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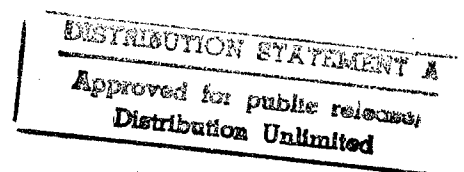
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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 NOVEMBER 1983



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23 January 1984

## CHINA REPORT

### RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 November 1983

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

### CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Strive for Higher Requirements for Communist Party Members<br>(9 April 1951) (pp 2-7)<br>(Liu Shaoqi).....                                                                                                     | 1  |
| Preserve the Purity of the Party, Increase the Combat Effectiveness of the Party--Studying Comrade Liu Shaoqi's Thinking on the Building of the Party in Power (pp 8-13)<br>(Liu Chengwen, Zhang Baoshan)..... | 11 |
| History and Education in Patriotism (pp 14-16)<br>(Zhou Gucheng).....                                                                                                                                          | 22 |
| Be an Ordinary Soldier in the Ranks of the Party--On the Inadvisability of Party Member Writers Considering Themselves as Special (pp 17-19)<br>(Wang Meng).....                                               | 27 |
| The 'Double-Hundred' Policy Is Definitely Not a Policy of Bourgeois Liberalism (pp 20-24)<br>(Wen Hanying).....                                                                                                | 32 |
| Comments on the Socialist Alienation Theory (pp 25-31)<br>(Lin Jiangong, Zan Ruili).....                                                                                                                       | 40 |
| Marx Was Against Printing Incomplete Things (p 31)<br>(Song Qing).....                                                                                                                                         | 51 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| An Important Position in Building Rural Spiritual Civilization--<br>Investigation of the Rural Market Town Cultural Centers Set Up<br>in Shazhou County, Jiangsu Province (pp 32-34, 39)<br>(Propaganda Department of the Shazhou County CPC Committee<br>and the Shazhou County Cultural Center)..... | 52 |
| Improve the Quality of Enterprises, Meet New Challenges (pp 35-39)<br>(Yang Bo).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 59 |
| Heighten Our Consciousness in Consolidating Enterprises (pp 40-41)<br>(Jing Ping).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 67 |
| Cadres' Theoretical Discussions (pp 42-47).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 71 |
| Is There Such a Thing as Abstract Human Nature?<br>(Wang Ruisheng).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 71 |
| Why Is It Erroneous To Publicize Abstract Humanism?<br>(Shi Qiao).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 72 |
| How Did Marx Apply the Concept of "Alienation"?<br>(Jin Huiming).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 75 |
| Why Do We Say That the "Socialist Alienation Theory"<br>Is Erroneous?<br>(Xian Da).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 76 |
| Why Is It That the Viewpoint of "Alienation" Cannot<br>Be Used To Explain Reform?<br>(Zhong Ji).....                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 78 |
| Study Intensively, Be an Expert (p 48)<br>(Zhang Yuyan).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 80 |
| Nurture Prestige With Action (inside back cover)<br>(Li Gengchen).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 82 |

STRIVE FOR HIGHER REQUIREMENTS FOR COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS (9 APRIL 1951)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 2-7

[Article by Liu Shaoqi]

[Text] I. Ours Is a Great, Glorious, and Correct Party, But Problems Exist

For the last several days, the discussion of my report (this refers to Liu Shaoqi's report at the first CPC national organizational work conference on 28 March 1951) has been centered on the question of party rectification and party building, and particularly on the question of requirements of party members. During the discussion, all have admitted that ours is a great, glorious, and correct party. At the same time, they have also admitted that there are still some problems in our party at present and have criticized certain shortcomings in our party building work in the past. This kind of discussion accords with the actual condition of our party at present and is therefore correct.

Some of the people have asked: Since some bad elements have wormed their way into the party, and since a considerably large portion of party members in the basic-level organizations of the party are not quite or not completely up to standard, is it not a contradiction to say at the same time that ours is a great, glorious, and correct party?

We say: This is not a contradiction. The bad elements who have wormed their way into the party are only a small handful. Although the proportion occupied by not quite or not completely up to standard party members is considerable, this situation exists only in some of the basic-level organizations, and this is not the condition of the whole party. Taking the party as a whole, most of the party members are up to standard or basically up to standard. Even more important is the fact that those playing the decisive as well as leading role in our party are not those not quite or not completely up to standard party members, and much less the bad elements, but most of the good party members, the large numbers of outstanding cadres of the party, and Comrade Mao Zedong, leader of the party and the CPC Central Committee. Therefore, although there are still various problems in our party, judging from the general situation, ours is a great, glorious, and correct party.

Ours is a great, glorious, and correct party because it is also unafraid of making self-criticism and is unafraid of exposing its own shortcomings. Even though there are still quite serious shortcomings in our party, we also do not deny or conceal them, but acknowledge their existence, expose them before the party members, and also devise means to resolutely correct them. For this reason we have decided to carry out party rectification. This precisely shows that ours is a great, glorious, and correct party. Certain comrades are unwilling to acknowledge or try to conceal shortcomings in the party. This is incorrect and is not the proper attitude our party should take.

## II. Why Are Many of the Party Members Not Up to Standard?

In our party, why are many of the party members not up to or not completely up to standard?

This is mostly due to the lowering of requirements when recruiting party members in the past; at the same time, we have also not carried out enough educational work among party members inside the party and have not done our best to raise those not up to standard party members to an appropriate standard.

As for this part of the party members, as long as we strengthen education in the future, some of these people are bound to reach the standard. A small portion of them are affected by the change in the present situation. Some of the party members are unable to catch up with the development of the situation and they are unwilling or unable to shoulder new revolutionary tasks under the new situation. They have fallen behind and have lost the requirements of party members. As for these party members, some of them can still be properly educated.

When recruiting party members in the past, some localities lowered the requirements for party members. Is this not a mistake in matters of principle? Yes, this is a mistake in matters of principle. A Leninist party never allows the requirements of party members to be lowered to the level of the average masses and always insists in principle that as the vanguard of the working class, party members must have a higher degree of consciousness as well as firmer revolutionary will than the average masses. When recruiting party members, the lowering of requirements of party members at will is obviously in violation of this Leninist principle.

When recruiting party members in the past, why did some of the local party organizations make this mistake? I have already explained in the report: This is because the higher leading organs of our party did not exercise strict control and inspection over the work of recruiting party members in the past and also did not generally clearly explain this principle in the party. As a result, in certain places the work of recruiting party members in the past to a certain extent ended up in a state of letting things drift. This responsibility should be shouldered by the Central Committee. For this reason, the CPC Central Committee has instructed various provincial party committees and central bureaus that they must exercise strict control and

inspection over the work of recruiting party members in the future, and has charged all party organizations with the task that when recruiting party members in the future, they must insist on the requirements of party members.

### III. We Should Now Further Raise the Requirements of Party Members

When recruiting party members in the past, some places lowered the requirements. This is incorrect. However, the revolution had still not been successfully concluded at that time, China was still dominated by reactionaries, and people who joined the party still had to run the risk of persecution by reactionaries. Moreover, the party was also situated in a harsh wartime environment and conditions were extremely difficult. Under this kind of situation, backward elements, speculators, and reactionaries naturally would not or would seldom join the Communist Party. This was a natural, objective restriction of ours when recruiting party members in the past. However, after the three major victories of the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huaihai campaign, and the Beijing-Tianjin campaign, the outcome of the war became perfectly clear, and this situation completely altered. Today, with the nationwide victory of the revolution, the situation is even more different. In some people's minds, joining the party at present not only does not require the running of any risk, but also can lead to the obtaining of many personal safeguards as well as honor and position. Now, backward elements, speculators, and reactionaries will hope to join our party, and quite a few bad elements have actively wormed their way into our party. Without objective natural restrictions, if we also do not subjectively strengthen restriction or, in other words, further raise the requirements of party members and tighten formalities for joining the party, then large numbers of backward elements, speculators, and reactionaries will sneak into the party. This will certainly seriously endanger our party.

After the victories of the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huaihai campaign, and the Beijing-Tianjin campaign, we did not promptly raise the requirements for party members, but did just the opposite, and some places even admitted party members in large numbers. As a result, the number of party members rapidly increased twofold in the last 2 years. This is already inappropriate. The Third Plenary Session (of the Eighth CPC Central Committee) decided last June to put a stop to the admission of party members in the countryside of old areas in general and to put a stop to the admission of party members in the countryside of new areas before the completion of land reform. However, since then, there are still individual areas which have arbitrarily lowered the requirements for admitting party members. This is even more incorrect.

Although the present is not like the period before 1949 when there was the danger of being persecuted by reactionaries at any time, the war is still not over and the work of economic construction as well as cultural construction has just begun. The imperialists and their running dogs are daily planning to sabotage our cause and are attempting to bring back the old order in China. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li... The

Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous." (See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, People's Publishing House, 1960 edition, pp 1439-1440) Because of the success of the Chinese revolution, new and more arduous revolutionary tasks have been put forward. Therefore, in the future Communist Party members must have higher requirements than in the past before they can shoulder these tasks. Otherwise, they will be unable to shoulder these tasks. This also requires us to further raise the requirements of party members. Therefore, in recruiting party members in the future, if the requirements of party members are again lowered, this will be even more incorrect.

Because of the success of the revolution, the Chinese working class as well as the broad masses of laborers are already able to come into contact with and study Marxism-Leninism, and a class struggle of a nationwide scale as well as a struggle against imperialism has been started. Under this kind of situation, the level of political consciousness of the ordinary workers as well as other laborers has also risen. As the vanguard of the working class, the requirements of Communist Party members must be raised even higher and, at the same time, can also be raised higher. At present, some nonparty revolutionaries as well as communists have already emerged outside the party, and the level of their political consciousness as well as revolutionary enthusiasm has even surpassed a part of our party members. Later on, this situation will also become more obvious. This not only requires us to further raise the requirements of party members when recruiting new party members in the future, but this will also compel part of our veteran party members whose consciousness is not high and whose revolutionary enthusiasm is not adequate to make an effort to improve themselves. This is an extremely favorable condition for our party building and party rectification in the future. We should take advantage of this condition.

At present, we must raise the requirements of party members as much as possible to an appropriate height. In other words, the new party members recruited in the future must undergo a period of observation and education. They must be of good class origin or people from the families of the working people or other laborers. As for people from families of the exploiting class, they must be people who have basically forsaken the stand, viewpoint, and work style of the exploiting class and who are determined to struggle for the emancipation of the working class as well as other laborers. They must be people with a clear history and without political problems. They must be people loyal to the party and willing to devote their whole life to the cause of the party. They must be people with actual basic class consciousness who have received class education in mass struggle and who can manifest this kind of consciousness and give play to revolutionary enthusiasm in work, production, and study. As for people with the basic requirements mentioned above, we must still carry out communist and Communist Party education on them so as to raise their political consciousness to an even higher plane or raise them to the level of political consciousness of party members before recruiting them into the party. In other words, they must be of good class origin, clear history, and loyal to the

party, and only people with actual class consciousness who show enthusiasm, understand communism and the cause of the Communist Party, and who are willing to observe the rules and regulations of the party can be recruited as party members. These are the requirements of party members we must insist on in the future. As for the veteran party members who have not received adequate observation and education, we must also, by means of observation and education, enable them to meet these requirements.

When discussing the education of party members, the draft resolution on party rectification (this refers to the "Resolution on Rectification of Basic-Level Party Organizations (draft)"; this draft was approved by the first CPC national organizational work conference on 9 April 1951) put forward eight required criteria for Communist Party members, and this is necessary. In other words, after having the various basic requirements mentioned above, it is also necessary to have these eight requirements. This can only be achieved by mainly relying on education. These are the requirements every Communist Party member must possess in the future.

#### IV. Apart From Social Profession, Each Party Member Must Shoulder a Kind of Work Assigned by an Organization of the Party

Our party has many party members who are revolutionary professionals specially in charge of leading party and mass work; at the same time, there are even more party members engaged in various social professions. In the future, because economic work and technical work have become more important than in the past, there will be even more party members engaged in social professions. As many of the party members engaged in social professions are not enthusiastic about party and mass work as well as political work, there frequently appears among them viewpoints of a purely social profession type, such as purely technical and military viewpoints. On the other hand, because many of the party members are not regularly shouldering party and mass work as well as political work, the ties between the party and the masses as well as the leading role of the party over the masses are also weakened. Obviously, this is a great loss.

For the sake of correcting the above-mentioned shortcomings and for the sake of giving play to the role of our party among the masses, the eight required criteria for Communist Party members in the draft resolution on party rectification therefore stipulated: "Apart from engaging in social profession, each party member with social profession must shoulder a kind of work assigned by an organization of the party. Otherwise, he cannot become a communist." This stipulation accords with the party constitution and is quite necessary. Otherwise, apart from professional work, certain party members engaged in social professional work can have absolutely nothing to do with party and mass work as well as political work.

The party and mass work as well as political work a party member participates in should be carried out under the assignment of a party organization. For example, he can participate in the leadership work of party committees and party organizations at various levels, in inner-party and propaganda work for the masses, in the work of recruiting party

members, and in the work of mass organizations as well as social service work.

This should be based on the time each party member can find, on his ability, and on the objective need at that time. The party organization the party member belongs to should appropriately assign the work and also carry out inspection as well as provide guidance. Apart from the revolutionary professional specially in charge of party and mass work and individual party members under special circumstances, every party member engaged in a social profession should voluntarily shoulder at least one of these works beside his own professional work, and try his best to make a success of the work he has shouldered. Some of the comrades are very busy and it is very difficult for them to find time, but it is always possible to find several hours a week, or even a month, to shoulder this kind of work. Therefore, we have made this one of the requirements of a Communist Party member.

#### V. Oppose Lowering the Requirements of Party Members

Some of the comrades have brought up certain questions, and their idea is to ask for lowering the requirements of party members. I do not agree with the view of these comrades.

Some people have asked: Some of the party members did not have adequate requirements when they joined the party, and even had many confused ideas, but after joining the party, by means of education and tempering in struggle, they have also become good party members. There have been many such cases in the past. Then, may we not still do the same as before and let those people without adequate requirements join the party?

My answer is: No. We cannot. In the future, we should let those people without adequate requirements be properly educated and tempered outside the party first. This means that they must have the requirements to become a party member before joining the party, and we must not hastily recruit them into the party when they still do not possess the requirements. After they have joined the party, we should continue to educate and temper them, and the party also can properly educate and temper some of the party members without adequate requirements. However, if in the future we recruit into the party some people without adequate requirements, trouble will crop up and the party will fall into a passive position. By doing so in the past, trouble appeared, and this caused the party organization in some places to fall into a passive position, however, the revolution had still not succeeded at that time, and we could still do this particularly in the case of people who had a difficult life under the supply system. In the future, we should no longer allow this. At present, we have all kinds of facilities outside the party for educating and tempering people willing to join the party, and there is absolutely no such need of first recruiting them into the party and then educating and tempering them.

Some people have asked: Raising the requirements of party members may cause certain party organizations to adopt a passive attitude toward the recruiting of party members. We think that this is a tendency which may

occur, and we must guard against it. Therefore, leading party organs at various levels should regularly carry out inspection, and they must criticize, supervise, and direct those organizations which have adopted a passive attitude in the work of recruiting party members and party building and correct this tendency. This is to say, we must recruit party members, especially in places with no or very few party members. We may also fix the time and circumstances for the recruiting of party members based on local conditions. At the same time, we must insist on the requirements of party members, tighten formalities for joining the party, and do ample inspection and education work.

#### VI. Whether It Is Possible To Make Inappropriate and Excessive Requirements on Party Members

When putting the stress on raising the requirements of party members, it is possible to give rise to the condition of inappropriately making excessive requirements on certain party members.

In the CPSU, some people had proposed using proficiency in the party program as the requirement of party members. Comrade Stalin criticized this idea. (See "On Shortcomings in the Work of the Party and Methods of Eliminating Double-Dealer Trotskiy and Other Double-Dealers," "Selected Works of Stalin," p 150, People's Publishing House, 1962 edition) The CPSU has a detailed party program, and only a college professor can be proficient in this kind of party program; an average party member of laborer origin cannot do this. Therefore, this kind of requirement is inappropriate and excessive. Our party does not have a detailed party program, but a simple program. This kind of simple program, after explanation, can be more or less understood by the ordinary party members of laborer origin, and we must also make them more or less understand it, but it is still very difficult to ask them to master it.

As for party members of laborer origin, what we should attach importance to is their spontaneous and actual class consciousness in class struggle, and not dogmatically require them to recite Marxist-Leninist phrases. In our party, some people had asked the party members to recite many Marxist-Leninist phrases, considering that the more phrases a party member could recite, the higher the political consciousness of the party member. This is also inappropriate. However, this does not mean that we do not want to educate the party members with Marxist-Leninist principles. Today, our party members urgently need this kind of education.

In our party, some people pay too much attention to the minor mistakes of others, to the nonpolitical and nonprincipled trifles in personal life, and emphasize these minor mistakes in order to make inappropriate demands on the party members. This is no good and should be avoided.

At present, there is a serious phenomenon among our party members who have not been released from production and activists outside the party; that is, there are too many meetings and social activities, and they are always busy. In many factories, apart from production time, party members must spend

2 to even 4 hours of activity time a day. The activity time of party members in the countryside is also too long. This is also the case with party members working in schools. The cadres and labor models holding posts in basic-level organizations in particular have more work than they can attend to. This is because our party members and activists outside the party hold too many jobs concurrently, no rational arrangements have been made for the activity time of various organizations, and various meetings have not been properly organized. Therefore, the time of many people is wasted. To solve this problem, party committees at various levels must consult with various sectors in order to realistically carry out adjustment and control so that the time for each party member and activist to take part in activities will not be too great. Otherwise, their enthusiasm cannot be maintained for long. It is necessary to ask each party member engaged in social professions to set aside a certain amount of time to participate in activities. However, asking our party members to freely use too much of their time to participate in activities is quite obviously inappropriate and excessive.

Living under the condition of the supply system, party members released from production often have problems in solving family difficulties. Some of the party members definitely have no means of supporting their parents, spouse, and children, and they ask to be returned home to production. The party should give sympathetic consideration to this kind of request. When there is no other solution, such requests should be approved. Under normal conditions, it is also inappropriate to ask party members to needlessly give up their families.

Lowering the requirements of party members is incorrect. However, it is also incorrect to set inappropriate and excessive requirements. The actual difficulties of the party members must be taken into account.

#### VII. How To Handle Party Members With Inadequate Requirements

After raising the requirements of party members, how should we handle party members who have already joined the party but do not have adequate requirements? Regarding these party members who have not been thoroughly investigated in the past, we should thoroughly investigate them during the party rectification. Those with inadequate education should take make-up lessons. We should give them education in order to raise their standards. After doing this, we believe that a considerable portion of party cadres who do not have adequate requirements at present will be able to have adequate requirements in the future. As for the party members either unwilling to take make-up lessons, if they are bad elements, they should be purged from the party. If they are not bad elements, we should also pass proper judgment on them separately, point out to them where they are not up to standards, and ask them to resign from the party. If they are not willing to resign from the party and wish to continue as a party member, we may also set demands on them and wait a period of time for them. After this period we will reexamine their cases, and if they still do not have adequate standards, we can again ask them to resign. The purpose of this is, on the one hand, to maintain the strictness of the party, and on the other hand,

not to hurt their feelings. As for the party members who still do not have adequate requirements after education, we should pass proper judgment, point out to them that they do not have adequate requirements, and ask them to resign from the party. This is necessary. If we do not do this, we will be unable to maintain the strictness of the party, and this will affect the good party members as well as leave a bad impression among the masses. At the same time, we must also adopt the method of educating and patiently waiting, give consideration to their claims, and not hurt their feelings. This is also necessary. It is also incorrect to adopt an oversimplified and crude method in dealing with them.

On the question of carrying out party rectification and dealing with the masses, we not only must adhere to the principles of the party but, under normal conditions, we must also obtain the approval and support of all good party members as well as the approval and support of the masses outside the party. In other words, the inherent forces there as well as the party must stand on the same front before the problems there can be properly solved. In the work of party rectification and party building, we must properly enlist the participation of the masses outside the party, listen to their views, and obtain their assistance. This is possible as well as necessary.

#### VIII. Strive for Higher Requirements of Communist Party Members

In the work of party rectification and party building, we must draw two clear lines of distinction. First, we must draw a clear line of distinction between the enemy and ourselves; second, we must draw a clear line of distinction between the party members and the masses, and between the vanguards and the masses. The two lines of distinction are different methods to differentiate between them. After differentiating them, we must also adopt different methods to deal with them and must not mix them up. This is our principle.

It is not easy to be a communist. He must first possess various requirements, be resolute, and undergo ample education before he can join the party. After joining the party, he must also constantly study and temper himself in work and study and continue to improve himself before he can better serve the people under the leadership of the party. Therefore, not all ordinary workers, peasants, and intellectuals, but only the most advanced and the most resolute elements, can become communists. Therefore, to be a communist is the greatest honor.

More than 50 years ago, for the sake of establishing an advanced revolutionary party of the proletariat, Lenin also waged a resolute struggle to set a high standard of party member requirements for this party. (See "Concise Study in CPSU (Bolshevik) History," pp 60-61, People's Publishing House, 1964 edition) Later, he also constantly waged this kind of struggle inside the CPSU. Therefore, the CPSU became the most advanced political party of the proletariat in the world and was primarily responsible for leading the proletariat and working people in Russia to secure the victory of the revolution and founding the first socialist country in the world. Based on the party building principle of Lenin and the experience of the

CPSU, our Communist Party of China has, since the founding of the party, all along waged a constant struggle to maintain this principle. Therefore, the Chinese working class and Chinese people led by the CPC were able to secure the victory of the revolution and to set up the People's Republic of China, and our party also became a great, glorious, and correct Communist Party. In the future, we must still continue to strive for higher requirements of Communist Party members.

CSO: 4004/55

PRESERVE THE PURITY OF THE PARTY, INCREASE THE COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PARTY--STUDYING COMRADE LIU SHAOQI'S THINKING ON THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY IN POWER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 8-13

[Article by Liu Chengwen [0491 1504 2429] and Zhang Baoshan [1728 1405 1372]]

[Text] The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has made a resolution on all-round party rectification beginning from this winter. At this moment, we are observing the 85th birthday of the outstanding leader of the party and the state, Comrade Liu Shaoqi. We hold that it is most significant to study the thinking of this great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary on the building of the party in power, and to strive for preserving the purity of the party, to heighten the party's combat effectiveness, and to victoriously fulfill the task of the current party rectification.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi made outstanding contributions to the building of the CPC both in theory and practice during his life of heroic struggle for the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. His works "On the Self-Cultivation of a Communist," "On the Party," and so on, published in the democratic revolutionary period, are to this day important ideological weapons for us in strengthening the building of the party. In the socialist period, Comrade Liu Shaoqi proposed many important ideas for strengthening the building of the party in power in light of the characteristics that our party had become the party in power and of the experience at that time. For instance: It is imperative to persist in striving for a high standard of qualifications for party members, and to educate party members in communism and the Communist Party in earnest; it is imperative to strengthen the education, administration, and supervision of CPC cadres, to oppose arrogance and conceit, the "special privilege" mentality, and bureaucratism, and to avoid getting divorced from the masses of people; it is imperative to consolidate the unity and unification of the party, to resolutely correct the tendencies of decentralism which find expression in not seriously implementing the decisions of the Central Committee, and in each doing things in his own way, and to persist in serious struggle against factionalism, splittism, and other activities that do harm to the party; it is imperative to implement the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership in earnest, not just in form, and to expand democracy

within the party, and to be strict in party discipline; it is imperative to overcome the phenomenon of party organizations paying no attention to party affairs, and to correctly handle the relation between the party and governmental organs and other nonparty organizations; it is also imperative to purify the organization, and to resolutely expel various bad elements who have sneaked into the party, degenerate elements and so on. Today, the concrete situation that our party is facing is greatly different from that before the "Cultural Revolution"; nonetheless, these ideas of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, in particular those concerning raising the quality of party members, making closer the ties with the masses, and upholding the correct leadership of the party are still of realistic guiding significance to our current party rectification, to preserving the purity of the party in ideology, in style and organization, and in raising the quality and combat effectiveness of the party.

## I

In order to preserve the purity of the party and to raise the combat effectiveness of the party, it is primarily necessary to persist in ideological education in communism, and to strive for a higher standard of Communist Party members.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi held: As the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party must require its members to possess a high level of class consciousness and staunch revolutionary will; by no means should it lower the standard for its members. This is a matter of great importance that concerns the question of whether Lenin's principle on party building is upheld, whether it is possible to realize the correct leadership of the party, and whether the party holds high its prestige among the masses. This question has been all the more important since the party took up nationwide political leadership.

As a result of the victory of the revolution, ours has become the party in power. The leading position of the party has created unprecedentedly favorable conditions for the new system and new life of building socialism in our country; nonetheless, this also makes our party face some new situations and problems. First, victory and success, power and status, the environment of peaceful construction, the corruption of bourgeois ideas and material temptation will unavoidably make some people in our contingent who have weak willpower or impure party spirit, claim credit for themselves and become arrogant, or become pessimistic and decadent or corrupt and degenerate, thus sully the honorable title of communist. Second, in the view of some people, joining the party now is not like the situation in the past in which people had to risk their lives, and had to be ready to shed blood and sacrifice themselves at any moment--on the contrary, there are many advantages to be gained. Therefore, among the large number of new party members that have joined our party there will unavoidably be some backward elements, opportunists, and even bad elements who have sneaked into the party. Third, the historical task of the proletariat is not just to destroy the old world but, more important, to create a new one, and the seizure of power is just the beginning of the revolution. In order to

consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to build a new socialist system, and to finally realize communism, the communist party in power must shoulder a greater and more difficult historical responsibility than at any time in the past. And this precisely requires that our party set stricter standard and higher requirements for its members.

Back in the years of the revolutionary war, Comrade Liu Shaoqi explicitly pointed out: "The training and cultivation through revolutionary practice, and the training and cultivation of proletarian consciousness are important to every communist, and all the more so after the seizure of political power." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol I, p 103) On the eve of the victory of the revolution, he further pointed out: "After the victory, it is certain that some people will become corrupt and bureaucratic. If our party pays attention to this, strengthens ideological education, and heightens the sense of discipline, things might be better... Otherwise, those who do degenerate will be great in number, and this will bring failure to the revolution." (Ibid., p 413) After the nationwide liberation, he started to solve this problem in a more concrete manner. In 1951, he made the important report entitled "Strive for a Still Higher Standard of Communists" at the First National CPC Organizational Work Conference which he presided over, expounding and proving in detail that it is imperative for the party in power to raise the standard of its members, to be strict in the procedures for admitting new party members, to strengthen education in communism, to purify the party organizations, and so on. The eight conditions for the standard of a communist which he personally drafted became the explicit requirements for party members and the content of their education. He was also responsible for formulating the "Resolution on Consolidating Grassroots Organizations," which stipulated explicit principles and concrete measures to overcome the impurity of the party in organization and ideology. That particular conference and the party rectification going on nationwide at that time played an important role in raising the consciousness of strengthening the building of the party in power throughout the party and in preserving the purity of the party in ideology and organization.

The key link in raising the standard of party members lies in strengthening ideological education in communism. Engels said: "A great advantage of our party is that it has a new, scientific world outlook as its theoretical basis." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol II, p 118) Only party members armed with a scientific communist world outlook will be able to realize their role as advanced fighters. In other words, a communist must incessantly raise his communist consciousness and establish a communist world outlook, before he is able to remain firm in the belief that the revolutionary cause will inevitably be victorious, to adopt a firm stand of proletarian party spirit, to acquire a noble ideological sentiment, to serve the people heart and soul, and to struggle all his life for the party's cause selflessly, fearlessly and vigorously. At a time when our party had just taken power nationwide, Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed that it was necessary to carry on education in the party's program and constitution among party members, namely education in communism and the Communist Party. This was not only because the party had for a long time been confined to

the countryside and separated by the enemy, and worked in a strained environment of war in which it had been impossible to carry on full and systematic education among the party members, and hence, the necessity of making up missed lessons; but also because a change had taken place in the party's position, task, and environment since its seizure of power nationwide, and it was all the more necessary to grasp well this education so as to make the party members stand the test of victory and shoulder the new, great, but arduous historical task. Therefore, Comrade Liu Shaoqi proposed that it was necessary to compile a pamphlet on what communism was to educate party members, and to conduct examinations in basic theoretical knowledge on communism and the Communist Party among party members and activists who requested to join the party just as had been done in the examination of Xiucan [4423 2088--a scholar who passed the imperial examination at the county level in the Ming and Qing Dynasties]. He also held that it was imperative to persist in the principle of combining theory with practice in conducting ideological education in communism. The education in communism and the Communist Party grasped by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the early 1950's was precisely linked with the party rectification and the consolidation of party style. The systematic nature of the education was focused on, and was also the aim of it. Education was the basis of the consolidation of the party style, while the consolidation of the party style was the intensifying of education. The two of them were closely coordinated, and a good result was achieved.

In order to raise the standard of party members, it is also necessary to purify the contingent of the party. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin explicitly pointed out: Careerists and other dangerous elements will take the opportunity to sneak into the party in power; this is also entirely unavoidable, "and the whole question lies in the fact that the party in power backed by an advanced class which is strong and healthy must be good at purifying its own contingent." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 21) In accordance with the condition of the contingent of our party members since the founding of the PRC, Comrade Liu Shaoqi not only proposed that it was necessary to conduct serious education in communism and the Communist Party, so as to continuously make good party members better, to educate and remold party members who did not possess, or were not entirely up to, the standard for a communist, but also proposed that all party grassroots organizations should carry on a serious examination of their party members, so as to discover and weed out all categories of bad men who had sneaked into our party, and made explicit stipulations on the eight categories of bad elements that must be purged from the party. He also proposed that, concerning those party members who were still not up to the standard after repeated education, it was necessary to do a good job on them patiently, in persuading them to withdraw from the party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: This is precisely "to preserve the purity of our party, and to continuously raise the quality and combat effectiveness of our party through education and organizational combing." ("Report Made at the First CPC National Organizational Work Conference," 28 March 1951)

Today, our party has a membership of 40 million. The majority of our party members are good or comparatively good, especially as a result of the

persistent efforts in bringing order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in restoring and bringing forward the fine traditions and style of the party, in eliminating the pernicious effects of "leftism," and in opposing the trends of bourgeois liberalization; many party members have brought into play their vanguard and exemplary role, and there have appeared a large number of outstanding party members. Nonetheless, it is still impossible to completely eliminate in a short time the negative effects left by the 10-year internal disorder. There is a lack of basic education and training in party spirit among the majority of young party members. Inside the party "people of three categories" and other elements opposing and doing injury to the party have not been completely weeded out [qingli: 3237 3810]. Under the new historical condition of implementing the correct policy of opening up to the world and enlivening the domestic economy, the corrosive influences of bourgeois decadent ideals and remnant feudal ideas have to some degree increased. In addition, there have existed weakness and ineffectiveness in political and ideological work in recent years. Such a complicated situation has made some party members completely or partially lose their qualifications as communists. Therefore, to strengthen ideological education in communism, to raise the quality of party members, to persist in the conditions for party members, and to purify the party organizations is still a very important issue in party building at present. The 12th CPC National Congress summed up both the positive and negative experiences since our party came into power, proposed to build socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, and stressed that "the party's ideological construction is the pillar of socialist spiritual civilization, and communists should first play an exemplary role in ideology and morality." (Hu Yaobang: "Create a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization") The political and organizational requirements of the new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress are much stricter than the stipulations in the several party constitutions in the past. The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has made the decision on all-round party rectification. All this will certainly further raise the quality of CPC members and will greatly strengthen the combat effectiveness of our party.

## II

In order to preserve the purity of the party, and to raise its combat effectiveness, it is also imperative to persist in the purpose of serving the people heart and soul, and to educate and supervise party cadres to make close ties with the masses. Comrade Liu Shaoqi held: The source of the whole strength of our party lies in the fact that it is capable of relying on the working class and the masses of people. So long as our party members and cadres serve the people heart and soul and forever keep close touch with the masses of people, we will always maintain a power which is inexhaustible and invincible.

In long-standing revolutionary struggle, our party has all along persisted in the purpose of serving the people heart and soul, giving special attention to educating party cadres in the masses view and the mass line, so as

to make them take root in the masses of people. Party cadres derive from the masses, are part of the masses, and at the same time, serve the people, while leading them to advance. Comrade Liu Shaoqi had a popular way of putting it: "Our cadres are also from the masses, and they will go back among the masses." ("On the Party," p 81) In the war years, when both the party and the masses were being oppressed, party cadres would be supported by the people only when they became one with the masses, serving them heart and soul. On the other hand, if they deviated from the masses a little, they lost the support of the masses, and faced failure and the danger of finding no way of subsistence. In those days, cadres charged at the head of their men, and led the masses to stand up in search of emancipation; while the masses sacrificed themselves, and cherished and protected the cadres; they truly shared a common destiny and enjoyed a fish and water relationship. Such flesh-and-blood ties between cadres and the masses have become a fine tradition of our party.

After the liberation, the party has led the nationwide political power. Some party cadres took up certain leading posts, and their thoughts and feelings have undergone some changes when they have grasped certain power, and they gradually forgot the purpose of serving the people heart and soul. Some of them regard themselves as superiors and officials of the masses, handling affairs by administrative order, while no longer trusting or relying on the masses, and even going so far as to look down upon the masses. They stand high above the masses, enjoying high position and living in ease and comfort; they show no concern for the hardship of the masses, having no understanding of the actual conditions; they show no interest in the cause of the party; they shirk and delay work whenever it is possible for them to do so, being casual and performing their duties in a perfunctory manner. Just as Lenin said: "This is modern 'bureaucratism of communists.'" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 210) Some of them regard the power given to them by the people as their personal special privilege; they are not using the power in their hands to realize the party's cause and to seek happiness for the people, but to take advantage of their positions and power in seeking personal gains. They establish influential ties, vying for higher position, they are out for better treatment, and have gone so far as to "grant titles to their wives, and protect their sons," engaging in malpractices for selfish ends. A small number of people have encroached on the property of the state and the collective, they squander and go in for extravagance; they practice corruption, accepting bribes, violating the law and discipline; some of them even harbor evildoers, and go so far as to directly participate in criminal activities. This has greatly injured the party's prestige, dampened the initiatives of the masses, and damaged the relation between the party and the masses. Therefore, for a party in power, it is an extremely grave task to educate and supervise party cadres to keep close contact with the masses, and to prevent them from being derelict in their duty and taking advantage of their positions and power for selfish ends. Comrade Liu Shaoqi attached great importance to the problem of the possibility of being divorced from the masses on the part of cadres under the condition of the party holding power. He explicitly pointed out: "Ours is a party in power throughout the whole country, and many of its members are leading members at various levels of the state power. In the

position of a party in power, it is very easy for the style of commandism and bureaucratism to grow." "The practice of going after grand style and extravagances, the use of public office for private gains, and the style of becoming privileged, and openly squandering the property of the people, have grown recently among quite a few cadres. No such malpractices of the old bureaucrats are permitted within our contingent." ("Report Made at the Enlarged Work Conference of the CPC Central Committee," 27 January 1962) In accordance with the nature and purpose of the party, he explicitly pointed out: "No matter how high their positions are, all communists are servants of the masses of people; they should all regard themselves as ordinary laborers; they should enjoy no special privileges, and they should show concern for the livelihood of the masses, sharing their joy and sorrow." (Ibid.) In his view, the relation between the party, the leading organs of our state, the leading members at various levels and the laboring masses of workers and peasants is a fundamental question. He held that it was necessary to repeatedly carry out education in serving the people heart and soul among all the cadres and party members, to thoroughly correct all the bad style of becoming divorced from the masses, and to consolidate the close contact of our party and the masses of people.

In order to prevent party cadres from becoming divorced from the masses, Comrade Liu Shaoqi held that it was not only necessary to conduct education among them, but to adopt the method of consolidating the party's style, repudiating the mentality of becoming specially privileged, and the mentality of standing above the people, subjectivism, commandism, and bureaucratism, and also to stipulate regulations, exercise supervision, and be strict in discipline. He advocated that there should be certain restriction to the power of the leading members of the state, and there should be some stipulations on the limit of power in certain matters, and on what is not permitted. In accordance with the experience of the Paris Commune, he proposed that the difference in living standards between the leading members of the state and the masses should not be too great. He also proposed the idea that meant in essence, abolishing the life tenure system of leading posts, and cited the example of George Washington who had retired to be one of the people after a presidency of 8 years, and asked whether it was possible for us to regard such practice as a reference. He advocated strengthening the supervision of cadres; and special attention was attached to the supervision on the part of the masses of people. He said: "Ours is such a big country, with so many institutions; the overwhelming majority of cadres are good, but there are a small number of them who are not good, this is a fact. At the same time, without constant supervision, good cadres might also turn bad. Therefore, it is necessary to practice supervision on all state organ workers. Apart from the supervision by the people, it is also imperative to strengthen the supervision by supervisory organs and procuratorial organs, and to practice in earnest supervision by the state." ("Letter to Commissioner Zhang Weixian," 7 April 1955) He proposed: "All cadres from the most primary to the most advanced levels should be placed under the administration of certain organs, and no cadres should be left unmanaged." ("Report Made at the First CPC National Organizational Work Conference," 28 March 1951) He stipulated that a system of mass supervision should be formulated, and that

we should take into consideration how the people's congress was to exercise supervision over the government and our leading members, and how the newspapers were to exercise supervision, and so on. He advocated being strict in party discipline, holding that it was necessary to adopt resolute means to expel those cadres who had seriously violated the law and discipline, gone in for corruption, and become morally degenerate, and by handling these people we would be able to preserve the purity of the party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "Our country runs counter to those countries of the exploiting classes, where the minority of people oppress the overwhelming majority of people; our system is to oppose bureaucratism, not to protect it." ("The Political Report of the CPC Central Committee to the 8th CPC National Congress," 15 September 1956) Therefore, we are full of confidence that we will gradually eliminate all malpractices of being divorced from the masses under our people's democratic system.

### III

In the final analysis, it is imperative to persist in the party's administration of the party itself, and to guarantee the correct leadership of the party in ideology, politics, and organization, so as to preserve the purity of the party and to raise the combat effectiveness of the party.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi held that the consolidation, education, and development of our party, and doing a good job in the administration of the party itself was a key question in raising the leading role of the party among the masses of people. The party should play a leading role in every work in ideology, politics, and in its principles and policies, but it should not take on what ought to be done by various nonparty organizations.

After the seizure of power by the proletariat, the party became the core of leadership in the socialist cause of our country. Under such conditions, how the party should exercise leadership in this country with the people as the masters of the country, and how it should bring forward the role as the leading core has become a most vital issue. Due to various reasons, some comrades have mistakenly regarded running the whole show, directly conducting and doing things all by themselves without consulting others in all administrative affairs and work as strengthening the leadership of the party; and in the long run, this has resulted in the abnormal phenomenon of making no difference between the party and the government, having the party take the place of the government, and the party failing to administer itself. And such result has, on the one hand, caused the organizations of the state power, organizations of economy and culture, and mass organizations to fail to work independently with responsibility, affecting these departments and their workers in bringing into play their initiative and creativity; on the other, it has got the party bogged down in routine work of administration, production, and so on, failing to concentrate its efforts on studying the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies, and the party's ideology, style and organizational construction. In 1962, Comrade Liu Shaoqi profoundly pointed out: For many years, our party had all along worked for the seizure of power. However, since it founded its regime, some comrades have failed to understand the importance

of setting up the prestige of the regime, bringing into play its role, and establishing the normal order of governmental organizations. He also said: The leading members of some party organizations regard the people's congress and other organizations as something dispensable, just because the party is now in power. This is entirely wrong. Ours is the leading party of the state; nonetheless, under no circumstances should we make the party take the place of organizations of the state power and other organizations. If such is the case, we will be violating the people's democratic system. Comrade Liu Shaoqi also acutely pointed out: The party will suffer in the end if it fails to administer itself. He stressed that during the period of socialist construction, the task of party building was heavier than it had been before, not the reverse. On many occasions, he mentioned that the party should administer itself, and that the party in power should always attach attention to party building.

In order to persist in the party's administration of itself, and to do a good job in party building, it is imperative to make a clear distinction between the party and the government in their duties, and their limits of power. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "The party should and can play the leading role in all work ideologically, politically, and in principle and policy. Of course, it does not mean that the party should monopolize and interfere in everything." ("Political Report of the CPC Central Committee to the 8th CPC National Congress," 15 September 1956) Here, Comrade Liu Shaoqi explicitly proposed the correct principle that the leadership of the party should be the leaders in ideology, politics, and in principle and policy, and defined the correct relationship between the party and state power and other organizations. He stressed that the leadership of party committees should focus their efforts on studying the implementation of the line, principles, and policies formulated by the CPC Central Committee, making investigation and study, summing up the experiences of the masses, and strengthening political and ideological work, and on supervision and examination of work in all fields; only then will the work of leadership be really done well. He also proposed that party committees at all levels should strengthen their administration of party members and cadres, and in particular, do well in the administration of cadres. He said: It is imperative to educate and raise the level of cadres and party members with still higher requirements, it is imperative to select cadres and accept new party members with a still higher standard, and it is imperative to exercise strict supervision on cadres and party members and to wage serious struggle against unhealthy tendencies among them. He also required the strengthening of the leadership of grassroots party organizations in both the rural areas and the cities, calling on them to overcome the phenomenon of occupying themselves in routine work while neglecting the organizational and ideological building of the party.

In order to persist in the party's administration of itself, and to do well in party building, it is essential to exercise democratic centralism in earnest, and to fight against the tendencies of arbitrary individual decisions and extreme democracy. Comrade Liu Shaoqi repeatedly stressed: It is essential to implement the principle of collective leadership and expanding democracy inside the party, in party organizations at all levels

without exception. When deciding any important issues in a party committee, the relation between the secretary and the members of the committee is on the same principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority. A belief that the first secretary has the power to make every decision, that he has the sole say in everything is not permitted. It is essential for party leadership to bring democracy into full play, to listen to the opinions of organizations at lower levels and the masses of party members in earnest, and to be good at solving problems in work in democratic ways, and it is necessary to fully unfold criticism and self-criticism inside the party; in particular, all leading cadres of the party should not only create conditions for the masses of party members to be bold in making criticism, but themselves set an example in making sincere, not superficial, self-criticism on the shortcomings and mistakes in their work. Only then, will it be possible to bring into play the initiative of the party members and to make the political life inside the party healthy and perfect, and safeguard the unity and unification of the party. Comrade Liu Shaoqi also stressed: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the whole party is subordinate to the party Central Committee; of these four disciplines, the most fundamental and the core is that the whole party is subordinate to the party Central Committee. We should resolutely oppose the practice of regarding the unit under one's leadership as one's own "small world," going one's own way, violating the policies of the party Central Committee, and failing to implement the decisions of the party Central Committee in earnest. He said: Such decentralism will injure the unification of the party politically; injure the ownership of the whole people and impede the implementation of the national plan economically; help the growth of individualism and departmentalism, and do injury to communism ideologically; injure democratic centralism, sabotage the party's discipline, and weaken the party's combat effectiveness organizationally. If such decentralism is not overcome, it will be very difficult for the party to advance.

In order to persist in the party's administration of itself, and to do a good job in party building, it is essential to be strict in party discipline, to overcome the state of being weak and lax in leadership, and to be bold in fighting against all unhealthy tendencies and conduct in violation of the law and discipline. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out that many abnormal phenomena that took place within the party life did not arise from the lack of regulations to abide by inside the party, nor from the incorrectness of the regulations and systems formulated by the party, but were caused by the fact that these regulations and systems had not been implemented, or had been distorted and sabotaged in some organizations. He stressed that the party constitution was the law of the whole party, and the criterion of party life; all party organizations and party members should unconditionally act in strict accordance with the party constitution. He said: All party members, including leading cadres who are party members should observe party discipline without exception; they should all observe the law of the state in an exemplary manner, they should not be indifferent to all unhealthy phenomena both inside and outside the party, and should adopt an attitude of noninterference, but should wage active struggle against all evildoers and evil deeds.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi's thinking on the building of party in power is valuable ideological treasure of our party and an important component part of Mao Zedong Thought. To study Comrade Liu Shaoqi's thinking on building the party in power in earnest will help us deepen the understanding of party rectification which is under way, and will urge us to strictly conduct ourselves in accordance with the requirements for party members and cadres stipulated in the new party constitution, and to become not only qualified communists but good ones.

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## HISTORY AND EDUCATION IN PATRIOTISM

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[Article by Zhou Gucheng]

[Text] History classes are to be found throughout education from primary school to university. The study of history is a very good method of carrying out patriotic education among young people. The teaching and research into history should serve to foster a patriotic spirit and stimulate patriotism among young people.

### 1. Chinese History Should Serve To Stimulate Patriotism

First, it is necessary that young people recognize and appreciate the motherland. Our motherland has a history and thus we cannot simply sever it from its history. On the contrary, we should take the study of history very seriously. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The new politics and economy of China have developed out of the old politics and old economy of ancient times and China's new culture has also developed out of the culture of the old country and for this reason we must respect our own history and should on no account sever ourselves from it." ("Complete Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 668) We must ensure that young people come to understand and appreciate their motherland through the study of history, and thus the compilation of history books is very important. For example, when history textbooks are written for secondary schools or for the masses, the most important factor in their compilation must be ensuring that the readers gain an understanding and appreciation of their mother country. If, when the reader has finished reading, his or her appreciation and understanding of the mother country has not improved and if the book makes the reader worried and confused by dates, names, places, and pedantic textual criticism, then the book has not performed its purpose of teaching the reader about patriotism. Names, places, dates, and other details are sometimes necessary but we should not allow these things to conceal the educational purpose of history. Ever since the day I could read, well over half a century ago, very few of the history textbooks or general history books that I have read have come up to this ideal and allowed the reader to come to an immediate understanding of the general trends of Chinese history. More recently, the concerted efforts of historians and experts have improved the situation somewhat, but there are still only a few books which reach this ideal, and

thus we must continue this hard work. When we edit history textbooks of famous historical works we must uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide, and in our editing there would be no harm in examining some editorial methods used in other countries. Ever since the motherland abolished the system of imperial examinations and set up schools in their place, we have always drawn on useful and good foreign methods in editing and writing history books, and during the 4 May movement this became even more prominent. Today, it is still a necessary part of our work. By studying the various good styles of writing abroad we should develop our own special and outstanding styles of writing. This is linked to understanding the mother country and also to the exploitation of the role of patriotic education, and we should not consider this as trivial or irrelevant.

Second, we must foster a patriotic fervor among young people. When young people have read good history books and have come to understand the motherland, then, they will be able to understand the indivisibility between their own lives and the existence of the mother country. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "China is one of the largest countries in the world, and its surface area is about the same as that of the entire area of Europe. ...From the very earliest of times our forefathers were laboring, living, and procreating on this massive expanse of land." (Ibid., p 584) Since our lives are indivisible from the existence of our mother country, we oppose any kind of destruction of our mother country which may come from any quarter. We oppose dark or reactionary rule and we oppose external pressure. Reactionary rule destroyed our country and it also destroyed our lives, and thus we rebelled and opposed it. External pressure destroyed our motherland and thus also destroyed our lives and we opposed it. We have a deep respect and love for freedom and a glorious tradition of revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Chinese people are not only famous throughout the world for their suffering and hard work, they are also a race who love and respect freedom and have a tradition of revolution." (Ibid., p 586) The love of freedom, the tradition of revolution, the opposition to reactionary rule and external pressure all allowed us to get a solid grasp on our motherland. This is how we were in the past, how we are at the present, and how we will continue to be in the future. If anyone wants to destroy our motherland, we will rise up and struggle against them and this is a sign of true patriotism. To a very great extent patriotic fervor is fostered through study of history. Thus we must use the study of history to foster patriotic fervor among young people.

Third, we must help young people increase and strengthen their belief in and convictions for the construction of our socialist motherland. We understand our motherland and love our motherland and thus we must push our motherland forward and we should not allow her to stagnate. In his work "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must respect our own history and we must on no account sever ourselves from history. It is this respect which gives history a very specific scientific position, it is a dialectical development of respecting history, not a tendency to ignore the present and concentrate on the past nor the glorification of any feudal poisons. The most important thing for students among the masses and the young people is not to get them to look behind them, but to get them to look ahead."

(Ibid., p 668) If we want to get young people to look ahead we must ensure that they understand the developmental trend of Chinese history. This developmental trend is the movement from the very primitive communal society to the slave society, followed by the feudal society, the semicolonial, semifeudal society, the new democratic society, the socialist society, and right up to the communist society. Our present constitution says: "The basic task of the country now and in the future is to gather its forces together to carry out modernized socialist construction. The people of all nationalities in China will continue, under the leadership of the CPC and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to maintain the democratic dictatorship of the people and the socialist road. They will constantly perfect every system within socialism, develop socialist democracy, and perfect the socialist legal system, achieving self-reliance, struggling arduously, and gradually achieving modernization in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. They will build our country into a highly civilized and highly democraticized socialist country." Every stage of development of Chinese society is as clear as this and if everyone clearly understands and appreciates this developmental trend and understands that historical development cannot be changed or altered, then confidence and faith in achieving modernization in socialist agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology will increase without fail.

## 2. World History Should Also Be Used as a Form of Patriotic Education

World history should also be exploited as a form of patriotic education. What does this mean? It is very simple to explain. Anyone working with or researching world history who can ensure that those attending lessons in world history or reading books on world history do not worship and have blind faith in things foreign is making use of patriotic education. For example, if one writes a textbook for secondary schools about world history, or if one is editing a piece of work about world history for the masses and in doing so one ensures that young people or the masses do not adopt an attitude of blindly worshiping foreign things, then that is no mean achievement. Let us take a more specific example. When editing world history books, if Europe is taken as the focal point of such a book, it is very easy to engender or encourage blind worship of things foreign. Many books on world history today, such as academic books, straightforward books on world history, and famous books by Western authors and Chinese scholars tend to reflect this focus on Europe. For example, these books almost always begin by discussing Egypt, then move on to Greece, and then Rome. Then they talk about Christianity, then the European Middle Ages, the discoveries of certain countries, the outward development of Europe, and the upheavals in various spots around the world. Naturally, they also discuss some other areas of history, but in general these things are always reflected as being subsidiary and an extension of the central theme of Europe. Ever since I began my research into world history, over 50 years ago, there has been no basic change in this general fashion of writing! If we want to oppose blind worship of things foreign then we must maintain a fundamental opposition to this tendency to write with Europe as the central theme. In the foreword to my humble work "A Complete World History" I suggested "in my

studies of the way to write a complete world history for general use, and not only for reference, a system emerged. There is not a great need to pay attention to the system needed for a reference book, but in the case of a general book for readers, it is absolutely vital that one consider the overall system and setup of the book to facilitate reading and to allow the book's role as a form of patriotic education to find expression. When I was editing and writing this book, I established a setup or system for writing and editing a complete world history with the aim of developing the reader's patriotic fervor and getting him or her to appreciate the psychological trends throughout the world as a whole. This system, in its negative aspect, completely eradicated the tendencies in most books to take the Western world as the focal point and to treat anything outside the West as minor. In its positive aspects it attempted to illustrate the 'increasing links' within the development of world history and thus managed to arrive at a fairly comprehensive and 'integrated system.'" This was my suggestion. At present, scholars in China and abroad seem to have the same demands and they seem to want to reject "the theory of Europe as central" and instead strive for an "integrated system." But in actual fact this is not true, and I have taken the liberty of making a few small criticisms. "Up until recently, some Western scholars, having been influenced by national liberation movements, have wanted to change things, or at least on the surface. During the seventies many world history books for general readership were published. Once in a while I have translated some of them and have discovered that all the changes in them are only nominal. In one book there was a very beautiful table of contents. The titles of all of the chapters were very abstract and impressive and did not give away the true facts about the book, namely that it was still centered around the West and treated everything outside the West as secondary. The actual contents of the book very much evolved around Europe. In another book there was one chapter dealing with the 20th century and the title of the chapter was 'The End of Europe.' Such titles are very striking and appear novel, but in actual fact the contents of the entire book are still old. From beginning to end it deals with Europe as the central theme."

This tendency to take Europe as central to everything can very easily engender blind worship of things foreign. Although in the past we took care to wipe out this tendency, our work is still not finished. While the study of Chinese history helps young people to understand the motherland, to love the motherland, and to increase and strengthen their faith in the construction of socialism, and while great efforts have already been made in this respect, it is still not enough. How can we know when it is enough? It is very simple. We must aim to foster a lofty character for constructing a socialist motherland among young people. Once this lofty character has been achieved it will be impossible for them not to love the motherland and not to construct their socialist motherland. It would be impossible for them not to oppose and struggle against anyone who wanted to destroy the motherland or hinder socialist construction. In order to liberate their motherland, the preliberation generation gave their all, even their lives. Some of them, just before they died as martyrs, called in loud and strong voices "Long live the Communist Party," "Long live the motherland" and they did so because they had this lofty character. Whatever we want to build the

motherland into, the builders must have corresponding characters. At this moment our motherland is at a key point in history, namely the achievement of the four socialist modernizations. The characters of the builders of the four modernizations must correspond to this. Their thinking, language, actions, customs, and so on must all correspond to the construction of the socialist society and the communist society.

Today conditions have never been better for fostering this kind of character. The achievements in economic construction in China recently have no parallel and the same applies to the stability and unity of politics, the flourishing of culture, and the importance attached to the construction of a spiritual civilization. Everyone is looking toward China with admiration and longing; our most distant compatriots yearn for China's prosperity. All the oppressed nations, states, and peoples throughout the world all wish for China's prosperity, and we can set up a model for them. Thus all of these things represent very good conditions in which young people may foster the lofty character necessary for constructing the socialist motherland. The teaching and education of parents, teachers, and other advanced people can all help the development of this lofty kind of character. Under the leadership of the party, historians should constantly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, "unite and struggle to make China prosper," and take the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," that landmark in literature, as their compass, and thoroughly come to understand the sense of the establishment of order out of chaos. They should continue their innovative work, face modernization, face the world, and face the future, giving their all, writing more and better books, and voicing more and better opinions, and, together, promote patriotic education. In this way patriotic education can achieve even better expression in the teaching of history.

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BE AN ORDINARY SOLDIER IN THE RANKS OF THE PARTY--ON THE INADVISABILITY OF  
PARTY MEMBER WRITERS CONSIDERING THEMSELVES AS SPECIAL

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[Article by Wang Meng]

[Text] At the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" was ratified and it demanded that all party members, without exception, take part in party rectification. Naturally, we party writers should actively and strictly study the relevant party documents and evaluate ourselves on the basis of the party member standards as drawn up in the party constitution, promote criticism and self-criticism, overcome our faults and shortcomings, and ensure that we come up to the party standards and strive hard to become outstanding party members.

May party writers consider themselves as special? Should they be restrained by party discipline? Should they keep in line with party discipline? May they consider themselves as better and more intelligent than the party? Actually there should be no question about such things as this and even today there is no one who publicly feels that in theory, writers within the party should be placed in a special position and should be given special rights or privileges. But in practice, and in reality, such questions do still occur within the deepest thoughts and feelings of some comrades.

A very small number of party writers do not study or study very little Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and do not propagate, or only propagate on a very small scale, the ideological systems of communist and the socialist system. Instead they tend to scramble for the various kinds of capitalist rubbish that exist and propagate subjective materialism, historical idealism, extreme individualism, nonrationalism, and decadence, which are all totally opposed to the Marxist view of the world and of art and literature but which go under such names as humanism, the theory of human nature, and modernism. Other comrades have not studied nor understood the spirit of the documents from the 3d and 6th Plenary Sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC National Congress and do not work in accordance with the spirit of the four basic principles and the third plenary session, but, rather, in their works and spoken principles, and policies. For example, some party writers actually deny Comrade Mao

Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought in their work and this is in flagrant contravention of relevant central authorities' decisions. Some other comrades appear to be outside the grassroots organizations of the party and do not make reports on their thoughts and work to the branches to which they belong. They do not take any initiative in paying party fees and they are wantonly absent, sometimes for many years, from organized party activities. Some individual party writers inflate their own egos, think they are very special, and do not consider themselves to be ordinary party members nor adopt an attitude of considering themselves in any way responsible for party affairs and in this way examine the shortcomings and good points and successes and failures of party work. Rather they consider themselves to be brighter than the party and to be the true critics of the party. Without any true foundation and in a very irresponsible way they wantonly denounce party regional organizations and party work and simply try to please their public with claptrap.

Although such behavior is only to be found among a very small percentage of party writers, its effects are very bad and the danger lies in the way such behavior and thinking may pollute the spirit of the readers and of young people. Without a doubt such problems as these must be solved through party rectification. There are many factors which produce such behavior. Judging from the subjective investigations of us party writers, it seems that one important factor is the tendency to misplace the position of the individual in relation to the party and to misplace the position of one's own written work and the work and undertakings of the party as a whole, and a tendency to regard oneself as special. Thus in actual fact some party writers consider themselves to be outside the party and its undertaking or to be above the party organization.

Literary creation is truly a lofty, arduous, and extremely influential kind of work. When a creator immerses his whole self in his creative thinking and enthusiasm, he often forgets himself and acts as if drunk or crazy and herein lies the bitter sweetness of his work, and while it may be difficult for others to understand, it is not difficult to explain. "The writer chooses rare and beautiful words for his audience and will not rest until his words make their impact." This is the joy of the writer and yet it is often also his limitation and perhaps even the root of his tragedy. The reason for this is that in comparison with the lively, moving, and richly varied life of society, and especially in comparison with the great communist cause and the undertaking to liberate all humanity, the undertaking to make China strong and prosperous, and the promotion of socialist modernization in China, these "beautiful lines" and "powerful words" are really only a question of literary manifestation and are thus only a very small part of things. If one does not understand that outside these "beautiful words" there also exists a real world, real people, revolutionary struggle, and a veritable transformation of heaven and earth, then one becomes very narrow in one's outlook. If one's body is a part of the Communist Party but one is self-complacent and self-satisfied about "beautiful words" and one does not go and make links with the masses or rely on the organization, or unite with the people, or embrace comprehensively the communist cause, but instead glorifies the character of the old kind of scholars and

political liberalization, then what kind of a pioneer of the proletariat is such a person?

It is true to say that only correct party guidance and the scientific world view of Marxism can help us become more farsighted, widen our view, correctly grasp political directions, develop healthy and profound themes, sharply and accurately evaluate real life and history, embody the spirit of the era, and courageously innovate and make breakthroughs so that our work reaches new ideological and artistic heights. Thus, as far as a party writer rich in party spirit is concerned, acceptance of party leadership, study of the party ideologies, and participation in party organizations are a part of his or her active work, and are part of his or her party duties. Such duties are not only not contradictory to the development of a personal literary style and the striving for literary creation, but the former might indeed be said to be a guarantee for the latter, and indeed the former is the source of the party writer's spiritual strength and spiritual wealth. Being a good party member stimulates one and helps one be a good writer. Only because party writers consciously regard their own work as being a part of the party cause and draw brightness and strength from the party leadership do they open up wide, brilliant, and unprecedented new roads for socialist art and literature, while the well-meaning writers of the old society stumbled around in the dark, hitting obstacles, living solitary lives, and finally becoming things of the past.

In China, art and literature has received great attention and respect from society and successful creation can sometimes bring the writer great glory and even material encouragement and rewards. This is a very good thing and is a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system displayed in the sphere of culture. But a very small number of writers cannot stand the test of success and fame and they become big-headed, considering themselves to be incredibly talented, and believing that they, as such "great writers" are writing for the whole country or even the whole world, and that their work will be handed down from generation to generation. Thus they do not take heed of the grassroots organizations in the party nor of the party constitution, nor party discipline, indeed sometimes they do not even take heed of the party itself. This is very arrogant and ridiculous and extremely dangerous. The reason is that no matter how influential one's own work is and no matter how great a reputation an individual has, that influence or fame has not come down from heaven and is not a rootless tree or sourceless stream of water. It has come from the ground beneath one's feet and from the organization to which one belongs, from the revolutionary comrades around one, and from the practical experiences of the masses. It has come from the party's undertakings and causes, from party ideology and party feelings, and from concrete and real social life. If the writer simply revels in his own fame and glory, if every day one's head is in the clouds and one feels smug, then one is merely spinning a cocoon around oneself and destroying oneself. Hence the greater the fame and literary talent of a party writer, the more he or she should take care to improve his or her own training in party character, strengthen his or her organizational discipline, fulfill party duties, be strict with himself or herself according to party standards, value and cherish the rights and duties of a party

member, step firmly on the ground, ensure that he or she is modest and prudent, and become an ordinary soldier in the ranks of the party. This kind of training to improve one's party character is just the panacea needed to cure various feelings of megalomania among some party writers (as well as various other illnesses such as mutual scorn among scholars, the struggle for fame and wealth, and so on) and it is also an important guarantee that party writers take the correct road and do not go astray, and correctly climb the lofty peaks of socialist art and literature.

There is another fault among some party writers. This is the tendency toward self-importance, a detachment from the masses, and a tendency to spend all one's time among a small circle of scholars, blowing one's own trumpet and singing mutual praises as well as self-flattery, a tendency to feel that only "the wise appreciate each other," and a tendency to develop into groups or split up into cliques.

The party writers who suffer from these kinds of problems all tend to scorn real work and scorn the cadres and masses who perform real life work and tend to despise other people as being "vulgar" or "stupid," almost as if there were only a very few brilliant scholars around who are able to discuss "Paganini" or "Kafka." Most writers who behave and think like this have already entered the vortex of self-isolation, while when party writers behave like this they have opposed in an even more basic way the qualities of the proletariat, as well as the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In general, when one compares discussion of a matter and the actual performance of that matter, the former is always much easier than the latter. Of course it is much easier to be an idle talker who either detests the world and its ways or enthuses with extravagant description than to be a practical person who confronts and solves everyday problems and gets things done one after another. It is not easy to describe a battle, but it is indeed easier and more straightforward than commanding a battle or carrying out a battle charge. When a writer writes well and uses beautiful words, it is still very hard for him or her to remove himself or herself from the paper and to truly discuss the character of the soldier. Of course, from reading a book which describes a battle or struggle, the reader is able to gain certain feelings and experiences which could not be totally drawn from the reality of the battle or struggle itself. I do not in any way intend to ridicule or belittle my own line of work, namely scholarly creation, for the tasks of the spiritual engineers are indeed lofty ones. The problem, however, is that we must on no account whatsoever ignore the people or ignore social reality and practice, nor should we ignore the various levels of cadres who carry out all sorts of real life activities. I feel that it would in no way impair the reputation or image of a party writer to be an ordinary soldier within the ranks of the party and to be a primary school student amongst the masses. To adopt such a humble position would not impair a party writer's artistic or literary character and individuality either; rather, such a humble position is a true, shining, and moving manifestation of a proletarian revolutionary writer's pure and perfect morals, emotions, and accomplishments.

My own understanding and practice in this field is far from sufficient and complete. During the 1950's, when I started "to climb up in the literary world" and began to "gain considerable fame amongst my contemporaries," there was indeed a certain amount of smugness and complacency to be seen in my character and behavior and I did not quickly or fully understand and recognize all the various erroneous ideological trends and manifestations of spiritual pollution that were present at the time. However, after several decades of trials and hardships, and with the teaching of the party and the laboring masses, I eventually began to realize what it might involve and require to be a Communist Party member worthy of that title and a truly qualified party writer. I still need to improve my understanding and I would like to work with other party writers, especially middle-aged and young writers, so that we may help and encourage one another in our endeavors and ensure that we all actively participate in party rectification and in the struggle against spiritual pollution, so that we may gain help and make progress, improve our party character, and always remain up to standard and be good, sound soldiers of the proletariat.

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THE 'DOUBLE-HUNDRED' POLICY IS DEFINITELY NOT A POLICY OF BOURGEOIS  
LIBERALISM

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[Article by Wen Hanying [5113 0698 5391]]

[Text] From the presentation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" to the present day there has been 27 years of history. During the 10 years of internal disorder, Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary group practiced fascist cultural despotism, completely ruining this policy. Our party smashed the "gang of four" and removed the greatest obstacle standing in the way of the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy. Under the guidance of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our literary and art front has brought about a scene of unprecedented prosperity and has quickly changed the situation in which 10,000 horses kept quiet and a hundred flowers wilted--a situation witnessed during the period when Jiang Qing and company threw their weight around. This represents a marked achievement that our party has scored in firmly and unswervingly carrying out the "double-hundred" policy.

The "double-hundred" policy is a Marxist guideline for our party. Its meaning was quite clear at the very outset. There should not have been any misunderstanding or misinterpretation concerning its nature, its aims, and its direction of development. In putting forth this policy, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "It was put forth in light of the concrete conditions of China and on the basis of recognizing various contradictions still existing in socialist society, and put forth to meet the state's urgent demand for rapid economic and cultural development. The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is one of stimulating artistic development and scientific progress, and one of stimulating the vigorous development of socialist culture." Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "To bring about the sound development of science and art, we should carry out the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend,' on the basis of serving socialism." Comrade Liu Shaoqi also pointed out: "Our following this policy is by no means carrying out the policy of bourgeois 'liberalization' and is instead carrying out an extremely stable class policy of the proletariat." This is to say that the "double-hundred" policy must be interpreted and carried out as

a proletarian policy. Only thus can it meet the needs of socialist economic construction and cultural construction.

Under new historical conditions, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, summing up historical experiences, clearly pointed out that we must "always adhere to the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and "cannot allow the least show of hesitation." Meanwhile, it was also stressed that in carrying out the "double-hundred" policy, we must take the four basic principles as prerequisites and cannot for a moment depart from party leadership and the socialist orbit. For this very reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointedly criticized the erroneous viewpoint of setting the upholding of the "double-hundred" policy in opposition to the upholding of the four basic principles. He demanded that in our approach to erroneous trends from the "left" or right, we "must remain sober-minded" and "recognize the harm of these trends and become united in resisting, condemning, and opposing them."

As far as the current general situation on our literary and art front is concerned, the main trend is good, and achievements dominate the scene. Literary and art creation or presentation of art has produced much that is welcomed by the masses of people. Marked progress has been registered in reflecting real life in breadth and depth. Great achievements have also been scored in the criticism of literary and art theory. But it must also be noted that quite a serious state of ideological confusion exists in literary and art circles. The main problem is that there has been a surge of bourgeois liberal thinking. The forum on problems concerning the ideological front called by the CPC Central Committee in 1981 solemnly criticized such an erroneous trend. In the past 2 years, this trend, though overcome and arrested in certain fields, has shown new development in other fields.

For example, some comrades have given publicity to the abstract idea of human nature and humanism and have even suggested that the task and the theme of literature and art call for exposing the phenomenon of "alienation" in socialist society.

Also, some comrades have advocated the "modernist school" and have especially publicized Sartre's existentialism, and have presented the supreme aim of literature and art as being "self-expression."

Furthermore, some comrades have negated the achievements in revolutionary literature and art during the "4 May" movement and especially since the publication of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." They have put forth the idea called "starting from zero." Some people have held that the guiding ideology of the "4 May" new cultural movement is not the communist world outlook and idea of social revolution and is instead bourgeois democratism and humanism. They have even called people's attention to reactionary men of letters like Hu Shi and Zhou Zuoren, giving them a big buildup.

Under the influence of erroneous thinking, some literary and art workers, including certain party member writers, have failed to take the standpoint of the proletariat and the masses of people. This calls for using their own activities of creation and presentation to educate and guide the people in correctly treating history, understanding reality, and showing firm faith in socialism and party leadership and to encourage the masses of people to work hard and push forward with vigor. Instead, they have taken to writing on what is dark and gloomy and have even wildly concocted things that distort revolutionary history and reality, confusing right and wrong and taking enemies for comrades. To make money, some people have scrambled to present vulgar shows appealing to the low taste of some of the audience. There has appeared the unhealthy trend of "putting everything in terms of money." As far as literary and art journals and other publications are concerned, there has also appeared a trend toward commercialization, with money taken as everything. All these unhealthy things have, to different degrees, departed from the socialist orbit, causing spiritual pollution, corrupting the souls of people and especially youths, giving a boost to a flood of various decadent and backward ideas of the bourgeois and other exploiting classes and spreading the sentiment of doubting and negating the socialist system and party leadership. The serious and harmful nature of such spiritual pollution on the literary and art front can never be underestimated.

Ideological confusion in literary and art circles is traceable to many factors. A main underlying factor is the existence of some misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the "double-hundred" policy on the part of some comrades. These comrades have also sought various excuses to justify what is misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Some comrades hold that to carry out the "double-hundred" policy calls only for emancipating the mind and that there should not be any prerequisites. If the four basic principles are taken as the prerequisites, this is a case of prescribing "set patterns." Thus, the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy is out of the question.

In carrying out the "double-hundred" policy, we must of course emancipate the mind. Emancipating the mind is an important slogan put forth at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. On this slogan, Comrade Deng Xiaoping provided this explanation: "To emancipate the mind is to apply the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to studying new conditions and solving new problems." Here, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought represents a principle that must be followed in emancipating the mind. Studying new conditions and solving new problems is the aim in emancipating the mind. Given no correct guiding principle and no correct aim, emancipating the mind will depart from the socialist orbit and even fall into the pitfall of bourgeois liberalization. On the literary and art front, just as on other fronts, emancipating the mind must also call for the upholding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, with the study of new conditions and the solution of new problems as the aim. As far as literary and art creation is concerned, the main thing is that we must truthfully reflect the social life of the

masses of people; eulogize the pioneers in socialist modernization; give expression to their new features, such as revolutionary ideals, a scientific attitude, high values, and creativity, a broad outlook and down-to-earth spirit; create images of flesh-and-blood new-type socialist persons; expose various corrupting reactionary forces standing in the way of modernization; criticize the influence of exploiting class ideas and the small-production mentality of staying in the rut; and criticize extreme individualism, anarchism, and bureaucratism. In this way, we can arouse the revolutionary fervor and the sense of dedication in the struggle for modernization on the part of the masses of people and the younger generation in particular. The four basic principles are the political basis for the people of all nationalities in our country in their achieving unity in fighting, and a basis for the founding of the state. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If we depart from adherence to the four basic principles, we will be left without roots and without direction." Everyone can imagine, if we gave up the four basic principles as a guide in carrying out the "double-hundred" policy, what serious ideological and political confusion would result. The "double-hundred" policy would also naturally evolve into one of bourgeois liberalism.

Some comrades say that since we want to carry out the "double-hundred" policy, then we should not oppose "liberalization" in a sweeping manner. We cannot offer on a silver platter the banner of "liberalization" to the bourgeoisie. It is demanded that we should practice "proletarian liberalization."

The "double-hundred" policy is an embodiment of artistic democracy and academic freedom. In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "Different forms and styles in the world of art can develop freely and different schools in science can contend freely." In 1979, referring to the "double-hundred" policy, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out: "In the creation of art, we must advocate different forms and styles of free development. In art theory, we must advocate the free discussion of different viewpoints and schools of thought." He further said: "Given the common goal of the realization of modernization, the literary and art road must be increasingly widened, as we follow it. Under the guidance of correct ideas of creation, we must achieve increasing variety in the themes of literature and art and ways of expression and have the courage to create the new." It is very clear that "develop freely" and "contend freely," as referred to here, call for achieving the common aim of socialist modernization. Literature and art must be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Given such a condition, we must achieve various kinds of free development in the forms, styles, and themes of literature and art and ways of expression. This is to say that the kind of "artistic freedom" that we advocate does not in the least mean allowing anyone the freedom to spread doubts and to negate socialism and party leadership through literature or the freedom to cause spiritual pollution and to victimize the masses of people and youths in particular.

What bourgeois liberalization as a social trend of thought pursues is so-called "absolute freedom." However, the world has never known "absolute

freedom" without any restriction. "Absolute freedom," as advocated by the bourgeoisie, is purely a slogan to deceive the people. Its deceptive nature has long been exposed by history. In capitalist society, there is only the freedom for capitalists to exploit the laboring people and no freedom for the laboring people to be immune from being exploited. Under the socialist system, our people enjoy the most comprehensive and fullest freedom. Meanwhile, they also consciously use socialist discipline to restrain themselves. Our constitution says that the citizens of the PRC have freedom for scientific research, freedom for literary and artistic creation, and freedom for other cultural activities. These freedoms refer to freedoms that contribute toward the socialist cause of modernization, toward the prosperity and welfare of the people, and toward national stability and unity, with the interests of the state, society, and the collective and the freedom and rights of other citizens not encroached upon. Today, in our socialist country, even with the word "proletarian" prefixed to the borrowed bourgeois slogan of "liberalization," we still cannot cover up its nature as bourgeois liberalization.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, freedom is a matter of understanding necessity and of understanding and applying objective laws, thus consciously making objective laws serve given aims. As far as literary and artistic workers are concerned, only with an understanding of the laws of social development, an understanding of the laws of art, and an understanding of the party's general and specific policies embodying these laws can they achieve the freedom for creation and for artistic presentation. The deeper such an understanding the greater the freedom. The pursuit of "absolute freedom," in a departure from these conditions, can only lead to bourgeois liberalization. This has nothing in common with the "double-hundred" policy we advocated.

On the pretext of showing respect for the laws peculiar to literature and art, some comrades have negated party leadership. They hold that only by abolishing party leadership can the "double-hundred" policy be carried out.

Without a shadow of doubt literature and art is complicated mental work with its own characteristics and laws of development. Based on the laws peculiar to literature and art, Lenin clearly pointed out that in writing, "we must absolutely guarantee a broad world for individual creativity and personal preferences and a broad world for thinking and imagination and form and content." Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: "What to write and how to write are matters that can only be explored and gradually solved by writers and artists in the practice of art." But these remarks in no way suggest that party leadership can be weakened and abolished. Instead, they call for the improvement of the party organization and the strengthening of party leadership. Based on the very characteristics of socialist literature and art and their laws of development, our party has raised the point: In literature and art, we must doggedly follow the direction of serving the people and serving socialism; uphold the guideline of letting a hundred flowers blossom, replacing the old with the new, making things foreign serve China, and making the past serve the present; and insist on using socialist and communist ideas to educate the people and raise the cultural

and moral levels of the whole nation and to train new-type socialist persons. Literary and art workers must establish flesh-and-blood ties with the people and feed on the experiences of the masses of people in making history. To achieve all this, what is needed is precisely party leadership. The party is needed to create all necessary conditions for literary and artistic creation and art presentation and is needed to carry out penetrating and conscientious ideological and political work among the ranks of writers and artists, thus enabling more and more literary and art workers to become engineers worthy of the name where the spiritual well-being of mankind is concerned, and to strive to offer the best nourishment for the mind to the people. Here we can see that the viewpoint of setting the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy and respect for the particular laws of art in opposition to the strengthening of party leadership basically cannot hold water.

Some comrades have regarded the "double-hundred" policy as only a matter of "blossoming." They claim that good works are produced out of a large number of erroneous works and hold that with bad works criticized, good ones cannot be produced.

Indeed, along with good works, there are also erroneous works. But good works have never been produced out of erroneous ones. As far as their origins are concerned, they have grown out of their own soil. A closer study will enable us to see that any fine literary or art work is a result of the author getting deeply involved with life and acquainted with society and grasping the laws of social development. Through clearcut and vivid images, it gives expression to the nature of various contradictions in social life and inspires and guides people in the struggle to achieve and create a beautiful life. On the other hand, reactionary and dirty works are produced under the influence of the decadent life and thinking of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. The argument that the criticism of bad works will hamper the appearance of good ones is all the more incorrect. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Correct things always develop out of the process of a struggle with erroneous ones. What is true, good, and beautiful always exists in relation to what is false, wicked, and ugly, and develops through a struggle." Comparison is a scientific analysis and assessment. Struggle is Marxist criticism. Since there exist advanced and backward, correct and erroneous, and beautiful and ugly things in the literary and art field, there therefore must be assessment, criticism, and necessary struggle. Peaceful coexistence is ruled out. The more correct and effective the criticism of this kind carried out, the greater people can benefit thereby and the more good works will appear on the scene. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In upholding the 'double-hundred' policy, we also cannot depart from criticism and self-criticism. Criticism calls for the adoption of a democratic attitude of reasoning things out. This is necessary. But in no way can we equate criticism with hitting with a club. This problem must be made clear. This bears on the matter of training the next generation."

Some comrades have used the "idea of taking over" as an excuse to justify the proposal that Western modernist literature and art should be liberally

introduced into the country without the least analysis, assessment, or criticism. No less than several hundred articles of the Western modernist school have in recent years been introduced and assessed. Those affirmed represent the majority and those criticized are relatively few. Even those books, movies, musical compositions, dances, and audio and videotapes which are also rated by some candid Westerners as dirty or harmful have been imported in large quantities. There has indeed been a spurt in efforts to "take over."

It is common knowledge that on the problem of how to treat foreign literature and art in the 1930's, Lu Xun proposed the "idea of taking over," with an eye to "closed-doorism," represented by the advocates of the quintessence of Chinese culture. But this idea has limits and is based on principles. First, he called for "making a choice," and for "using, putting away, or destroying" things. "Otherwise, it is feared that the 'idea of taking over' would inevitably cause some crises." Second, he suggested that those "taking things over" should "not be selfish." This is to say that what is "taken over" is devoted to serving the masses of people and not prompted by personal preferences and personal interests. Lu Xun's idea is by no means one of borrowing everything in its entirety, regardless of whether it is something useful or not useful, harmful or not harmful. Everyone knows that Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In our approach to foreign culture, the policy of exclusion is wrong. We should absorb as much of progressive foreign culture as possible, so that it can be used as a basis for reference in developing China's new culture. The policy of blindly borrowing everything is also wrong. We should take the actual needs of the Chinese people as a basis in critically absorbing foreign culture." It can be seen that the "idea of taking over" mentioned by Lu Xun is spiritually linked and synonymous with the idea of "making things foreign serve China" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. Taking the "idea of taking over" mentioned by Lu Xun as an excuse to justify the practice of accepting foreign literature and art in its entirety--this is incompatible with the principle of "making things foreign serve China" and also incompatible with the spirit of the "idea of taking over" advocated by Lu Xun. Now, under new historical conditions, it is entirely correct for us to break away from a policy of isolation and to practice an open-door one. The aim is to introduce advanced science and technology and management experience and all knowledge and culture that are useful to us. To shut ourselves out of the world and to stay in a rut is a stupid approach. But we must soberly realize that increasing economic activities with foreign countries and cultural exchanges will inevitably bring with them the influence and corrosive effects of decadent bourgeois ideas and culture. Comrade Deng Xiaoping time and again stressed that we must "remain sober-minded and resolutely resist the invasion of decadent thinking from external sources. We can never allow bourgeois ways of life to assert themselves in our country." Comrade Hu Yaobang also pointed out that there are two kinds of bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets," one material and one spiritual. "Spiritual 'sugar-coated bullets,' decadent capitalist ideas and viewpoints, culture and art, ways of life, and so forth have ideologically worked on corrupting us, weakening our fighting will, eroding our confidence, and confusing our minds." Therefore, all things in the cultural field must be analyzed,

judged, and criticized on their ideological contents and ways of expression, with the use of Marxism. Concerning the valuable works and creations of those fair-minded and progressive writers and artists, we must introduce them and absorb their cream. The problem now is that some comrades have totally accepted Western literature and art without any analysis, assessment, or criticism and blindly advocated them. This is obviously wrong.

We solemnly criticize that erroneous viewpoint of misinterpreting the party's "double-hundred" policy as one of bourgeois liberalism. Is this a case of "the 'leftist' stuff making comeback" and "there being again the need to 'stop,'" as some comrades say? Of course not. We have done so for no other reason than to bring about the correct understanding and implementation of the party's "double-hundred" policy. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend--this is a policy of a fundamental and also long-term nature." To firmly and correctly implement this policy, we must wage struggle on two fronts. We must not only fight "leftism" but also fight rightism. We must fight what is "left" where it exists, and fight what is right where it exists. In carrying out active ideological struggle, we must of course pay attention to guarding against "leftism" and prevent a repetition of those simple, one-sided and crude methods adopted before. The problem now is that the tendency to resist criticism runs very strong. In their approach to correct criticism, people always say that it is a case of "hitting with a big stick." Through works and speeches, they can keep criticizing socialism, criticizing the Communist Party, criticizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but without allowing Marxists to criticize their erroneous viewpoints. Is this a normal phenomenon? The bourgeois idea of liberalization, existing in our literary and art circles, is something every fair-minded writer and artist and every staunch and sober-minded Marxist should actively wage struggle against. We believe that by firmly and unswervingly carrying out the "double-hundred" policy, and through criticism and self-criticism, we can surely make Marxism triumph over non-Marxist and anti-Marxist ideas. The true, the good, and the beautiful can surely triumph over the false, the wicked, and the ugly. The socialist literary and artistic garden of 100 kinds of flowers will definitely be more of a sunlit and enchanting scene of spring and a dazzling blaze of color.

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## COMMENTS ON THE SOCIALIST ALIENATION THEORY

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[Text] Within Marxism the concept of alienation is mainly used to describe the wage labor of workers within the capitalist society. However, today some comrades are not using the alienation of wage labor to criticize capitalism, but instead are discussing so-called socialist alienation. This topic touches not only on how to resolve the way in which Marxism uses the concept of alienation, but is also very closely linked to how we should regard our own socialist system. It is vital that we clear up this important question.

### I

The question of whether or not socialism can produce "alienation" cannot be answered with the personal and subjective conjectures of any one individual, rather it must be answered by examining the objectively existing reality. Some comrades feel that socialism still produces work alienation, but this does not correspond with objective reality. In order to clarify this question, we should first ask ourselves what Marx meant by alienation and work alienation.

The concept of alienation has meant different things at different periods in history and to different people. Marx, when he first used the concept of alienation, did not clarify its meaning, for example, he talked of "alienated people" and also "the alienated natural world," as well as "monarchy is the perfect illustration of this kind of alienation" and so on. It was only in his work "1844 Handbook of Economics and Philosophy" that Marx specifically mentioned work alienation and listed commodity alienation, work activity alienation, the alienation of mankind, and inter-human alienation as the four concrete areas of work alienation. This was a development from the initial discussion of alienation, but it was still not free of the influence of humanism. In "Das Kapital," Marx no longer worked from a humanist basis, abstractly discussing the essential nature of man; rather he was now viewing the domination of man by the production relations, themselves restricted by the productive forces, as "being the form in which capitalist production methods result in labor conditions and

labor commodities which alienate and isolate the workers, producing, after mechanization develops, a total opposition between them." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 473) "The worker himself is constantly using objective wealth as capital and power, from which he is alienated and which both dominates and exploits him, to carry out production." (Ibid., p 626) Here we can see that in "Das Kapital" Marx' use of the concept of alienation or work alienation was mainly in relation to capitalist society to illustrate the way in which labor commodities, labor activities, and production itself were all forms of worker exploitation, domination, and suppression.

As long as we do not arbitrarily expand the meaning and intention of the concept of alienation, but analyze our questions strictly in accordance with Marx' use of the concept of alienation as outlined in "Das Kapital," then it is fairly easy to see and understand that in essence, alienation is not produced within a socialist society and that work alienation does not exist. The basis for this conclusion is as follows:

1. Labor commodities are no longer alienated from the workers. In Marx' view, the system of wage labor in the capitalist society meant that the commodities produced from labor production were in opposition to man and were not dependent on the alienated strength of the producer. Thus labor commodities did not belong to the laborer but to the nonlaborers, and they became the strength with which to oppress the workers. However, in a socialist society the wage labor system has been abolished and the aim of production is to satisfy to the greatest possible extent the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the workers. The labor commodities belong to the workers and they are no longer an alien force with which to dominate and enslave the workers. In accordance with the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" the workers are able to receive the remuneration they deserve from society. Naturally this in no way implies that workers in a socialist society may obtain "absolute or 100 percent labor earnings." If there are no specific reductions or cuts made from the labor commodities that the workers have produced, then society itself cannot continue to exist. However, the specific quantity of labor commodities which are taken out are used by and for the people, and in the final analysis still belong to the workers themselves.

2. Labor activities are no longer alienated from the workers. The so-called alienation of labor activities relates to the worker's denial rather than confirmation of himself within his or her work. He or she does not develop his or her physical or spiritual capacities; rather, the worker damages and injures his or her body and soul. The labor performed does not come from a personal need, but has become an oppressive and necessary thing. However, with the achievement of the system of public ownership of the means of production and the destruction of oppression and exploitation, which is characteristic of a socialist society, there have been radical changes in the essential nature of work. Workers no longer work for the exploiters, but for society and themselves. Just as Lenin said: "They have worked and suffered for tens of thousands of years for

others and now for the first time they have the possibility of working for themselves and in addition, working with all the latest technological and cultural developments." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 393)

3. There is no longer any interhuman alienation. This so-called inter-human alienation was something that Marx wrote about near the time when he discovered the principles of historical materialism and which described the relationships between the workers and the capitalists and between the exploited and the exploiters. However, in a socialist society the relations between people are of a new nature, characterized by mutual love and mutual cooperation. The workers, peasants, and intellectuals represent the fundamental strength of the socialist society and between them there are no essential conflicts of interest and although the three big differences, left over from the old society, still exist, they are no longer antagonistic contradictions.

## II

It is a fact of historical development that socialism does not produce alienation. The reason for this is that alienation is a social phenomenon, it has not always existed, and it will not always continue to occur and to exist.

Marx believed that "within the relations between capital and wage labor, the extreme forms of alienation that manifested as a result of the relations between labor or production activities and the conditions surrounding them and the relations between production activities and the production commodities they produced were a necessary transition point." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46, Part I, p 520) When this alienation reaches its most extreme, it has to crumble and give way to a socialist system. Engels also pointed out that "the total alienation of men under monetary domination necessitates a transition to a period of time such as that which approaches now, and at that time, man will once again take control of himself." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 644) The establishment of a socialist society provides man with a reliable guarantee for taking control of his own destiny. The objective and alienated forces which always controlled man are now beginning to come under his own control. And it is on the basis of this understanding that we may say alienation does not exist within the essence of socialism.

Some comrades feel that under conditions of socialism, the level of the productive forces is still quite low, material wealth is still not very abundant, the division of labor still has not been eradicated, and commodities still exist, then universal phenomena of alienation must also still exist. This view is incorrect.

It is true that under socialism, the level of the productive forces in some countries is still quite low, and material wealth is still not very abundant. For example, the level of productive forces in China today is still quite low, but only in comparative terms. When compared to the old society in China, and when compared to the level of the productive forces

in Marx' and Engels' time, the level of the productive forces in China today is by no means low; indeed it is quite high. Furthermore, within a fairly short period of time we will achieve socialist modernization and this will improve even more the level of our productive forces. Some people refer to the following words of Marx to prove that socialism is not enough to ensure the eradication of alienation, but this is clearly not what Marx intended to imply. Marx wrote: "This 'alienation' (in simple philosophical terms) can of course only be eradicated when two realistic conditions are fulfilled." These two conditions are "to change the majority of mankind into 'nonproperty-owning people' and at the same time to ensure that these people are opposed to the rich and educated people of the world. Furthermore, these two conditions are vital before any enormous increases and high-level development of the productive forces can take place." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 39) Here we can see that Marx' premise for the elimination of alienation was the state of the productive forces under socialized large-scale production within a capitalist society. Today we can see that the creation of proletarians out of this majority of mankind and ensuring their opposition to the capitalist society --so that they may become the gravediggers of the capitalist society--was a necessary product and result of the high level of development of the productive forces after the capitalist society entered the period of imperialism. We can see that the belief that the level of the productive forces in the socialist society is not sufficient for the elimination of alienation is in fact a clear misunderstanding of Marx.

Of course we cannot deny the fact that the division of labor still exists within socialism but this kind of division of labor is completely different from the division of labor which was the source of alienation. The old style of the division of labor was "synonymous with private ownership and implies exactly the same thing, one related to one's activities and the other related to the commodities of such activities," ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 37) whereas the division of labor under socialism is a division of labor based on public ownership of the means of production. The old style of the division of labor "was not voluntary, it was spontaneous," (Ibid., p 37) whereas the division of labor in socialism is an organized division of labor based on considerations of the workers' wishes. The old style of the division of labor was compulsory division of labor and as Marx said, "after the appearance of the division of labor, every person had his or her own special sphere of activities and this sphere was forced upon him or her." (Ibid., p 37) In a socialist society, because labor still has not become the people's first and foremost requirement for living, but is still a means of life, the division of labor in socialism is still in some sense rather restrictive. But it should be understood that there are very fundamental differences between the nature of the socialist principle of "no work, no food" which implies that without work one cannot exist and a system within a capitalist society whereby the worker is forced to work for the capitalist. At the same time we should also analyze the division of labor in concrete terms for it is not every kind of division of labor which engenders alienation. We believe that it is only those forms of the division of labor which are linked to the capitalist system of private ownership which engender alienation, while the

division of labor under socialism is a division of labor based on the system of public ownership of the means of production and cannot be the source of any alienation.

Some comrades believe that since commodity production still exists under socialism, alienation must also by necessity still exist in a very general way. There is no foundation for such belief because of the essential difference in nature, purpose, and content between commodity production in socialism and in capitalism. As far as the character of commodity production is concerned, commodity production under socialism is embodied in comradely relations of mutual cooperation between the workers and peasants, towns and countryside, state, collective, and individuals--all based on identical interests. This is completely different from commodity production under capitalism, which manifests itself in relations of conflicting economic interests. As far as the purpose of commodity production is concerned, in a socialist system it may be termed as commodity production under planned guidance. When changes occur in the sphere of action and conditions relating to the law of value, it all takes place under planned guidance. Commodity production under capitalism is founded on the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production. The law of value takes effect spontaneously so that capitalist commodity production is by necessity dominated by competition and production anarchy. As far as content is concerned, socialist commodity production is not all-embracing, as is capitalist commodity production, since the labor force is no longer a commodity. Hence one cannot draw the conclusion that generalized alienation still exists in socialism simply because commodity production still exists in socialism.

### III

The socialist society was born out of the old society. It is inevitable that some scars and traces of the old society still exist in the form of various kinds of shortcomings or problems. We have positive and negative experiences and lessons from which we may learn to understand and eliminate these problems. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the party has accurately assessed the experiences related to this question and has drawn up a series of suitable and realistic plans and policies which are right now ridding our society of these problems. The situation relating to the various problems in our society at present is extremely complex. Some of the phenomena are the result and vestiges of work alienation from the old society and others are the result of internal contradictions among people. Phenomena such as these cannot be regarded as alienation, nor can they be understood or clarified through discussion of alienation. The majority of such phenomena fall into the category of internal contradictions among people and are not characterized by such qualities of alienation as oppression, domination, and exploitation. At the same time the problems and shortcomings that exist within the socialist society are not by any means inherent to the socialist system but are instead the result of social history. However, some comrades, with the good intention of wanting to eliminate these problems, have incorrectly assessed past experiences and lessons and have used the concept of

alienation to generalize the various problems within our society. Not only does this not help solve the problem, it can also confuse the people and unnerve everyone's faith in the future of communism.

Now we will carry out a concrete analysis of some of the social phenomena which some comrades often class as being related to "alienation."

First, let us discuss bureaucracy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "As far as the party and state leadership system and the cadre system are concerned, the most important problem is that of bureaucracy." "It is a complex historical phenomenon which has existed for a long time." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 287) As everyone knows, bureaucracy was not only innate in the feudal system, it was and is also innate in the capitalist system. In such works as Marx' "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and Engels' "State and Revolution," it was pointed out that the state organs of the European capitalist classes which were characterized by bureaucracy and military organizations and which had been passed down from the feudal dictatorship system, saw unprecedented development, perfection, and consolidation, and all government bodies were parasitic organs of bureaucracy and privilege. It was with this in mind that Marx, Engels, and Lenin all stressed that the proletariat cannot simply take over the existing state organs of the capitalist classes; instead they must break down and destroy these organs and establish their own proletariat state government. Socialist political power is in the hands of the people and those who work in the state organs are the servants of the people. This is fundamentally different from a situation in which political power and domination are in the hands of the exploiting classes. Naturally, some people who work for the state in China are tainted with feudal and capitalist bad habits of bureaucracy and it is difficult to avoid some bureaucratic tendencies. But we can see that there are very complex socio-historical reasons for the existence of bureaucracy and it is not possible or right to trace it back to alienation within our leadership and cadre systems. For if this were so, then in order to overcome this alienation it would be necessary to eradicate our leadership and cadre systems, rather than to wipe out the effects of the old society, and this is clearly and absolutely incorrect. At the same time, we should also understand that under socialism, while bureaucracy is in some places a quite serious phenomenon, it can be overcome by relying on the socialist system itself. Thus we should not equate bureaucracy with the phenomenon of alienation.

Some people consider the phenomenon of privilege to be a manifestation of political alienation in socialism. However, as soon as one examines the origin of their so-called political alienation, it is very easy to see that such an opinion has no real basis. These people say that the question of political alienation was brought up by Marx in "The French Revolution" when he assessed the experience of the Paris Commune and said that it was important to prevent those who work in state organs from being changed from being public servants into the rulers of society, in other words it is important to avoid alienation. However, when one examines the complete work "The French Revolution," there is no trace of Marx using the word alienation. In his introduction to a separate edition of "The French

Revolution" in 1891, Lenin discussed the special characteristics of the country and said: "In order to achieve their own special interests these state organs and the people in them (mainly state political power) changed from being public servants to being rulers of the society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 334) When Engels talked about preventing state organs and their employees from becoming rulers of the society instead of public servants, he was talking about it in a very special sense. He demanded that the proletariat, after gaining their victory in the struggle for class power, should strengthen and improve the construction of political power and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat "until the new generation which will grow up in the new free society is able to discard completely all the dross of the country." (Ibid., p 336) Hence we cannot simply equate this with alienation nor can we consider it to be a generalized phenomenon in our society and thus talk about "authority alienation" and "political alienation."

Second, because of a lack of experience in economic construction and a lack of understanding of the laws of socialist construction, many foolish things have been done and some people equate these things with socialist economic alienation. There is no foundation for doing so. The economic alienation of which Marx talked is work alienation and is related to economic relations of exploitation. However, some comrades simply do not take into consideration the fact that in socialism there are no exploitative phenomena. Instead they consider lack of experience and a failure to understand the rules of socialist economy as a sign of the existence of economic "alienation" in socialism. Everyone knows that the former is a question of socioeconomic relations, in other words interhuman economic relations, while the latter is a question of the relations between the subject and object of economic construction, in other words the relations between man and nature. These are two very essentially different things, so how could they become mixed up and confused? Let us say again that the people's knowledge and understanding of the laws of socialist economics must be treated in the same way as knowledge and understanding of nature and social development: one can only constantly draw close to such knowledge, but one can never exhaust it. "The forces of society are identical to the forces of nature, and while we still have not fully understood and considered them, we use them in a blind, forceful, and destructive way." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 437) Not only is this kind of situation difficult to avoid under socialism, it will also exist to varying degrees when we arrive at the stage of the communist society. If we consider, as some comrades do, that simply because mankind has not fully understood objective laws and as a result effects blind, forceful, and destructive social production, this is the same thing as alienation, then we would be forced to draw the pessimistic conclusion that mankind will never be able to shake alienation.

Third, it is not correct to equate the personality cult with ideological alienation. Normally this so-called ideological alienation implies the enslaving of the thinker by the product of his thoughts. In terms of the relations between the leadership and the people the error of personality cult lies in exaggerating the historical role and use of people in

leadership and in ignoring the fact that the masses represent an enormous number of historical creators. If one equates personality cult with ideological alienation, is it not surely the same as saying that the relations between the leadership and the masses are actually relations between slave-owners and slaves? The question of opposing personality cult was brought up very early on by the founders of Marxism and is by no means a new topic. Both Marx and Engels abhorred personality cult. In a letter that Marx wrote to Wei Bu-luo-si [1218 1580 3157 2448] on 10 November 1877, he said: "Both of us regard prestige as absolutely worthless. Let me explain with an example. Because I abhor personality cults I have never publicly accepted all the various praises and eulogies which have come from every country in the world and which have really made me quite sick. Indeed I often never even replied, but when I occasionally did it was merely to rebuke. The preconditions for Engels and myself when we used to attend secret communist meetings was to get rid of all parts of the constitution which might encourage blind worship of leadership." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 34, pp 286-289) In a letter which Plekhanov wrote to Engels he called Engels a "great teacher." On 21 May 1894, Engels wrote in his reply: "First may I ask you not to call me 'great teacher,' my name is Engels." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 328) Here neither Marx nor Engels used the term alienation to explain personality worship. Lenin was also opposed to personality cult but he never used the concept of alienation to talk about it. As far as China is concerned, "after the criticism of nonadventurism in 1958 and the movement to oppose rightist tendencies in 1959, democratic life in the party and in the country gradually became abnormal with one person laying down the law, one person deciding all major questions, personality worship, individuals placing themselves above the organization, and other phenomena related to a patriarchal system all getting out of hand. After the smashing of the 'gang of four' personality cult continued for a period of time. Commemoration of some other leaders also sometimes smacked of personality cult." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 290) On the basis of the above analysis the party adopted a series of effective and viable measures to ensure that personality cult did not reoccur and since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the system of democratic centralization in the party has been further improved and perfected, while the cadre system has also been changed. In the party constitution, which was ratified at the 12th CPC National Congress, it was once again made clear that the party expressly forbids any form of personality worship. Practice proves that this is of far greater benefit in solving the problem than simply equating personality worship with ideological alienation.

Some people associate deforestation, denudation, the destruction of the ecological balance, industrial pollution, and so on with alienation but such arguments do not hold water. The concept of alienation can only be applied to specific historical spheres of human society, and if one equates deforestation, denudation, destruction of the ecological balance, and industrial pollution with alienation, then one is taking the meaning and intention of the concept of alienation beyond its limits. Man's alterations of nature and the reprisals of the natural forces against man cannot be seen as an innately socioeconomic phenomenon. If these things

are referred to as forms of alienation, then that is the same as saying that alienation is a phenomenon which exceeds or falls outside the eternity of history.

#### IV

Engels said: "It is not the natural world and mankind which should comply with principles, rather it is principles which are correct only if they comply with the natural world and history. This is the only materialist views of things." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 74) By similar reasoning, it cannot be the subjective opinion of any individual which decides whether the concept of alienation complies with socialism, it should be decided on the basis of the objective reality of socialism. Under socialism, alienation has lost the objective basis for its appearance. We believe that in order to respect the objective reality of the socialist society and taking into consideration what is beneficial to socialist revolution and socialist construction, one should not arbitrarily use this imprecise and confusing concept of "alienation."

As everyone knows, our new society of today was set up with adherence to the objective laws of historical development and in accordance with the scientific socialist principles of Marxism. Socialism has changed from a dream to a science and is the result of the development of historical materialism and the theory of surplus value and it does not, as some comrades say, play an alienating role. In his theoretical research Marx also felt that the use of the abstract concept of alienation could not scientifically explain various problems and questions and he especially felt that the continued use of "some customary philosophical technical terms" might give "German theorists the opportunity to inaccurately explain the true processes of thought and simply rehash the same old theories in a new form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 261-262) Whenever he used the word alienation he always qualified his use of it, for example, "this kind of 'alienation' (in language which philosophers may understand)," "if we must temporarily continue to use this technical term of philosophy." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 39, 316) In his work "The German Ideology," when he used the word alienation Marx often added quotation marks. In "Das Kapital," although Marx used the concept of alienation, by this time the concept had become a nonessential term and in the first volume of the German publication of "Das Kapital" the term was used several times. But when Marx edited and corrected the French version of the first volume of "Das Kapital" he omitted the term in all but one place. Later on Marx kept his distance from the concept of alienation, and in particular, after Marx and Engels had founded the theory of historical materialism they only ever used the relationship between the productive forces and the production relations and the theory of contradictory movement between the economic foundation and the superstructure to explain human history, and they never again used the concept of alienation to explain history. Some comrades today are not using the scientific theories of Marxism to explain and analyze the realistic problems to be found within socialism, but instead are continuing to use the concept of alienation to explain various phenomena which exist in the

socialist society, and in so doing they are not promoting and developing Marxism, they are pulling it backwards.

The generalized use of the concept of alienation to explain the various problems in the socialist society will not only not provide us with anything new, but may at the same time produce many negative effects. From our initial examination of the material available to us we can draw the following three potential results of doing this:

One would be the erasure of the fundamental differences between the socialist and the capitalist economic styles. Comrades who believe that socialism produces alienation also believe that "in all the various forms of socialist society known to us today, a great many different forms of alienation also exist. There is religious alienation and political alienation and there is also economic alienation." "Alienation represents the centralized manifestation of all the ills of socialism and is the most scientific explanation for all the unpleasant and awful phenomena that exist within society." In their view "our present situation is analogous with that of Germany during the early 1840's. At that time it was capitalist alienation, today it is socialist alienation." They also think that "because of the requirements of production development, socialism may still have to expand the division of labor and this could still aggravate and intensify alienation." What they are implying in saying this is that by the time socialist society is brimming with alienation there will be no difference between it and capitalist society, indeed socialism might even be worse than capitalism.

Second, it might provide a theoretical basis for trends toward capitalist liberalization. Those comrades who believe that socialism engenders alienation often understand alienation to be economic, political, ideological, and cultural alienation in socialism as well as being alienation of the state and alienation of the proletariat state party under socialism. For them, "the basic root of alienation is socialism itself and not the other way around." In their view, after several decades of socialism the country that has been built up is an alienated strength which does not protect its own interests. The party which led the revolution, on entering the socialist society, became alienated and no longer represented the basic interests of the people. Such a viewpoint not only illustrates uncertainty toward socialism and the leadership of the party but, in addition, if such an opinion is allowed to spread or be propagated among the people it could instill doubt and perhaps dissatisfaction in the minds of the people toward the socialist system and the party leadership. Indeed, it could even be used to the advantage of some people who are against socialism and against the party leadership.

Third, it could destabilize or even make people lose faith in the inevitable victory of communism. Marxism states that alienation is a historical phenomenon and the concept of alienation which reflects this phenomenon is an historical concept. However, those comrades who believe that socialism engenders alienation think that alienation is a concept which extends beyond the limits of history and that the phenomenon of alienation which it

reflects are things which man has no possible way of eliminating completely. According to this point of view, even when we arrive at the future state of communism, alienation will not have been wiped out completely, so for what reason, then; are we fighting and giving our all to achieve communism? It is obvious that such viewpoints are very dangerous and corrosive and all that it can do is to weaken the masses' will to struggle to the end for the communist cause and make people lose their faith and conviction in the inevitable victory of communism.

In conclusion, some comrades have described socialism as being full of alienation and this has brought nothing but confusion and misunderstanding to the battlefield of ideological theory. This question must be clarified on a theoretical basis, otherwise it could be very damaging to all socialist modernized construction.

CSO: 4004/55

## MARX WAS AGAINST PRINTING INCOMPLETE THINGS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 p 31

[Article by Song Qing]

[Text] In 1858, Marx began to write "Critique of Political Economics" on the basis of the "Program (Draft) for Critique of Political Economics."

He originally intended to finish the manuscript of the first fascicle as soon as possible so that the book could be published quickly. But he postponed the deadline for handing over the manuscript. On 12 November that same year he wrote a letter to Lassale and in which he explained the main reasons for the postponement:

"First, this book represents the results of the study that lasted for 15 years and these years are the golden age of my life. Second, this book is the first to scientifically expound the viewpoints that are of great significance for social relations. Therefore I must be responsible to the party and must in no way let this book be spoiled by the low-spirited and dull tone and style which appeared in my writings when I was suffering from liver disease." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 29, p 546)

Such conscientious and meticulous attitude of Marx in his research and study was further explained later in his letter to Engels. He said: "No matter what shortcomings there are in my works, these works have an advantage, that is, they are representing an entity of art. But there is only my method in the position to reach this goal. This method is that I do not print my works when they are still incomplete." (Ibid., Vol 31, p 135) Today, our comrades who are responsible for ideological and theoretical work must learn from Marx' attitude for being responsible to the party.

CSO: 4004/56

AN IMPORTANT POSITION IN BUILDING RURAL SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION--INVESTIGATION  
OF THE RURAL MARKET TOWN CULTURAL CENTERS SET UP IN SHAZHOU COUNTY, JIANGSU  
PROVINCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 32-34, 39

["Investigation" report by Propaganda Department of the Shazhou County CPC  
Committee and the Shazhou County Cultural Center]

[Text] As the agricultural production responsibility system in rural areas in China has been gradually perfected, peasants have become more active in production while their economic income has also gradually increased. As the standard of peasants' material life has been constantly improved, it has become a new task for us to gradually improve peasants' cultural life as an important part of the building of socialist spiritual life in rural areas. The Shazhou County CPC Committee of Jiangsu Province has strengthened its leadership over the mass cultural work in rural areas according to the needs of the situations there and has made considerable achievements in building market town cultural centers and in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Shazhou County has a population of 768,000 people. In 1982, its gross output value of agriculture, sideline production, and industry totaled 1.26 billion yuan, with an average per capita income of 386 yuan. So far, this county has built 15 cultural centers, 25 theaters, 40 movie projection teams, 22 central reading rooms, 20 fine art and photography service points, 26 spare-time literary and art creating teams, 26 broadcasting and reporting teams, and 227 cultural and propaganda activity rooms. These facilities are in a position to receive hundreds of thousands of peasants every day to take part in various activities such as cultural and recreational activities, listening to propaganda of current affairs, taking part in scientific and technical discussions and receiving spare-time education. Each peasant, on the average, takes part in these activities five to six times each month. The broad masses of peasants are happy now that they no longer have to worry not only about their food and clothing but also about their spiritual life.

Prior to 1978, Shazhou County was badly in need of rural market town cultural facilities. There were only a few theaters while the 25 town cultural stations had only 13 centers. With such facilities, it was difficult for

the masses to carry out recreational and sports activities. Young people in rural areas spent their days in the fields and nights on beds. As life was dull, gambling and fighting happened in many places. Why did the building of culture in rural areas remain backward for such a long period? Objectively speaking, rural areas have weak cultural foundation, and with peasants' material life still to be improved, there was no way to promote their cultural life. Subjectively speaking, rural areas have experienced a deeper influence of the "leftist" ideology. It was not uncommon that normal cultural and sports activities were confused with bourgeois hedonism. No attention was given to investment in cultural facilities because it was considered that such investment was a nonproductive expenditure. Some cadres lopsidedly considered that "to grasp production is the real task and culture is not essential." Politically, the importance of drawing a distinction "between ourselves, our friends and the enemy" was stressed; in work, the importance of doing a good job of "growing grain, cotton and edible-oil crops" was stressed; while in culture, the cadres scarcely thought about "operas, books, and balls." Little consideration was given to the building of culture.

Following the gradual enrichment in their life, peasants strongly demanded a cultural life. Over the past few years, such events as "scrambling for opera troupes" and "scrambling for film teams" have happened in rural areas. Even vagrant artisans in society were invited by the masses to perform. These situations showed that the cultural activities in rural areas were far below meeting the urgent needs of the masses. Once, the county CPC committee secretary was passing through a remote production team area when he found that peasants were watching a movie at a threshing ground at night in the dead of winter. It was then 2200 and the snow was falling. But in spite of severe cold, more than 1,000 peasants were concentrating on the movie. This situation made the secretary ponder. Once, at a meeting, he put forth these questions to the cadres across the county: What have the peasants been thinking about over the past decades since liberation? They wanted to become rich! And now what have they been thinking about as they have begun to be rich? They wanted to improve their spiritual and cultural life. These words represented the desire and demand of the broad masses of the people in rural areas. The meeting was held at a time when the CPC Central Committee put forth a new suggestion saying that it is imperative to pay attention to the work of developing culture in rural areas. According to this suggestion, the Shazhou County CPC Committee decided that the improvement and enrichment of the cultural life of the masses and the building of market town cultural centers was an important task of the party members and cadres across the county in doing good jobs for the masses. It also put forth a 3-year plan for building culture in rural areas.

Thanks to the great call of the 12th CPC National Congress for the building of two civilizations, the members of the Shazhou County CPC Committee have been able to further understand that the building of cultural centers in market towns represents an important position in the building of spiritual civilization in rural areas. They analyzed the conditions of the peasants in the 1980's and they came to these conclusions: First, peasants' scientific and cultural level is low and this situation is not in line with the

need for modernizing agriculture. This situation has been concretely shown in the fact that peasants' business and management level is not high and that they have grasped only limited scientific knowledge about agricultural production. Therefore, it has become an urgent task to popularize science, culture, and education. Second, some commune members still have small production psychology and habits and the influence of feudal ideology and bourgeois ideology. Social habit and social order in some places are not good enough. Some people who have signed contracts on production responsibility have neglected the interest of the state and the collective and harmed others to benefit themselves. Therefore, it is imperative to uphold the ideological education with communism as the core and resolutely prevent the corruption of the ideology of the broad masses of people by various decadent and reactionary things. The comrades from the Shazhou County CPC Committee have come to realize through practice that the building of market town cultural centers in rural areas as an important position for various activities such as the popularization and education of science and culture and imaginative ideological and political education represents an indispensable part of the building of the socialist spiritual civilization in rural areas.

Like the rest of the causes of the CPC, the rural cultural cause can be carried out well only when we rely on the masses to fully display their wisdom. At first, the cadres of cultural stations in Nanfeng and Deji villages led literary and art amateurs to organize propaganda teams. They raised funds through their own effort and built small factories. The wages and welfare of the members of these teams are covered by the income from production at the factories. At the same time, these teams perform for the masses during their spare time, without the collective and peasants spending a cent. When they settled accounts at the end of the year, they had accumulated several thousand yuan. These teams have consequently been welcomed by the masses. The neighboring villages followed their example and as a result, the masses of peasants have become active in carrying out cultural activities. But a few people disagreed with and refused to support such new things. Some were envious of the income of the members of such propaganda teams and consequently they suggested to close down the factories that are run by the literary and art propaganda teams. But these people were at last convinced and educated by facts. The literary and art propaganda team of Zhaofeng village has staged a total of 754 performances over the past few years, while the factory it runs made a total profit of 258,000 yuan in 7 years. With this profit, this team built a 4-story peasant cultural building with a total floor space of more than 900 square meters. This building has a room for watching a color television, reading room, table tennis room, chess room, recreation room, exhibition room, rehearsal room, and spare-time education room. In addition, it also has built a basketball court with bleachers to hold more than 600 spectators, a stereoscopic cultural gallery, and a fine arts and photographic service department that serves peasants and makes local newsreels. All these facilities cost 180,000 yuan and this figure is equivalent to 96 times the total cultural expenses allocated by the state cultural department to the village during the same period. Having become acquainted with the situation of this propaganda team, the county CPC committee particularly

invited this team to perform for the grade three cadres across the county and organized these leading cadres to visit the facilities. Making the best use of this situation, this committee also led these cadres to unify their understanding and support literary and art propaganda teams building factories. The county CPC committee and government also declared that all the income of such factories must be used in developing culture in rural areas and that propaganda teams must produce good spiritual products and do a good job of running town market cultural centers. This experience of developing rural culture has been termed as "promoting culture with industry."

Of course, certain culture facilities are required for carrying out cultural activities in rural areas. Some facilities of such considerable size as theaters need hundreds of thousands of yuan to be built and therefore it will be difficult to build such facilities by relying solely on propaganda teams with the method of "promoting culture with industry." The method used by Shazhou County includes allocating a certain amount of money from the collective economic profit of people's communes and production teams to build theaters one after another at different times. The income of the theaters is used to cover wages and welfare benefits of management staff and the cost of maintenance, including the purchase of new cultural facilities. This method has been termed as "promoting culture with culture." From 1980 to 1982, Shazhou County invested 6 million yuan in rural cultural activities and this fund came from the income of "promoting culture with industry," "promoting culture with culture," and allocation from collective accumulation. Therefore, it can be easily seen that it is impossible to build rural cultural facilities by relying solely on state allocation.

Take the situation at Ouqiao production brigade of Miaoxiang village as an example. This production brigade recorded a net income of 3.36 million yuan in 1980, with an average per capita distribution of 478 yuan. It relied on the strength of the collective economy and built a peasant cultural palace of considerable size in 2 years. This palace includes a theater with more than 1,000 seats, 2 complete sets of 16-mm film projectors, a 500-seat story-telling room, a recreation room, a reading room, a television room, a chess room, a slide showing room, and a broadcasting room. These facilities have attracted a great number of peasants to considerably enrich their spiritual life. Peasants have created a jingle which says: "Our economic income is higher than workers in cities and living conditions are better than Shanghai. Movies are often shown and an opera troupe performs every month. We can go to the theater without having to leave the village and listen to story telling while drinking tea right in front of our doors. We have rich cultural recreation."

The people's communes and production teams with weaker collective economy must not lopsidedly follow the above-mentioned example. On the contrary, they must proceed from their own specific conditions and build cultural facilities simply and thriftily. For example, the villages of Donglai and Chenyang of Shazhou County have followed the principle of "spare-time, voluntary, small-scale, diversified, and economical" and transformed some

old houses into cultural central activity rooms and added some magazines and books, balls, and chess. With a little money, these villages have also been able to do something good for the masses and attract them to carry out cultural activities.

People's spiritual outlook has changed a lot since rural market town cultural centers have been built. More peasants have become more concerned with the interest of the collective and are more willing to help others, while those who harmed the interest of the state and others to benefit themselves have become less in number. Other achievements include such aspects as more people have turned to study and pay more attention to science while the number who have blind faith have become fewer. More people married at a mature age and carried out birth control while less people have married at a premature age. Those who are enjoying harmonious family life have increased while those who quarreled and fought have decreased. Those who abide by law and discipline and paid attention to social morality have increased and those who gambled and committed crimes have decreased. These changes are inseparable from the roles of the market town cultural centers that are mainly displayed in the following three areas.

First, provide rich life during spare time. People need colorful spiritual life while rural cultural centers are in a position to meet such a need by providing facilities for carrying out healthy and rich cultural activities. This is a night scene of a small market town called Jinfeng in Shazhou County. Under glittering lights, men and women, old and young, with smiles on their faces, are going to a cultural building, with some going to the theater and some others are standing on the nine-arch bridge or sitting on stone benches by lake pavilions. Veteran peasants and retired cadres and workers like to go to the "club for the aged" that has been built specially for their use and where they like to drink tea, play chess, or chat. There are about a dozen cultural centers like this one in Jinfeng across the county. During slack farming seasons or holidays, these market town cultural centers would become "big worlds." Efforts have also been made to enable the commune members that are old, weak, sick, and disabled to enjoy cultural life. The theater in the town of Jinfeng often stages performances specially for the aged while cadres become assistants in taking care of them. When there are tears in the eyes of these old people and when they cannot but laugh it is because they are moved by the story in a play, but it is also more likely they are moved when they discover that the village CPC committee secretary is physically supporting them one after another to find seats, and that the health protection doctor is making an inspection around the theater, with a medical kit on his back. That is to say, they can hardly control their emotion when they find that they are spending their remaining years in happiness. The Ouqiao peasant cultural palace has made a decision that the best two rows of seats in the theater will be reserved for the aged when the theater is showing good films or staging good dramas. It has also been decided that the theater staff will be responsible for fetching them in and sending them home. These old people emotionally said: "We never imagined that today we would not have to worry about our food and clothing, but also that we are able to enjoy good dramas. The Communist Party is good! Socialism is good!"

Second, scientific popularization and activities have been carried out rapidly. The popularization of science represents an important content of the activities of rural cultural centers. Educating peasants to have faith in and use science through various channels and the dissemination of scientific knowledge in a simple way are helpful in constantly promoting agricultural production. For example, Zhaofeng village, which specializes in growing cotton, once used pesticide improperly to aid the growth of cotton. Following the strengthening last year of the work of disseminating scientific knowledge peasants in this cotton-growing area have used pesticides properly and as a result they have basically eliminated pests. At present, all 29 towns across the county have set up scientific popularization committees, with their members numbering 3,700 people. Following the establishment of the market town cultural centers, these committees have resorted to various forms that are welcomed by the masses and further launched scientific popularization and activities in rural areas. This move has been welcomed by the broad masses of commune members.

Third, carry out ideological education through images and according to specific conditions. The cultural centers represent an important position for the CPC in carrying out ideological and political work in rural areas. Ideological and political work must be militant, convincing, and attractive because it is only in this way that this work will make the anticipated achievements. Ideological and political work with these characteristics can be seen during the activities in the cultural centers in Shazhou County. For example, a son of a cadre of Tangqiao village once liked to gamble, fight, and make trouble and he refused to correct such behavior in spite of various exhortations to do so. Following the establishment of cultural centers, this young man was attracted by the rich activities in the centers, where he would read books or newspapers, watch television programs or play Kangleqiu (similar to billiards but the balls are flat and made of wood). Gradually his ideology changed for the better. And the cadre that refused to support cultural centers at the beginning visited a director of a cultural station to express his gratitude. Gambling was rampant in Luyuan village during the Spring Festival in 1981. During the Spring Festival in 1982, the cultural central activities building was open to the public. This event was coupled with the dissemination of the harm of gambling through such ways as window displays, blackboard newspapers, broadcasts, and performances. At the same time, posters were displayed in public places, welcoming the broad masses of people to take part in various healthy and beneficial recreational activities in the cultural centers. As a result, gambling activities drastically dropped. Facts proved that cultural and recreational activities are very helpful in educating people through imperceptible influence. The amateur literary and art propaganda team of Zhaofeng village composes two to three new dramas each year and performs them throughout the village. As the contents of the performances are full of vitality and they have a strong influence, these performances have been well received by the masses who, in the process of enjoying the programs, are receiving education.

At present, the rural cultural activities in Shazhou County are developing in the direction of combining cultural recreation with scientific

popularization, dissemination of current affairs, peasant sports activities and spare-time education. With towns as centers, the country is now building a cultural dissemination network across the rural areas. It can be anticipated that following the development of the rural economy, the cultural life of the masses will develop to a higher stage for the interest of the building of socialist spiritual civilization in rural areas.

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## IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF ENTERPRISES, MEET NEW CHALLENGES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 35-39

[Article by Yang Bo [2799 3134]]

[Text] Enterprises Are Faced With New Challenges

Why do we say that our enterprises are now faced with new challenges?

First, with the steady rise in the people's purchasing power and consumption levels in town and country in recent years, people are now more selective when choosing consumer goods for daily use and are constantly putting forward new demands. As a result of carrying out the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" the national economy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, an excellent situation, seldom seen in years, now prevails in the field of light industrial production. Between 1979 and 1982, total output value increased by an average of 10 percent per year, which was a much faster rate of growth than previously attained. At the same time, improvement was made in the quality of products and there was a continuous increase in designs and varieties. With the rapid development of agricultural and light industrial production, the market supply situation has undergone tremendous changes. We have reversed the situation of supply shortage which had been troubling us for some time. There is now a fairly ample supply of consumer goods for daily use in the urban and rural markets, and the consumers can choose whatever commodities they need. In the past, they had to rush to purchase with cash in hand. Now they can pick what they need or save up their money and buy later. Under this new situation, new problems have cropped up in the markets. Some light industrial products do not sell very well and are even overstocked, because they are of poor quality and monotonous in design and variety. On the other hand, some famous brands of quality products and new products always fall short of supply and cannot meet market needs. This situation shows that the present development of light industrial production still cannot meet the needs arising from the development of the national economy and the improvement in the people's livelihood.

In the past, the light industrial enterprises could sell anything they produced because there was always a shortage of market supplies. There was no

such thing as unsalable goods because everything was keenly sought after, like "daughters of emperors." Thus, the phenomenon of one-sidedly going after output value prevailed in the sphere of production and little attention was paid to such considerations as improving the quality of products, developing new products, and introducing new varieties. With the seller's market gradually being changed into a buyer's market, this method of production will no longer work. Lately, people are chiefly complaining about the poor quality, small variety, and outmoded designs of the light industrial products and the fact that they do not have a full range of goods of different grades to choose from. The fact that some light industrial products are unsalable and overstocked is a glaring revelation of the weaknesses of our industrial enterprises, such as their backward management, backward production techniques, and irrational organizational structure. It shows that the quality of our enterprises falls far short of the needs of the development of the objective situation. If we do not resolve to change this situation, our products will lack vitality at home and will not have any competitive power in the international market.

Second, with production costs going up and profits coming down, the economic results are not sufficiently satisfactory. In 1982, the industrial output value achieved by the light industrial enterprises throughout the country was 7.5 percent more than in 1981, but the total amount of tax revenue and profits showed an increase of only 3.6 percent. In the first half of this year, output value increased by 5.2 percent, but tax revenue and profits dropped by 2.7 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year. Why does this happen? There are objective as well as subjective reasons for this. Our enterprises have been subsisting on relatively cheap raw and processed materials and fuel and on relatively small expenditure on wages for quite some time, with a fairly substantial portion of their profits being transferred from the value created by departments producing the raw and processed materials and fuel. In recent years, the prices of farm and sideline products have gone up, and so have the prices of raw and processed materials and fuel, as well as workers' wages. However, not much improvement has been made in the management of enterprises, and the level of production techniques has been rising all too slowly. Thus, profits have been coming down as production costs go up. This shows that unless the enterprises make an effort to improve management and rely on technological progress, there is no way that they can lower production costs and achieve better results.

What attitude should we take in the face of this new challenge? We must press forward and must never stick to old ways. We must meet the challenge and must never run away. In order to achieve better economic results, it is necessary for us to make every effort and try in every possible way to improve the quality of enterprises.

**It Is Necessary To Take Further Steps To Correct the Guiding Ideology for Production**

The aim of socialist production is to satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs. To this end, we must not only increase the quantity of

products. More importantly, we must strive to improve the quality of products and to increase designs and varieties so that we can truly attain the goal of "producing marketable goods of superior quality and low price with original designs and great variety." In other words, we must not pay attention only to the quantity and output value of products in our guiding ideology for production. Instead, we must attach more importance to the use value of the products and produce more goods that the masses of the people desire. In the past, we have not pinpointed and tackled this issue in our guiding ideology for production. Today, if we still do not tackle this issue and effect a new change in the quality of enterprises, we will find ourselves in a blind alley. If we want to take further steps to correct the guiding ideology for production and attach importance to the use value of products, we must regard the consumers as masters, cater to their needs, and concentrate our efforts on improving the quality of products and their design and variety. We must not one-sidedly go after output value and quantity. Some comrades ask: What happens if contradictions should arise between efforts to grasp quality and variety and efforts to grasp speed? My opinion is that we must insist on putting quality and variety above everything else and make speed yield to quality and variety. We must resolve to improve the quality of products and to develop new products, even if it means slowing down the speed of development to some extent. If the quality of products is poor and the designs and varieties cannot meet market needs, they will only lie idle in warehouses. This not only means wasting raw and processed materials and fuel but takes funds away from more worthy causes. We do not want this kind of inflated speed. We must take further steps to correct the guiding ideology for production, firmly establish the concept of wholeheartedly serving the consumers, and attach great importance to the use value of products before light industrial production can develop in a faster and better way and meet the needs arising from new developments in the situation.

#### Constantly Readjust the Product Mix and Raise the Ability to Cater to Market Needs

One of the salient problems in our light industrial products is that there are far more old products than there are new ones. This can hardly meet the needs of consumers who now have higher purchasing power. To change this situation, we must conscientiously do a good job of market research and forecasting, make correct decisions, and constantly readjust the product mix. We must arrange the products in order of popularity by concretely analyzing which items are marketable and are in great demand and which are unsalable and unpopular. On this basis, we should then curtail the production of those in excessive demand and reinforce those in short supply. We should increase, limit, or reduce production as the situation demands, strive to develop new products, open up new lines of products and truly organize production according to needs. In readjusting the product mix, we must also take into consideration different population structures, the level of purchasing power in different regions, and the habits and customs of the people, and try as far as possible to produce products with many varieties, designs, specifications and grades. We must not produce stereotyped products with only one model. Take garments for example. We

must consider the needs of young men as well as the needs of children and middle-aged and old people. We must pay attention to the needs of female comrades as well as the needs of male comrades and must not stress one at the expense of the other. As is proved by numerous facts, this is by no means difficult as long as we adopt a correct point of view in doing business and do a good job of market research. For example, the cotton-padded clothes made by the Beijing No 3 garment factory used to sell very well, but this situation changed early last year as the demand for these kinds of bulky, old-style cotton garments dropped sharply. This posed difficulties for production. Through conducting market research, they promptly readjusted the product mix and decided to mass-produce windbreakers, car coats made of chemical fiber cotton, and jackets, which were in great demand. These three new varieties were well-received by customers at home and abroad. Consequently, production went up and profits showed a 10 percent increase over the previous year. Although many shoe factories reported production drops in recent years, the Shanghai shoe factory is still producing nearly 10,000 pairs a day and selling every pair. This is because they are able to get hold of market information in good time and pay attention to organizing production according to needs. They produce shoes that meet the needs of every category of consumer, such as leather shoes, which people of minority nationalities love to wear, white "doctors' and nurses' shoes" for medical personnel, "students' shoes" which are cheap but of good quality, slippers for old people, as well as "casual shoes" for the textile workers. Their products are very popular among the masses.

In organizing production according to need, we must take into consideration the service life of various products, that is, how long a product can last before it has to be replaced, and what new product can take its place. With increased purchasing power, people now go after the latest models in consumer goods for daily use. We must satisfy their needs with a steady supply of new products and must stop producing old products that "remain the same for dozens of years." We must properly concentrate technical forces, strengthen the work of designing products, and accelerate the work of opening up new lines of products. Each enterprise should formulate plans for opening up new lines of products and produce secondary, tertiary, and even quaternary products. At the same time, efforts should be made to study ways of making multiple use of the same product. For example, some small transistor radios manufactured abroad have small built-in alarm clocks. They look nice and are practical at the same time. We could increase sales in this way because the consumers would welcome this kind of product. Better packaging is also very important. Some of our products are of good quality, but they are unable to compete on the world market and are unpopular on the home market because they are not well packaged and do not look good. We should regard the improvement of packaging as an important task in opening up new lines of products.

#### Strive To Raise the Level of Enterprise Management

In order to improve the quality of enterprises, we must properly grasp the work of consolidating enterprises and strive to improve administration and management.

First, we must make an earnest effort to consolidate the leading groups. We must readjust and man the leading groups of enterprises in accordance with the requirement of making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent so that we will have leading groups which are capable of doing pioneering work and are bold in shouldering heavy responsibilities. Things are accomplished by men. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Whether an enterprise can properly carry out reform or not depends on whether the right people are chosen to do the job. The Zhangjiakou cigarette factory in Hebei appointed "a sensible person" to be its director and took corresponding steps to remove incompetent middle-ranking cadres and to promote more than 30 cadres who are educated, capable, and in the prime of life to fill leading posts in various sections and workshops. Everything fell into place once the cadre ranks were strengthened. They paid attention to market research, strengthened policymaking, readjusted the product mix, and vigorously grasped quality control. Last year, cigarettes did not sell very well in the country, but the products of this particular factory were still welcomed by the vast number of consumers. Its output showed a 32 percent increase over the 1981 figure and the sum total of tax revenue and profits exceeded 100 million yuan. In the first half of this year, tax revenue and profits went up by 12.7 percent compared with the corresponding figure for last year. Practice shows that with a competent leading group, it is possible to change the appearance of an enterprise in no time. In the opposite situation, the enterprise will be poorly run and will not be able to change its appearance. Thus, we must consolidate the existing enterprises and man their leading groups by stages and by groups in a planned and systematic way in accordance with the plan formulated by the party Central Committee and the State Council. This is a key link in the work of improving the quality of enterprises.

Second, we must effectively strengthen the basic work of enterprises and establish and perfect a set of strict systems for original records, consumption quotas, cost accounting, and so on. At present, many enterprises do not give heed to consumption and labor quotas, do not observe quality control standards, and do not carry out cost accounting. We must resolve to change this state of affairs and pay particular attention to the question of reducing the consumption of raw and processed materials and fuel. Raw and processed materials and fuel account for about 80 percent of the cost of light industrial products. It is possible to cut production costs and to achieve better results by reducing consumption. For example, the Huasheng electric fan factory in Shanghai wasted 256 tons of silicon steel plates in 1980, enough to make 120,000 electric fans, because they had neglected the management of raw and processed materials. They started to grasp relentlessly the work of reducing consumption in 1981. For nearly 2 years, not only have they not consumed more materials than necessary but they have saved more than 20 tons of silicon plates. Many enterprises are very wasteful. Thus, there is great potential for reducing the consumption of raw and processed materials and fuel. According to rough estimates, we can increase our income by approximately 700 million yuan a year if our country's light industrial system can reduce consumption by 1 percent. We should work hard in this direction and strive to achieve good results.

Third, we must institute a strict system of individual responsibility at each post and strengthen the system of command and deployment in production. Clear-cut responsibilities at each post, high standards and stringent requirements are the prerequisites for running an enterprise well. At present, some enterprises are turning out a lot of substandard goods and they are able to make deliveries without any problem. An important reason for this is that these enterprises are not well-managed and do not have a system of individual responsibility at each post. So, when problems arise, it is impossible to find out who should be held responsible. From now on, we must establish and strengthen a system of responsibility, with the factory director and chief engineer taking charge of production and technical work in enterprises, and implement the system of individual responsibility in the workshops and work sections. No substandard goods should be allowed to leave the factory and, even if such goods have left the factory, it is necessary to find out who was responsible. The factory directors and personnel concerned should be held responsible for profit reductions and losses resulting from having too many substandard goods and rejects. We must promote the style of "three honests and four stricts." Without a system of responsibility, it is impossible to raise the percentage of products which are up to standard and to turn out products of fine quality. We cannot produce good products and raise the level of enterprise management by doing things in a slack and perfunctory way.

#### Grasp the Technical Transformation of Enterprises and Raise the Level of Production Techniques

This is another pressing task for improving the quality of enterprises. Outmoded equipment and backward production techniques and technologies constitute an important cause of the poor quality and lack of designs and varieties of our light industrial products, although problems with management and our guiding ideology in work are also partly responsible. Some time ago, I inspected more than 60 light industry factories in Tianjin, Xian, and Shandong. I noticed that many of these factories were still using technical equipment of the 1940's and 1950's, even as early as the 1920's and 1930's. Their production techniques were also rather backward. This investigation convinces me deeply that it is very difficult, even impossible, to rely on these kinds of technical equipment and production techniques to improve the quality of products, increase designs and varieties, and reduce the consumption of raw and processed materials and fuel. In order to increase the competitive power of our enterprises and to meet new challenges, we must speed up technical transformation and rely on scientific and technological progress to develop production.

Scientific and technological work must serve the needs of economic construction and be closely combined with the actual conditions of production and construction. At present, we must pay special attention to studying new techniques and new technologies and make these serve the technical transformation of light industrial enterprises. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen the two "three-in-one combinations," namely, the combination of factories, schools, and scientific research units and the combination of leading cadres, technicians, and workers. Light industrial departments and

enterprises at all levels should organize technical forces to tackle weak links in production techniques and problems relating to key equipment and technologies, and strive to produce results as quickly as possible. For example, the Institute of Food Fermentation Industry and the Beijing beer factory joined hands in studying and adopting the new technology of fermenting beer in open-air cone-shaped tanks. This new replacement of the old technology of indoor fermentation, which had been in use for the past 80 years, not only shortened the fermentation time but saved construction investments and raised labor productivity. While attaching importance to the role of scientific research units and technicians, we must also pay attention to mobilizing the vast number of staff and workers to put forward rationalization proposals and to unfold activities of carrying out minor reforms and creating inventions. The strength of the masses, particularly old workers who have rich practical experience, is not to be neglected. When their efforts are combined with those of the technicians, a lot of technical problems can be solved.

In the technical transformation of light industry, we must uphold the principle of self-reliance and at the same time import advanced technology from other countries in a planned and active way. Our plastics and household electrical appliances industries have developed fairly rapidly in the last 2 years. The fact that the products are well-received by the public is directly due to the importation of advanced technical equipment. We should continue to exert efforts in this direction. We should pay attention to importing advanced production techniques which are available abroad but are still beyond our scope for the time being, such as software, in order to speed up the technical transformation of enterprises. In the course of technical transformation, we must keep to the road of expanding reproduction by intension. Otherwise, the enterprises will remain at the same technical level even though a lot of money has been spent and productive capacity has been greatly increased. We cannot begin to talk about invigorating light industry if this is the case.

#### Strengthen the Ideological and Political Work Among Staff and Workers and Grasp Technical Training for Staff and Workers

Ideological and political work in our enterprises is a weak link at the moment. We must make an earnest effort to strengthen ideological education for the staff and workers in order to heighten their communist awareness and to enhance their sense of responsibility as masters. We must unfold activities of learning from advanced models like Zhu Boru and Zhang Haidi as well as activities of "five stresses, four beauties, and three loves" in an extensive and deep-going way so as to create a keen political atmosphere with everyone striving to make progress and to become advanced staff and workers with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline. We must guard against spiritual pollution. We should see that the mental attitude of the staff and workers not only can directly affect the economic results of the enterprises but has an important bearing on what kind of working class contingent we are building up. We must put ideological and political work for staff and workers in an important place on the agenda of the leading groups of enterprises. We must encourage the advanced

and commend good people and good deeds. At the same time, we must boldly exercise our authority when we see that law and discipline are violated and must arrest those people who seriously violate labor discipline. Those who ought to be criticized and educated should be criticized and educated, and those who ought to be punished should be punished. We must not merely go through the motions. We must put an end to the state of flabbiness and lack of unity in the leading groups. Provided that we adhere to high standards and strict requirements and carry out ideological and political work in a thorough and meticulous way, we will be able to gradually improve the ideological qualities of the contingent of workers and to change the appearance of the enterprises.

While strengthening ideological and political work among staff and workers, we must also do a good job of providing technical training for staff and workers to increase their technical proficiency. Without the necessary know-how and skills, it is impossible to improve the quality of products and to manipulate modern technical equipment. At present, many accidents connected with production and quality in enterprises are accidents arising from a low technical level, ignorance, and a weak sense of responsibility on the part of the workers. Thus, we must resolve to carry out diversified forms of technical training for staff and workers in a planned way by groups and by stages.

In order to improve the quality of enterprises and to meet new challenges, we must also make corresponding changes in our style of leadership and method of work. We must strengthen investigation and study, make correct decisions in management, and overcome bureaucratism. We must advocate strictness and must not do things in a slack and perfunctory way. We must advocate meticulousness and must not do things in a rough and slipshod way. We must advocate concrete guidance and must not give general orders. In short, we must rely on real ability and proficiency. Provided that we make stricter demands for our work and do our work in a more meticulous and concrete way, there is every hope that we can lay a solid foundation for light industry, change its appearance, raise its standards, and achieve better results. As the classical sayings go: "Time will not fail those who set their minds on doing something useful," and "It all depends on human effort." Provided that we get a clear understanding of the situation and truly put in a lot of work, we can definitely stand up to the new challenges before us.

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## HEIGHTEN OUR CONSCIOUSNESS IN CONSOLIDATING ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 40-41

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] Certain achievements have been made in consolidating industrial and transportation enterprises across the country. Yet these achievements are still very far from meeting the needs in developing the modernization program. At present, some comrades do not understand the importance of the urgency in consolidating enterprises while others are only "carrying out consolidation work according to order" in a passive manner. Therefore, in order to be able to do a good job in this aspect, it is imperative to help workers heighten their consciousness in consolidating enterprises.

The nature of enterprise consolidation refers to readjusting the contradictions of enterprises that have appeared between production management and the development of production. These contradictions represent a basic contradiction of socialist society. In other words, they represent the contradictions between productivity and the relations of production and between economic foundation and superstructure within an enterprise. Productivity is always developing while management mechanism is relatively stable and, consequently, there have constantly appeared contradictions between them. Once an old contradiction has been resolved, a new one will consequently appear. It is a frequent consolidation task to resolve the existing contradictions. When certain contradictions appear in a concentrated way, they have to be resolved in a concentrated way in proper time. Such concentrated resolving is often required during the period of the changes in the development of the economy. For example, such work was carried out in 1962 and 1978 to restore the economy; now it is being carried out in the sector of construction.

The current enterprise consolidation has been carried out as a move to meet the urgent needs in carrying out the modernization program smoothly. The 12th CPC National Congress has defined the grand goal for quadrupling the industrial and agricultural gross output value of China by the end of this century. In order to reach this goal, it is imperative for us to build a foundation for economic development during the first 10 years and do a good job in key construction projects. On the other hand, it is also imperative to fully display the roles of the existing enterprises. The existing

enterprises represent the starting point and the basis for the country in carrying out the socialist modernization program. But the present situations of these enterprises do not accord with the historical tasks of these enterprises. These situations mainly include low quality, high consumption, low economic results, and weak competitiveness. Such backward situations have seriously affected state financial revenues and expenditures. Budgeted profits for state-owned industrial enterprises for the first half of this year were 0.6 percent lower than the same period of the previous year, with the profits to be handed over to the state dropping by 7.8 percent. It is true that in the first 9 months of this year, initial achievements have been made by state industrial enterprises in reversing losses and increasing profits, but the percentage and volume of losses are still high. If these enterprises cannot change such situations as soon as possible, the state will not have enough funds to guarantee key construction projects and consequently there will be no way to meet people's needs by supplying them with high quality and low-priced goods. Now, 3 of the first 10 years have passed. Therefore, if we are not aware of the urgency of changing these backward situations and reluctant to spare no effort in consolidating the enterprises and improving their quality, reversing losses and increasing profits and raising economic results, there will be no guarantee for realizing the goal of quadrupling output value.

The current enterprise consolidation is different from the past consolidation which was aimed at enterprise revival. The present constructive consolidation is aimed at improving the enterprises. The current enterprise consolidation is in line with the needs of the new historical period and it has been put forth in the process of implementing the principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving." Enterprise consolidation represents an organic part of the "eight-character policy" and its purpose is to consolidate and develop the results of readjustment and restructuring. Consolidation is the foundation, because the readjustment and restructuring can be carried out more effectively only when the existing enterprises have been consolidated well. The key of enterprise consolidation is "improving," that is, to improve the quality of enterprises. Therefore, the ideology of restructuring must be resorted to in the whole process of consolidation. It is only in this way that the enterprises will be able to shift from the management mode of monolithic production to the management mode of business production. They also will be able to shift from a situation that is characterized by solely seeking output value, neglecting quality, high cost, and low economic efficiency to a situation in which they take improving economic results as the center. The key question is to improve the quality of enterprises. Enterprises with improved quality have the vitality for developing and carrying out competition. Such enterprises are in a position to stably improve their economic results and make still greater contributions for the realization of the modernization program. Of course, the improvement of enterprise quality needs a process; that is, the quality of enterprises cannot be improved once and for all just through a consolidation, for it requires a long period of hard work. However, through consolidation, enterprises will be able to build a solid foundation for constantly improving their quality.

Some comrades are doubtful whether the enterprises will be able to improve their economic results through raising their quality by resorting to the method of consolidation. They always have stressed the importance of objective factors and held that there is no way for enterprises to improve their economic results provided that external conditions have changed. Such view is lopsided.

Whether the quality of enterprises can be raised quickly depends not only on the influence of internal factors but also on the influence of external factors. The internal factors of enterprises include such aspects as management, technical progress, and political and technical level of the ranks of workers, including leading cadres. Of course, to resolve these problems involves the management mechanism of the national economy, the restructure of enterprise organization, price policy, labor system, and other external factors. The purpose of the economic restructuring being carried out in China now includes enabling enterprises to actively improve their management and be concerned with technical progress and enabling them to have external conditions for displaying initiative and creativity and making progress. But we cannot wait to display our objective initiative and improve the internal factors only when we have formed external conditions. There are now a number of enterprises that have achieved quite different economic results even though they have similar external conditions. This situation shows that it is very important to display objective effort.

We must understand that in future, following the deepening of the development of economic restructuring work, enterprises will face still heavier pressure. Enterprises cannot always depend on low-price raw materials; wages of workers must be gradually increased while consumers must have more variety in their needs for the supply of the means of production and the means of subsistence. All these mean that the enterprises will not be able to make due progress or that they may as well be eliminated unless they are willing to spare no effort to improve their management and technical level and raise their capability of resolving emergency problems. Therefore, it is imperative for the enterprises to meet the challenges, seize opportunity, discover their shortcomings, tap their own potential, and consciously carry out consolidation.

Much work has to be done by the enterprises in carrying out consolidation but the key work should include consolidating leading groups and strengthening basic work.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out recently that the key question in doing a good job of management is leading groups. Facts have proved that with good leading groups it is possible to lead the ranks of workers in making progress and enable the enterprises to make basic changes. At the present stage, the leading groups of enterprises in general are composed of cadres older in average age, with lower cultural level and management knowledge. Under these conditions, it will be difficult for the enterprises to modernize their management. Therefore, it is urgently demanded that these conditions be changed according to the requirement for cadres who are more

revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent. In order to carry out this work smoothly, it is imperative to further eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideology, form the idea of paying attention to knowledge and treasuring talents, and do a good job of replacing the old cadres with the new and ensuring cooperation between them. Those cadres with revolutionary zeal and vitality and who are capable of creating a new situation must be promoted to leading positions. At the same time, it is also necessary to step up the responsibility system, particularly the personal responsibility system of leading cadres. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in 1978: "With regard to the management mechanism, it is particularly imperative at present to strengthen the responsibility system." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 140) We have done enormous work over the past few years under the guidance of this ideology. But it is necessary to continue to strengthen and perfect responsibility system.

At present, a number of enterprises are characterized by weak basic work and other aspects, such as lack of information in decisionmaking, lack of data in making analysis, and lack of norms in carrying out economic accounting. As long as these situations remain unchanged, it is impossible for the enterprises to resort to modern management tools and methods. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen enterprise basic work, improve worker organizational discipline, overcome the interference of anarchic and individualist ideology, and foster the ideology of being glorious to work with high standards under strict organizational discipline and to make greater contributions for the country. As long as the broad masses of workers are concerned with enterprise consolidation as masters of the country and have a share in perfecting enterprise basic work, we will be able to carry out our work well.

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## CADRES' THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 pp 42-47

["Cadres' Theoretical Discussion" column]

[Text] Editor's note: In the present struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution, we have invited some theoretical workers to supply some detailed answers to questions which have arisen in the light of current problems. They will be successively published in this magazine as a reference for various studies.

Is There Such a Thing as Abstract Human Nature?

(By Wang Ruisheng [3769 6904 3932])

In recent years, there have been some theoretical articles which, in their discussion of human nature, disseminate a human nature which transcends classes and time, which can be applied to all human beings, and which remains forever unchanged. This view is erroneous because, we may say, such an abstract human nature does not exist. It is practically meaningless to try to find out the common features of various kinds of human nature. As Marx said: "It is true that eating, drinking, and the sex act are really human functions. However, if they depart from other human activities and are turned into the sole ultimate ends, they are then, in this generalization, nothing but animal functions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 94)

By human nature, we refer to the basic difference between normal human beings and other animals. Without social labor, there would not be real, historical human beings. Actual social labor is always the labor under a certain social form (production relations) and actual social life is always the life within a certain set of social relations. Man departing from these production relations and social relations can neither produce, live, nor be human. Production relations and other social relations are the basic, decisive factors for the formation of human nature.

The sum total of social relations formed in man's social life shapes human nature and conditions its development. Thus, Marx said: "The essence of

man is not an intrinsic abstract thing of an individual. In its manifestation, it is the sum total of all social relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) "However hard one subjectively tries to transcend various kinds of relations, one is in a social sense always the product of these relations." ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 12) As a result of the differences in the stages of the development of society and history, and in the positions of man in social relations (in particular class relations, among other social relations), in addition to other differences in the social lives of different individuals, it is inevitable that there are differences in actual human nature.

Social relations constantly change with the development of productive force. Thus, actual human nature is always concrete and mutable. Actual, concrete human nature in a class society generally manifests itself with a class character. To be sure, man's awareness of class nature and the inter-relations among various classes are complicated things. However, we do not mean that there is nothing in common among various classes and that intercourse among them is impossible. For example, they speak a common language, they can share the same feelings, whether love or hatred, toward things, antagonistic classes can share common national and psychological qualities, and so on. In spite of all this, the struggle between antagonistic classes is after all the principal feature in the history of a class society.

Bourgeois humanism is based on the theory of abstract human nature. The bourgeois humanists suggest, human nature is abstract and immutable and the capitalist system, which conforms to this nature of man, will forever exist. In fact, they merely regard a particular manifestation of human nature! For example, the selfishness of the capitalists, as the intrinsic nature of all human beings.

In recent years, there have been some people who are against the formulation that "there is only concrete human nature, not abstract human nature." They only emphasize the common features of human nature but deny, belittle, or overlook the differences in human nature. This view is erroneous. They publicize abstract human nature for the purpose of testifying to "humanism." This humanism, which is based on abstract human values, can only be an abstract humanism.

Why Is It Erroneous To Publicize Abstract Humanism?

(By Shi Qiao [1597 2884])

In recent years, there have been some articles which publicize a kind of abstract humanism. They say, for example, humanism "is a species-specific legacy of the human race passed on from one generation to another," "it permeates the entire human race at all times and in all countries," "humanism is a progressive trend of thought which runs through all human classes and societies and which is passed on from generation to generation," "it is a spiritual wealth shared by all countries of the world," and "humanism generally refers to the ideas and views which uphold human

dignity, rights, and liberty, which attach great importance to human values, and which call for the comprehensive and unrestricted development of man." According to such views, humanism transcends time and is a common ideology of the human race which is void of any specific class content. These articles publicize abstract humanism and call on us to regard this kind of humanism as our faith or as the core or important content of Marxism. They even suggest that Marxism is itself a branch of humanism. This is extremely erroneous.

Is there a kind of abstract humanism which transcends time and class? No, there is not. From a historical point of view, humanism took shape in Europe during the Renaissance. It was then called humanism [ren wen zhu yi--0086 2429 0031 5030]. It is an ideological weapon of the newly emerged bourgeoisie for combating feudalism and in particular, religion and theology, the spiritual pillars of the feudal system. The humanists emphasized human values and called for attention to secular life and secular education in the light of the theocentric medieval theology which belittled the human values, negated the meaning of secular life, and encouraged asceticism and other similar ideas. By spreading the ancient Greek and Roman cultures and scholarship, they gave impetus to the development of secular education. The unfolding of the humanistic [ren wen zhu yi--0086 2429 0031 5030] movement, which accorded with the newly emerged bourgeoisie's demand that the fetters of the feudal system, theology, and religion be broken in order to facilitate the smooth development of capitalism, had made tremendous contributions to the progress of history. However, this humanistic ideological trend, which arises in a humanistic [ren wen zhu yi--0086 2429 0031 5030] form, is not one which transcends classes and the entire human race. It is precisely a bourgeois ideological trend disguised as something belonging to the entire human race by the bourgeoisie for the sake of their own interests. After the Renaissance, bourgeois humanism had undergone several different developmental stages. There have been minor changes in its form but its class substance remains unchanged. To this day, the kind of humanism advocated by many schools of philosophy, sociology, ethics, and literary studies in the West generally cannot go beyond the bounds of bourgeois humanism.

We are Marxist. We fully acknowledge the progressive role played by bourgeois humanism in history. However, we must at the same time be soberly aware of the hypocrisy in the idealistic conception of history in bourgeois humanism, which is based on the theory of abstract human nature, and on people's attempt to cover up the bourgeois class substance of bourgeois humanism with the name of the entire human race. We should especially point out that the hypocrisy of bourgeois humanism becomes increasingly conspicuous as the bourgeoisie transforms itself into a reactionary class. (In modern times, there are still true humanists who oppose the reactionary bourgeoisie. However, as long as they persist in opposing the reactionary bourgeoisie, they will become socialists or sympathizers of socialism.)

Marxism and bourgeois humanism, in other words, historical materialism and historical idealism, are two completely different things. Marxist ethics

is genuine humanism, that is, revolutionary humanism or socialist humanism. It is different from bourgeois humanism in that it reflects the revolutionary proletariat's concern for the interests of the laboring people, reflects the socialist states' and socialist societies' concern for the interests of the majority of the people, and the concern of the absolute majority of people for the interests of one another and their common interests. Socialist states pay attention to and protect the basic interests of the laborers and regard gradually meeting the material and cultural needs of the masses as the purpose of social production. They strive to establish increasingly perfect labor welfare systems in all production units, adopt varied and feasible measures to protect the physical and mental health of the laborers, encourage people to sympathize with one another under socialist conditions, encourage people to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of the interests of other people, and encourage people to sacrifice their own interests and the interests of the minority for the sake of the interests of the motherland and the majority. We regard training people to become people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline as the purpose of all our educational activities. The victories in our revolutionary cause and the development of our socialist cause are inseparable from these moral qualities and this humanism. It is precisely this revolutionary humanism or socialist humanism which has trained countless heroes in several generations to fight for lofty ideals. They have combined to form a tremendous social force which fights against all forces of darkness. This is something which the bourgeois humanists can never achieve. The reactionary bourgeoisie trumpets that we are inhumane. In fact, they are precisely the ones who are inhumane. In order to make fortunes and to become rich, they exploit the people of their own countries. In addition, they invade, occupy, and plunder other countries by waging all kinds of aggressive wars. The history of the development of capitalism is at the same time the history of cruel aggressive wars. To this day, they are making preparations for the latest and most cruel world war. Contrary to the bourgeois states, we create conditions for transforming the exploiters into laborers who support themselves by their own labor. As for those who have committed crimes and yet who are still redeemable, we adopt the policy of giving them a chance to turn over a new leaf. As for the enemies (including those who invade our country) captured by us on the battlefield, we adopt the policy of neither maltreating nor insulting them. All this reflects socialist humanism. To be sure, our country is both economically and culturally quite backward and vestiges of the old society, which had a long history, still exist. In addition, as we are now practicing the open-door policy (this policy is a correct one), bourgeois influence from other countries does spread. All this adds to the difficulties of our practicing socialist humanism. However, all this can only be solved by speeding up the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations and by making a greater effort to fight against all saboteurs but not by discussing in abstract terms human values and the restoration of the essence of man. Practice has proved that by discussing human values and the restoration of the essence of man in abstract terms, we cannot facilitate the development of socialist humanism but may give a weapon to the antisocialist (including some whom the bourgeoisie calls humanists) at home and abroad. It seems to them that socialism pays no

attention to human values and human nature and that to pay attention to human values and human nature means not fighting against those vicious criminal offenders. Thus, in order to disseminate and practice socialist humanism, we have no other choice than to make a clear distinction between socialist humanism and bourgeois humanism. To discuss humanism is in effect to discuss bourgeois humanism, or, at least, to lend support to it.

How Did Marx Apply the Concept of "Alienation"?

(By Jin Huiming [7246 6540 2494])

"Alienation" means the process of making oneself alien. It refers to the extraordinary phenomenon of a subject's producing and separating from itself something antagonistic to it in the process of its development. This is a philosophical concept Marx borrowed from classical German philosophy to explain the phenomenon of social life. Marx did employ this concept in some of his theoretical works, his early works in particular. However, at different stages of the development of Marx' thinking, there were changes in the place and meanings of the concept of alienation in his theory.

Before Marx founded historical materialism, the development of his thinking was influenced by Hegelian philosophy. At that time, his concept of alienation was idealistic.

Later, during the period from the summer of 1843, when he criticized Hegelian philosophy, to the spring of 1845 before he wrote "Concerning Feuerbach's Programs," Marx was influenced by Feuerbach's philosophy. (In criticizing religion, Feuerbach suggested that God was the product of the self-alienation of the essence of man. In the future, when man has shaken off the yoke of religion, his essence will be restored.) At that time, he regarded the concept of alienation as the central concept of his theory. He studied social and historical phenomena, dissected and analyzed capitalist economic relations, and put forward the important idea of "alienated labor." He suggested that the labor of the workers in capitalist societies was alienated labor. Through this labor, the workers produced the private property which controlled them and which was alienated from them, and an antagonistic relationship between them and the capitalists. From this Marx drew a conclusion which negates private ownership. He pointed out: "Communism is the vigorous sublation of private ownership, that is, man's self-alienation." He also said that communism "truly fulfills the essence of man." At that time, Marx' views were approaching historical materialism although they carried traces of Feuerbach's philosophical ideas.

From 1845 to 1846, Marx comprehensively formulated the materialist conception of history. However, he continued to use the term "alienation" once in a while as "one which philosophers can easily understand" and which he "temporarily used." Alienation was no longer the principal concept with which he analyzed problems. Even if he mentioned it, he did not refer it to the self-alienation of man but suggested that alienation originated from a certain productive force and the social division of labor dictated

by it. Thus, the elimination of the alienation of social and national relations presupposed the development of productive force, the abolition of private ownership, and the "practice of communist adjustment of production." Marx' criticism of Feuerbach's philosophical thinking was in effect a "criticism" of his "former philosophical beliefs."

From that time on, in writing many of his works which represent the maturity of Marxism, for example, the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," "The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," the "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy," and the "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy" and the "Critique of the Gotha Program" contained in the 1857-1858 manuscript on economics, he no longer used the concept of alienation. In the course of writing "Das Kapital" in the late 1850's and early 1860's, Marx sometimes used this concept again. However, he used it differently. He did not use it, as he did in his early years, to explain various social phenomena and the development of history as a whole. He merely used it in his study of capitalism to describe some economic phenomena under the capitalist system. In his economic studies, Marx did not use in an ordinary methodological sense the concept of alienation but merely regarded it as a particular concept principally for explaining the relationship between capital and hired labor and the historical transience of the capitalist mode of production. Thus, we cannot use the concept of alienation as a universally applicable category which transcends a particular historical stage. Still less can we consider it to be the central idea of Marxism. (In proofreading volume one of the French edition of "Das Kapital," Marx removed three of the four "alienations." It can be seen that Marx did not think this concept had any great importance.)

In discussing socialist societies, Marx never applied the concept of "alienation."

Why Do We Say That the "Socialist Alienation Theory" Is Erroneous?

(By Xian Da [0341 6671])

In recent years, under the influence of some foreign ideological trends, some comrades in our theoretical circles have published many articles to discuss the existence of the "alienation" of socialism. Some articles suggest that "alienation" of socialism does exist in the economic, political, and ideological spheres. Some suggest that "alienation" is the "only scientific explanation" of the malpractices and shortcomings in socialist societies. Some even suggest that the source of "alienation" in socialist societies is the socialist system itself. This "socialist alienation theory" is theoretically erroneous and politically very harmful.

In his "1844 Manuscript on Economics," with labor alienation as the focus, Marx analyzed alienation in capitalist societies and devoted efforts to inquiring into the essential links between all phenomena of alienation and private ownership. If we say that capitalism is characterized by overall alienation, then we can say that socialism (communism) is characterized by

the elimination of alienation and the liberation of the entire human race. Precisely for this reason, Marx regarded alienation as a historical phenomenon and stressed that labor alienation could come about only under the precondition of the existence of private ownership. However, the "socialist alienation theory" suggests that socialist societies which eliminate private ownership and hired labor are still thoroughly alienated societies and that the resolute elimination of alienation will continue to bring about alienation. In this way, it perpetuates alienation, reverses the course of history, and distorts the concept of alienated labor used by Marx.

Marx' thinking on alienated labor in his early years did not touch on the theory of surplus labor, which exposes the substance of the capitalist system. However, it was based on the economic facts about capitalism and on economic analyses. Thus, it still has some significance in exposing the substance of the capitalist system. The source of alienation under the socialist system is not alienation itself. We cannot explain it in terms of man's being alienated from his essence. We must analyze the capitalist mode of production. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to rely on the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value. The gradual development from the formulation of the concept of alienated labor to the founding of the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value showed the growing maturity of the thinking of Marx and Engels.

There are different formulations of the "socialist alienation theory." However, all of them do not analyze the present state and the future of socialist societies in terms of the materialist conception of history. They overlook the fact that Marx' thinking on alienated labor can only be applied to the capitalist economy and they stuff the concept of "alienation" with some malpractices and defects of socialist societies and even with some things which are neither malpractices nor defects but merely are certain inevitable phenomena at some historical stages of the development of socialism. All these formulations practically attempt to turn Marx' thinking on alienated labor into an idealistic philosophy which is based on abstract concepts and with which they shake the entire foundation of Marxism. This is a tremendous theoretical retrogression. In addition, objectively speaking, they have provided people with a pseudo-Marxist tool for opposing socialism.

Marx' thinking on alienation in his early years had some limitations. However, the spearhead of his criticism was directed at the capitalist system. On the basis of the alienation of the products of labor, Marx pointed out that the labor of the laborers was owned by the capitalists and exposed the antagonistic relationship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The "socialist alienation theory" does not criticize capitalism but criticizes socialism. The view which suggests that alienation exists in the political, economic, and ideological spheres in socialist societies and that they will continue to bring about alienation, practically directs its

spearhead at the socialist system of the public ownership of the means of production, at the political party and the state founded by the proletariat, and at Marxism. Such a view cannot help people correctly understand and solve the problems which exist in socialist societies at present and which differ in nature, but merely leads people to doubt the socialist system. Some other views in fact openly negate the socialist system and incite people to oppose the socialist system. Thus, we must adhere to Marx' historical materialism and oppose the "socialist alienation theory."

Why Is It That the Viewpoint of "Alienation" Cannot Be Used To Explain Reform?

(By Zhong Ji [6988 7162])

In his early years, when Marx was analyzing the antagonism between labor and capital in capitalist society, he used the concept "alienation." During his later years, he sometimes also used "alienated labor" and other concepts to describe wage labor in capitalist society. However, he never used the concept "alienation" for socialist society, even for its early stage.

At present, there are some comrades who hold that "alienation" also exists in socialist society and in its economic, political, and ideological spheres and they are trying to use the overcoming of the so-called viewpoint of alienation to explain reform. Some articles have pointed out: "In order to wipe out the alienation of man in the spheres of economy, politics, culture, and society in China, it is necessary to constantly reform the part of the superstructure and economic basis that do not suit socialism." Some articles hold that the reform of the economic and political system being carried out at present is "for overcoming economic and political alienation." This viewpoint is wrong.

The various reforms being carried out at present and that will be carried out in future are, in general, for transforming certain links of the superstructure and relations of production so as to gradually consolidate and develop the basic system of socialism, enable all its concrete systems to be perfect and mature, eliminate all defects and disadvantages that do not suit the development of productive forces and social politics and culture, and promote the smooth progress of the entire society. There are a variety of reasons for the defects and disadvantages which existed in our former systems. For example, the influences of old ideas and habits; deviations in understanding and mistakes in work caused by lack of experience; and the inappropriate things mechanically copied while studying from foreign experience in the past. These phenomena are not "alienated" from socialism itself. There is another kind of situation in reform; that is, along with the development of socialist society itself, some things which were suitable in the past may be unsuitable now, and must be appropriately reformed. We cannot regard such practices as overcoming "alienation." For example, when cadres get old, it is necessary to make the cadre ranks younger in average age; when the technology and equipment are outmoded, we must renew them and correspondingly transform certain management

systems. Such phenomena are necessary for the progress of all societies. How can this be regarded as overcoming "alienation"?

Socialist society, like all things in the universe, develops through contradiction. Reform is one of the important and regular methods for solving contradictions. This is the guiding ideology for carrying out reform. However, "alienation" and contradiction are not the concepts that have the same meaning. "Alienation" refers to the alienated phenomenon that came into being from the main body itself and, in turn, it controls and is hostile to the main body. Marx only used this concept to describe the antagonistic contradiction of capitalism. Contradiction refers to the aspects of unity and opposites within all things. The unity and struggle of these two aspects pushes forward the development of things. The former is a special phenomenon, while the latter is the universal law of the development of things. The contradiction in socialist society may sometimes turn into antagonistic contradiction (such as the decade-long internal turmoil). However, these are special cases formed in light of special conditions. The socialist system itself can overcome these contradictions. The measures adopted for overcoming these contradictions certainly do not belong to the category of reform. With regard to the alienated phenomena in capitalist society, they are determined by the nature of the capitalist system, and the capitalist system is incapable of solving them by itself.

It is thus obvious that we cannot use the viewpoint of overcoming the so-called alienation to explain or guide our reform. If we hold that "alienation" exists in all spheres of socialist society and that the socialist system itself is constantly producing dissidents, then, there would be no fundamental difference between socialist and capitalist systems. This viewpoint is, in fact, the manifestation of vacillation of some people toward the party and socialist system, which was formed during the decade-long internal turmoil. It cannot help the people to correctly understand and solve the emerging problems in the current struggle of socialist society against the remnant forces of the old society. It also cannot help the people to correctly realize and carry out the necessary reforms for the technological and social progress of socialist society. It will only lead the people to criticize and suspect socialism and communism. Therefore, we must straighten out and oppose such an erroneous viewpoing.

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## STUDY INTENSIVELY, BE AN EXPERT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 p 48

[Article by Zhang Yuyan [1728 3768 1484]]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Leading cadres at all levels of the party cannot remain nonprofessionals forever, they must all study hard and gradually become professional." This is a far-sighted requirement with profound significance and is an important task which we should carry out.

As production and science and technology develop and greater innovations are made in our understanding and knowledge, modernization will make even greater demands on the level of our understanding and knowledge. For this reason, research, study, and expertise should become a trend of the times. Some people say that the old set of skilled and proficient people are in some cases now becoming complacent and idle and thus there is a lack of new knowledge and new methodologies and the situation must be rectified urgently. Only by being firm and resolute in practice, studying hard and intensively, and getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh in terms of knowledge and understanding, can we meet the demands of the times. We must remain vigilant and clear-headed in the face of necessity and the new situations which are constantly recurring and we must be clear about our direction in the face of all the complex and confusing social phenomena around us, astutely and courageously opening up a new situation. For as they say "ignorance is the dark night of wisdom, a dark night without a moon and without stars." If one comes up against a problem and one lacks knowledge then one invariably hesitates and is blind and passive and this may result in our taking a wrong and tortuous road and suffering setbacks in our undertakings.

We must intensively and truly study knowledge so that we become talented and learned people; in order to do this we must keep our feet firmly on the ground, be cautious and conscientious, and unceasingly struggle and work hard. This valuable spiritual state can be achieved by resolutely maintaining one's faith in communism and contributing one's all with the innocence of a newborn baby, to modernization.

Today those who have made outstanding contributions to the construction of the four modernizations are all, without exception, revolutionaries who have

worked their fingers to the bone to study knowledge and have truly exerted themselves. The outstanding member of the Communist Youth League, Zhang Haidi, who continued to study despite illness should, by her achievements, fill the masses of youths with admiration. Jiang Zhuying who struggled and worked all his life and was meticulous to the last detail, made enormous contributions in terms of studying, in order to develop optics in China. It is abundant zeal and enthusiasm, determination to achieve talent, aspirations to achieve knowledge, the spirit of the Foolish Old Man, and so on which should motivate everyone to study hard and therein should also lie the true essence of such motivated and dedicated people's ability to impress and move everyone.

The English author Dickens once said: "Indomitable will is able to conquer even the very highest mountain in the world." There are many difficulties involved in intensively studying Marxism, science, culture, and management knowledge and the task is a formidable one. The most important magic weapons that one can have is a firm will and hard work. It is true that good results are always comparable to the amount of effort and hard work expended. With every bit of effort one obtains results. With single-hearted devotion, perseverance and a firm grip on the "green mountain" of knowledge, we will gradually achieve our aims and change stones into jade, and nonprofessionals into experts, thus making great contributions to our cause.

If we study by fits and starts and beat a retreat as soon as we come across some difficulties, or if we change our minds the moment we see something new, the result will only be sorrow in old age. As Lu Xun said: "The athlete who runs to the very last is the future backbone of China." It is we in the Communist Party who should really embody this determination of character to its fullest. As with the operation of a machine one must not stop studying, and one must continue until one understands everything. One should not be like Wu Liu who studied and read books but never understood anything, rather one should learn from Field Marshal Liu Bocheng who said: "You must regard new words like money, collecting them constantly and you must regard doubt like an enemy attack, and launch an attack on it." In this way we may all become "athletes who run to the very end" in terms of studying. At any time or place and under any conditions one should never be a lazy and cowardly person in one's studies and thus only remain a mediocre person throughout one's life. We must get through the "eighteen hairpin bends" on the road to studying to be an expert and after that, as long as we are firm in our climb and study intensively, then we will without doubt be able to reach that pinnacle of expertise!

CSO: 4004/56

## NURTURE PRESTIGE WITH ACTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 83 inside back cover

[Article by Li Gengchen [2621 1649 6591]]

[Text] Comrades who have just ascended to leadership posts frequently lack prestige, particularly when they have not yet shown any accomplishment in their work. This seems to be a regular phenomenon. When Zhuge Liang [6175 5514 0081] first left his cottage home and assumed an official post, he had not been "practically tested" and the subordinate officers under him, Guan Yu [7070 5038] and Zhang Fei [1728 7378], were not convinced of his ability. They even grumbled to Liu Bei [0491 0271], saying: "Kong Ming [1313 2494] is still young in age. What real ability can he have? You are really treating him too well!" When their arch enemy Cao Cao [2580 2347] dispatched his favorite General Xiahou Xun [1115 0186 1908] to lead an army of 100,000 soldiers to attack Liu's territory and Zhang Fei came to know of it, Zhang actually made sarcastic comments and said to Guan Yu: "Why not send Kong Ming to fight them?" Even when Guan Yu was given his field orders for the campaign, he still spoke unconvincingly: "We shall see how his strategy will work and later shall demand an explanation from him." As for the other commanding officers, they were still skeptical "although they had been given the orders and all had condescended to obey." It was not until Zhuge, smiling amiably and completely at ease when making his moves, crushed the enemy forces by launching a fierce "fire attack" at Bo Wang, which gave Cao Cao a big scare and earned him his first success after leaving his cottage home, and that his true talents were clearly shown and which completely satisfied Zhang Fei. Zhang was so moved as to utter the words: "Kong Ming is truly a talent." He dismounted from his horse and "fell flat on the ground, actually worshipping Zhuge." His attitude thus took a sharp 180-degree turn. Needless to say, at this stage Zhuge Liang's prestige went up like a rocket! Similarly, in the Wu Kingdom, when Lu Xun [7120 6676], "a mere scholar who had been on river patrol duties," was appointed supreme military commander, "everybody was not convinced"; some people even made the comment: "With this small child in charge, the Wu Kingdom is doomed!" However, when Lu later performed the feat of burning, and turning to ashes, the enemy's barracks, which extended over an area of 700 li and "his name stunned both the Shu and Wei Kingdoms," not only his generals showed their complete admiration but also the Wei overlord humbly paid homage to the scholar, while elderly gentleman and official Zhang Zhao

[0491 2507], who had at first shaken his head at Lu's appointment, subsequently lauded him as a "genius." It can thus be seen that actual accomplishments are extremely important. Comrades who have just taken up leadership posts need not worry about not having prestige in the beginning. They should only be concerned that they may not be able to produce any concrete results. If only there are accomplishments so that the public can see the "actual results," prestige will come by itself.

However, in reality, it is not that simple! "Concrete results" do not come by merely asking. Some people who are unable to execute a good "kick-off" upon assuming a new post very likely may face the hardship of "nobody listening to him, or following his footsteps" but of "being censored for committing the smallest mistake." What then should be done? In such events, what we can see if some people will not bother to make a self-examination but would stare at other people and say: "I have been appointed by the higher authorities and what I say goes!" "You won't listen to me! What do you want to do?" or "I am responsible if anything goes wrong; you will be punished if you do not do as I say," and so on. The outcome is that outwardly you are "hot headed" but inwardly you feel "coldhearted." In the meantime, your subordinates, turning away, will make a funny face, by no means convinced in their heart. Then there is still another category of people who adopt a passive attitude, saying: "You are at liberty to believe or not, or to listen or not. I shall say what I must say. It is up to you to carry it out or not." This weakness on the part of the leadership simply will not help matters and certainly cannot produce "concrete results." In this way, prestige will be completely out of sight!

The attitude of another category of people is entirely different; "blaming neither heaven nor earth," they earnestly study, and bury themselves in hard work. Showing a bold, innovative, and actively progressive spirit, they dare to attack difficult problems, take bold steps, invigorate their ardor and flames of enthusiasm upon assumption of a new job, adopt a new attitude and devote utmost efforts to producing brandnew results, and eventually open up an entirely new situation. As seen from newspaper reports, the newly appointed commander, Li Lianghai [2612 5328 6540], of a certain paratroop corps, has shown precisely this kind of spirit. When he assumed his new post, he made it sufficiently clear: Through actual practice and by means of solid accomplishment he would endeavor to nurture prestige from among the masses. Embodying a determination to protect the motherland and to be responsible to the people, he made an intensive study of modern military tactics, and boldly reformed the system of military exercises. Soon after assuming his new post, he painstakingly organized and conducted a military exercise, completing with flying colors the performances which ranged from individual drills to team drills. The comments from the higher authorities were that the drill was "most successful" in displaying certain tactical superiorities. This is another example of accomplishing a first success on "emerging from the cottage home." Everybody is convinced. Even old and experienced paratroopers raised their thumb and praised him as "a latecomer surpassing the oldtimers."

Comrade Zhou Enlai said: The leadership's prestige is not nurtured by "blowing one's horn" or "beating one's own drum"; rather, it comes from burying oneself in hard work! Naturally hard work still requires the know-how to perform the job. This means that we must rely on the masses, benefit from collective wisdom, and turn everybody's talent into our own talent. If the large numbers of new cadres who have won their promotion through restructuring of the organizations this time feel that their prestige is not high enough, they should follow the example of Li Lianghui, be determined to study hard, "drill" hard, and work hard, produce some "concrete results," and use concrete action and solid accomplishments in renovation and in the four modernizations to nurture prestige in leadership.

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END