achieving the institutionalization of socialist democracy and in building the socialist legal system. Owing to changes in the actual situation, it will perhaps be necessary to make some amendments in the future, but they will only be amendments or supplements to individual articles. The more prudent and careful we are in revising the constitution now, the more likely we are to have a constitution of long-term stability.

It is precisely for this reason that the current discussion of the "draft of the revised constitution" by the whole party is of very great significance. First of all, discussion by the whole people will make the new constitution more complete. A constitution gives expression to the will of the



people of the whole country. The revision of the constitution should not be done by a small number of people and it is imperative to sum up correct ideas on the basis of a high degree of democracy. When the people of all nationalities, all localities and all strata throughout the country are engaged in extensive and fully democratic discussions, drawing on collective wisdom and absorbing all useful ideas, the constitution will be in a better position to reflect the conditions of the whole country and the will and aspirations of the entire people. Secondly, the discussion of the "draft of the revised constitution" by the whole people is also a nationwide study or self-education in the fundamental law of the state. Owing to the fact that socialist democracy and the legal system in our country are still incomplete and that, over a considerably long period of time in the past, the constitution has been cast aside or has been incomplete, with the result that no attention has been paid to it, there is quite an extensive lack of knowledge and sense of a constitutional and legal system among the people of our country. It is necessary, by means of discussion by the whole people, to raise the understanding of the cadres at various levels and the broad masses on the status and function of the constitution in the state's life and raise their consciousness in abiding by and defending the honor of the constitution. The discussion of the constitution by the whole people serves as a school for the cadres at various levels and the broad masses to study and grasp the basic spirit and main content of the constitution. It is necessary, by means of discussion by the whole people, to raise the understanding of the cadres at various levels and the broad masses on the four basic principles and the fundamental tasks of the people of the whole country in the future, on our socialist political, economic and cultural systems and the major principles of the state and on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, and make clear the relationship between an individual citizen and the state as well as his due responsibility and duties to the state and society. Finally, the discussion by the whole people is in itself a study and training by the entire people in correctly exercising their democratic rights and promoting their democratic life. In building socialist democracy, it is necessary, on the one hand, to institute and improve the various democratic systems. On the other hand, it is necessary to demand that the numerous cadres and the broad masses learn to correctly exercise their democratic rights and respect the democratic rights of other people and that they cultivate the habits of democratic life. The accomplishment of this point is a long-term process of study and training. It is stipulated in the "draft of the revised constitution" that the people have the right "to manage state affairs, manage economic and cultural undertakings and manage social affairs through various channels and forms." The fact that it will take the people of the whole country several months to discuss the fundamental law of the state fully reflects the socialist democratic nature of our country. It is at the same time an opportunity for the people to learn to manage state affairs. Through their concern for and discussions of the "draft of the revised constitution" the broad masses will be able to raise their sense of responsibility as masters of the country, learn to manage state affairs and cultivate the habits of democratic life.

In brief, doing a good job of discussing the "draft of the revised constitution" is of long-term and great significance to our country. We should attach great importance to this work and, under the leadership of the party, take an active part in the nationwide discussion and revise and draw up the fundamental law of our country together.

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EXPECTATIONS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY--A TALK WITH NEWLY PROMOTED CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 9-12

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] At present, a number of middle-aged and young people who combine ability with political integrity and are in the prime of life have taken up their leadership posts. In 2 or 3 years, there will be more such fine cadres promoted in large numbers to leadership posts. They are taking up important leadership work in party and state organs at all levels. The historical mission of carrying forward and promoting our cause will gradually fall on the shoulders of the masses of middle-aged and young cadres.

The task of the current era is to carry on and develop the glorious cause pioneered by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized powerful socialist country. Can the newly promoted comrades assume their own leadership duties and dare to shoulder the heavy burdens of their new posts and accomplish something great? Can they, like the comrades of former years, unite closely with the people in accomplishing the historical mission with which we are charged by the era? Can they refuse to be influenced by others' flatteries, refrain from serving private ends, adhere to the proletarian principle of party spirit and become reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause? This is really a severe test for newly promoted comrades. We trust that newly promoted comrades can stand such a test.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party, after hard work, has completed the process of turning chaos into order where guiding ideology is concerned. It has restored the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines and formulated a series of general and specific policies geared to the national conditions of our country. A correct direction of advance is thus provided for us. After positive education and education by negative examples, our people have raised their socialist awareness. They show concern over the future of the state and support for the party's policy. They are filled with great ambitions concerning the socialist cause. This has provided us with a solid foundation for the proper handling of our work. Our older comrades still committed to first line work or already withdrawn

to the second line are giving the newly promoted comrades the benefit of their experience, "passing on skills, lending a helping hand and setting examples." This has again provided our work with strong support. Therefore, the comrades newly promoted to leadership posts must, on the one hand, see the arduous nature of the historic mission on their shoulders. On the other, they must have full confidence and consciously and bravely take up this arduous and glorious historical mission.

Like the revolutionaries of the older generation, the newly promoted comrades must first of all cherish the pioneering spirit of being selfless and fearless. In their new posts, they must start with fervent revolutionary enthusiasm, a selfless spirit of dedication and a work style of being realistic and leading a simple life. Now, we have a large amount of work to do and many problems to solve. If we are afraid of difficulties and are fearful and indecisive in action, our enthusiasm and initiative cannot be brought into full play. This will make it impossible for us to accomplish something great. Of course, on the other hand, we must not act recklessly, ignore reality and seek immediate success. By so doing, we will also come to grief. The correct approach is to combine revolutionary spirit with a down-to-earth spirit of working hard. We must adhere to the party's four basic principles. In line with the party's correct guiding ideology, and after careful investigation and study, we must think out ideas and work out ways and means--ingeniously and unhesitatingly translating the party's line and general and specific policies into action in every task we supervise.

Newly promoted comrades face the problem of how to create a new situation. Our party's history tells us that whether a new situation can be created at a turning point in history has a great bearing on the development of the revolutionary cause. To create a new situation, we must, like the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, uphold firmly and unswervingly strategic ideas. We must have the strategic foresight to view the situation as a whole and show indomitable revolutionary will. That is, we must display the spirit of daring to act and to hold ourselves responsible. Furthermore, in observing and handling any problem in work, we must act with the whole and not the partial situation in mind. We must have long-term plans. We must keep the main goal in sight and keep busy with daily tasks. We must wage a two-line struggle. We must meet the demands of tremendous changes and great developments and strive to create a new method of work. We must use the major principle reflecting the nature of things to guide various minor principles. Only by so doing, can we avoid being held spellbound by partial, incidental and superficial phenomena (including certain false ones). And only in this way can we remain clearheaded, can we combine political firmness with scientific foresight, and can we gain new leadership experience and create a new situation in work.

Newly promoted comrades all face the same problem: they must quickly grasp all there is to know about a new job and get used to new leadership work. Changes in work environments and conditions should also be accompanied by appropriate changes in the standpoint from which we view a problem and even changes in work methods. Some comrades are well acquainted with the conditions of a given bureau. But if they act as leadership cadres, their

knowledge and their accumulated experience will surely prove inadequate. They must have leadership experience covering a wider field. This task requires us to make investigations and studies in order to have a better and an overall idea of the conditions of a given department and a given area. Of course, to acquaint ourselves with conditions, we can scan documents, study data and listen to reports. But the most important thing is to get involved with reality and with the masses to make investigations and studies. "We must constantly ascertain social conditions and make investigations and studies." ("Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Zedong," type-A edition, p 25) Only in this way can we have firsthand data at our fingertips and really have the right and the initiative to speak. Comrade Mao Zedong included the kind of people who refrained from making investigations and studies but lost themselves in thinking. He held that a small number of people who confined themselves to their rooms "figuring out ways and means" and "thinking out ideas" would surely come up with wrong methods and wrong ideas. Our party has traditionally attached importance to investigation and study and has said that this is of primary importance to leaders. The leading comrades of our party Central Committee have played an exemplary role in this respect. Despite the heavy pressure of work, they constantly take time out to get close to the masses to make investigations and studies. Newly promoted comrades are generally in the prime of life and should constantly go deep among the masses to get acquainted with conditions and do a good job of making investigations and studies.

An important aspect of leadership work is to unite cadres, make proper use of cadres and build the contingent of cadres well. Only by so doing can everyone speak the same language, can there be friendly relations and mutual support and understanding between comrades, can we really achieve the aim of working toward the same goal, and can we arouse the enthusiasm of the entire rank of cadres to bring about stability and unity and do various tasks well. In using cadres, we must act according to the principle of party spirit, insist on playing fair and square and using people on their sheer merits. We must make a point of uniting these people who oppose us and who oppose those who have erred. So long as those comrades who have erred admit their mistakes and correct themselves in practice, we should refrain from discriminating against them. Concerning old comrades who have retired, we must respect them, humbly learn from them and take the initiative to listen to their opinions. This is an important prerequisite for the proper handling of the unity of cadres. Regarding the contradictions and cases of disunity that have arisen among cadres for historical reasons, we cannot listen to the story of only one side and must do more work aimed at solving misunderstandings. The aim is to arouse them to get united in the process of advance. In our new posts, we are likely to encounter people who do not take the overall interests of the state into consideration, people who show no cooperation or support for our work, and even individuals who make things difficult for us, ridicule us and try to strike at and get rid of us. In the face of all these conditions, we must keep cool and take a correct approach. It is wrong to resign ourselves to a state of anxiety or allow ourselves to become depressed. We must not give up doing ideological and political work with unity in mind, nor must we use the wrong methods to cope with what is wrong. This will only end in our isolation. In the period of

the Three Kingdoms, Old General Cheng Pu did not reconcile himself to the promotion of Zhou Yu as governor and often threw his weight around, making things difficult for others. But Zhou Yu did not repay in kind. Instead he used correct methods to make Cheng Pu wake up. Later, the two became the best of friends. They played an important role in consolidating the regime of Eastern Wu. Ancients could act like this. We Communist Party members should go one step further. Newly promoted comrades must devote themselves to serving the public heart and soul, pay close attention to the building of the ranks of cadres and strive to distinguish between right and wrong, between what deserves punishment or praise, and between rewards and penalties. If we can unite the great majority of comrades, we can direct the overwhelming majority of cadres' thoughts and talent toward work.

As far as the leadership post is concerned, there is the problem of keeping in close touch with the masses. The mass line is our party's fundamental line. Keeping in close touch with the masses is a mark that distinguishes our Communist Party from other political parties. The only source of our knowledge is the practice of the masses of people and their collective wisdom and collective experience. Newly promoted comrades cannot throw their weight around and put on airs, drifting apart from the masses just because they have been promoted and become "officials." Moreover, we must note that given a promotion and a change in our duties, some people are not likely to behave and talk as freely as they did to us before. Therefore, a newly appointed leader must consciously overcome these obstacles and show more initiative in getting close to the cadres and people at lower levels, talking more with them, supporting their supervision. If we do not do so, we are unlikely to hear of differing views. It is all the more difficult for us to hear of any criticism from the masses of the defects and mistakes in our work. We are thus liable to blindly believe that everything we have done is right. This is highly dangerous.

After we assume new leadership duties, people will ingratiate themselves with us in this way or that. Flattery is a vulgar practice of the exploiting class and also "a sugar-coated bullet." We must remain clearheaded and refuse to be moved. Flattering remarks are of course not to be taken seriously, still less should an exaggeration that boosts one's ego be accepted. The reasons for this are given. In the "Record of the Warring States" is a story about Zou Ji's ridiculing ruler Qi's acceptance of an admonition. Zou Ji's wife, his concubine and his guests all praised him as being more handsome than Duke Xu. Actually, he was just no match for Duke Xu in looks. He pondered over it throughout the night. It dawned on him that "my wife says that I am handsome because she is biased toward me. My concubine says that I am handsome because she is afraid of me. My guests say that I am handsome because they have something to ask of me." All those people that respond to flatteries will surely be deceived. As time goes on, they will make the mistake of drifting apart from the masses. In the world, this situation is unknown: given a promotion, a person's ability and his level automatically rise. Therefore, we must always make a one-divides-into-two analysis of ourselves, so that we can always maintain the style of being humble and modest and free from arrogance and rashness. We must always remain the respectful pupils of the masses of people and cadres. In the

revolutionary ranks, there are many heroic figures, model workers and leading cadres who originally distinguished themselves by their outstanding achievements. But yielding to "flatteries," they have waxed arrogant. They remain at the same level without making any progress and end up drifting apart from the masses. Some have even consigned themselves to oblivion. Mr Lu Xun once mentioned the serious harm of flattery. He said that flattery can have the effect of ruining the career of someone of consequence and making it impossible for him to stage a comeback for many years. This should particularly arouse the vigilance of those comrades newly assigned to leadership posts. In no way should they give the flatterer an opportunity to get his way.

Now, there prevails on the social scene an unhealthy practice of "asking favors." Some of our cadres command no respect among the people. What they say goes unheeded. This is often because in handling major and minor issues concerning their own interests and their own relatives, they compromise themselves in all cases of "asking favors" and fail to uphold the party's principles. Some comrades think nothing of these so-called trifles. These trifles seem like nothing and seem forgivable in light of the large amount of work they have contributed. Therefore, they assume the wrong attitude of excusing and giving themselves encouragement. They do not know that these "trifles" reflect how firm an individual is in upholding his concept of public and private interests and the principle of party spirit. If in times of peace these trivial matters in private life cannot be properly taken care of, how can we unhesitatingly sacrifice ourselves in wartime or at a time when we are called on to risk death? Today, stopping the practice of "asking favors" is no minor problem. It is a problem concerning the reputation of the party and its purity which must be protected. Many serious economic crimes show that some leading cadres' involvement, their lapse into mistakes and even their degeneration began as matters of compromising out of personal consideration. Wholehearted devotion to duty in serving the people is our party's basic aim. Every cadre of our party has only the obligation of wholeheartedly and assiduously serving the people, and never the right to abuse authority to serve the interests of any individual or small group. What Comrade Zhou Enlai said on many occasions about cadres standing the five tests (the ideological test, the political test, the test of personal considerations, the social test and the test of life) is really significant. His glorious and great life--as exemplified by his cautious and conscientious approach, his devotion to the public without any thought for self, his adherence to principle without being swayed by personal considerations and his defiance of death--is in itself a shining example for us to follow. Comrades newly promoted to leadership posts cannot avoid experiencing various incidents of "asking favors." In our approach to such matters, we must emulate Comrade Zhou Enlai and resolutely uphold the party's principles. We must display the militant spirit of Communist Party members, uphold what is right and resist what is wrong.

To do a good job of leadership work in the historical conditions of today, we must have scientific and cultural knowledge and technical knowledge. We must cherish the spirit of doggedly, perseveringly and fearlessly doing research. Now there is serious waste by the state. There are so many

loopholes in the management system. Actual work is marked by lack of a scientific basis and originality. All this has to do with our inadequate scientific and cultural knowledge and our inadequate knowledge of scientific management. We must of course learn how to build projects in the course of construction. We must also squeeze time out to study and research the subjects that we need to know about in our own fields. As far as comrades with some fundamental knowledge are concerned, they also must not remain satisfied. They must keep taking time out to study and to do research. In the new historical period, leaders must be politically advanced and professionally trained. This is an important requirement for the proper handling of our work. Using the pressure of work as an excuse to relax our efforts in acquiring technical knowledge is also a manifestation of lack of enthusiasm and fear of difficulties. This must be resolutely corrected.

In any leadership post, a newly promoted comrade must take up the duty of seriously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Such a study effort must be combined with the cultivation of ideological awareness in a serious effort to transform the world outlook. Only in this way can we grasp revolutionary theory as a weapon. Only in this way can we raise the ability to distinguish between right and wrong and to correctly solve various problems encountered in the process of revolution and construction, and can we avoid going astray in the face of complicated phenomena and maintain the communist purity of Communist Party members. Also only in this way can we become sober-minded, resolute Marxists. As far as a leader is concerned, he has little future if not armed with theory. A well-known remark from Comrade Zhou Enlai: "We must live to learn and to transform ourselves," must be cherished as our motto.

The people and the party committee have vested a weighty mission in the new generation and have great expectations for them. We proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and numerous revolutionary veterans have made our contributions in the glorious history of founding the new China. Newly promoted comrades should use their own revolutionary experience and fervently keep working toward creating the glorious history of building a modern and powerful socialist country. Several decades hence, when our descendants speak of this era of ours, they will, just as we do with the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and many old comrades today, say: They are the pride of the party and a generation of worthy proletarian revolutionary fighters.

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AN INVIOABLE BASIC PRINCIPLE--SOME UNDERSTANDING ON UPHOLDING THE POLICY OF RELYING MAINLY ON THE PLANNED ECONOMY AND SUPPLEMENTING IT WITH REGULATION BY MARKET MECHANISM

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[Article by Fang Weizhong [2075 4850 0022]]

[Text] I. Several Talks by Comrade Chen Yun

The idea of a socialist economy having to mainly rely on planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary was advanced long ago by our party.

After the basic completion of socialist transformation in 1956, Comrade Chen Yun explained this point at the 1st Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee:

"The situation of our socialist economy will be: In industrial and commercial management, state management and collective management will be the principal part of our industry and commerce, but there will also be a certain amount of individual management. This individual management will be supplementary to state management and collective management. In production planning, the principal portion of industrial and agricultural products of the whole country will be based on planned production, but at the same time, there will be free production of some products based on market changes and within the extent permitted by the state plan. Planned production will be the mainstay of industrial and agricultural production, and free production based on market changes and within the scope permitted by the state plan will be a supplement to planned production. Therefore, our market will absolutely not be a capitalist free market but will be a socialist unified market. In the socialist unified market, the mainstay will be the state market, but there will be to a certain extent a free market under state leadership. This free market will be a supplement to the state market under the leadership of the state. Therefore, it will be a component of the socialist unified market."

This talk by Comrade Chen Yun completely expounded the idea of mainly relying on the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary. Unfortunately, this idea was later subjected to leftist interference and could not be properly implemented.



In the early part of 1979, Comrade Chen Yun reiterated more explicitly the principle of mainly relying on the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary, and pointed out that there must be two parts in the national economy throughout the socialist period: 1) the planned economy part (planned and proportionate part); 2) the part involving regulation by market mechanism (or the unplanned part based on self-regulatory market demands). The first part is basic and primary; the second part is subordinate and secondary, but also necessary. He pointed out that what we have done by adhering to planned and proportionate development in our planning work is correct, and the only shortcoming is that "planned and proportionate" does not include "regulation by market mechanism." He pointed out that the present planning is too rigid and includes too many things, regulation by market mechanism is being restricted, production cannot become rich and colorful, and the articles of daily life required by the people have become very drab.

Here, Comrade Chen Yun stressed the need to improve our planning system, called for giving play to the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism while adhering to the principle of mainly relying on the planned economy, and criticized some comrades for not understanding the inevitability and necessity for doing so.

Since 1979, we have made some improvements in the economic system. To a certain extent, we have corrected the shortcomings of excessive planning and overrigid control and have paid attention to giving play to the role of regulation by market mechanism. Our general orientation is correct. For some time there have been mentions of "integrating regulation by planning mechanism and regulation by market mechanism" in some documents. This formulation has played a positive role in changing the situation of not paying attention to regulation by market mechanism. However, placing regulation by market mechanism and regulation by planning mechanism side by side can easily lead to misunderstanding. In December 1980, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out at the central work conference: "Our state takes the planned economy as the mainstay." According to Comrade Chen Yun, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in June 1981, clearly stated: "It is necessary to give play to the supplementary, regulatory role of the market on the basis of public ownership."

In December 1981, Comrade Chen Yun, at a meeting of first secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees, pointed out that the agricultural economy is an important part of the national economy and it is also necessary for agricultural economy to mainly rely on planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary. Only in this way can it contribute to the long-term interests of the peasants and enable the state to carry out construction. At this meeting, he also talked about coordinating the construction of the nation like pieces in a chess game and working according to plan.

On 25 January 1982, in his talk with responsible comrades of the State Planning Commission, Comrade Chen Yun again discussed the subject of mainly relying on the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary. He pointed out that after carrying out the responsibility system in agriculture, there cannot be any exception to adhering to the above-mentioned principle. For example, the suburbs must plant vegetables according to plan, hog-raising tasks must be assigned, the acreage planted to tobacco must not be further increased, and the area sown to grain must not be further reduced. He pointed out that in order to properly grasp the relationship between construction and livelihood, the people must first have enough to eat and construction comes second.

From the emphasis in Comrade Chen Yun's recent talks on the importance of the planned economy, we can see that regulation by market mechanism can only be flexibly applied within the scope permitted by the state plan. Otherwise, it will shatter the state plan.

## II. Great Practical Significance

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have carried out a preliminary restructuring of our economic system and achieved very good results in carrying out the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and invigorating the economy at home. People are beginning to manage the economy in accordance with economic laws. The gradual improvement in economic life has aroused the enthusiasm of the localities, enterprises, and the broad masses of workers and peasants for production and has promoted the development of the national economy. Practice has proved that such reforms are necessary because they conform with the wishes of the masses. Without such reforms there could not be today's excellent situation.

In the process of discussing and carrying out the restructuring of the economic system, many comrades have published articles analyzing the existing state of our economic system, exploring the orientation for restructuring the system and smashing some outmoded concepts, and the main trend is good. In the process of exploration, the appearance of some incorrect formulations is unavoidable. However, some articles have put forth some incorrect ideas and views which will lead to weakening and breaking away from the planned economy. For example, they have exaggerated the shortcomings of the planned economy and regarded blind command and ossification as the inevitable products and results of unified planning. They have refused to recognize the existence of the law of planned development and inappropriately exaggerated the role of the law of value. They have negated the instructiveness of planning and the necessity of administrative intervention and have advocated turning enterprises into independent economic entities. They have stressed that planning is bound to fail and regulation by market mechanism is bound to succeed, and have advocated establishing a planned economy on the basis of regulation by market mechanism. They have advocated that regulation by planning mechanism should only control macroeconomics and that microeconomics should completely rely on regulation by market mechanism. These ideas and views are divorced from

the actual conditions in China and do not conform to the principle of mainly relying on the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary.

Generally speaking, the restructuring of our economic system and all our economic activities have been carried out with the orientation of mainly relying on the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary. However, because of the inability of management work to follow up, the lines of demarcation between some policies are not distinct and certain reform measures cannot be fitted in. On top of that, with the rise of departmentalism and decentralism in some units, certain tendencies of breaking away from and weakening the planned economy have also appeared in actual economic activities. For example, in agriculture, the quantity of important farm products, which come under requisition by purchase, fixed purchase quota and turnover to higher authorities, has become less and less. Some localities have dropped the unified purchase and fixed purchase quota tasks altogether, and this has resulted in a reduction of the area sown to grain. Some localities have lost control over the area planted to cash crops; consequently, some cities are not getting enough vegetables. In industry, some units are unwilling to accept the production plan and the allocation plan set by the state. They have willfully retained products in short supply on the market and arbitrarily expanded the extent of their own marketing, and have overfulfilled the planned production of the state on some highly profitable products in excessive supply. This has resulted in overstocking and false financial figures. In capital construction, the inability to control construction using self-raised funds and construction using bank loans has developed into blind construction in some places. In the field of circulation, because "all the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and traders want to be in business," they have blindly competed with each other, blocked each other, ruined the unified market of the country, and disrupted the planned supply and marketing of materials and the circulation of commodities. In the distribution of income, some enterprises have casually increased the proportion of profit retained and indiscriminately apportioned costs. The phenomenon of evading and not paying taxes is quite serious, and there is no control over cash awards and various welfare subsidies. In foreign economic activities, instead of adopting a unified policy and uniting against foreigners, they have each gone their own way, undercut each other's price and cut the ground from under each other. The profit of the locality and the enterprise is small, but the loss to the state is enormous. What merits pointing out is that these economic criminals, who have taken advantage of the loopholes in our economic management to engage in such sinister activities as smuggling and illegal transactions, corruption and graft, speculation and swindling, and embezzlement of state and collective property, are already running quite rampant.

The tendency of breaking away from and weakening the planned economy appearing in the above-mentioned theoretical propaganda and in actual economic activities should not be exaggerated, but this tendency definitely exists. If we ignore it and allow it to develop, it will become worse and worse and there could be a danger of shattering the state plan.

The great practical significance of Comrade Chen Yun's recent talks is that they make us clearheaded so that we can take measures to solve emerging problems. In restructuring the economic system, we must adhere to the policy of opening the door to foreign countries and invigorating the economy at home, and correct the tendency of weakening and breaking away from the planned economy. We must never allow the tendency of liberalization to run wild. Only in this way can we create conditions for consolidating the position of economic planning and further restructuring the economic system.

### III. The Two Kinds of Economy Cannot Be Confused

According to the Marxist standpoint, there are two principal kinds of economy in the world today: one is the market economy built on the basis of capitalist private ownership, and the other is the planned economy built on the basis of socialist public ownership.

It is fundamentally impossible to build a planned economy on the basis of capitalist private ownership. As long as contradictions exist between the socialist nature of production and the private nature of ownership, there will be no way to solve the state of anarchy in social production. Similarly, a capitalist market economy cannot be carried out on the basis of socialist public ownership. The giving up of the planned economy will inevitably destroy socialist public ownership and ultimately result in a retrogression to capitalism.

There cannot be any confusion or uncertainty regarding this basic Marxist standpoint.

We should recognize that, as a result of the development of capitalist contradictions, the bourgeois governments have to a certain extent strengthened intervention and planned guidance over the capitalist market economy. In Japan, some people call their economy a system of economic planning based on the market economy. In West Germany, some people call their economy a social market economy, or the addition of social balancing and government intervention on the basis of the market economy. However, the intervention and guidance of the bourgeois government make no change in the capitalist ownership of the means of production. Therefore, they also cannot basically solve the state of anarchy produced by the whole society. This kind of government intervention and planned guidance are essentially different from the planned economy built on the basis of socialist public ownership.

The practice of socialist planned economy has negated the viewpoint that commodity relationships and a market do not exist in socialist economy. To a certain extent, it has taken advantage of the regulatory role of market mechanism and allowed the spontaneous production and marketing of some commodities based on the relationship of supply and demand on the market to supplement the production and supply of products not provided for in the plan. At the same time, it has made use of the law of value and the economic levers in a planned manner to regulate social production and changed unitary administrative means into the simultaneous use of

administrative means and economic means. However, that part of regulation by market mechanism within a given framework of the socialist economy is a component of the socialist unified market. There is a basic distinction between the socialist market and the capitalist market.

In recent years, such formulations as "giving the same importance to the planned economy and the market economy" and "the planned economy must be built on the basis of the market economy" have also appeared in some articles published in the country. The implications of these formulations are neither distinct nor precise and can be easily confused with the bourgeois economic theory of the West and lead to ideological confusion. The articles which frankly advocate that China is not in a situation to carry out a planned economy and should carry out a market economy are basically mistaken.

#### IV. We Must Not Forget the Superiority of the Socialist Planned Economy, and We Must Not Attribute the Economic Losses Caused by Mistakes in Guiding Ideology and Political Turbulence to the System of a Planned Economy

The superiority of the socialist planned economy is tremendous.

1. The state has the necessary means and is able to make arrangements for the production and needs of the whole society in a unified way. This promotes the coordinated development of the economy and reduces waste and blind production.
2. When the economy is in a state of imbalance, it is possible for the state to take overall or partial measures for readjustment to restore the balance of the economy more rapidly.

However, the capitalist economy does not possess this kind of superiority. It has planned guidance and government intervention to mitigate contradictions and crises in the capitalist economy, but is unable to basically resolve them. Beneath the prosperous exterior of capitalism, numerous insurmountable contradictions are concealed. The fact that currency inflation and economic stagnation are either interwoven or coexist is an obvious example.

Over the past 30 and more years since nationwide liberation, by relying on the planned economy we have established an independent and comparatively complete industrial system and a national economic system to guarantee the basic food and clothing needs of 1 billion people. We have eliminated the gap between poor and rich, basically solved the problem of unemployment, stabilized prices on the market and maintained the independence of our country. Without a planned economic system, it would have been impossible to make these achievements. Over the past 30 years and more, several major imbalances have appeared in the national economy. However, because of the effective measures adopted to carry out planned readjustments, we have been able to gradually resolve these imbalances and to demonstrate the tremendous power of the planned economy in triumphing over difficulties.

It cannot be denied that we have suffered many setbacks in our socialist construction which resulted in serious losses to the economy. However, these losses were not caused by the implementation of the system of a planned economy. Why was the economy able to develop more harmoniously during the periods of national economic recovery and the first 5-year plan but suffered setbacks in economic development from 1958 to 1960 and after 1967? As shown by economic analysis, the most important reason was because, in our anxiety for quick results, we set overambitious targets in production and construction under the guidance of "leftist" ideas. Plans became seriously divorced from reality, and correct planning systems and methods were attacked and destroyed. The problem which appeared under the guidance of "leftist" ideas was precisely not wanting a comprehensive balance or proportionate results but just the opposite. During the past 30 years and more, the first 2 years were good, the years in between were full of ups and downs and there was not much time to really concentrate on carrying out planned construction in an earnest and conventional manner. In particular, during the 10 years of political turbulence of the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was no way of smoothly carrying out a planned economy or bringing into play the superiority of a socialist planned economy. If not for that, our achievements in construction would certainly be much better than those at present.

Why have some people lost their confidence in the planned economy? An important reason is that they have not conscientiously analyzed the root cause of the setbacks in our past economic development and have attributed the responsibility, which should not be shouldered by the planning system, to the planning system. The planned economy is a bright pearl that has been covered with dust. If the dust is removed, the planned economy will shine brightly.

#### V. We Must Improve the Planning System But We Cannot Carry Things So Far as To Start All Over Again

The planning system formulated after the founding of the PRC is basically correct and is in line with the demands of economic planning.

First, the main economic activities of society, including production, construction, circulation and distribution, and also the important components of cultural, educational and sanitation undertakings, are incorporated in state plans, with all departments striving toward planned and proportionate development.

Second, mandatory plans are imposed on the principal products of major enterprises, so that the state can exercise direct control over the production and distribution of important products bearing on the state's economic life and the activities of important enterprises, in order to ensure the satisfaction of the needs of the state and the people in their everyday life.

Third, carry out the principle of unified planning and split-level management allowing the centralization of big power and the dispersion of little power.

The problems and defects of the planning system are chiefly:

1. We stress the need for a plan to be complete and detailed and try to incorporate everything in it without paying attention to the necessity of regulation by market mechanism, or without allowing the spontaneous regulation of a part of production by the law of value.
2. We impose excessive and overrigid control over the planned sector, without paying attention to arousing local and departmental enthusiasm. We overlook an enterprise's proper rights, so that the development of its initiative and enthusiasm suffers.
3. We mainly rely on administrative means without paying attention to or being good at using economic means, or without using the economic levers to regulate production.

Given a low level of planning and lack of experience in controlling social mass production, the planning organs are kept so busy with the daily routine of management that they cannot take care of everything. On the other hand, enterprises are living off the state and "eating out of one big pot." Gaps between supply and demand often occur, seriously interfering with the improvement of economic results and hampering the development of the superior features of the socialist planned economy.

To deal with the above problems, in line with the principle of reforming the economic system set forth in the government work report given by Premier Zhao Ziyang at the 4th Session of the 5th NPC, our planning system calls for improvement and reform in the following respects:

First, in line with the principle of taking planned economy as the primary factor and regulation by market mechanism as the subsidiary one, we must follow the system of combining mandatory plans and guiding plans. For a number of products and enterprises, the state does not hand down plans but allows free production by enterprises, in order to make up for what is lacking in state plans.

Mandatory plans are arranged by the state in a unified manner and must be strictly observed and carried out by planning units and plan enforcement units at all levels. Plans in this category mainly refer to tasks concerning the national economy as a whole, such as planned state purchases and fixed purchase quotas, the transfer of products into or out of an area, the production, purchase, distribution and inward or outward transfer of important industrial products, the total amount of investment in fixed assets and large and medium-sized construction projects, the volume of transportation of major commodities, the total volume of import and export trade, the state's financial income and expenditure, banks' credit receipts and payments, the international balance of payments, the total number of workers in state enterprises and the total amount of their wages, the prices of important products, and so forth.

Guiding plans refer to those relatively important projects in the development of the national economy and plans formulated and handed down by people's governments at all levels which serve to guide the direction of development and which are not compulsory. Based on guiding plans, the enforcement units work out plans by combining social needs with the actual conditions of a given unit and report to the department in charge of planning as a matter of form.

Concerning the development of other economic enterprises outside plans in the above two categories, the state does not set plans or targets. Basic-level units are allowed to make their own arrangements according to social needs where the state's policies and decrees permit. This represents a sector subject to regulation by market mechanism.

Second, in line with the principle of unified planning, split-level management, and centralizing big power while dispersing little power, we must correctly define the limits of central and local plans and correctly prescribe the power assigned to people for controlling enterprise plans. Take industrial production for example.

For important and relatively important products bearing on national planning and the people's livelihood which must be purchased and distributed under central plans, the central authorities should directly set plans in the form of central instructions. For those important and relatively important products bearing on national planning and the people's livelihood which must be purchased and distributed under regional plans, plans are set by various regions in the form of regional instructions. Regions must obey unified national plans. In working out plans, departments at the central level must take regional features and proper regional rights into consideration. Based on their different roles in the national economy, enterprises must follow different management patterns, some directly under the control of the central department in charge and some under regional control. Of the kinds of products produced by enterprises, some must be produced according to mandatory state plans. Some must be mostly produced according to state plans and partly produced according to arrangements made by the enterprises themselves. Some may be partly produced according to state plans and mostly produced according to the enterprises' own arrangements. Some are to be organized by enterprises with regard to production.

Third, in light of the role of the economy of a socialist country and the objective laws of development of the socialist economy, we must adopt the method of combining administrative means with economic means. To enforce mandatory plans, we must chiefly rely on the state's administrative means to exercise management. But in formulating plans, we must take market demand into consideration and take the production costs of products and their prices into account. Guiding plans are not compulsory. The state chiefly gives guidance through economic policies, economic levers and economic regulations and resorts to administrative means as a supplement where necessary. Products regulated by market mechanism can be freely produced and exchanged where state laws and decrees permit, but the state must strengthen market control and prevent the expansion and spread of their negative role.



To effect improvements and reforms in the above three respects, we can promote what is correct in the planning system previously followed and overcome its drawbacks and defects. Of course, what is involved here is a large number of problems concerning both theory and practice that call for solution.

One school of thought holds that once plans are followed everything goes wrong and that once regulation by market mechanism is promoted everything comes to life. Those who hold this view, therefore, call for the cancellation of mandatory plans and administrative interference and the promotion of "regulation of macroeconomics by planning mechanism and regulation of microeconomics by market mechanism." This actually means that all plans must be realized through regulation by market mechanism. It seems that we can thus avoid bureaucratism, blind commands and inflexibility and that the national economy can thus be enlivened with the realization of planned and proportionate development.

Is there some sense to this viewpoint? It should be said that there is. In the past, plans were followed too rigidly. Now, they should be made more flexible. In the past, no attention was paid to giving full play to the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. Now, such a role should be brought into full play. But a conclusion thus drawn means that mandatory plans and administrative means should be abolished and that everything should be made dependent on regulation by market mechanism. This is wrong. Experience has proved that if we make proper use of the market mechanism as a regulatory factor, the economy can be made more active. But if we do a bad job in this respect, the economy can get in trouble. What can really enliven the economy is not the regulatory role of market mechanism but a unified state plan compatible with reality. Only by properly arranging and coordinating various proportionate relations and linking immediate development with long-term development within the framework of the whole plan for the national economy and carrying through unified national plans, can the whole national economy, given the proper regulatory role of the market mechanism, be really made to thrive. To realize unified state plans, we must combine mandatory plans with guiding plans and administrative means with economic means. If we do not do so and let all enterprises resign themselves to the action of the market mechanism, and treat the enforcement of national plans as a matter of choice, then unified national plans would be reduced to nothing but a mere formality and any talk about "regulation by macroeconomic plans" would also become just nonsense with no microeconomic activities falling into line. We must learn how to use the economic levers and especially learn how to properly handle plans for the national economy. In the past, we suffered because we did not know how to use the economic levers. But what made us suffer most was that we did not know how to handle or were not equipped to handle economic plans well. If we do not strive to raise the level of planning work and the level of economic work, the sole reliance on mandatory plans would land us in trouble and cause the economy to be dislocated or out of order. Reliance on market mechanism as a regulatory factor would also give trouble and cause the dislocation of the economy.

The proper conclusion to draw is that the fundamental principle of a planned economy must be adhered to and the planning system must be improved. We must pay attention to developing the supplementary role of regulation of market mechanism, pay attention to the proper dispersion of the power to make economic decisions, and pay attention to using economic policies, the economic levers and economic rules. We must not deviate from the principle of taking the planned economy as the main factor. Nor can we give up plans of a guiding nature. Nor can we give up centralization and unification. Nor can we give up administrative means. This is to say that while stressing planned economy as the main factor, we cannot overlook the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. While stressing the regulatory role of the market mechanism, we cannot weaken the role of the planned economy.

#### VI. Sober-Minded and Healthy Reforms

It is highly necessary to reform the economic system, including the planning system, but the reform should be sober-minded and healthy.

First, we must take correct theory as a guide. Any display of one-sidedness in a theoretical sense and any deviation from reality will naturally lead to errors and mistakes in action.

Second, we must follow a clearcut direction reform. This is to say that, as pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun, we must take the planned economy as the main factor and regulation by market mechanism as the subsidiary one, and practice big planning, small freedoms, big centralization and small dispersions. In no way can we act to the contrary, or do one thing to the neglect of another.

Third, in light of the actual conditions of our country, we must formulate perfect reform programs, work out a general scheme that takes everything into consideration, and put forth practical and feasible measures and steps. We must avoid having to stop to watch every step of the way and avoid stressing one thing to the neglect of another, and even the appearance of contradictions and clashes, in the course of implementing reform programs.

Fourth, we must proceed in a planned and orderly manner, after conducting trial point and feasibility studies. We must enable administrative work to catch up and avoid doing everything all at once.

Fifth, concerning some reforms already in progress, we must sum up experiences promptly so that the problems that have cropped up can be solved promptly and satisfactorily. We can never press forward rashly. Nor can we beat a hasty retreat once a problem crops up. This is in order to avoid the reappearance of a situation marked by chaos following relaxation and this chaos requiring a tightening up.

Sixth, before a new program has been formulated, the old ways of doing things must not be freely changed or dropped. We must adhere to the principle of destroying nothing where something new has not been created

and must avoid chaos and prevent the appearance of a state of anarchy with everyone going his own way.

The leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council recently again stressed the importance of summing up experiences and the importance of formulating general reform plans. By seriously doing things in this way, the reform of our economic system can surely be sober-minded, healthy and successful.

#### VII. Strengthen and Improve Planning Work

Persistence in taking the planned economy as the main factor and regulation by market mechanism as the subsidiary factor has imposed a more exacting demand on planning work. The present level of our planning work is extremely incompatible with this demand. Improving the planning system does not equal doing a good job of planning work. To do a good job of planning work and enable a plan to be both farsighted and practicable, there is much more work for us to do and we must exert tremendous efforts. At present, there remain many problems concerning the ideas of planning, ways of planning, the organization of plans, the training of working personnel, and so forth. Without solving these problems, we cannot improve and strengthen planning work.

In the past, many errors appeared in planning work. The planning departments were chiefly responsible for these errors. The planning departments often had a vague idea of conditions, did a very poor job in their efforts to achieve a comprehensive balance, and acted against the principle of being down to earth, acting according to capabilities, proceeding in a steady and orderly manner, and seeking practical results. Owing to errors in planning work, the development of the national economy suffered greatly. As we recall this, we feel a great sadness. That some people have no confidence in planning has to do with our failure to do planning work well in the past. But it should be noted that planning work is not bound to be a failure. The laws of economic development can be grasped. After many years of construction effort, we have accumulated a wealth of experience. So long as we insist on proceeding from the national conditions of China, respect objective laws, arouse our spirits and are down to earth, we can do planning work on the basis of continuously summing up experiences and enable the national economy to develop in a sustained and steady manner.

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ON THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEADERS AND THE MASSES

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] At present the whole party is concerned about the question of rectifying party style. The CCP Central Committee has already called for a distinct improvement in party style this year. This question touches on the relationship between the leadership and the masses and also embraces the relationship between all party members and cadres in the party leadership--especially those who have assumed responsibilities and duties--and the masses. In my essay "On the Position and Role of the Party in State Affairs," I pointed out: "The question of the relationship between the party and the masses is the essence and basis of the implementation of party leadership." This essay seeks to probe further into the question of the relationship between the leadership and the masses.

To be sure, the relationship between the leadership and the masses is one between leaders and subordinates. However, under socialist conditions, and with our party in a position of power, this understanding alone is insufficient. This is because the question hinges on how we should implement the party's leadership over state affairs without turning it into direct management of state affairs. We must, in particular, prevent individual organizations and people from using leadership positions to place themselves as rulers above the masses. We should further realize that, under socialist conditions, and with the party in its position of power, the most essential content and requirement of the leadership of the party in state affairs is to organize the masses to be masters of their own future and to give them support to this end. Therefore, the relationship between the leadership and the masses should be established and developed from beginning to end according to the principle of democracy. At present, the ideological style and work style of certain comrades are not correct. On the one hand, they are used to giving orders and imposing their individual will on the masses. On the other hand, they display laxity and weakness and an inability to carry out a struggle against the various erroneous ideological tendencies and unhealthy influences. In both these respects, they have divorced themselves from the masses and have hindered the bringing into play of their socialist initiative. One of the main reasons for this is

that, in their knowledge and practice, they have turned their backs on the democratic principles governing the relationship between the leadership and the masses.

I

Equality is the first democratic principle governing the relationship between the leadership and the masses. That is to say, no party member or party cadre, especially those who have assumed responsibilities and duties, is in any way superior to the masses. We must establish and develop the relationship between the leadership and the masses according to the principle of equality. This principle is decided by the nature of our country's socialist economic base and superstructure.

First, as far as economic position is concerned, leaders are equal with the masses. This is because, on the basis of the socialist public ownership of the means of production, all the people, through the various forms of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, share equally in the right of ownership of the means of production. Nobody has any right or reason to turn public property into private property to satisfy individual desires or to claim the fruits of social labor as their own without having paid for them. CCP members and cadres who make use of party and state power for private gain violate this principle right off the bat. They have degenerated. "Rulers" who live off the backs of the masses frequently start like this.

Second, as far as political position is concerned, leaders are also equal with the masses. This is because, under the socialist economic and political systems, every citizen shares equally in the basic rights conferred by the state constitution. At the same time, he shares equally in the basic duties laid down by the state constitution. Nobody has any right or reason to enjoy civil rights without performing civil duties or to distort certain civil rights in such a way that they become unrestrained "absolute freedoms." As for CCP members and party cadres, their greatest right and duty is to have a higher degree of self-consciousness than the masses when it comes to protecting the interests of the people and sacrificing personal interests.

Third, as far as legal status is concerned, leaders are also equal with the masses. This is because our country's law was formulated by the whole body of people themselves and embodies the determination of the people to protect their own interests. Every man is equal before the law. Nobody has any right or reason to violate the law without being punished as he deserves. CCP members and party cadres are not "special citizens." They can only be models of abiding by state law. Criminal cadres who are corrupt and dishonest, speculate, offer and accept bribes, smuggle and well contraband, and who appropriate vast quantities of public property for private use, especially those who usurp important positions, must be severely punished according to law.

Fourth, as far as social status is concerned, leaders are also equal with the masses. This is because communist morality basically denies such class concepts as so-called "noble or lowly," "superior or inferior," "high-grade or low-grade" and "upper class or lower class." It only recognizes the elimination of classes, joint labor organized on the basis of eliminating classes and the social division of labor suited to this kind of labor. This is to say that it only recognizes the relationship of equality among men in this sense. Consequently, one of its basic requirements is that, in all aspects of social life, we respect the labor of everyone, respect the dignity of everyone and treat everyone as an equal. Nobody has any right or reason to consider himself a cut above the rest and to belittle others and in order to uphold his own "dignity." CCP members and party cadres also fall into the category of laboring people. No matter what office they might assume and no matter how high the office might be, they should, in the capacity of ordinary laborers, relate to the broad masses by laboring as equals.

However, not everyone has a clear understanding of this relationship of equality between the leadership and the masses. Owing to the fact that our society has only just emerged from the semifeudal, semicolonial old society, the ideology of the exploiter class and the old concept of class is still subtly eroding people's minds. This, together with the fact that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques created much confusion surrounding this question during the "Great Cultural Revolution," has caused the role of power to get to the point in some people's heads where it has been transformed into a distorted concept: apparently, power is not conferred by the people; apparently, once power is in their hands, they are a cut above the rest; apparently, the masses are the mere appendages of power. Some people, although they verbally admit that leaders and the masses are equal, in fact regard the masses as merely the negative, passive instruments of the leaders' desire. Some even abuse their power, turning power into "privilege," oppressing the masses, or harming the interests of the state, and seek to make private profits for the individual or for a small clique. Under these circumstances, how can they truly, and not merely verbally, give conscious support and protection to the principle of the masses being masters of their own future?

Indeed, under socialist conditions and with our party in a position of power, our party members and cadres, especially those who have assumed responsibilities and duties, have taken upon themselves an important responsibility in social life. Under the unified leadership of the party, they are responsible for organizing and guiding the economic, political and cultural life of the whole society, and for guiding and leading the masses in their implementation of various party and state policies, principles and plans. At first sight, this "position" seems to take them above the masses. However, this is not the nature of things.

Comrade Chen Yun said: "The role of the individual is undeniable, but a person must not overrate himself. Anyone who has divorced himself from the people and the party is incapable of doing anything. This is how a person should think." This is an extremely profound and earnest comment. From

this we can correctly understand the truth about the relationship between the leadership and the masses.

Why did Chen Yun say what he did? First, where does a leader's power come from? It can only derive from the masses. The power wielded by leaders as representatives of the masses merely implies a political responsibility of serving the people and of being responsible for the people and an obligation to discharge this responsibility. On no account should they say that their position is "higher" than that of the masses. Only when the leaders use the power conferred by the masses wholly for the purpose of serving the people and of organizing and supporting the principle of the masses being masters of their own future, can this power truly embody its original essence and bring its strength into play. On the other hand, if they abandon the corresponding responsibilities and obligations, this power will degenerate into a source of disaster and will lead them, whether consciously or not, onto the path of abuse of power and crimes against the people, and they will be punished accordingly. Second, where do the leaders' correct ideology, viewpoints, plans and schemes come from? They can only come from the practical experience of the people and from relying on the practical experience of the people for replenishment and development. The collective wisdom and experience displayed by the masses in the course of their practice tower above that of anyone else. All the leaders do is to do their own work in the process of recognizing and implementing truth by "taking it from the masses and concentrating it, and then going to the masses, persevering in it, and carrying it through." Third, supposing the leaders do a bit of work and do it quite well, how should we assess this labor? First, the leaders must have done work to meet the needs of the revolution, the situation and the masses. In order for the leaders to have done this, they must have relied on the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies and on the practice of the broad masses obtained under the guidance of the correct line, principles and policies.

What conclusion can we draw from this? The conclusion that, under socialist conditions, our party members and cadres, especially those who have assumed responsibilities and duties, do not and cannot hold "positions" that place them above the masses. It is only by respecting the masses, believing in the masses, relying on the masses and treating the masses as equals, that we can fully arouse the sense of responsibility for making the masses masters of their own future and bring into play their initiative for building a new socialist life. It is precisely because of this that we say that, in handling the relationship between leaders and the masses, an important prerequisite to cementing the ties between the leaders and masses is to adhere to and implement the principle of equality.

## II

Under conditions of socialism the masses are the true masters of the state and society. Our party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, are not only equal with the people in terms of position but are also the people's public servants. This view was put forth by Marx in his summary of the experiences of the Paris Commune.

Why should we compare leaders with public servants? Or to put it another way, what is the essence of Marx' comparison. The crux of the matter lies in the basic distinction between leaders under conditions of a proletarian dictatorship and rulers under all other previous exploiting systems. Rulers under exploiting systems are always the exploiters and oppressors of the masses. They ride roughshod over the interests of the masses, doing whatever they please, and cruelly oppress the ordinary people. Leaders under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, are the people's servants. They must unconditionally serve the people, and must hold themselves responsible to the people. Firmly upholding and implementing the principle that the people should be masters of their own affairs, they must make the fundamental interests of the people the foundation of their own words and deeds.

As public servants they must first of all acknowledge the people's position as masters and must consciously place themselves in the position of the people's servants. People who equate responsibility with social status, believing that the heavier the responsibility the higher the social status, are not public servants. They take delight in issuing orders and commands and are no more than power-hungry office seekers. Leaders who use their authority for personal ends, enriching themselves at the expense of the public and embezzling large amounts of state property, should be seen as out-and-out "worms" rather than public servants. Our party's principal aim is to serve the people wholeheartedly. The true qualities of the people's public servant can only be displayed in the spirit of working selflessly, diligently and tirelessly to serve the people. This is what a line from one of Dong Biwu's poems calls "ashamed of office yet eager to serve." The older generation of our party's proletarian revolutionaries are the true practitioners of the sentiment expressed in this line. It is therefore entirely natural that they should be respected and cherished by the people. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, leading comrades of the Central Committee have improved the work style of other leading cadres and have set an example by establishing close ties with the masses. Each of us should take the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries as our model, working diligently to revive and develop the fine traditions of our party.

The most basic demand placed on the people's public servants is that they must represent the interests of the masses as a whole. When we say the masses we do not mean a single individual, several people or even a group of people. We are referring to the whole nation's masses in the broadest sense possible. Is there no need to represent minority interests? Provided that such interests are legitimate they should, of course, be represented. These legitimate minority interests, however, must satisfy the precondition of being in accord with the interests of the masses as a whole. It is incorrect to one-sidedly pursue the interests of an individual, several people or a group and to deviate from the interests of the masses as a whole. The political responsibility of the leaders should derive from the basic interests of the nation's people. They must resolutely uphold principle and do a good job of their work. They must criticize, educate and assist backward elements of the people whose views are incorrect. They should under no circumstances allow such views to go unchecked.



Leading comrades in the Central Committee have recently criticized the mistaken departmentalism of people who fail to adopt an overall view of the situation and are unable to act in the interests of the overall situation. While comrades who make this mistake may wave the banner of representing the interests of the masses, they either refuse to implement or deliberately delay carrying out the plans and decisions that were formulated by higher levels on the basis of the fundamental interests of the nation's people. There are other comrades who are clearly involved in various unhealthy practices but who can talk plausibly and at length about their activities, saying, "Anything is reasonable as long as it is for the 'collective'!" and "No expense should be spared for the good of 'all.'" Using excuses such as these, they cheat the state of goods and materials, embezzle state funds, divert profits from state enterprises, and arbitrarily issue rewards and bonuses. Does this represent the interests of the masses? It does not! It represents the backward mentality of a small segment of the masses, a mentality which seeks to fleece the state and damage the interests of the masses as a whole. It is imperative that our comrades keep a clear head and firmly uphold the principle of taking the interests of the state, the collective and the laborers into account. While we should not be insensitive to or ignore the partial and local interests of our own unit or department, it is more important that we should never damage the overall interests of the nation's people in order to satisfy the partial and local interests of a minority. While we must not turn a deaf ear to the opinions, suggestions and demands of the masses, they should be subjected to analysis and should not be accepted indiscriminately.

What conclusion can we draw from all this? The conclusion we draw is that, under conditions of socialism, our party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, must be--and can only be--the people's public servants. As public servants the basic political responsibility of leaders consists of serving the people unconditionally, holding themselves responsible to the people at all times, proceeding from both the partial and overall interests of the masses, and uniting long- and short-term interests. Only when leaders have succeeded in discharging this responsibility will they be able to earn the support of the masses or to strengthen their ties with the masses. It is for this reason that the crux of the question of intimate ties between the leaders and masses lies in upholding and implementing the principle that all words and deeds should be based on the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people.

### III

Our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class. The basic ranks of the masses are composed of the Chinese working class, their allies, and the broad masses of the Chinese people, including workers, peasants, intellectuals and all other patriotic supporters of socialism. An important aspect of the relationship between the leaders and the masses is the relationship between this vanguard and the basic ranks of the masses. Every one of our party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, must correctly understand and handle this relationship.

We must never forget one of the basic principles of Marxism, which is that the complete liberation of the people can never depend on any "spirit, emperor or savior," but must depend solely on the liberation struggle of the people themselves. The fruits of this struggle, moreover, can never be won or bestowed by any single individual, small group or political clique, no matter how outstanding certain individuals might be. This also holds true for our party. The line, principles and policies of our party will play a significant role only when they represent the highest interests of the broad masses of people, when they are both understood and supported by the masses, and when they have been converted into conscious organization and struggle for the protection of the people's own interests. The broad masses of the people should provide the foundation for the leadership of this vanguard. The vanguard must never separate itself from the basic ranks of the masses, for such separation will leave them isolated and alone, causing untold damage to the revolutionary cause. The whole history of our country's revolutionary cause has proved this to be true.

At the same time, we must not forget another of the basic principles of Marxism: the workers' movement is incapable of spontaneously creating or achieving Marxism. For this reason Marxism must be infused into the workers' movement from without. If the broad masses of people are to become more than a disorganized mass, if they are to avoid defeat and rise up to seize victory for themselves, and if they are to endure the long and tortuous path and reach their goal of final liberation, they must have their own vanguard to unite, guide and lead them in their struggle. As such a vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party has as its most fundamental political responsibility the need to imbue the Chinese masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only when the masses have been armed with this advanced scientific ideological system can they be organized to form a vast and mighty revolutionary army. The vanguard is a guide and leader and must never forget for a single moment the need to carry out this most important political responsibility. Otherwise, it will be impossible to unite, lead and guide the masses to achieve victory for the revolutionary cause. The truth of this has been amply proved by the whole history of our country's revolutionary cause.

We should at this point pay close attention to an important historical experience. This is that our party's discharging of this political responsibility has never depended solely on propaganda and teaching but has also depended on the actual actions of our party members and cadres. The exemplary and leadership roles played by our party members and cadres and the fact that their actions have always matched their promises, are the clearest and most unmistakable expression of our party's nature, aims and propositions; they are also the most accurate and reliable evidence of our party's success in winning the trust and support of the broad masses of people. The broad masses of party members and cadres must soberly acknowledge that because our party is now in power our function as a model is of particularly great significance. If we should abdicate our political responsibility, be undisciplined in ideological and political work, and show ourselves to be incapable of carrying out a resolute struggle against erroneous ideology and unhealthy trends, we will certainly find ourselves

cut off from the masses. If we say things only because they sound nice and are incapable of either playing a model role or of sharing the comforts and hardships of the masses we will also certainly cut ourselves off from the masses. It can be said with even greater certainty that if we embark upon the road of degeneration and corruption we will be cast aside by the people. Should any of the circumstances mentioned above ever arise, the party's reputation will suffer serious damage, and the people's trust in the party will be seriously weakened, causing great damage to the party's and the people's revolutionary cause.

As embodiments of the leadership of the party, all our party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, must be firm and clearheaded. As Marxists they must use the communist ideological system as the norm for all their words and actions and must always preserve the purity of communism. The standards we impose on the vanguard can never be allowed to drop. We should pay close attention to the fact that there has been a tendency recently among party members and cadres to allow the standards of the vanguard to drop to the level of those of the ordinary masses.

Some comrades have adopted a negative, uncaring and irresponsible attitude toward the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. This is a spiritual state of liberalism. We are now in a period of great change and development, a period of transition from chaos to order and from poverty to wealth, and we are faced with many difficulties, contradictions and problems. Because of the multifaceted nature and complexity of objective events and the differences in people's experiences, consciousness, position and approach to questions, it is entirely normal that people should have different views on these problems, contradictions and questions, and that there should be differences of opinion. We should not be surprised by the fact that the masses occasionally complain or make cynical remarks about certain difficulties, contradictions or problems. It is the responsibility of our leaders to try and discover where shortcomings and weaknesses in our work lie and to swiftly correct them. In the case of practical difficulties which cannot be completely solved for the time being, the masses will be very understanding so long as the leaders set an example, share their hardships and offer appropriate explanations and guidance. However, there are certain comrades who do not act in this way. Faced with difficulties or contradictions, some are negative and uncaring, others refuse to accept responsibility and are content to just muddle through. There are still others who pose as "ordinary folk," and who do nothing but complain and grumble, blaming everyone but themselves for the problem.

All party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, must fully appreciate the political responsibility they have as members of the vanguard. Only when we have given full play to our exemplary role, placing progress and hardship before retreat and luxury, and fighting courageously for the good of all, will we be able to unite, guide and lead the masses. The strength, revolutionary will and revolutionary zeal of the broad masses of people, their collective wisdom and creative ability, and their enthusiasm and initiative can only find full expression and development

under the unity, guidance and leadership of the vanguard. Under socialist conditions, the organization and support of the people in their struggle to be the masters of their own affairs is a concentrated expression of the flesh-and-blood ties that exist between the masses of people and the vanguard.

What conclusions can we draw from all this? Under conditions of socialism, our party members and cadres, especially those in positions of responsibility, must make full use of their exemplary role to unite, influence and guide the masses. Only if we live up to our promises, set an example and lead the way, will we be able to win the trust and support of the masses and lead the broad masses of people in their struggle to reach the lofty goal of socialist modernization. It is precisely because of this that in handling the relationship between leaders and the masses, an important prerequisite to cementing the ties between the leaders and the masses is to uphold the principle that leaders should set an example.

#### IV

Under the conditions of socialism, in order to enforce the party's leadership, the vast number of our party members and cadres, especially those party members and cadres who hold office, are responsible for the important task of educating the masses. We must stick to the key link of ideological education--educating the masses and doing our best to help the masses understand and accept Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. But, at the same time, we also have to fulfill our obligation in unremittingly receiving education from the masses of people.

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly reminded us of this principle. He said, "Only by learning from the masses first can we teach them in turn." Why did he say this? Because since the masses of the people are the masters and our leaders are public servants, the masters naturally have the right to supervise and examine the work of their own "public servants," to find out whether the latter have followed their will and represented their interests; since the leaders are vanguards, their function as vanguards in uniting with and leading the masses of people can only be improved, perfected and developed by constantly learning from the experiences of the collective practices of the masses of people and subjecting themselves to their supervision. The epistemology of Marxism tells us that knowledge can only come from practice; and this practice is not in the isolated activities of any individual, but the struggle carried out by the masses to transform the world and society. During this struggle, leaders can only obtain a certain one-sided knowledge from their own vantage point. Therefore, their knowledge is inevitably rather limited compared with the overall practice of the masses. In order to break through this limitation and provide correct leadership, the leaders have to subject themselves to the supervision of the masses of people. They should humbly learn from the masses, take lessons from the masses' practice, or more to the point, accept education from the masses of people.

We must understand that receiving education from the masses is of special significance in strengthening the relationship between the leadership and the masses.

First, only by holding to the stand of the people and to truth can a leader educate and lead the people. Learning from the masses and following their direction is the basis for a leader's understanding. For this reason, receiving education by the masses of people is, in a certain sense, the prerequisite for a leader to educate in turn the broad masses of people and exercise his leadership.

Second, what we have mentioned above--that we must respect the masses of people, that we must proceed in all cases from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people, that we must set ourselves as the examples for the masses, that we must follow the direction of the masses' practice, and so on--all these things are naturally the basic requirements for being a leader. However, to fulfill or to observe these basic requirements, a leader not only needs to rely upon his self-consciousness but also to subject himself to a binding force, so as to examine himself, find out and correct at any time all his tendencies, malpractices and mistakes which go against or deviate from these basic requirements. In a word, this binding force comes from the masses' supervision or the education by them.

Third, according to the constitution and the law, the masses of people, being the masters of the state and the society, enjoy various rights under the socialist conditions. These rights include discussion, suggestion, inspection, criticism, accusation, exposition, complaint, interrogation, election, impeachment, recall, and so on. The masses of people can exercise their right of supervision of their leaders through various agents such as the people's congresses, the CPPCC, congresses of representatives of staff and workers (or peasants), federations of trade unions, peasant associations, women's federations, youth federations and other social organizations, and various channels such as newspapers, publications, broadcasting stations and so on. With such an extensive social supervision which is exercised by the whole people, and which covers all aspects of society and penetrates to all walks of life, a strong and enduring public opinion can be formed. It will play an important part in developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system. Of course, such an education by the masses of people can by no means easily perform its function. It calls for a great deal of arduous effort. And in particular, some systems have to be reformed and some necessary decrees must be promulgated, so that those rights of the masses of people can be safeguarded, in terms of system and law, against violation.

What conclusion can we draw from this? It is that leaders must learn from the broad masses of people and place themselves under the supervision and education of the masses. Only by fully relying on the masses' supervision and education can we give better play to the masses' role of being masters of their own houses and more effectively prevent the leaders from transforming themselves from the people's servants into the people's masters. And only by so doing, can the leaders correct shortcomings and mistakes in their work as soon as they occur and better perform their political duties. It is because of this that we say that upholding the principle of the masses' supervision and education in handling the relationship between the leaders and the masses is a guarantee for bringing closer the relationship between them.

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In light of the four aspects mentioned above, we can see that, under socialist conditions, a main trend still runs through the relationship between the leaders and the masses--the broad masses of people are masters of their own houses. The principles of democracy which must be upheld in the relationship between the leaders and the masses are the principle of equality, the principle that the leaders take the fundamental interest of the masses as the standpoint and starting point of their own words and deeds, the principle that leaders set good examples for the masses, and the principle that the leaders place themselves under the supervision and education of the masses. Our country's socialist practice over the past 30 years and more has already proved that whenever we have a more explicit understanding of this question and whenever we pay more attention to this question in our actual practice, there will be development in the relationship between the leaders and the masses. It has also been proved that whenever we have a vague understanding of this question and neglect this question in our actual practice, the leaders will be isolated and divorced from the masses.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Central Committee has attached great importance to protecting the masses' right to be masters of their own houses and has paid much attention to standardizing, systematizing and legalizing the democratic relations between the leaders and the masses. Consequently, the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and the "Regulations on Wages and Benefits of High-Ranking Cadres" have been formulated, the party's discipline inspection commissions at all levels have been established, and the scope of direct election has been expanded, which strengthens the power of the people's congresses and their standing committees and promotes the position of the CPPCC and other mass organizations in the life of the state. At the same time, the constitution of the PRC is being revised and the draft has already been submitted for discussion to people throughout the country. Recently, the reform in the state's leadership system has been gradually pushed forward, which includes streamlining the government structure, conducting rotational training for cadres, implementing the retirement system for old cadres, promoting cadres who are in their prime of life and who have both ability and integrity to leading posts at all levels, and other important measures. All this is fundamentally integrating the flesh and blood relations between the leaders and the masses, ensuring that the broad masses of our cadres, the party's cadres and primarily the leading cadres will not be transformed, and providing a guarantee for our party's and state's unchangeable and far-reaching strategic measures. In light of all this, we see a prosperous future: there is a practical guarantee for realizing a fundamental change for the better in the party work style and a fundamental improvement in the relationship between our party's leadership and the masses.

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COMMUNISTS SHOULD NEVER 'RETIRE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 27-28

[Article by Wang Guangmei]

[Text] It is a matter of far-reaching strategic significance to build up a contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger leading cadres.

Our veteran revolutionaries and comrades have made many important contributions to the revolutionary cause and the construction of our motherland. Today, under the new circumstances, the party and the people require us to make new contributions and fulfill the glorious task that history has entrusted to us, that is, to do a good job in handing over our work to reliable successors, to young and middle-aged comrades who truly support the party's line, policies and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

Either in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, great leaders usually manifested their remarkable talent when they were very young. Many of our old comrades were regiment commanders, county CCP committee secretaries or leaders of worker, peasant and student movements when they were about 20. Comrade Deng Xiaoping was secretary general of the CCP Central Committee when he was only 23. Led by the party, some minority nationality comrades also did outstanding jobs for the revolution and became good leaders when they were young. Are there not talented young comrades at present? Actually, there are many among the 1 billion people. It is true that owing to the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, our work of training and selecting young and middle-aged cadres has been delayed. But during more than 10 years of upheaval, they were also tempered. They were brought up in the complicated circumstances and struggles and have become mature. We must make every effort to foster the growth of these young and middle-aged cadres, boldly promote them to important posts and support their work. We must pass on experiences and set an example to bring them up. I am convinced that our young cadres will certainly be worthy successors.

Relief from duty is a normal process. It is an important matter concerning the destiny and future of our country. All party members, cadres and people

are showing great concern for it. So, no matter what difficulties we may encounter, we must carry out this work well. In the past, we followed a roundabout road in this respect and caused the country and people to suffer a lot. We must draw a lesson from this. Under the leadership of the party, we must continue to adhere to the mass line, select and appoint talented people and hand the power over to reliable successors.

Being prompted by a strong sense of responsibility toward the people, we joined in the revolution dozens of years ago. We all made the pledge on being admitted to the party: for the cause of communism, we will not hesitate to sacrifice our all, including our lives. Now the development of our party's cause confronts us with another severe test. It is also an opportunity for us to make new contributions to the party. I am convinced that our veteran cadres will certainly do a good job in handing over their work to the next generation and thus add a new page to the record of meritorious service compiled by the people.

In comparison with many old comrades, I am a party member of shorter standing and have made fewer contributions. But I am already 60. Like many other comrades, I was deprived of the right to work for the people during my most capable years. How we thirsted for work at that time! However, soon afterward we regained the right to work, and now that we are working energetically, we have become old and it is time for us to hand over the work. I do not think that young and middle-aged comrades could understand what we are feeling now. It is extremely painful that the law of nature has made us unable to make up for lost time. So far as bitter experiences in the "Great Cultural Revolution" are concerned, we should say that our veteran cadres are those who were most seriously harmed during that period of time and have lost the most precious time, that of their prime years. Since we have experienced such pain, we should be more willing to hand over our work to the younger generation and do our best to help them do a good job. In this way we can make up for their own losses during the 10-odd years while fulfilling our unfinished tasks to make up for the losses suffered by the party and state, and they will not suffer the pain that we suffered. This naturally requires a lofty sentiment, a broad vision and a strong sense of responsibility toward revolution.

To one who makes revolution all one's life, it is very painful to leave one's present post. What shall we do after we leave our posts? This reminds me of a past event. In 1952, Comrade Liu Shaoqi and I paid a visit to a subtropical botanical garden in Sochi in the Soviet Union. The cadre in charge of the botanical garden, who accompanied us on the visit, was an old Bolshevik. He was a retired Red Army man who had rendered outstanding service. After retirement he volunteered to work in the botanical garden. Comrade Liu Shaoqi expressed admiration for his deeds and said: "Being a revolutionary who makes revolution all this life, it is very painful to completely retire and convalesce without continuing to do anything for the revolution and without spiritual sustenance. If my physical condition and energies fail me in doing my present work, I would like to work as a teacher of party history or philosophy. If I am not able to teach, I would like to go with you to a tree farm! Then we shall work together to select



seeds, raise seedlings and spread fertilizer on the soil...." Comrade Liu Shaoqi was only 54 then. But for reasons known to all, he was unable to realize his ideals.

Now the important task of handing over our work to the younger generation has fallen on our shoulders. If we really understand the importance of this strategic policy decision of the CCP Central Committee, we are sure to do the job well. There are still a lot of jobs for us to do after retirement! We can work as voluntary after-school advisers for students, do some reading and sum up our experiences, or work as tree farm workers. How nice it will be to keep ourselves busy all the time! No matter what jobs we are going to do, if we work as advisers on the second and third lines or even if we do not hold any post, we are revolutionaries and workers at all times. It is our lifelong task to "select seeds, grow seedlings... and take an active interest in the growth of trees." We must fight for the cause of communism as long as we have a breath. Communists should never "retire"!

The present situation is good. But there are still many difficulties, and our conditions are very complicated. The greatest disaster the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques brought to us is disrupting our unity, the unity between the party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses and between the army and the people, as well as the unity of the cadres, the unity of the masses and the unity of all nationalities. Therefore, we must strengthen our unity under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and overcome all difficulties step by step to make our socialist motherland a powerful and prosperous country so that the great cause pioneered by the revolutionaries of the older generation can be carried on from generation to generation, and the hard-won great achievements of countless revolutionary martyrs and fighters can be passed on to posterity!

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## THE USE AND PROSPECTS OF STRUCTURAL CHEMISTRY

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[Article by Lu Jiayi [4151 0857 6932]]

[Text] Synopsis: This article expounds on the history, scientific features and prospects of structural chemistry and points out that this science plays an important role in our modernization program and that it can provide a theoretical basis for seeking new materials, new technology and new processes in promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production as well as national defense construction; it also puts forth some views about the guiding principles in developing sciences.

The task of structural chemistry is to study, at the level of atoms and molecules, the mutual relationship between the microscopic structure (including the forms of combination, space structure and the mode of electron movement) and the macroscopic structure of chemical substances. Structural chemistry is an important specialized branch of modern science. This article is intended to probe into the guiding principles for the development of structural chemistry in our country from the three aspects of recalling the history of structural chemistry, expounding on the role of structural chemistry in the development and production of chemistry, and expounding on the prospects of structural chemistry.

### I. Brief History of Structural Chemistry

Mankind is in a position to make use of and transform the substances that exist in nature and produce new products with many different features to meet the needs of social production and livelihood and the development of scientific technology. In this process, chemistry has emerged and developed. Europe began to enter the era of bourgeois revolution in the 17th century. Because of the needs for the development of capitalist production, chemistry has like other sciences accumulated very rich experimental materials. On this basis and through protracted and repeated discussions, various theories have been put forth one after another. Among these theories are the theory of element by R. Boyle, atomic and molecular

theory by J. Dalton and A. Ayogadro and the periodic law of element by D. E. Mendeleev, and these theories have correctly answered the questions about the smallest particles of chemical substances and their composition. These achievements show us that all chemical substances are composed of atoms of known elements that cannot be separated again by any chemical reaction. When atoms are being formed into substances, eventually there exist the unity and coherence of one "molecule"; in addition, there also exists a certain coordinated relationship among the atoms of a molecule while a chemical reaction is nothing more than a movement process in which a new combination of atoms of the original molecule or several molecules is brought about or a new formation of one or more molecules results. Basically speaking, many products needed by mankind can be obtained through chemical changes by making use of natural and artificial raw materials. Thus, with such a viewpoint, people have been able to correctly explain many chemical changes, systematically sum up a large amount of chemical reference materials that have been accumulated in the past and, as a result, chemistry has become an independent science that has been able to display its important guiding role in the chemical industry and in the production of materials.

The above-mentioned theories successfully solved the problems of the composition of chemical substances. But certain properties of substances are determined not only by their composition but also by their inner structures. People noticed long ago that in nature there exists the three distinctive physical substances of diamonds, graphites and amorphous carbons, and yet these three are made up of simple structural carbon that is composed of carbon atoms. In the mid-19th century, examples of such isomeric molecules emerged one after another in the process of studying chemical compounds and particularly organic substances. As the conditions for experiments were still limited at that time, the method of analytic reasoning was used to determine the possible existence of chemical structural forms (including different fixed stereo structural forms) and explain all objective phenomena of isomerisms. In 1861, A. M. Butlerov definitely put forth the theory of molecular structure. He pointed out that the chemical properties of a substance are determined by the chemical structure of this substance and that by studying chemical properties it is possible to determine chemical structure; conversely, chemical properties can be predicted on the basis of understanding chemical structure. In 1857, F. A. Kekule pointed out that carbon has four valences while carbon atoms may be combined with other carbon atoms to form carbon chains; in 1865, he put forth the concept of the annular structure of benzene. In 1874, J. H. van't Hoff and J. A. le Bel respectively put forth the theory that the four valences and bonds point in the direction of the top of a square, and as a result they successfully explained the phenomenon of optical rotational isomerism of some organisms. Thus, based on such concepts, the classical theory of the structure of organic chemistry was established, and this theory has played an important role in the development of organic chemistry and the organic chemical industry. In 1893, A. Werner put forth the theory of the coordination of the complex compound of metal elements, and he expounded his views on the chemical structures of inorganic complex compounds and on the stereo isomerism of such compounds to promote the development of complex compound chemistry.

But it was not until early in this century that modern physics discovered that atoms are composed of atomic molecules and electrons, and only following the emergence of the theories of the atom and the molecule was it possible that this development could directly be used as an experimental basis and theoretical method in studying the microscopic structure of chemical substances. On the one hand, progress has been made in physical experimental technology and on the basis of different effects of the interaction between substances and detecting measures such as light, electricity and magnetism, many experimental measures have been adopted for determining molecular structure and for providing data on understanding electron movements, and all these have provided good conditions for studying molecular structure and the relationship between structure and property. On the other hand, the theory of quantum physics, which emerged in the 1920's, can be used to probe into the law of the movement of microscopic particles. Starting with the most simple structure of hydrogen molecules, quantum physics has been successfully used in explaining the law of the movement of electrons within molecules and the nature of the chemical activity of combining atoms into molecules that represents chemical bonds. Consequently, there has emerged quantum chemistry that serves as a powerful theory for the study of various properties that depend on the law of atomic movement. Following decades of hard work, various basic problems such as how to combine the power of various different types of atomic substructures such as valences and bonds, ionic bonds and metallic bonds and the experimental results of applied force on molecules have been incorrectly expounded to a great extent. As a result, the various theories of quantum chemistry such as the theory of valence and bond, the theory of molecular tracks and the theory of coordination ground have been established and developed. Experimental technology and theoretical method affect and promote each other, and this situation has resulted in modern structural chemistry developing into a new stage.

## II. The Role of Structural Chemistry in Chemical Development and Production

The establishment and development of structural chemistry has played a big promoting and guiding role in expanding the structural features of chemical substances and their relationships with properties, in promoting the development of chemical sciences and in effectively probing into new ways for synthesizing new products with particular properties. There are countless examples in this aspect.

Following the establishment of the theory of benzene annular structure, aromatic organic chemistry has made tremendous development since the 1860's. Aromatic organic chemistry has played a guiding role in comprehensively using coal tar and in producing various dyestuffs, drugs, essences and explosives.

The three prevalent molecular industries of plastics, synthetic fiber and synthetic rubber have a close relationship with people's livelihood, industrial and agricultural production, and the national defense industry. Due to achievements in the study of the mutual relationship between complex molecular structures and their properties, the complex molecular industry

has been developing vigorously. For example, it was pointed out as early as in the 1920's that natural rubber and natural fibers are not simple annular polymers but complex chain polymers. People have correctly understood that the requirement for natural rubber complex polymer is very strict, and as a result there emerged a concept of stereoregular polymer that made it possible to produce "synthetic rubber."

Since the beginning of this century, the use of such experimenting methods as X-ray diffraction technology has resulted in defining a great number of inorganic ionic compounds, including structural statistics of many series of natural ore crystals. From this development, L. Pauling summed up the principles of ionic compounds to successfully explain the relationship between the chemical composition of silicate and its structure. In addition, we also know that new technical crystalline materials constitute an important material condition for developing many sophisticated technologies. It would not have been successful in seeking working substances (most are inorganic compound crystals) such as laser and electric light if there were no rich statistics about the structure of inorganic crystals.

Under the theoretical guidance of the structure of organic chemistry and by using chemical methods and X-ray diffraction technology or a combination of these two, the molecular structures of many complicated natural organisms and antibiotic drugs (such as penicillin and aureomycin) have been delineated. This achievement has not only provided pharmacologists with a technical foundation for atomic-molecular level in expanding pharmacology but has also formed a reliable base for synthesizing such drugs to expand medical resources. Herbal medicine is a valuable heritage of the medical sciences of our country. Over the past few years, our structural chemical workers have studied and analyzed how to extract information on chemical structure and space structure for Chinese herbal medicines. The research articles on this study show the mutual relationship between structural features and pharmacology. For example, the defining of an effective anti-malaria drug essence of artemisia apiacea and the three kinds of crystalline structures of its derivatives prove that the effectiveness of the drug is related only to two kinds of peroxide radicals and some other particular structures. Work is being done to determine the crystal structure of the protein base of the roots of Chinese trichosanthes. Initial achievements in this study have drawn the attention of foreign countries. Clinical tests prove that the roots are highly effective in gestation during the mid-pregnancy period, and it can also be used in treating such diseases as ectopic pregnancy and vesicular moles. It can be predicted that as long as we are able to work hard and accumulate experiences and to closely cooperate with pharmacologists, the ancient Chinese herbal medicinal treasure of our country will no doubt make great contributions to the medical and health cause of our country and the health of our people.

The research which has led to the successful synthesizing of some new structural compounds has not only pointed out the way for the further development of structural chemistry but will also be able to meet needs in the development of scientific technology. For example, in the 1950's, W. N. Lipscomb correctly expounded the "three central bonds" of the borichydrogen

compound to make outstanding contributions to the development of this compound. A complex borichydrogen compound that can be used as a highly efficient fuel has at last been synthesized.

The role of quantum chemistry is very apparent in explaining those properties that are related with the law of electron movement within molecules as well as in synthesizing new compounds. N. Bartlett investigated chemical bonds and their function, and in 1962 he successfully synthesized the first historically significant "inert element compound"--the fluoride platinum acid, xenon, which shattered the longstanding view that inert elements could not produce chemical compounds and consequently he opened up a new area of study known as "inert element chemistry."

The molecular structure of vitamin B-12 is very complex because it has 512 possible isomerisms. In the process of synthesizing B-12, R. B. Woodward resorted to his rich practical experience that he had accumulated in the process of synthesizing complex compounds such as bioalkali. In synthesizing such compounds he summed up the reasons for his failures, found out the mechanism for achieving such a reaction, and effectively controlled the stereo structure of substances during the reaction. Consequently, he synthesized the vitamin. During this process, he also had some ideas about the symmetry conservation of molecular tracks. Later, R. M. Hoffmann carried out analysis and study on the basis of quantum chemical theory, and consequently he put forth the famous Woodward-Hoffmann symmetry conservation law of molecular tracks. As a result, quantum chemistry moved into the study of chemical reaction. The symmetry conservation law of molecular tracks has displayed and will continue to display its important role in studying stereo regular reaction and in synthesizing complex compounds such as bioalkali and drugs.

Biology made no progress for quite a long period in the past, and it remained at a level of carrying out submicroscopic studies with the use of microscopes. Following the research on carbohydrates, proteins and nucleic acids and particularly over the past two to three decades, the introduction of X-ray diffraction in coordination with the chemical method has made it possible to directly determine the molecular space structure of cells and consequently there has emerged molecular biology and quantum biology. For example, the structure of more than 20 kinds of major amino acids (the basic units of protein) and nearly 10 kinds of simple peptide bonds (composed of several amino acids) was determined early this century. On this basis, L. Pauling and R. B. Corey put forth two basic principles about the structure of amino peptide bonds. Using these two principles, L. Pauling pointed out in 1950 that protein has two kinds of helix structures: the alpha helix structure and the beta helix structure. It was proven later that the alpha helix structure is an important form of the second-grade structure of protein. Then, J. D. Watson and F. H. C. Crick developed the model of double spiral structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), which is the important genetic material base, and this achievement has played an important role in molecular genetics. The activities of analyzing the crystalline structure of protein that began with whale muscle red protein [jing ji hong danbai 7650 5133 4767 5751 4101] and horse blood red protein

[ma xue hong danbai 7456 5877 4767 5751 4101] are still very active today. In 1965, our scientific workers succeeded in completely synthesizing bovine insulin with the chemical method. It was the first time that this method was used in producing artificial bovine insulin. Recently, they have synthesized ferment ammonia acid-turned-ribonucleic acid that is able to catalyze the biological activity of propionic ammonia acid and this achievement showed that our country continues to be in the forefront in this field. We have also made brilliant achievements in determining the structure of swine insulin. The accumulation of all this synthesizing work as well as the work in determining structure have provided a foundation for studying, on the basis of the atomic-molecular level, such phenomena as muscular contractions, nerves, photosynthesis and genetics.

Nitride is a very important raw material for such products as nitrogen fertilizer and explosives that are very important for industry, agriculture and national defense. But the nitrogen that abundantly exists in the atmosphere is far from active and, at present, it is only under the condition of high temperature and high pressure that it can be fixed and turned into chemical compounds which can be used. Interestingly enough, there exist in nature some microbes such as the root nodule bacteria of leguminous plants that can achieve nitrogen fixation under normal temperature and pressure. Following the synthesization of the first molecular nitrogen complex compound under normal temperature and pressure in 1965, there appeared a worldwide fervor for studying nitrogen fixation through chemical simulation biology to open up a new frontier for science--chemical bionics. Since 1971, our country has organized the scientific strength from various sectors to carry out enormous work from different angles. According to theoretical study and deductive reasoning, we have put forth a series of views that complement each other about necessary structural conditions for the center of activity of nitrogen-fixing ferment as the biological catalyst for nitrogen fixation. Proceeding from complex compound structural chemistry of large metal atomic clusters and from the angle of catalyst, we analyzed the active conditions for the complex composition of nitrogen molecules. In 1973 and 1978 we put forth the "string bag" structural models--"Fuzhou model I" of molybdenum-iron-sulphur atomic cluster of the center of activity of the fermentation catalyst for fixing nitrogen, and these two "string bags" were formed back to back into the twin combination of "Fuzhou model II"--and analyzed various forms of the possible complex composition of applied substratum. At the same time, other scholars in our country proceeded from different viewpoints and put forth structural models of the similar active center of nitrogen-fixing fermentation. We also carried out activities to determine the stimuli of the above-mentioned models and the composition and structure of the related complex compounds of atomic clusters and to carry out experiments on acetylene, nitrogen and other applied substratum. We have made encouraging achievements in this aspect and we introduced them at international academic symposiums on nitrogen fixation over the past few years. Foreign scientists held that our scientists were forward looking when they were the first to put forth the view that the active center of nitrogen-fixing ferment has an atomic clustered structure. At present, a series of the results of this study have convinced scientists that there is a definite requirement for atomic clustered "string bag" in nitrogen fixation.

Since the establishment of the Nobel Prize in 1901, the prizes have been given to 98 chemists on 73 occasions, with an exception of 8 years because of certain reasons, of these, on 20 occasions to 28 chemists who made great contributions in structural chemistry. Some chemists have won the prizes in physics and biology. The former recipients included W. H. Bragg and his son W. L. Bragg who both made important contributions in introducing and developing the analytical method of the crystal line structural X-ray diffraction while among the latter were J. D. Watson and F. H. C. Crick, who introduced DNA double helix. Therefore, it can be seen that structural chemistry is becoming increasingly important in drawing more and more attention on the part of scientific and technical circles.

### III. The Prospects of Modern Structural Chemistry

The continuous development of modern physics (both in experiments and theory) and the timely use of newly emerging technology (computer technology and laser technology) have constantly provided new tools and new methods for the study of structural chemistry and enabled the handling of the recording and testing statistics of messages to become more and more automatic and higher and higher in speed and consequently, it is possible to make accurate determination and calculation of the crystal structure, molecular structure, molecular energy level and the distribution of the electron cloud that are becoming more and more complicated. For example, one to two decades ago people began to study the dynamic structure of the process of reaction and the microregional structure of the surface of solid substance; new development has been made in this study and it is expected that important progress will be made in the near future. Modern structural chemistry has developed into a new stage; it can systematically and precisely prove and grasp the methods and laws of atoms and atomic radicals in becoming chemical substances and of changes of inductive chemistry. Modern structural chemistry is also in a position, through such laws, to understand and determine the nature and properties of the dynamic and static state of substances. Structural chemistry is developing the whole of chemical science from classic and fixed sciences into modern and quantum sciences. The study of the interdependence and mutual conditioning between the properties of chemical structures and chemical reactions of classical chemistry has already developed into the research topic of exploring the mutual relationships between the "nonchemical" properties and the properties of microscopic structures and macroscopic chemistry of modern chemistry. Consequently, in the trend of its development, modern chemistry has the following features of developing from macroscopic to microscopic, from description to reasoning, from the air and crystal phase to the amorphous phase, liquid phase and liquid-crystal phase, from the body phase to the surface phase, from the properties of chemical reaction to various non-chemical properties, from the static state to the dynamic state, from constant proportion to inconstant proportion, and from stable to substable and even unstable. Chemistry has also developed into a new stage in breadth and depth. On the other hand, structural chemistry, solid state physics, material science, biology and pharmacology permeate each other and are intertwined, and these situations have promoted the development of these sciences. More and more branches of borderline science such as molecular



biology, chemical bionics and molecular design have been applied or are emerging and all these sciences have bright prospects.

In order to develop structural chemistry in our country, it is imperative to grasp well the features of this chemistry which is a basic science, to grasp the trend of its development and to resort to correct guiding principles. Of course, by solely studying and determining structure and without studying and developing synthesis means that we are setting up a retail department of structural analysis and consequently we will not be able to develop structural chemistry; if we study microscopic properties (chemical or nonchemical), then the basic study of microscopic structure would depart from the production and science of the macroscopic realm; if we merely study the mutual relationship between structure and property and neglect the molecular design of materials and reaction, we will remain in the stage of just understanding the objective world. This means that we are not working to change the objective world, and consequently we will not be able to realize the basic tasks of chemical science. We must understand the trend in the development of structural chemistry, and at the same time we must acquaint ourselves with the needs of our country in the near future and the features of our resources, strengthen weak links, fill in gaps, select major topics of study through which major developments or breakthroughs can be made by the end of this century, establish and develop modern study methods, closely combine and promote the study of structural and property synthesis and determination, and work hard to reach the great goal in which our structural chemistry enters the world's advanced level so as to make our contribution to the modernization program of our country.

Science is a productive force, but it is not a common and direct productive force; rather, it is an indirect productive force. Through science we will be able to bring happiness to the coming generations of our country as well as to the people throughout the world, to strengthen the competitiveness of our motherland in international affairs and step up our strength in defense of world peace. As a basic science, structural chemistry has developed and gradually matured through gradual accumulation and through the process of exchanges of experiences and contention among various academic branches. Therefore, we cannot demand that each subject of study must directly display its role in production. We must understand that when conditions are ripe and when the works of basic study make an important breakthrough, our study will certainly bring great basic changes to chemistry and to the related production departments. But it must be pointed out that we must not therefore neglect the use of the achievements we have made in structural chemistry so that we will be able to solve urgent problems in both national economic construction and the construction of national defense. Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out in his report to the 4th Plenary Session of the 5th NPC: "There are many branches of science and technology and they must serve various aspects. We can in no way weaken basic study. But the main purpose in the development of all science and technology is to serve economic construction and particularly to solve the key problems with major economic effects in the national economy. Our present task is to display still better the role of science and technology so that they will become a powerful productive force and a tremendous strength for developing

the economy." In fact, the existing theories and knowledge of structural chemistry in the broad industrial and agricultural sectors that are closely related to chemistry have already provided theoretical guidance in seeking new materials, new technologies and new processes and have already promoted production. Structural chemistry develops in the process of promoting the national economy and consequently it will display still more powerful strength. It is also wrong to neglect this point.

CSO: 4004/39

GO AMONG THE MASSES!

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 34-35, 28

[Article by Ding Ling [0002 3781]]

[Text] Over the past few years, culture and art work has substantially flourished and developed, but there are still problems which were left over or newly emerged which call for solutions through discussions and studies by bringing the problems out into the open and having frank and sincere exchanges of views. Such discussion meetings have been held on numerous occasions with the participation of leading comrades who delivered speeches at them, and these meetings have produced positive results. However, quite a few problems still exist in the minds of literary and art workers. In the new situation, some literary and art departments and individual literary and art workers still have an abnormal understanding or sentiments when approaching some problems and have failed to completely manage to approach problems in the manner of being selfless and fearless, matching words with deeds, and thinking and acting one and the same way as a communist or a writer who has a sense of justice. As for party-member writers, they should take this matter into account, and now particularly since the forum on the problems on the ideological front has been held, they must not remain aloof and indifferent to this situation. Over the last 3 years, on various matters I have written articles, made some remarks, stated my opinions and made statements of my position. This year is the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." After pondering, the words which I can use to advise my fellow writers and to spur myself on are still: To continue to go among the masses. This means that when the numerous problems are put to the masses, we can find good solutions to them by going among the masses to "observe and learn from real life and be engaged in creation." A writer, no matter on what subjects he writes, whether on history, mountains and waters, people, struggles or on love affairs, invariably reflects his own ideas and his own view of life, society and the accepted modes of human conduct. It is impossible for a writer to write on those things for which he has neither love nor hate and for which he has no feelings. If he forces himself to do so, what he writes will not be profound, vivid or moving. Therefore, before a writer produces a work, he must have rich raw material gathered from life, some training in writing techniques and what is more important, he must have the necessary ideological level to analyze society

and interpret life. These three aspects of self-cultivation are not isolated and contradictory and also cannot be acquired by stages. The three aspects of self-cultivation must be linked, each complementing the other; must be carried out simultaneously, gradually improved, gradually deepened and gradually purified until they are merged into one. Only then can we reach the realm of real emancipation in ideology and freedom in creation; can we write works which suit the needs of the broad masses, and can our creations become works of art which will raise the people's moral character and develop the social spiritual civilization and can we be free from the fear of making a mistake or being criticized.

Like other theories and policies, our literary and art theories and policies are all summed up and refined from the social life and struggle of the masses. If we divorce ourselves from the masses and lack a practical understanding of the people's life, we will be unable to profoundly understand why such theories and policies are needed. At the same time, it is only through the social practice of the masses that we can test our theories and determine whether our policies are correct. If theories and policies are repeatedly examined in studies and forums, the historians and philosophers with practical experience may possibly make new discoveries and create new works. However, if writers who create works of art and write living history do not personally go into and experience as well as observe and learn from the lives of the masses, they will be unable to produce works which present realistic characters, plots, stories, and human mental activities, and relationships between man and man, the good and the bad, as well as the beautiful and the ugly in people's lives. Even if we can recite from memory many clauses and technical terms in words and in terms in the most effusive way, appearing erudite and recondite, in fact we are no more than a phonograph or a duplicator. The principles you want to write about are already known to all and your work merely echoes others' views, thus there is lack of originality in your writing. A writer must carry out creative work on the basis of the lives of the masses rather than repeat principles in books. So is the case of literary and art theoreticians. Instead of merely presenting a verbatim transcript of newspaper editorials and invariably copying the speeches of leading comrades or the talks of others, we must go all out in discovering and developing our writings in regard to the concrete problems in actual life. Otherwise, it would be sufficient for readers to simply read newspapers. Is it worth the trouble to reread shallow, dull and fragmentary articles?

Only when we have an understanding of and a thorough knowledge and grasp of theories and policies, can we truly make them ours; can we have keen insight; can we find out about problems at all times and anywhere in the kaleidoscope of life; can we dare to think independently; can we not wait to see which way the wind blows, not to equivocate and not to vacillate; and can we make a contribution and discharge our responsibility. But how can we grasp thoroughly theories and policies? So long as we bring what we read from books and what we learn from speeches to life and fight, engage in construction, experience all kinds of contradictions and find solutions to the contradictions together with the masses, we can then push society forward. With our practical experiences among the masses, we may

then turn around to ruminate and digest the theories. A man with experience and a man without experience simultaneously study theories and what they learned from them varies greatly. The former manages to understand the theories with a little direction while the latter will not understand the theories even if he is given some direction. Conversely, a man with correct theories and a man without theories go into real life and what they learn from life is also substantially different. The former can find out, in life, myriads of precious deposits which are too dazzling in color and beautiful to be absorbed all at once that he can pick and choose a small part of them to write a good work. Having been drawn into the ocean of life, the latter can see nothing and find nothing attractive and touching that will arouse his interest, and thus for him to be able to create is out of the question. Even if he sees odd bits in life, he can only enumerate the events rather than grasp the principal problems. Having no strong zeal for life will spoil source material. Some people regard this state of affairs as the difference between having talent or not. In my opinion, there is in fact a lack of self-cultivation of politics and theories. If he does not have this key--politics--in his mind (please do not vulgarize politics as the stratagems of politicians or as a synonym for a political stick), there will be no ideological content. This is like having no soul. Such being the case, a writer will find it hard to know his own mind; either he will not dare to write or, basing himself on his personal thoughts and feelings which have not yet been sorted out, he will write in an unlimitedly free manner and at great length. This will most likely lead to some errors (those who always have blind faith in Westernization, like vulgar things and try to depart from the socialist political orbit must be, of course, classified separately). Naturally, it is not a serious matter to make some mistakes. So long as we draw a lesson from them, go deep into real life again, do some penetrating thinking and continue to temper ourselves, we will still be able to write good works.

What I have attempted to show is that a writer must be diligent in practicing his craft and, what is more, must temper himself. He must put himself among the broad masses and get in touch with people of all walks of life; through the exchange of feelings between man and man, he must adapt advanced political ideology to his outlook. A writer is a creator, who produces images and describes feelings but at the same time he is also a politician. He must dissolve politics into images and feelings which he describes with high-level political zeal so that the readers will see it as only literature. Thus, this attractive and exquisite literature will play a political role.

It is not easy for a writer to do so. It is not an easy job for a writer to produce works which are full of fervor and extremely touching on the one hand and mirror the spirit of our time on the other hand, but it is attainable. Many writers have managed to do so or almost managed to do so. Writers must always encourage one another to get rid of selfishness. They must seek neither fame nor gain and neither position nor power and influence; must be free from prejudice and factionalism and be honest and upright; must not be controlled by their personal emotions and must have a breadth of vision. It is necessary to loyally treat the people's cause

and to be diligent and conscientious, indefatigable and not to be at all self-satisfied, and it is necessary to start with this basis to make steady progress and find pleasure in so doing. To accomplish this, it is naturally necessary to go among the masses and breathe, share weal and woe, fight and advance together with the people.

My suggestions are few and not new. While celebrating the 40th anniversary of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," I would like to offer them with full respect to my fellow writers and young friends. I will learn from those who are in the same profession as I and who have more profound ideas and have created better works and have achieved greater successes than I. In the impressions of the postscript of "A Scene of Northern Shaanxi," published in 1950, I wrote:

"I experienced a lot of self-induced pain in northern Shaanxi before I began to know, squarely face, correct and remold myself. This experience cannot be explained in a few simple words. But ultimately it brought me the greatest pleasure. I feel that it is not easy for me to travel the road which I have taken; to go from being ignorant to being more sensible, from being somewhat perceptual to rational, from being unstable to being stable, from being weak to being staunch and from being remorseful to being relaxed.... I think that anyone who has taken a similar road will realize that this road is both rugged and smooth. However, each of us progresses in this way.

"Some people were born revolutionaries; some are revolutionaries who leap at one stroke from a backward state to an advanced one; others have never made any mistakes. These fortunate few are admired by all. However, I am still willing to march on my two legs step by step to the place where I will really become useful to some extent and really become a man without thought of self, a man who has really acquired some knowledge and truth...."

Instead of complaining about being decrepit and slow-witted, I am now willing to continue to forge ahead step by step along with the large contingent of marchers. However, having undergone a trudge of 30 years from the 1950's to 1980's, I feel happy rather than regretful. I will march step by step behind the young people cheerfully and unremittingly.

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## INCREASE CONSCIOUSNESS IN STUDYING THEORY

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[Article by Ru Zhi [1172 4249]]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a revolutionary scientific theory. The laws governing social development which it brought to light and its world outlook and methodology are our guide in action. Our party is united on the basis of this theory, and the victories in the cause of our revolution and construction were achieved under its guidance. At present, many new conditions and new problems which arose in the course of our modernization program call for scientific explanation and correct guidance. The practice of the new historical stage has once again put the study and research of revolutionary theories in an extremely important position. To keep abreast of the current situation, all of our cadres must increase their consciousness and study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Recalling the history of the Chinese revolution, it can be very clearly seen that whether there is correct theoretical guidance and whether the cadres of the whole party study and apply Marxism-Leninism well concern the success or failure of the cause of revolution and construction. In modern Chinese history, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism into China was an epoch-making turning point. Prior to this, in order to save the country and nation from the danger of elimination, the Chinese people and its advanced elements waged repeated heroic struggles, but through all of them they failed to find the correct road for liberation and every struggle ended in failure. Things were significantly different after Marxism-Leninism reached China. The Chinese advanced elements warmly welcomed this theory, enthusiastically studied and disseminated it and integrated it with the rising workers' movement. As a result, the great CCP came into being and a great revolution on a grand and spectacular scale was waged. Thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries saw the dawn of a new era and absorbed incomparable confidence and power from this revolutionary theory, and with this the Chinese revolution took on a totally new aspect.

The period from the Zunyi conference to the Yanan rectification movement was another great turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution. Prior to this, the CCP had led the people in accordance with

Marxism-Leninism in waging more than 10 years of struggles and had traversed a zigzag road. During this period, the revolution suffered failures and setbacks many times, but this precisely showed the importance of truly mastering and correctly applying revolutionary theory rather than proving that Marxism-Leninism did not work or was not important. Just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, these failures resulted from the infancy of and mistakes in the theoretical guidance rather than failures in ordinary work. The practice of the revolution required us to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the reality of China, and in the light of the characteristics of Chinese society to find a correct road for the Chinese revolution and to seek creation and development in theory. The Chinese communists headed by Comrade Mao Zedong solved this problem in their long years of plain living and hard struggle. In this way the great Mao Zedong Thought came into being. This scientific theory with Chinese characteristics became mature at the stage of the Yanan rectification movement and was widely popularized. The cadres of the whole party studied this theory with immense zeal and a scientific approach, acquired a fundamental understanding of the correct path for the Chinese revolution and the principles and policies that should be adopted, and thus substantially raised their own level of Marxism-Leninism. This brought about an incalculable force propelling the revolution forward, ensured the smooth course of struggle and, resulted in successive victories in the war of resistance against Japan, the war of people's liberation and the birth of the PRC. As the saying goes, the founding of new China was the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is a very real truth.

Victory in the new democratic revolution vividly displayed, with facts universally acknowledged, the unparalleled power of Marxism-Leninism. This state of affairs caused the most intense attention to be paid to theory by people throughout the nation.

In the early 1950's, there emerged an upsurge of studying revolutionary theory among the broad masses of cadres, youths and intellectuals. This was when there was a wide popularization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought throughout the country. The fact that large numbers of cadres and masses mastered revolutionary theories greatly promoted the smooth development of the various types of work at that time.

After the serious setbacks suffered in the "Great Cultural Revolution," the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee began another great turning point, which similarly shows the importance of theoretical guidance. "Leftist" mistakes committed in the past, and especially the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," were primarily the result of mistakes made in theoretical guidance. Therefore, the historical turning point, which was manifested by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, had to make the bringing of order out of chaos in theory a prerequisite. By stressing practice as the only criterion for testing truth, we precisely mean to discard the sort of "leftist" theories which have been proved to be erroneous, to reaffirm the principle of uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's reality, and to open up a path for developing the party's correct theory in new practice rather than to negate or ignore the role of theory.



Of course, correctly and satisfactorily providing answers to the various problems which lie ahead of us in the new historical stage will be an arduous process. In this process, the explorative deeds of those who blaze a new trail will be inevitably mingled with the perplexity of those who waver, and there will be a small number of people who show indifference toward theory. It will be difficult to completely avoid this state of affairs. The key lies in the fact that our party's ranks and particularly the vast numbers of cadres must work hard to increase consciousness in studying theory. It must be noted that only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can help us attain a clear understanding of the orientation and path of socialist construction and be full of confidence in our cause; can help us acquire the correct stand, standpoint and method, correctly understand and implement the party's principles and policies and carefully and skillfully handle various problems; can help us effectively educate and mobilize the masses, unite the revolutionary ranks and bring every positive factor into play; can help us, communists and state functionaries, preserve the purity of communism and resist the corrosive influence of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. In brief, only if there is a study of theory can our cadres become firm and sober-minded Marxists who can accomplish things. Moreover, having large batches of such cadres is an important condition for enhancing the fighting capacity of the party and for leading the broad masses in triumphant advance. Today large numbers of middle-aged and young cadres are assuming the leading posts at various levels to shoulder various important tasks and to fill the posts of veteran cadres. It is of even more urgent significance to strengthen theoretical study by the middle-aged and young cadres and urge them to manage to master Marxist-Leninist theories in a relatively systematic and practical manner.

At present, many cadres have, through practice, realized the importance of theory. They have immense zeal and enthusiasm for studying theory. However, some cadres attach insufficient importance to theory and hold that whether we study theory is of no importance and even regard that which has been learned as of no use. If we do not clarify those confused ideas, it will be difficult to increase consciousness in studying theory.

Some people say: "Theory is changeable and you cannot depend on it. Things can be interpreted in any way." They try to use this argument to prove that it is useless to study theory. In fact the argument concentrates only on the surface of matters and fails to make a correct analysis of them. It must be acknowledged that at the stage when leftist mistakes were committed in the past, and particularly during the 10 years of internal disorder, theory was indeed ever changing. At the same time, what was regarded to be correct yesterday became the targets of criticism today, and what was regarded to be correct today might possibly become erroneous things tomorrow. The propaganda of many theories was easily swayed by the political requirements at different stages. This state of affairs caused the greatest damage to the reputation of the party's theoretical work and ideological and political work. But many theories at that time were erroneous theories and even pragmatism and sophism rather than Marxist-Leninist scientific theories. Studying those kinds of theories is indeed not only useless but harmful. However, things today are fundamentally

different. From the 3d Plenary Session to the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party brought order out of chaos in its guiding ideology; some major theoretical problems were clarified and the true face of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was restored. We must not judge today's situation by old standards and experiences. Next, we must make an analysis of "theory being changeable." In the past, people used to argue in favor of their erroneous political propositions by resorting to theory to repudiate as mistakes that which was formerly correct. This was a "change." At present, bringing order out of chaos and repudiating and correcting the previous "leftist" theories is another "change." The two must not be mixed together. Here lies a question of whether it is something which is correct changing to something which is wrong or vice versa. The criterion to judge the right and wrong of the change is still practice. So we must not indiscriminately negate all kinds of changes. We must warmly welcome correct changes, that is, the bringing of order out of chaos in theory, and promote its accomplishment through study. Furthermore, we cannot integrate overnight the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the new conditions and new tasks facing us now and create mature theories suited to China's national conditions. It is necessary to sum up our experiences in practice and ceaselessly replenish, revive and substantiate some existing conclusions in practice so as to explore and probe new conclusions. This is also a "change." This change constitutes development. This change is invariably normal under any circumstances and it is particularly needed now. Otherwise, our theories will become rigid and cease to develop. In short, as long as we make a concrete and historical analysis of the phenomenon of the so-called "theory being changeable," we will absolutely not reach the conclusion that "what has been learned is of no use" and instead will derive from this a more profound understanding of the importance of theoretical study.

Some people say: "Studying theory cannot solve problems in practical work." This argument implies a misunderstanding of the role of theory. Theory is important, but no theory is a miraculous cure. Nor can it provide us with readymade answers to the various concrete and practical problems which we encounter. First, what is brought to light by a theory is, in general, matters of a universal and regular nature. Only from these can we find out knowledge about laws and the methods for observing and handling matters. The various concrete and practical problems in our work must depend on us for solution in accordance with the party's principles and policies and in the light of reality. Some people might argue: "Such being the case, it is all right just to implement the party's principles and policies and carry out the tasks assigned by the higher authorities. Why should we bother ourselves about studying theory again?" They fail to see that, although concrete problems depend on us for solution, whether ideologically we have a correct theoretical guide makes a world of difference. This is because the party's principles and policies are formulated on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory. Without the basic knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, one will be unable to correctly understand these principles and policies and also be unable to implement them in a flexible and creative way in the light of one's own local actual conditions. Second, Marxist-Leninist theory must be combined with the actual conditions at our new stage, must bring to

light the laws of our socialist construction and construction, and must scientifically elucidate major problems of principles in practical life. In this sense, at present there are indeed many practical problems which have not been theoretically solved and call for further systematic and scientific answers. However, this state of affairs shows all the more that it is necessary to study theory, integrate it with practice, and develop revolutionary theory rather than showing that "what has been learned is of no use." Some people might think: "This is a matter for the central leadership and theoreticians and has nothing to do with us." As for our cadres, although their work might be broad or limited in scope and the responsibilities they shoulder might be heavy or light, they have, in fact, a common task to combine general theory and principles with the actual conditions of their own localities and units through study and to explore the laws governing their own work. Even in terms of the whole country and the whole party, it is also absolutely not the affair of only a small number of people to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the reality of China, probing the laws governing our construction and advancing our party's theory are absolutely not the affairs of only a small number of people. Doing all this depends on the accumulation of the practical experiences of the whole party and the universal improvement of the theoretical level. In this sense, each one of our cadres has a share of responsibility for developing the party's theories. To fulfill this share of responsibility, it is first imperative to study seriously.

There are other people who say: "Even if we have studied theory, we are still not in a position to avoid making mistakes. In the past, we were called on to study theory. Some people even had a high theoretical level but committed mistakes just the same." This argument looks at problems in an oversimplified way. Correct theoretical guidance is very important in avoiding mistakes but cannot guarantee a cure for all diseases. This is because a person making a mistake is a complicated phenomenon and the reasons for it are often many-sided. In terms of theoretical guidance alone, in order to manage not to make a mistake, one must at least have the following conditions: 1) the theory itself must be correct; 2) it is necessary for one to carry out practical activities under its guidance; and 3) the theory needs to be continuously tested by practice and developed in practice. In the past, when theoretical guidance tallied with these conditions, we did our work in a relatively correct way and achieved successes. The reason why we sometimes made mistakes was either that the theory was basically wrong or that the theory was correct but divorced from practice. If the theory is itself wrong, the practice will naturally be wrong. For instance, there was a theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The "Great Cultural Revolution" emerged from this. As good as the theory is, if it is not followed in practice, one will still make mistakes. For example, in theory, democratic centralism and the mass line should be practiced, but in reality the idea of what one says being what counts was practiced, thus resulting in subjectivism and cutting oneself off from the masses. It can thus be seen that the past mistakes committed by the leadership of the party prove the importance of preserving the correctness of theory and of uniting theory with reality, rather than prove that theories are useless. One of the important causes

of our cadres following suit in making mistakes in the past was their low theoretical level and their lack of the ability to distinguish, in theory, between right and wrong on major principles. Under those circumstances, the reason why some cadres could keep a clear head and resist mistakes was not unconnected with their relatively high theoretical level and comparatively great ability to differentiate between right and wrong. This further shows the importance of the broad masses of cadres studying theories and increasing their consciousness.

Marx said: "The process of putting a theory into practice in a country is determined by the process of the theory fulfilling the requirements of this country." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 10) Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "The reason why Marxism-Leninism could play such a great role after it reached China is that China's social conditions already had a need for it." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1452) The quotations from Marx and Mao Zedong clearly show the relationship between a theory and the actual need for it in a country. The liberation of the Chinese people badly needed, and present Chinese social development badly needs, the guidance of scientific theories. When our theories are correct and meet the needs of the Chinese people in transforming the country, the revolutionary cause will be greatly developed on the one hand and revolutionary theories themselves will be substantially developed, spread and be warmly welcomed by the broad masses of people on the other hand. But when some erroneous theories bring harm to our society instead of meeting its needs, these theories naturally will be detested by the people. At present, since bringing order out of chaos, the party's theoretical guidance has once again got onto the correct path and reestablished normal contact with actual needs. We are confident that the needs of our socialist construction will again arouse an interest in theory by the broad masses of the people and push Marxist-Leninist scientific theories forward. Our cadres must try hard to increase consciousness in studying theory, stand in the forefront and enthusiastically promote this process.

CSO: 4004/39

#### WHAT A THEORETICAL TEST SHOWS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 39-41

[Article by Qin Li [4440 0500]]

[Text] In order to meet the needs of cadres' philosophical study in the second half of this year, a party school has recently run a training course for philosophy instructors. Of the more than 100 participants, some were leading cadres from propaganda departments at the prefecture and county levels and leading cadres from party schools and cadre schools, but the great majority were theoretical teachers and ordinary propaganda cadres. After enrollment, the students were given an assessment test on the two subjects they were going to study. To some extent, the results of this test reflected the theoretical level of some theoretical cadres who are currently engaged in educational work and of some propaganda cadres. They have also shown why it is so important and urgent to strengthen cadres' theoretical study, particularly the study by theoretical and propaganda cadres at the grassroots level.

Five philosophical questions were posed on this test: 1) What are the basic questions in philosophy and which two aspects do they include? 2) Why do we say that the law of the unity of opposites is the essence and core of materialist dialectics? 3) What does the Marxist concept of practice imply? 4) What is the ideological line of the party, and what are the relations between ideological and political lines? 5) What Marxist philosophical works have you studied, and what philosophical lessons have you lectured on?

The first four questions were posed for the purpose of examining their basic knowledge of philosophy. The results of the test showed that those who could satisfactorily and accurately answer the questions accounted for about 20 percent; those whose answers were basically correct but not satisfactory and accurate accounted for about 40 percent; those who did very poorly accounted for about 40 percent, of which many participants could not answer some isolated questions, and some handed in their examination papers unanswered. Outstanding wrong answers to the basic questions in philosophy were "world outlook and methodology" or "the combination of theory with practice and the unity of opposites." With regard to the two aspects of the basic questions in philosophy, some participants answered that they were "political economics and scientific socialism." Half of the

participants could not answer the question about the implications of the Marxist concept of practice and the question why the law of the unity of opposites was the essence and core of materialist dialectics; 25 percent of the participants could not answer the question about the ideological line of the party and the question about the relationship between ideological and political lines, which are often propagated in newspapers.

The fifth question was posed for the purpose of investigation. From the answers given by the participants, we could see that those who have studied philosophy or those who had done so in a comparatively systematic way accounted for about 57 percent and those who had not studied philosophy accounted for about 43 percent.

With regard to the history of the CCP, four questions were posed: 1) What are the fundamental differences between China's new democratic revolution and old democratic revolution? 2) What is Mao Zedong Thought, and what is the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought? 3) What is the great significance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee? 4) Please write a brief account of your past study of and lectures on the history of the CCP.

The purpose of the first three questions was to examine the basic knowledge of the party's history. The results of the test showed that those who could answer the questions satisfactorily and accurately accounted for about 9 percent; those whose answers were basically correct accounted for about 31 percent; those who could not answer satisfactorily and had many mistakes in their answers accounted for about 45 percent; and those who could not answer some isolated questions or whose answers were full of holes and even completely wrong accounted for about 15 percent. Some markedly wrong answers were given on their papers. For instance, with regard to the fundamental differences between China's new democratic revolution and old democratic revolution, some participants answered: "The old democratic revolution was not guided by unified thinking. Its sole purpose was to fight against the rich and assist the poor...and was waged for the livelihood of one family and one person and carried a very strong flavor of the bourgeoisie." With regard to the great significance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, some participants did not know what the session was about, answering that the significance was that "classes do not exist, and although class struggle exists, the main contradictions are contradictions among the people." Comparatively speaking, their answers to the questions about Mao Zedong Thought and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought were somewhat better, but many participants could not give accurate answers, and the answers of six participants were basically wrong.

The fourth question was asked for the purpose of investigation. The answers showed that those who had systematically studied the history of the CCP accounted for about 17 percent; those who had taken part in a short-term study course on or studied independently some party history accounted for about 26 percent; and those who had never studied the party history accounted for about 57 percent.

The above-mentioned material is to a certain extent representative. We know that there have been similar results in tests and investigation materials in some provinces. These materials show that a certain number of cadres who engage in theoretical and propaganda work at the grassroots level possess very little Marxist knowledge and have a low theoretical level and that it is very difficult for them to meet the requirements of the work. Of course, there are many causes for this phenomenon, but in the main it is owing to the disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to some extent to the shortcomings in our work. Therefore, we should not simply blame our cadres. But under no circumstances must this phenomenon be allowed to continue. It is our urgent task to energetically raise the theoretical level of these cadres.

How can we solve this problem?

First, leading institutions in charge of theoretical and propaganda work must put special emphasis on the building of theoretical and propaganda contingents. Our party and state take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guiding thought, and theoretical and propaganda work is an important part of the party's work. A strong and energetic theoretical and propaganda contingent is an indispensable force for pushing forward the work of party committees at all levels. Our comrades who engage in theoretical and propaganda work at the grassroots level get in touch with the cadres at the basic level and the masses almost every day. They directly shoulder the task of propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the masses and educating them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Educators must first receive education. The theoretical level and quality of work of these comrades directly affect the raising of the ideological and political level and the completion of the tasks of the cadres at the basic level and of the broad masses. Therefore, we must put special emphasis on raising the theoretical level of the theoretical and propaganda cadres at the basic level. We must put this question on the agenda, adopt effective measures, and be determined to devote a certain amount of manpower and material resources to the training of theoretical and propaganda cadres in order to solve the problem of finding the teachers required for theoretical study and the problem of finding study materials and study time. In addition, we must be strict on cadres and carry out the necessary supervision and examination of their work. We must check not only their work but also their study. We must encourage them to study hard, to carry out investigations and to aim high.

Second, the cadres who engage in theoretical and propaganda work must be conscientious in their study. This is the crux of the problem. Some basic theoretical knowledge is not difficult to master so long as we conscientiously read some books and pay attention to the relevant articles in the newspapers and magazines. We should say that the study conditions of our cadres now are better than those in any period in the party's history. But no matter how good the objective conditions might be, they will be useless if we do not study hard. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, under the leadership of the party, theoretical and propaganda cadres have been conscientious in their study and have made a

contribution to the party's theoretical and propaganda work. But owing to the long-term disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," Marxist theory and the party's propaganda work have enjoyed less prestige. Some people think that theory is useless so they ignore it. It is necessary to carry out arduous ideological and political work to solve this problem. Decades of experience have told us that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is an objective truth and that it is the only banner that can guide us in our advance to victory. Before we ask others to have a firm belief in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we ourselves must first have a firm belief in it. Our comrades who engage in theoretical and propaganda work must firmly believe in the correctness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, correctly sum up historical experiences and draw a practical scientific understanding from them. With a correct understanding of theoretical and propaganda work, we can have the spirit to study theory. So long as we are conscientious in our study, energetically raise our theoretical level and enthusiastically do a good job in our work, we can certainly bring into full play the power of theory and make greater contributions to educating and arming the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

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WHY IS IT IMPERATIVE TO OPPOSE REGIONAL ECONOMIC BLOCKADES?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 41-42

[Article by Qi Xiangwu [7871 0686 2976] and Hou Yunchun [0186 0061 2504]]

[Text] Regional economic blockades refer to some localities and departments, proceeding from their respective partial interests and abusing their power, closing their markets, and blocking the supply of their raw materials and technology to others. At present, the main manifestations of regional economic blockades are as follows. Some local authorities force the marketing in their own areas of locally produced general machinery, electric equipment and farm machinery which are poor in quality and performance, even though the users are reluctant to adopt them. At the same time, these authorities also arbitrarily forbid users in their own areas from purchasing similar products of high quality from other areas. Some raw material-producing areas refuse to transfer their raw materials in line with state plans, and process these raw materials by themselves or sell them at high prices without authorization. Some keep their technology secret and block the popularization and application of advanced technology.

Economic blockades are a backward phenomenon of feudalism. One of the tasks in the bourgeois revolution is to smash these economic blockades and thus open a unified domestic market for the development of capitalism. Ours is a socialist state, where a unified domestic market is an essential condition for running a unified planned economy on the basis of public ownership. Practicing economic blockade will lead to historical retrogression and do great harm to the development of the socialist economy.

First, this action will undermine unified plans and markets. If an economic blockade is put in force, goods and materials cannot be smoothly circulated and cannot be fully utilized because they are blocked from being transferred in or out. Thus, commodity circulation is harmed and forced to diverge from state plans and the unified market is disturbed. In this situation, the state will certainly lose control of the overall economy and all economic activities will fall into chaos.

Second, this action will lead to blind production and construction and affect the improvement of economic results. Socialist production is socialized mass production. There should be not only division of labor but also close

relationships between different enterprises, trades, departments and areas. Only when they assist each other and closely cooperate can production be handled normally. But, as a result of economic blockades, the internal relations of socialized mass production are artificially broken down. If one refuses to allow in those products that one can make, then inferior goods cannot be replaced in a timely way. If one insists on starting to make things one has never made before, this will cause blind production and blind construction and an enormous waste in manpower, materials, financial resources and transport power.

Third, this action will impede the development of technology. As a result of economic blockades, the products of high quality and low price made in other areas are unable to enter local markets, and their sales are affected. Thus, these products cannot be fully developed. Inferior local products, however, can monopolize the market because there is no other competitor. Thus, enterprises will lack outside pressure to carry out technical innovation and their products will hardly change for dozens of years running. Therefore, economic blockades, in fact, reject advanced things and protect backward things.

Economic blockades are not only extremely harmful to the overall national economy, but, in the long run, also harm the development of the local economy. If localities practice economic blockades, they will not only block others but will be blocked by others. Meanwhile, when backward local products are protected by means of economic blockade, not only will the enterprises producing these products lose the impetus to improve product quality and upgrade their products, but the area will also incur losses owing to high consumption and waste, poor efficiency and performance caused by the use of these inferior products. Therefore, economic blockades, though bringing some ostensible and temporary benefits to localities, are in fact an action of binding oneself, which is not only harmful to the state and other areas but also to oneself.

When we encourage breaking economic blockades, protecting proper competition and guaranteeing smooth circulation of goods and materials, does this mean that all products should be transferred in from the advanced areas, and that nothing can be done by the underdeveloped areas? No. In fact, each area has its own advantages as well as disadvantages. Not everything is advanced in advanced areas; nor is everything backward in underdeveloped areas. As long as underdeveloped areas can bring their advantages into full play while overcoming their disadvantages, and make efforts to adopt advanced techniques and technology and improve operation and management, they will be absolutely competent to compete with advanced areas and to strengthen themselves in the course of competition. Even if their product quality cannot reach a high level for a time, they should not exclude advanced products and protect their inferior products by means of closing their market. What they should do is to devote great efforts to catching up. Of course, advanced areas must guarantee that what they sell to the other areas are products of high quality, low prices and good service. They should also take the responsibility of helping underdeveloped areas in the fields of equipment and technology. At the same time, the state should also actively support and help underdeveloped areas. By means of taxes, interest rates and other economic levels, conditions should be created for underdeveloped areas to compete with advanced areas.

STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK IN ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 43-45

[Article by Wang Shengyi [3769 0581 5030], deputy secretary of the CCP Committee of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company]

[Text] Strengthening and improving ideological and political work in enterprises and further promoting the building of socialist civilization and spiritual civilization is an important task confronting enterprise party organizations. Over the last few years, we have deeply realized that to do this work well, the most important thing is to solve the problem of how to view ideological and political work. One argument holds that because the economic responsibility system has been introduced in the enterprises, it is advisable not to have any more ideological and political work. The advocates of this position say: "No matter what you say, you still have to give out banknotes" and "No matter how much you talk, it is still money that makes the world go round," and even that so long as secretary "Qian" [money] gives a mobilization talk and factory director "Jiang" [bonus] makes a summary, the enthusiasm of the staff and workers will at once be aroused. This poses to people questions that call for immediate answers: In the four modernizations program, is there any need to uphold ideological and political work? What role does ideological and political work actually play? Only when these questions are correctly answered can the broad masses of cadres have a sense of urgency and enthusiasm for doing ideological and political work.

It must be acknowledged that the implementation of the economic responsibility system in enterprises and the appropriate issuing of bonuses play an important role in mobilizing the enthusiasm of the staff and workers. However, we must by no means think that the more bonuses issued, the higher the enthusiasm, and still less should we replace ideological and political work with bonuses. The implementation of the economic responsibility system is aimed at strengthening rather than abolishing ideological and political work. Viewed from the actual conditions of enterprises, there are economic factors, ideological and political factors, and many other factors, such as the contradictions within the family and other practical difficulties which affect the enthusiasm of the staff and workers. These cannot all be resolved by relying exclusively on the economic responsibility system and bonuses. At present, in the enterprises, bonuses must be issued but it will

not do to arbitrarily distribute them. Bonuses play a large role for some people, but for others they are less important. There are some young people who have good family economic conditions, who will not take any notice if they spend 10 or 20 yuan more or 10 or 20 yuan less a month. For instance, in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, many of the people who work in the open-hearth furnace workshops are absent from duty in the high-temperature season. Some young workers "take a summer holiday" at home, saying I would rather not get the scores of yuan of bonuses than get a toasting. Obviously, this kind of problem can only be solved by relying on ideological and political work rather than by relying on bonuses. This is because the comrades of the iron and steel mill carried out positive enlightenment work and painstakingly explained to the young workers, through paying visits to their parents and other ways, the relationship between making steel and the four modernizations program and helped them gain enlightenment from correct ideas. Thus the young workers eventually went back to work. This shows that while carrying out the economic responsibility system and utilizing such methods as the bonus system, it is imperative to carry out vigorous ideological and political work and to arm the masses of workers with revolutionary ideals and revolutionary spirit to better arouse their enthusiasm.

At present in the enterprises there exists the following phenomenon: when encouragement is mentioned, attention is more often than not centered on material encouragement while insufficient importance is attached to spiritual encouragement. We must not indulge in the idea of the "spirit being omnipotent," but we must also not negate the role of spiritual encouragement and indulge in the idea of "money is all-important." There was a young finished-product packer in the naphthalenic acid workshop of the chemical general plant who always stayed away from work without leave, or came late, left early and, while at work, slept like a log. Despite not getting any bonuses for 10 out of 12 months, in an uncaring manner, he said: "You may deduct my bonuses as you please. I will ask my father for money when I have used up all my money." Later, the workshop changed its method and started doing ideological work, adopting the method of giving priority to encouragement and commendation. This kindled his enthusiasm for work and his spirit of making progress, and eventually brought about a change in him. On the one hand, he won the "championship" in a finished-product packing exhibition match and was cited with a meritorious service certificate, second class and on the other, he was elected group leader of the packing group. The parents of many young workers say: "Giving my son a certificate of merit will have a greater effect on him than giving him 100 yuan. Money will be used up in several days while a certificate of merit, which will always hang on the wall, will give him the impetus to continue to devote his efforts to doing better." Of course, spiritual encouragement must not be carried out in isolation, divorced from people's material benefits. Marxism holds that all things for which people struggle are directly or indirectly related to their interests. People's interests include the rights and interests in all fields, such as political work, and we must not deviate from the rights and interests of the public in trying to analyze various ideological problems. Nor must we deviate from these rights and interests of the public in trying to find solutions to various ideological problems. In terms of economic life, for example, all the problems such as

housing, employment for their sons and daughters, and the distribution of bonuses, have an impact on people's thoughts and feelings. Therefore, while enthusiastically solving the ideological problems of the masses, we must also pay attention to seeking earnest solutions to some practical problems of the masses. Of course, while solving these problems, we must take personal opinions and requirements into account and, at the same time, give consideration to the actual condition and capabilities of the state and solve them in a realistic and practical way. Over the last 2 years, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has built additional floorspace of nearly 1 million square meters; more than 20,000 households of staff and workers have moved into their new houses; and most of the sons and daughters of the staff and workers throughout the company have been assigned jobs. These tangible material benefits have enhanced the confidence and power of the staff and workers in accomplishing the four modernizations program and have also made ideological and political work more convincing.

The fundamental task of the propaganda work and ideological and political work of enterprises is to carry out propaganda and education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among the staff and workers. It is necessary to help the masses of staff and workers to heighten their confidence in the superiority of socialism and satisfactorily solve the problems of upholding the socialist road and of fostering communist ideals. It is necessary to help the masses of staff and workers to realize their position of being the masters of the country, carry on the spirit of being the masters of the country, correctly handle the relationship between the state, the enterprises and the individual, and make greater contributions to the socialist modernization program.

The Anshan Iron and Steel Company has the glorious tradition of handling the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual in a manner of the people being the masters of the country. At present, this tradition is being revived and developed. However, in the new situation, some phenomena have emerged in enterprises which warrant special attention. For instance, some units indulge in selfish departmentalism and disregard the interests of the state. The main manifestations of this are: exerting more efforts for big profits and less efforts for meager profits; concentrating on profit sharing to the neglect of holding oneself responsible to the state; practicing fraud and retaining profits which ought to be turned over to the state; and concocting various pretexts for recklessly issuing bonuses. In the production process, the manifestation is disputing over trifles and counteracting each other's efforts rather than working in coordination by tacit agreement between different factories, workshops, teams and groups and having coordination between the upper and lower working procedures. Furthermore, in regard to staff and workers, some people, influenced by the hired hand mentality, hold the view that a person will do no more than he is paid for; some concentrate on quantity at the expense of quality, pay one-sided attention to production to the neglect of equipment and only look after themselves and disregard others; and in order to get more bonuses some even make false reports on figures and seize every chance to gain advantage by trickery. There was an electrician who, while checking the operations of machines, found that three of the foundation

screws of a motor had become loose. He was aware that this would interfere with the normal operation of the equipment. According to reason, he should have tightened the screws. But the first thing that came to his mind was that the foundation screws becoming loose was the business of the electrical pincers team. If anything went wrong, bonus deductions would be made from other teams and he himself might be entitled to more bonuses. As a result, he neither tightened them nor reported to the departments concerned. As for these phenomena, we must, of course, not make a great fuss over them but they must not be allowed to go unchecked. In our ideological and political work, to deal with problems in this respect, it is necessary to imbue the masses of staff and workers with proletarian ideas including Marxist political thought, philosophical and legal thinking, moral concepts and so on in a constant, repeated and highly effective way. Only by so doing can we kindle the staff and workers' revolutionary spirit of loving the country and of being the masters of the country, heighten their sense of being the masters of the country, help the enterprises and the staff and workers put the overall interests of the proletariat and the interests of the state and the collective in first place, and help our enterprises to uphold the socialist orientation.

In order to help the staff and workers to carry on the spirit of being the masters of the country and correctly arrange the relationship of the individual with the state and the collective, many units of our Anshan Iron and Steel Company have carried out ideological educational activities in the "three comparisons and three understandings" in a deep-going manner. First, compare the new society with the old one and clearly show that their position of being the masters of the country was hard-won; second, compare socialism with capitalism and clearly show the essential difference between the workers being the masters of the country and the relationship of workers being hired under capitalism; and third, compare the situation before the "Great Cultural Revolution" with the situation after it and clearly show that the 10 years of internal disorder was one of the reasons for the blunted sense of responsibility of workers being the masters of the country among some workers. This year we have launched activities of settling accounts in the economic field on a company-wide scale. Like the Capital Iron and Steel Company we have also widely calculated accounts in several aspects: First, we have calculated what was taken from the people and what was used in the interests of the people by the state so that the staff and workers will recognize the principle that the fundamental interests of the state, the collective and the individual are identical. Second, we have calculated the relationship between individual positions and the whole so as to foster the view that the economic results and the partial and local interests of enterprises must be subordinated to the overall interests. Third, we have calculated personal contribution by contrasting individuals with the advanced. We have carried out ideological and political work closely centered on the problem of how to handle the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual; as a result, great changes have taken place in the appearance of the staff and workers. At present, the number of those who conscientiously work without remuneration and enthusiastically make greater contributions to the state has increased, and the number of those who square accounts in every detail and do

everything "for the sake of money" has decreased; the number of those who concern themselves with the collective and pay attention to both style and cooperation has increased, and the number of those who only look after themselves and indulge in selfish departmentalism has decreased. A contingent of iron and steel staff and workers who cooperate in unity and in accomplishing the four modernizations is taking shape, a contingent which is ideologically advanced, technically proficient and highly disciplined.

In economic work, stress should be put on the improvement of economic results and, similarly, immediate attention should be paid to the effect of ideological and political work. That is to say, it is necessary to really clear up doubts and suspicions in the minds of the staff and workers, and clarify all sorts of confused ideas so that everybody will make progress ideologically and improve.

To do this, it is no good to rely on empty talk and bragging, and it is worse to indulge in false statements which do not tally with objective reality. What is most convincing is facts, and what is most touching is true statements. Dull and dry preaching and force-fed inculcation will result in nothing. The aim of ideological and political work is to work for the people. Man's thinking is complicated and varied as well as growing and changing. This requires us to have a serious understanding of the new conditions, study new problems and probe new methods, and carry out ideological and political work with certain aims in mind. At present, do not some comrades feel that "the old methods are no good while the new ones have not yet been clearly defined"? Feasible methods stem from the investigation and study conducted by immersing oneself among the masses. So long as we have a clear picture of the different ideologies of different objects, we will already have solutions to the problems. While conducting an investigation in Liaoning Province, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that without conducting investigations and study, it is difficult to do away with old restrictions. Investigation and study as well as examination and supervision are all learned from reality. To learn from practice is the best study. If our ideological and political work deviates from the investigation and study conducted by going deep into the realities of life, it will become random shooting. Furthermore, random shooting will inevitably give rise to indulging in either falsehoods or empty talk. This will surely lead to failure.

Over the last few years, on the basis of investigations and study and in the light of the different ideologies of different objects, we have adopted multifarious forms in doing enlightenment work and have tried hard to convince people by reasoning and influence them by tender sentiments. We have frequently provided people with clear concepts and distinctive images so that they will know what they must or must not do and how they must or must not behave. We have again publicized Anshan's veteran hero Meng Tai's spirit of being the master of the country, a spirit of plain living and hard struggling and loving the country as his own family; Wang Chonglun's spirit of forging ahead; Song Xuewen's spirit of keeping on working as long as he lives; Zhao Yulin's spirit of defying personal danger for the revolution; Zhao Chengshun's spirit of daring to scale new heights in science and

technology; and Wang Wenpiqsyjs spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly. While publicizing old models, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has set up large batches of new models. The company has set up 102 advanced party branches, 152 advanced party groups and 201 fine party members as models; in the field of the building of spiritual civilization, the company has set up a batch of models, such as young woman worker Chang Li of the No 2 blooming mill. We organized these models to separately give 117 lectures to 102 units. These activities enabled people to see that they have examples to learn from, that there is much room for them to exert their efforts and develop their abilities, and that they will be cited for meritorious service. Within the past year alone, there emerged 2,769 advanced producers and advanced workers, 578 advanced collective units and 5,473 shock workers in the new Long March.

To make ideological and political work a success, it is still necessary to have specific programs and feasible measures. For instance, within a year, how many rotational training courses for cadres will be held and what level will be attained? How many less advanced young workers will be helped to make progress? What level will be reached in a year in terms of spiritual civilization? All these call for specific requirements. Over the last few years, the problem of educating youths has become a serious problem. Everybody is now paying a good deal of attention to it. Before 1981, in the Anshan Iron and Steel Company there were 3,233 young people who were less advanced or had done evil things. These people "polluted" society and had simply become serious social polluters. In order to solve this problem, the whole company organized over 2,000 helping-teaching groups composed of more than 5,000 party members, CYL members and veteran workers. Within a year, they helped 1,528 less advanced young people to make progress and 1,119 young people who had taken a wrong step in life to cease their illegal and criminal activities. Of these, 247 have entered the advanced ranks. In the future, in accordance with the requirements of the CCP Central Committee and on the basis of earnestly summing up experiences, we, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, will conscientiously find out where we lag behind and further firmly grasp ideological and political work.

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PROCEED FROM THE CONDITIONS OF A CITY IN IMPROVING ECONOMIC RESULTS--A TALK ON THE METHOD OF LEADERSHIP ADOPTED BY THE NANTONG MUNICIPAL CCP COMMITTEE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 pp 46-48

[Article by Di Long [5441 7127]; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Proceeding from reality is a basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism. It is also an important matter in carrying out our leadership well.

In recent years, under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee has paid conscientious attention to this matter.

Whenever they decide to set up a new enterprise or to introduce new equipment, they consider whether this is in conformity with local conditions and characteristics and whether this can yield satisfactory economic returns. In their own words, they will "try by every possible means to accomplish feasible projects which conform to the local realities, while refusing to be attracted by infeasible projects, even if they are as attractive as gold and silver." These simple but lively words reflect that what they think and what they do are in accord with the materialist line.

Nantong is a medium-sized industrial city located in the lower reaches and on the northern bank of the Changjiang River. To its north, there is the vast Subei plain. Its urban districts cover 18 square kilometers. There is a population of 210,000 (not including people in suburban farming villages). There are 370 industrial enterprises with a total of 163,000 workers and staff. A modern textile industry has existed in this city for more than 80 years. Several similar medium-sized cities can be found in Jiangsu Province, and more can be found in the whole country. Compared with many other medium-sized cities, besides having features common to all of them, Nantong has its own specific characteristics in industrial production. The Nantong Municipal CCP Committee did not clearly realize their specific local conditions for a long time in the past. From time to time, they blindly organized and led industrial production. In the 10 years of chaos, this blindness in action was especially serious. In those days, owing to the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology, they did quite a number of

stupid things that did not conform to local conditions. For example, without making an investigation and study, they invested several million yuan in mining coal in another area in order to solve the coal problem; without thorough consideration, they embarked on infeasible projects such as fractional distillation of petroleum and producing reagents for developing color film. Investment worth tens of millions of yuan was thus like a huge stone dropped into the Changjiang River. As a result, some projects had to be stopped before they were completed, some could not yield benefits after they were completed, and others just became heavy burdens. Though this was not a small "educational expense," some leaders did not draw the proper lessons. In the period after the "gang of four" was smashed, the municipal committee still intended to develop heavy industry. They planned to build a heavy machine-building factory and put forward some unrealizable slogans and plans, such as "setting up an integrated industrial system" and "four bases." This showed that the municipal committee had not freed itself from the shackles of "leftist" ideas and had not clearly realized how to develop a city like Nantong. This was a basic reason why they took a roundabout course in developing Nantong's industry.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee conscientiously summed up their positive and negative experiences in the course of implementing the policy of readjusting the national economy. They deeply felt that all kinds of work should be centered on production because the whole party was shifting the focus of its work, while production should be handled in line with local conditions and not be based on subjective will. Of course, the local conditions of Nantong are complex and varied. After repeated investigation and study, by inviting experts, professors and engineering technicians for discussions many times, the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee initially realized that the specific characteristics of Nantong could be summarized into the "three haves" and the "three have-nots," the so-called "three haves" are:

- 1) Nantong already has a foundation of production, technology and management for the textile industry, which has existed for more than 80 years. They have accumulated some experience over many years in this industry, and the proportion of light and textile industry is over 70 percent.
- 2) Nantong has abundant farming and sideline product resources which provide light and textile industry with sufficient raw materials. This is because Nantong is situated in one of the country's major cotton-producing areas.
- 3) Because Nantong is very near Shanghai, Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou, where light and textile industry is fairly developed, Nantong has favorable conditions for learning advanced experience from these cities. Moreover, Nantong has 22 kilometers of river bank which is beneficial to water transport. The so-called "three have-nots" are: Nantong has no mineral resources, no nearby fuel supply bases and no railway transport. These "three haves" and "three have-nots" generally reflect Nantong's specific local conditions.

These specific actual conditions are a major basis for working out all schemes and plans. While working out an overall plan for urban construction in line with the local characteristics, the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee decided to build Nantong into an industrial city with light and

textile industry as the main body and into a future harbor city. They clearly put forth a slogan of "embarking on, guaranteeing, and promoting the development of light and textile industry" and blazed a new trail in developing industry in line with local conditions. This new trail not only gives full play to the existing advantages in light and textile industry, but also avoids the disadvantages arising from the shortage of mineral products and energy resources. This results in low investment and low energy consumption, rapid completion of projects, speedy circulation of funds and satisfactory economic results. Examples can be found in the development of bicycle production and the electronics industry. The production of bicycles, which are in short supply now, can reap quick returns. They can acquire sufficient raw materials for this purpose from the state and only consume small quantities of coal and power in the production. After determining the orientation, the municipal committee mobilized the strength in all fields to give all-out support in manpower, finance and materials and thus production has grown rapidly every year. The output of Changjiang bicycles last year was 140,000. These products were sold in 260 cities and counties of 22 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. In doing this, Nantong avoided its disadvantage of having a shortage of mineral resources and energy resources and gave play to its advantages.

Though the way for developing industry in line with local conditions has been found, it cannot be considered that all contradictions in taking this way have been resolved. In the course of "embarking on, guaranteeing, and promoting the development of light and textile industry," Nantong has continuously met new problems. The municipal committee takes an active attitude and devotes efforts to analyzing and properly handling the following matters, thus bringing their advantages into full play.

/Persisting in expanding reproduction mainly in an intensive manner and doing a good job of tapping potential, renovating and transforming equipment./ The so-called "expanding reproduction intensively" means that the aim of developing production and expanding capacity is attained by intensive operation and improving technology but not by increasing investment. This results in less money spent but greater benefits. In the past, some comrades thought that only by increasing manpower, investment and equipment could conditions be created for expanding reproduction. That is, in essence, to expand reproduction in an extensive manner. The state cannot make a large investment in this city each year; thus it is impossible to build many new enterprises from the very beginning. Proceeding from the specific conditions of little state investment but many old enterprises, the municipal committee has stressed reforming these old enterprises and achieved initial results. From this they realize that by raising the production level and the technical level of existing enterprises by tapping their potential, and by renewing, renovating and reforming their equipment, they can bring their proper economic efficiency into full play and thus attain the aim of expanding production. Therefore, in developing light and textile industry, the municipal committee persists in placing reliance on existing enterprises and expanding reproduction mainly in an intensive manner. The major measures for doing so are: renovating and reforming old equipment, actively popularizing new techniques and technology to strive for production with

high output and low consumption and providing readily marketable products of high quality, filling up gaps; creating distinctive local features for enhancing the level and competitive force of their products, and economizing on energy and tapping labor potential. There are several old plants in the textile trade in this city which had old equipment and were backward in technology and low in productivity. After technical transformation, their old equipment has been thoroughly modernized and the old enterprises have taken on a new look with a higher degree of mechanization, automation and continuity.

/While adhering to self-reliance, actively and reasonably utilizing foreign capital./ The Nantong Municipal CCP Committee adheres to relying on their own strength in construction and takes this as a major policy. But they never refuse to make use of foreign capital beneficial to construction. Proceeding from the local conditions of Nantong, they have made use of foreign trade loans, compensation trade, joint ventures with foreign companies and the processing of imported materials, so as to speed up the development of local industry. They believe that the utilization of foreign capital can not only economize on state investment, speed up the development of our industry and satisfy the needs of people's material life, but can also step up accumulation of funds for national construction. It is a measure which can yield multiple results. It exactly embodies the policy of "relying mainly on one's own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary." The No 2 National Cotton Mill has, since December 1979, imported 23,400 spindles and assembled by itself 988 looms by utilizing loans offered by an American company. It took only 21 months to complete the whole project, which had yielded a net foreign exchange return of \$3.6 million by the end of last year. It is expected that the whole capital outlay can be recouped within 5 years, and then all the imported equipment and capital will be owned by this factory. As a leading comrade of the municipal committee has said, "It is a profitable measure to use foreign capital and to import advanced equipment. The key lies in borrowing money skillfully, utilizing it properly and getting a quick return."

/Developing other industries while "starting, guaranteeing and promoting the development of light and textile industry."/ The development of light and textile industry is the crux of Nantong's economic construction. The municipal committee, however, has not neglected guidance and organization for other industries. Centering on developing light and textile industry, they have actively changed the service orientation of the machine-building industry and the chemical industry and encouraged the production of light industrial products. The machine-building and chemical industries have also raised the slogan "Support light and textile industry and strengthening ourselves." They have reduced the number of long-term projects and intensified the short-term projects, making use of their respective advantages to provide light and textile industry with technology, equipment, raw materials and subsidiary materials and serving light and textile industry conscientiously. The electronic instrument plant has actively developed instruments for light and textile industry; at the same time, they have changed their product ranges in line with market conditions and produced electronic appliances. During the readjustment, machine tool plants are generally

short of production assignments, but the Nantong Machine Tool Plant is still developing. They have continuously improved designs for a kind of multiple-use miller which is now suited to maintenance and production and also to making light industrial molds in various enterprises. These products not only have supported the development of local light and textile industry, but have also been exported to other countries. Thus the production there is becoming more and more prosperous.

/Actively developing collective-owned enterprises in the course of readjusting the economic structure./ Quite a few people in society look down on enterprises under collective ownership. It seems to them that collective-owned enterprises are inferior to state-owned enterprises. To counter this tendency the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee continuously overcomes the wrong idea of "looking up to enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people while looking down on enterprises under the system of ownership by the collective." They treat the latter as a fresh force in the construction of modernization and help develop them with great efforts. They also actively support the enterprises run by neighborhoods, suburban communes and production teams. Of 370 factories in the whole city, 261 of them are enterprises under the collective ownership system, accounting for 70.5 percent of the enterprises. Particularly in the second light industry department and the electronic instruments trade, collective-owned enterprises account for 91 percent of the enterprises. These factories are characterized by a small scale, flexible operation and high adaptability. They can rely on funds raised by themselves to expand reproduction, and thus can achieve a fairly great development in the course of competition. In recent years, the growth of the industrial output value created by collective-owned enterprises in this city has greatly exceeded that created by enterprises under ownership by the whole people. As a result of greatly developing collective-owned enterprises, not only can the social labor force be fully used to develop the production of consumer goods, thus satisfying the needs of people's life in both urban and rural areas, but more employment opportunities can be created, thus promoting the unity and stability of society.

Because the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee persists in starting from local specific conditions, continuously analyzes and studies new situations, and finds solutions for new problems, industrial production in this city has achieved a fairly high growth rate and good economic returns. Last year, the gross industrial output value of the whole city was as high as 2.35 billion yuan, or nearly double that in 1976; the per capita output value was thus increased to 11,197 yuan. The employment problem of this city has basically been solved--77.7 percent of the population is employed. This means that each employed worker now only supports 0.3 person. This is rarely seen anywhere in the country.

The great change that has occurred in Nantong is closely related to the improvement of the leading organ's work style. The leaders of the municipal committee hold that, in order to push ahead the production of light and textile industry, it is necessary to change the leadership style--leaders should go out of their offices to help grassroots units solve their actual

problems. In recent years, leaders of the party's municipal committee and the municipal people's government have introduced a system of "jointly working on the spot," which has been welcomed by the grassroots in general. Under this system, leading comrades of the party's municipal committee and the municipal government personally take the lead and organize other leading members of the departments concerned in going down to bureaus and factories. They find out the situation there and solve problems personally on the spot. This is both a change in leadership style and an improvement in the art of leadership. It can effectively link a general call with concrete guidance. Last year, the municipal authorities loaned 3.96 million yuan to the Nantong Bicycle General Factory. In order to get a return on this investment as quickly as possible, leading comrades of the municipal party committee and the municipal government led more than 50 leading members from over 20 departments concerned, including planning, economic, construction and finance departments, and went to work in the bicycle factory. They confronted over a dozen problems which were apt to cause disputes between different departments, problems such as those concerning funds, land requisition, capital construction and equipment. They made on-the-spot decisions that were recorded, and the parties concerned were charged to complete their tasks within a time limit. The cadres and masses of this bicycle factory were pleased and said: "So long as this system of leading members of the municipal committee going down to work in a factory can be persisted in, it is certain that the construction of modernization in our city can be speeded up."

Seeing the existing good results, the Nantong Municipal CCP Committee soberly realizes that, as compared with Shanghai, Changzhou and other advanced cities, they still have a long way to go, have lots of things to do and a lot of problems to solve. They know that if one rests content with things as they are, one will never make further progress. At the beginning of 1982, the municipal committee put forth higher goals for the people of the whole city and placed higher demands on itself. A vigorous, down-to-earth and mutually encouraging spirit is now spreading through the city.

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VOLUNTARILY ASCEND LIANGSHAN MOUNTAIN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 9, 1 May 82 inside back cover

[Article by Liu Zijiu [0491 1311 0036]]

[Text] The saying "voluntarily ascend Liangshan Mountain" was derived from the idiom "being driven to ascend Liangshan Mountain." In today's political vocabulary, "being driven to ascend Liangshan Mountain" means the people are forced to rise and wage revolution. As it is known, in history, due to the cruel oppression and exploitation by slave owners, slaves are driven to wage revolutions; for the same reason, peasants are driven to wage revolution against landlords and the proletariat is driven to wage revolution against the bourgeoisie. National revolutions throughout the world are all forced by the aggression, oppression and exploitation of alien nations. The idiom "being driven to ascend Liangshan Mountain" is a highly general summary of all class revolutions and national revolutions in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere.

At present, we are devoting great efforts to reforming our organization; this is also a revolution. But this revolution is not forced by a class enemy, nor by a national enemy. It is waged by ourselves, of our own accord, under the party central authorities' mobilization and leadership. So, we say that this revolution can be described as "voluntarily ascending Liangshan Mountain." However, this revolution is not directed at people but at the system. A revolution of the system will certainly lead to the promotion of self-education and self-revolution in the aspects of ideology, organization, politics and work style.

Why should we wage such a revolution? That is because some unhealthy phenomena, such as duplicate and overstaffed leading organs, unclear division of duties and responsibility and being divorced from the masses and reality, have been formed in the long period of a peaceful environment. This has severely blocked the growth of productive force and social progress and has reached such an intolerable degree that reform must be carried out by means of revolution. In order to give an impetus to the development of productive force and social progress, our party central authorities have made up their minds to carry this revolution through to the end. This is a very necessary and very timely decision.

Reforming our organization is a revolution in the realm of the superstructure. That is designed to solve the problem that a part of our superstructure is not suited to the economic foundation and is impeding production from developing. The superstructure should, in essence, serve the economic foundation on which it is built, and ultimately, it should serve the development of production. If a part of the superstructure begins to lose its function of serving the economic foundation and the development of production, then this superstructure faces the danger of losing its right to exist. If this contradiction is not solved promptly, it will cause a series of frictions and troubles inside society, thus resulting in enormous waste, and even stagnation and retrogression. In history, no other social system or ruling class has been able to overcome this contradiction which often develops into an incurable disease and perishes together with those social systems and ruling classes. Only the socialist system and the proletariat and the Communist Party can solve this problem conscientiously and promptly. That means that they can, on their own initiative, adjust those unsuitable links in the relations between productive force and production relations and between the economic foundation and the superstructure, so as to continuously perfect the system and improve leadership. That is where the superiority of the socialist system lies and where the revolutionary, scientific and advanced nature of the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party lies. To sum up this matter, it can be called a kind of self-revolution or "voluntarily ascending Liangshan Mountain" as I have mentioned above.

This self-revolution of "voluntarily ascending Liangshan Mountain" is exactly a problem of correct handling of contradictions among the people. Its essence is correctly handling the relations between individual interests and overall interests and between immediate interests and long-term interests. While contradictions occur between individuals, current interests and overall, long-term interests, the former should spontaneously obey the latter--that is the sole correct way to handle this contradiction among the people, in particular, a ruling party should act in this way in the period of peaceful construction. Are there not quite a lot of people who have suffered setbacks because they cannot properly handle this contradiction? Of course, it is not only a question of individual fate, but a question concerning the country and the party's fate. Therefore, we regard this revolution--the reform of the organization--as a test for the broad masses of cadres, and we believe that they are able to stand up to this test and successfully carry out this revolution.

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