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CHINA REPORT

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No. 8, 16 April 1984

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

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OUTLINE REPORT ON ENHANCING PARTY SPIRIT (1941)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 2-5

[Article* by Ren Bishi]

[Text] Editor's Note: On 30 April this year falls the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Ren Bishi, one of our party's eminent leaders. To cherish his memory, RED FLAG republishes the manuscript of one of his articles for readers to study.

What can be subsumed under party spirit? How can we foster a staunch party spirit? That is to say, in order to enhance party spirit, we should train and encourage ourselves in which areas?

In order to answer this question, it is first necessary to clarify several basic assumptions:

I. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and the interests of the proletariat are the interests of the Communist Party.

II. The party spirit of Communist Party members is the proletariat's highest degree of class consciousness and class awareness.

III. Party spirit is measured in terms of party members' thinking, awareness, political viewpoints, views, and actions. However, all this cannot transcend the circumstances of society and cannot be looked at in isolation. Hence the question of:

IV. In what circumstances does the CPC find itself and what are its characteristics?

1. Our party exists in a semifeudal, semicolonial society, which means it exists in a backward society with the most complicated social and economic conditions. The complicated and varied ideas and consciousness of the

*Written for the purpose of disseminating and explaining the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Enhancing Party Spirit" approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on 1 July 1941. Republished with abridgements.

classes and strata in this same society cannot but have an influence on our party and its members.

2. A special feature of the organizational basis of our party is that the petite bourgeoisie, that is, those of peasant and intellectual origins, constitutes a rather important component of the party. Originally, they were economically independent, scattered individuals who were ideologically influenced by the bourgeoisie in varying degrees. Therefore, they will bring bourgeois and petite bourgeois ideas into the party.

3. China's proletariat, unlike those in the capitalist states, which are of proletarian origin, has received no intensive and rigorous training. These proletarians are either people who were originally craftsmen or hired farm workers or bankrupt petite bourgeoisie. Some are even industrial workers who maintain close relations with the rural economy. What does this mean? It means that the consciousness of China's proletariat has not been completely proletarianized and is always influenced by the consciousness of the petite bourgeoisie or even by the consciousness of the bourgeoisie.

4. As required by the nature of the present stage of the Chinese revolution and by the tasks at this very stage the proletarian should cooperate with various classes, including the bourgeoisie and the landlord class, in order to form a comprehensive national united front. This gives the consciousness of the bourgeoisie and that of other nonproletarian classes the opportunity to corrupt and influence our party members.

Thus, on the 20th anniversary of its founding, our party issued its decision on enhancing party spirit in order to call on all party members to improve, foster, and strengthen their party spirit. This is absolutely not a mere coincidence. Obviously, under the present circumstances and conditions, our party's decision on enhancing party spirit is of great historical significance.

After fighting arduously for 20 years, our party grows in strength each day. It has undergone a long progress of tempering. With its rich experience in fighting, it has become the political party which directs the revolution of the whole country. However, today, among some party organizations and party members, there are many unhealthy tendencies and phenomena. After studying the material and actual conditions, the party points out these unhealthy tendencies and phenomena in the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Enhancing Party Spirit."

Those tendencies and behavior which exhibit a lack of party spirit are not a common phenomenon within the party. However, in some departments, the problem is really quite serious and there is grave danger.

Then, in order to overcome these tendencies and phenomena and to strengthen the training in party spirit, what should we begin with and in which areas should we train and encourage ourselves?

First, it is necessary to profoundly understand that the interests of the proletariat are the ultimate interests of our party, to serve these interests with unlimited faith and staunchness, and to make the spirit of serving the interests of the party entirely the outcome of our consciousness, spontaneity and enthusiasm. In addition, we should not be spurred on, pressed, or fettered by so-called "duties to be discharged." Otherwise, we will become blind followers. The faithfulness and staunchness of blind followers are relative.

In order to make our spirit of serving the interests of the party totally conscientious, spontaneous, and enthusiastic, it is first necessary to have a high sense of proletarian class consciousness and class awareness because people without class consciousness and class awareness can absolutely not display genuine enthusiasm and creativity. In addition, their so-called faithfulness and staunchness will become relative. Likewise, if party members cannot foster a staunchness and a faithfulness to the party, their so-called class consciousness and class awareness will also come to nothing.

Class consciousness and class awareness are gradually formed through a gradual process of education, fostering, and training. In this regard, it is the duty of party organizations to educate party members and party members should conscientiously train themselves. The enthusiasm and creativity of party members and their faithfulness to the party are also the results of education, fostering, and training. They affect, condition, and give impetus to one another.

Class consciousness and class awareness can absolutely not be achieved by eloquently paying lip service. This is a long process of intense struggle. That means, whatever the class status and background of our party members may be, in order to have a proletarian class consciousness and to grasp the class awareness of the proletariat, it is first necessary to combat the non-proletarian consciousness we previously had, to conquer it, to overcome it, and to reject it, in order to make room for the new proletarian consciousness. In this way, it can stand firm and gradually become something belonging to us. Obviously, this cannot be accomplished overnight or in a few days. This is a long process of struggle. However, in order to be a genuine, faithful, and staunch Bolshevik, one must undergo this process.

Second, in this process of struggle, the thing that must be done at the same time is to understand and to have a grasp of Marxism-Leninism and the party's policies and strategies. That means it is necessary to have a thorough understanding of "those Marxist theories of revolution which are inseparable from revolutionary practice."¹

It is necessary to train and encourage ourselves and to make ourselves firm in understanding the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Without a grasp of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, what is called class consciousness and class awareness will come to nothing. It is necessary to have unlimited staunchness and unlimited faith in Marxism-Leninism. Whether we are studying it or applying it, this should always be the case.

However, it is necessary to apply Marxism-Leninism flexibly and to gear its application to actual circumstances. That means it is necessary to look at problems and to handle them using the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. We should not affect a high moral tone and mechanically apply formulas without taking the actual circumstances into consideration. We should not turn ourselves into formulists, dogmatists, or subjectivists. At the same time, it is necessary to combat opportunism, to wage a merciless struggle against compromise and capitulationism, to fight for the purity of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, and to wage uncompromising struggle against those who defile and distort the revolutionary theory. That means it is necessary to resolutely combat all non-Marxist and non-Leninist ideas and viewpoints. This struggle is one of the major indicators for measuring the party spirit of party members.

Third, it is necessary to guide our actual activities using the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We mentioned above the need to combine the interests and desires of party members with those of the party. That means it is necessary to subordinate our personal interests to those of the party and to place its interests above all. Thus, it is necessary to combat individualism, individualistic heroism, the absence of organization, factionalism, decentralism, which is against centralization, and other tendencies which run counter to the party spirit. It is necessary to combat the erroneous tendencies that exist within the party or within ourselves because these tendencies disrupt the organization, unification, discipline, and unity of the party. "The party can lead the practical struggle of the working class and direct it toward one aim only if all its members are organized in one common detachment, welded together by unity of will, unity of action, and unity of discipline."²

Individualism, individualistic heroism, liberalism, factionalism, and other tendencies are the root cause of the open or secret antiparty factional activities or small group activities which disrupt the unification and unity of the party. If we do not check them on time, do not combat them, or let them continue to develop, they will develop along a counterrevolutionary track.

Thus, the subordination of our personal interests to those of the whole party, the placing of the party's interests above everything, and the struggle for the party's unification and unity also constitute a major indicator for assessing the party spirit of party members.

Fourth, it is necessary to abide by the unified discipline of the party. Our party's basic organizational principle is: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the party organizations at lower levels to those at higher levels, and all the party organizations to the Central Committee's system of democratic centralism. None of the party members is to be excepted.

The party not only asks and educates the party members to abide by the party's iron discipline but also educates the classes which fight for the revolution to abide by discipline. Speaking on what kind of political

parties could direct the struggle of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin said: "The party should impart to the thousands of unorganized nonparty people and workers a sense of the disciplined, planned, organized, and staunch character of struggle. However, only when the party reflects a sense of discipline and a sense of organization and when it becomes an organized force of the proletariat is it capable of accomplishing these tasks."³

Obviously, party organizations and party members should not only ask the masses and others to abide by and observe discipline, they should also take the lead in observing and abiding by discipline. That means they should overcome the lack of organization, the aversion to discipline, and the unhealthy tendencies of not abiding by discipline and not subordinating oneself to the organizations.

Thus, whether or not one abides by discipline and whether or not one is subordinate to the organizations is also one of the major indicators for assessing the party spirit of party members.

Fifth, it is necessary to establish really close ties with the masses. Our party is one which fights for the interests of the proletariat and of the masses or working people. It is also one which leads the masses to wage revolutionary struggle for the sake of their own interests and their liberation. Our party is one which has established close ties with the masses, yet it continues to fight for the establishment of even closer ties between itself and the masses. The tremendous power of our party lies in its close ties with the masses and in their support. Thus, whichever party organization has departed from the masses or lost their support has lost its basis and combat strength. Whichever party member has departed from the masses, his role in the party has diminished. Thus, it can be said that if the number of people with whom we have established ties decreases by one, the party's strength diminishes correspondingly.

Thus, establishing close ties with the masses, constantly making the party enjoy higher prestige among the masses, making the masses trust our party, and the spirit of fighting for the growth and expansion of the strength and power of the party also constitute one of the major indicators for assessing party spirit.

In short, today, all members of our party should profoundly study and understand the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Enhancing Party Spirit" and, with reference to the unhealthy tendencies pointed out in the decision, conscientiously and sincerely examine our words, deeds, ideas, and consciousness with an open mind.

If we discover our mistakes, we should not hesitate to correct them. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Enhancing Party Spirit" has set the following important demands on us: We are required to fight for the unity and centralization of the party and for our own subordination to the leadership of the Central Committee; to combat decentralism, factionalism, and individualism; to resolutely combat the two-faced tactics of complying in public but opposing in private and to thoroughly eliminate this

phenomenon; to immediately correct mistakes, not to let them become worse, and, or discovering mistakes, to positively, frankly, and sincerely carry out criticism; to be united, to help one another, to cherish the cadres, and to help them forward in political affairs; to fight for the observation of discipline and the subordination of oneself to the organization; to overcome complacency and selfishness; to be honest, to have a down-to-earth style, to immerse oneself in hard work, and to seek truth from facts; and to combine and coordinate theory with practice and work with study. All party members are required to take part in some regular activities of the party. These are some of the keys to the fostering, tempering, and enhancing of party spirit.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Stalin," People's Publishing House, 1979 edition, Vol 1, p 312.
2. "A Short Course in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)," People's Publishing House, 1975 edition, p 51.
3. "Selected Works of Stalin," People's Publishing House, 1979 edition, Vol 1, p 263.

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ENHANCING PARTY SPIRIT IS A BASIC TASK FOR PARTY BUILDING--STUDYING 'OUTLINE
REPORT ON ENHANCING PARTY SPIRIT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 6-9, 32

[Article by Qin Hao [4440 3185]]

[Text] On 30 April this year falls the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Ren Bishi, one of the eminent leaders of our party and a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation.

Comrade Ren Bishi was one of the party's experts in organization. He made outstanding contributions to party building, to building the CYL, and the party's reserve force, to the army's political work, and to land reform.

Comrade Ren Bishi took part in directing the Yanan party rectification in the early 1940's, thus helping Comrade Mao Zedong successfully guide that historically very significant Marxist educational movement. The "Outline Report on Enhancing Party Spirit" (hereafter referred to as the "Outline") that we are now studying was written on the eve of the overall rectification of the party. The series of important ideas put forward in the "Outline," such as that of enhancing party spirit and that of improving the party's combat strength, continue to have great practical significance for the overall party rectification being carried out today. The best way to cherish the memory of the older generation of revolutionaries and to make them feel at ease is to earnestly study Comrade Ren Bishi's writings on these issues, so as to deepen all the party members' ideological understanding, and to make a success of our party rectification.

The question of enhancing the party spirit of all the component parts of the party and the party spirit of the party members has always been a basic task in the building of a proletarian political party. In the 20 years starting from the day our party was born to the Yanan party rectification, in the practice of directing China's revolutionary struggle, there were tremendous victories and developments as well as grave mistakes and setbacks. Rich experience was accumulated. However, at the same time, the existence of many weaknesses and grave problems in the party apparatus was revealed. From the Zunyi conference to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, the party corrected Wang Ming's mistakes. However, the subjectivism, sectarianism, and the stereotyped party writings presented by

him continued to exert an influence on things. In the period immediately after the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, the number of party members from the petit bourgeoisie rapidly increased. They brought into the party many nonproletarian ideas and styles. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong later, although many party members had joined the party organizationally, they had not joined the party ideologically. In order to fulfill the great yet arduous tasks of winning the war of resistance against Japan and of bringing about national independence and the liberation of the people, to bring about the unity of the party in regard to program, strategy, and organization, and to enable it to direct China's revolutionary struggle, the task of strengthening the building of the party, particularly in the field of ideology, was historically set before the whole party. On 1 July 1941, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee approved the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Enhancing Party Spirit" (hereafter referred to as the "Decision") in order to make preparations for the rectification movement. Comrade Ren Bishi's "Outline" expounded the "Decision" from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It embodies the basic viewpoints of the CPC Central Committee and the demands it imposes on the members of the party on the questions of strengthening party building and of teaching the party members to temper and foster their party spirit.

In order to enhance the party spirit of the whole party, it is first necessary to enable the masses of party members to have a scientific knowledge of party spirit. The party was 20 years old when it carried out the Yanan party rectification. However, since its founding, the party had been preoccupied with mighty mass revolutionary movements. It had neither the time to give the whole party systematic Marxist education nor the conditions for doing so. Many party members, particularly those at the grassroots level, did not clearly understand what party spirit was. Some thought that "obedience to higher authorities" is all there is about a strong party spirit, while others thought that to have party spirit is to "regularly and punctually attend meetings" and to "pay party membership dues." In the light of this narrow and inadequate understanding of party spirit, the "Outline" points out at the very beginning: "The party spirit of the party members is the proletariat's highest sense of class consciousness and class awareness." "Party spirit is indicated by and measured in terms of the party members' ideological consciousness, political viewpoints, their words, and their deeds." The party spirit of the party members is "formed through a process of education, fostering, and tempering." These basic views on party spirit were of great importance to clarifying some erroneous concepts and vague ideas at that time. In addition, they are what a party member should grasp when he fosters and tempers his party spirit today.

The "Outline" analyzes from the viewpoint of historical materialism the causes, which are pointed out in the "Decision," of the unhealthy tendencies and behavior which organizationally and ideologically run counter to the principle of party spirit. It points out: Our party exists in a real society which is semifeudal and semicolonial. It is profoundly influenced by various nonproletarian ideas. Most of our members were originally peasants or intellectuals. Even those party members who were originally

workers continue to maintain close relations with the rural economy. Thus, inevitably, they bring petit bourgeois ideas and even bourgeois consciousness into the party. As required by the nature and the tasks of the Chinese revolution, the party has to continue its cooperation with the bourgeoisie, thus giving the ideology and consciousness of the bourgeoisie more opportunities to corrupt our party. This analysis is profound. It pointed out the social origin of the rightist and "leftist" mistakes the party made in directing the revolutionary struggle. In addition, it also pointed out the important internal factors for the existence of three unhealthy tendencies within the party at that time, thus providing the theoretical ground for the primary importance of ideological education in party building.

What is of even greater theoretical and practical guiding significance is that the "Outline" summed up our experience in party building and, in particular, in education in party spirit in the 20 years since the founding of the party and pointed out the need for the whole party to try in five areas to foster and temper its party spirit. They are: 1) The need to serve the interests of the party, that is, the interests of the proletariat, "with unlimited faith and staunchness" and to make the spirit of serving the interests of the party "entirely the outcome of our consciousness, spontaneity, and enthusiasm"; 2) the need to "have a thorough understanding of 'those Marxist theories of revolution which are inseparable from revolutionary practice'"; 3) the need to "subordinate our personal interests to those of the party, to place the interests of the party above all, and to fight for the unification and unity of the party"; 4) the need to "abide by the unified discipline of the party"; and 5) the need to "establish really close ties with the masses." The five demands proposed by Comrade Ren Bishi constitute a summary of the contents of the education in party spirit given by the party to its members. A thorough understanding of these five demands and of the relations among them as well as the implementation of these demands is still very important when we carry out education in party spirit and temper our party spirit today.

Here, what should be given special emphasis is that the "Outline" put forward "the thorough understanding of 'those Marxist theories of revolution which are inseparable from revolutionary practice'" as one of the major indicators for measuring party spirit, and dialectically explained it. This constitutes an important development in education in party spirit and is of great significance in the history of the building of our party.

The scientific proposition that party spirit should have a dialectical materialistic outlook on the world as its basis and precondition was first put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong. In his "Reform Our Study," he said: "The absence of a scientific attitude, that is, the absence of the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory and practice, means that party spirit is either absent or deficient." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 758) Later, in his "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Studies and Investigations," he more definitely pointed out: "The crude, careless, opinionated, subjectivist style is the first manifestation of the impurities in party spirit; whereas seeking truth from facts and closely

combining theory and practice is the elementary attitude of a party member with staunch party spirit." With the approach of dialectical analysis, Comrade Ren Bishi expounded in his "Outline" this scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's. He said: "It is necessary to cultivate and train ourselves and to make ourselves firm and staunch in regard to our understanding of the Marxist-Leninist theories. Without a grasp of the Marxist-Leninist theories, what is called class consciousness and class awareness will eventually come to nothing." In addition, he pointed out, if the party members' fight for the interests of the party is not an outcome of their consciousness and spontaneity, that means they do not have a grasp of the Marxist-Leninist theories and they will become blind followers whose "faithfulness and staunchness are only relative." This is one thing. On the other hand, Comrade Ren Bishi pointed out: "It is necessary to flexibly apply Marxism-Leninism and to gear its application to actual circumstances. That means it is necessary to look at problems and to handle them by using the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. We should not take a high moral tone and mechanically apply formulas without taking the actual circumstances into consideration, and we should not turn ourselves into formulists, dogmatists, or subjectivists." Here, Comrade Ren Bishi criticized empiricism, which overlooks theoretical guidance, and dogmatism, which is divorced from actual circumstances. However, his criticism was principally aimed at eliminating the malign influence on the party of the subjectivists, who were characterized by their dogmatism. During the second revolutionary civil war, the dogmatists glibly babbled revolutionary jargon, mechanically applied formulas found in books without taking the actual circumstances into consideration, pursued their "leftist" errors, and arbitrarily stuck the label of "opportunists' vacillation" on those who held different views in order to show their "high revolutionary spirit" and "staunch party spirit." Some comrades with little understanding of the theories were frequently confused, arrested, and awed by the empty preaching of the dogmatists. They thought that to have a staunch party spirit is to "obey the higher authorities." Although they saw with their own eyes that the interests of the revolution were infringed upon, they nevertheless continued to practice the dogmatists way of doing things. Thus, Comrade Mao Zedong's proposition that absence of the approach of uniting theory with practice means absence of party spirit is really a summary of the experience the party paid for in blood over many years. As soon as this proposition was advanced, it shook and resounded through the whole party. On one hand, those comrades who paid no attention to the theories were educated by it. On the other, it enabled those comrades who had made dogmatic mistakes to become more sober-minded, in addition to helping the whole party base education in party spirit and the tempering of the party spirit on the foundation of the dialectical materialist outlook on the world. Recalling how he and Comrade Mao Zedong came to know each other, Comrade Ren Bishi said that after returning to China from Moscow, he read some of Comrade Mao Zedong's theoretical writings such as "On Protracted War" and "On New Democracy" and saw how Comrade Mao Zedong correctly handled the relations between the KMT and the CPC and grasped various policies in actual work. As a result, he deeply admired and respected Comrade Mao Zedong and realized that Comrade Mao Zedong's correctness in the past was based on a firm and unswerving stand and on the method of thinking which

combines theory with practice. During the Yanan party rectification, he paid close attention to and implemented this scientific proposition on party spirit put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong. Thus, he could have a firm grasp of the key to the success of the rectification movement and of the fundamental problems in party building and in education in party spirit. At that time, the leading central comrades including Comrade Ren Bishi devoted all their energies and attention to solving this problem. This played a decisive role in scoring great victory in the rectification movement.

In addition to repeatedly emphasizing the need to enhance party spirit, Comrade Ren Bishi also earnestly practiced what he advocated, and his words matched with his deeds in the practice of revolution. He displayed the staunch party spirit of a fine communist and set an example to the whole party.

Comrade Ren Bishi's staunch party spirit was first manifested in his strong sense of principle in political affairs and in his strong sense of organizational discipline. His fight against the traitor Zhang Guotao on the Long March is a classic. At that time, the party was in a difficult situation and the circumstances were complicated. However, Comrade Ren Bishi firmly believed that the line adopted by the Zunyi conference was correct, resolutely upheld the unification and unity of the party, and abided by the party's organizational discipline. He and Comrades Zhu De, He Long, and Liu Bochong waged a resolute struggle against Zhang Guotao's rightist desertion and his attempts to split the party. At the same time, he patiently persuaded people. Thus, some of those fooled by Zhang Guotao awoke. He had the courage to fight and he was good at it. As a result of his combining a strong sense of principle with patience in persuading and educating people, the Fourth and Second Front Armies of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were able to march north and join forces with the First Front Army, thus effecting the great strategic switch of forces. Comrade Ren Bishi's sense of principle in political affairs was also manifested in his fight against Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism and in the fight against the erroneous tendencies of "vanguardism" and "liquidationism" inside the CYL. These principled struggles contributed to the victorious development of the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Ren Bishi's staunch party spirit was also manifested in his way of thinking, which attached importance to investigations and studies and which persistently combined theory with practice, and in his work style of establishing close ties with the masses. The best example is the report entitled "Several Problems in the Land Reform," which he prepared in 1948. In order to correctly solve the problems arising from the land reform in the liberated areas, he conducted systematic investigations. In addition to carefully reading the relevant materials and the reports submitted by various liberated areas, he also personally talked to cadres at all levels and to the chairmen of the village peasant associations, carefully listened to people's opinions, jotted down notes while asking questions, and meticulously analyzed the sample data concerning each county and each village. He could not have finished this well-known report without conducting such

serious and meticulous investigations. This report provided a concrete and practical solution for the problems arising from the land reform, made a theoretical advance in the problem of the land reform, and played an important role in guiding the victorious accomplishment of the land reform in various liberated areas.

Comrade Ren Bishi's staunch party spirit was also manifested in his unlimited faithfulness to the party's cause and in his noble moral quality of wholeheartedly serving the people. He joined the revolution at the age of 16. In the 30 years after that, not for a single day did he shun hard work and arduous struggle. He was not dizzy with success, nor discouraged by failure. He kept on fighting in spite of all setbacks, and he quietly immersed himself in hard work. He did much for the party and the people. After Comrade Ren Bishi's death, Comrade Ye Jianying wrote an article to praise him: "To the party and the Chinese people, he was a camel walking along a long and rugged road with a heavy load on its back. He never stopped to take a rest or sought ease and comfort. He gave no thought to his own interests. He was an eminent communist, one of the best members of our party, and our example." (See "Lamenting Comrade Ren Bishi's Death") Comrade Ren Bishi's spirit of a "camel" is the most important content of the fostering and tempering of the party spirit of party members. All members of our party should learn from it and strive to attain it.

For the party to give its members effective education in party spirit, it is necessary to define the basic guiding ideology and the specific demands. In addition, it is also necessary to find a good way to attain this goal. The Yanan party rectification gave us a successful experience, that is: study the Marxist-Leninist theory and the party's documents, deepen our understanding, heighten our awareness, integrate theory with practice, measure ourselves, proceed from the desire for unity, unfold criticism and self-criticism, summarize historical experience, distinguish what is right from what is wrong, enhance party spirit, and enhance unity. To sum up, these methods are the method of combining theory with practice, the method of adopting the mass line, and the method of unfolding criticism and self-criticism advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Thus, they are scientific and effective methods. Practice has proven that the Yanan party rectification was an extensive and profound movement for fostering and tempering party spirit. In addition, it was also a development and a leap in the process of combining theory with practice in the history of the building of the party. After the rectification movement, the party formulated the theory of party building in Mao Zedong Thought, thus making the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building more Chinese and more specific. The party spirit of all party members, particularly the party spirit of those senior and middle rank cadres, was unprecedentedly enhanced, the party's three important styles of work were gradually formed, and the party was politically, ideologically, and organizationally further consolidated and united. Consequently, it could victoriously accept and fulfill the great historical tasks of attaining national independence and fighting for the liberation of the people.

On the basis of the tasks set by the 12th CPC National Congress and the decisions made by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, we are now carrying out overall party rectification. This is another important event in the history of the building of our party as well as an excellent opportunity to give the party members comprehensive education in party spirit and to temper their party spirit.

There are historical similarities between the Yanan party rectification and the current party rectification. However, the current party rectification has the distinctive characteristics of a new period as well as profound practical significance. The 10 years of "Cultural Revolution" did great harm to our party. The most serious harm was the weakening and impairing of party spirit. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was distorted and torn apart, subjectivism and metaphysics prevailed, and the individualistic ideas of the bourgeoisie steadily spread. The party in power in its leading position has been beset with problems concerning party building. They are principally the problems of widespread bureaucracy and of a small number of party members seeking personal gains by capitalizing on their powers. These have gravely impaired the close ties between the party and the people. About half of our party members have joined the party since the "Great Cultural Revolution." They have not received education in party spirit and the organizational training given by the party. The thinking of a considerable number of party members fails to keep pace with the development of the four modernizations. Some have been profoundly influenced by "leftist" ideas. They follow incorrect ideological lines. Some lack vigor, some have no fighting spirit, and some display slackness in combat. In short, the party style is incorrect, the quality of a considerable number of party members is poor, and many party organizations have little combat strength. Such are the prominent problems that must be solved in building the party at present. The style and combat strength of the party are the expressions of party spirit, and party spirit is the intrinsic basis of style and combat strength. The problems that arise from the thinking, style, and organization of the party today are an expression of weakened party spirit. We should draw lessons from the Yanan party rectification movement. During the current party rectification, we should emphatically give the party members education in party spirit and make such an education run through the whole course of the party rectification in order to deepen the ideological understanding of the whole party and to heighten its awareness. Each party member should, by way of taking part in the party rectification, conscientiously cultivate and temper his party spirit before he can attain the goal of enhancing party spirit. Reviewing the past helps one to understand the present. The five things proposed by the "Outline" for tempering and cultivating party spirit continue to be what our party members should strive to achieve today. We should pay special attention to cultivating the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and the revolutionary spirit of conscientiously and wholeheartedly serving the party and the people.

The results of the party rectification this time are a decisive factor for the success or failure of our cause of socialist modernization. We believe, as long as all the party members can conscientiously pay attention to tempering their party spirit and strive to enhance their party spirit, we can

surely fulfill the task of "unifying thinking, rectifying party style, strengthening discipline, and purifying the organization" set by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee for the party rectification, correct the "leftist" and rightist ideas and ways of doing things which run counter to the line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, check the unhealthy tendencies and the phenomena of laxness and lack of vigor, make the party politically, ideologically, and organizationally more united, stronger, more lively, and more vigorous, make spiritual preparations for the victorious accomplishment of Chinese-style socialist modernization with Chinese style, and add a dazzling new chapter to the history of the building of the party.

CSO: 4004/74

COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI ON IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 10-13

[Article by Lin Ping [2621 1627]]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Enlai was one of the leading comrades who were forerunners in leading the revolutionary army of our party. His discussions on political work in the revolutionary army were many. He was at the same time one of the leaders of our party, and an outstanding politician with a national and international reputation. His talks to workers, peasants, and intellectuals, to the cadres of the party, and to democratic personages concerning ideological and political work were many. Many of his reports, articles, talks and letters and his day-to-day contact with people of various descriptions could be said to be carrying out ideological and political work for the cause of the people. His whole revolutionary life has left us a precious spiritual wealth in ideological and political work.

Dating back to the period of the great revolution, when Comrade Zhou Enlai engaged in leading the revolution, he already had a profound understanding of the importance of ideological and political work. Prior to its reorganization in 1924, the KMT had an army of over 200,000 troops, the Guangdong army, the Hunan army, the Yunnan army, and so on. However, through long years of war with the troops of the warlord Chen Jiongming and others in Dongjiang, Xijiang, and Beijing of Guangdong Province and other places, it had not succeeded in winning the war. In 1925, the Guangzhou revolutionary army started its eastern expedition, with two of the training regiments of the Huangpu Military Academy as its backbone, and eventually they defeated Chen Jiongming with the support and help of the masses. What enabled the mere forces of two regiments to play the decisive role? This was because "political power was stronger than the enemy, raised combat effectiveness, and guaranteed the unity of the army itself and that of the army and the people." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 93. Hereinafter, quotations from the same work will give only the page number.) In the anti-encirclement and suppression struggle during the 10-year civil war period, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army carried on bitter struggles against the KMT, and it was a common occurrence that they overcame enemy forces which were several or even over 10 times more powerful than themselves. One reason for the victories, apart from correctness in strategy and principles of warfare, was that "the revolutionary army had powerful revolutionary

political work." (p 93) At the National Political Work Conference of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Wang Jiaxiang all pointed out: Political work is the lifeline of the Red Army. Comrade Zhou Enlai further said: The victory in every battle is inseparable from political work. The party's political work has guaranteed the victories of the Red Army, an all-time iron army that has gone through all hardships and dangers. Later, during the time of cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, he further proposed that "revolutionary political work is the lifeline of national revolution" (p 92), and that "revolutionary political work based on the principle of revolution is the lifeline and soul of all revolutionary armies." (p 93)

Concerning the role and purpose of ideological and political work, in his article "Political Work in the Army of Resistance Against Japan," Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Political work is to unite, and strengthen the link between the army and the people, and between officers and men" (p 94), "the basic aim of the political work of a revolutionary army is to raise the combat effectiveness of the revolutionary army, to ensure victories in war, to make the army itself united, and to make the army unite with the people." (p 95) Ideological and political work is work done toward people. Generally speaking, it aims to make people establish a proletarian world outlook, to recognize and to transform the world with a Marxist standpoint, view, and methodology. The establishment of a proletarian world outlook and the setting up of a revolutionary goal supplement each other and are inseparable from each other. Ideological and political work is to make everyone clearly understand the goal and realize the significance of his own actions, so that everyone may strive for the realization of the revolutionary goal with concerted efforts.

Regarding the principles of ideological and political work, Comrade Zhou Enlai laid stress on seeking truth from facts and proceeding from realities. He held that ideological and political work should start from the actual situation of one's own locality or unit, and that it should be carried out in a down-to-earth manner. He said: "The masses are in nature truth-seeking." ("Two Talks on the Kunqu Opera '15 Strings of Copper,'" WENYI YANJIU [STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND ART], No 1, 1980) Ideological and political work will be easily accepted by the masses when we persist in seeking truth from facts and starting from realities. Comrade Zhou Enlai himself did the work in the same way. He was good at grasping the requirements of the times, focusing on the actual situation of a specific period of time in unfolding powerful publicity and education. At the same time, he was good at setting different and practical requirements for different kinds of people. For example, when he mentioned political work in the army in 1926, his requirement for the troops of warlords was to enable them to "gradually become conscious," that for the revolutionary army was to enable them to "genuinely possess the concept of revolution," that for officers and their aides was to "consolidate their concept of revolution," while that for fighters was to "enable them to acquire some common sense knowledge about the revolution." Setting different requirements according to different conditions, adopting flexible methods, and doing one's best to raise the capacity for acceptance and interest in study of the person concerned is the only way to achieve the aim of ideological and political work.

If ideological and political work is to meet the requirements of seeking truth from facts and starting from the realities, it is necessary to link closely with the masses and to adopt the mass line. Comrade Zhou Enlai required that political workers should not lose contact with the masses even for one minute, and that they should absorb nourishment from the masses, to enrich, substantiate and improve their own work. He said: Wisdom comes from the masses. However, it should be elevated by the leadership, then returned to the masses for testing by them before it undergoes further elevation. In this way, ideological and political work will be done better and better, in a more profound way, and with greater variation.

Ideological and political work must link the long-term interests of the masses with their present interests, and link the collective interests with the interests of the individual. This was an important advocacy of Comrade Zhou Enlai. He pointed out: While doing ideological work, it is necessary to solve the practical problems of the masses with all our efforts. Once, on mentioning political work, he said: If the Red Army is to consolidate its own troops, it is primarily necessary for us to attach attention to the consolidation of ideology, to enhance our class vigilance against counterrevolutionaries and bad elements within our own ranks, and, in particular, to fight against incorrect ideas, so that we may achieve ideological unanimity. At the same time, it is necessary to attach attention to improving our living standard and to overcoming all difficulties. These are important tasks in consolidating our troops. In the article "Political Work in the Army of Resistance Against Japan," written in 1938, he said: "It is imperative to enhance political education and to improve the treatment of soldiers in establishing revolutionary style and discipline." (p 97) The article criticized those political organs which failed to link their political work closely with the improvement of the standard of living and treatment of the soldiers. From the founding of the PRC, Comrade Zhou Enlai also expounded on this point. He pointed out: In order to lay a foundation for heavy industry, it is necessary to accumulate funds. Thus, ideological and political work is involved. We should educate the people to spend less. However, if little concern is shown for the present interests of the people, if their living standard fails to be gradually improved, while we fail to properly satisfy the people in their material needs, people will then complain, and their initiative in construction will be affected. He required that ideological and political work should make people recognize the long-term interests, and the interests of the state and the collective, while we should show concern for people's present interests and the interests of the individual.

Regarding the method of ideological and political work, Comrade Zhou Enlai laid special stress on persuasion and education, convincing people with reason. Persuasion does not mean that I alone "should do the talking," while you "will have to obey." We should help others to genuinely deepen their understanding in ideology, and to solve problems. Just as Comrade Zhou Enlai said: We must be good at giving systematic guidance, so that people are completely convinced.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was for raising people's ideological consciousness through democratic discussion, while raising our own level in ideology and leadership. In order to overcome nonproletarian ideas within the party in 1928, he pointed out: "It is necessary to unfold discussions in politics within the party, so as to raise our political level. Party organs at all levels should do their best to discuss all political issues of the party, and to guide every comrade to air his views on them. At the same time, we should firmly grasp political education within the party, raising the party's theoretical level." (p 12) He said: In the war years, when the army attached attention to democracy, it was most capable of fighting. The war of liberation was a war of the largest scope. At that time, the army was most democratic; discussions were even allowed in companies, and suggestions offered as to how a battle should be conducted. Speaking of raising the political quality of the army in 1957, he said: Democracy in the army is one of our merits. This glorious tradition should be brought forward, and it will further consolidate the unity within the army. In a certain sense, Comrade Zhou Enlai regarded bringing forward democracy as part of political work. In 1948, he said: We have two magical weapons in strengthening the army, one being expanding the army and cherishing the soldiers, the other being giving a free hand to bringing forward democracy, and carrying out the movement of pouring out grievances against the old society and reactionaries. Good results have been achieved in the "three check-ups movement" of pouring out grievances by giving a free hand to mobilizing the masses and bringing forward democracy. The movement is itself political work on a mass basis, linking the consolidation of the army with land reform, which should be praised.

Comrade Zhou Enlai attached great importance to different views, advocating that the leading members should be able to listen to diverse views. He advocated that it was necessary to listen to voices of dissatisfaction and opposition amid applause, that it was necessary to listen frequently to words unpleasant to the ears, while we should not listen only to pleasing words. There always exist internal contradictions in things, he held. And it is necessary to differentiate between major and minor problems. There are invariably several sides to a matter, which should be analyzed. There are always restrictions to the situation which everyone is in; therefore, it is necessary to see things from all sides. There is always a limitation to a person's understanding of things; therefore, it is necessary for him to listen to diverse opinions, which is helpful to summing up the opinions of the masses. Things are always developing and there are things progressive and backward, general and specific, genuine and false; therefore, it is necessary to compare them, so that their differences may be seen clearly.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was against absolute obedience to one's superior, and was for party members using their brains in pondering problems. Back in 1922, he said: Of course, the Communist Party does not want those liberals who "can neither give nor accept orders." However, the Communist Party has never thought of bringing up members who only know how to be obedient. Regarding young people, he said: We should not force our own ideas on them, we should not compel them to accept our ideas the way the Buddha would make

people submit to his commandments. He was against the practice of "one person alone has the say" in leadership, holding that "there has never existed in the world a person who is absolutely correct in one sentence he has spoken." ("Three Speeches of Zhou Enlai on Literary and Art Work": "Speeches Made at the Forum on Literary and Art Work and Conference on Creation of Feature Films") Once he made the statement that whatever he had said was open to the pondering, discussion, criticism, negation, or affirmation of the people. He also said: "People make erroneous statements not only when they commit mistakes, but also when they are correct; they will sometimes say incorrect things, or go to extremes in their words. Therefore criticism should be permitted." (Ibid.)

What should we do if the person concerned does not accept our ideological and political work? Comrade Zhou Enlai was for waiting patiently. He held that the change in one's ideology must be achieved through one's own consciousness, and that ideological problems will be solved when one's understanding is gradually deepened. The waiting attitude is not a negative one, but positive. This is because in waiting, we are still doing work, which will always affect the person concerned slowly, promoting his change gradually, and when conditions are ripe, things will be easily settled. Besides, it is also necessary to see that people's ideology varies. We do not insist on his change in ideology; "so long as he does not impede our political life, or economic production, we should not interfere." ("On Several Questions Concerning the Nationality Policies of Our Country," RED FLAG, No 1, 1980)

Concerning ideological and political work, Comrade Zhou Enlai was for carrying forward democracy and waiting for people's consciousness. However, he also pointed out: In organizational collectives such as the party, the army, and the government, the sense of discipline should be stressed. Take the army for instance. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Concerning democracy in the army, the limitations in its applications must depend on the objective conditions, and it should not be carried out without any restrictions, resulting in the impeding of the consolidation of army discipline." Take another example. Concerning personnel engaged in foreign affairs work, he said: We stress the sense of discipline on the basis of a high level of consciousness in conformity with the party's interests. We should by no means permit the existence of liberalism. But of course, such discipline is based on people's consciousness. It should be observed of one's own accord, and its observance should not be forced among people of the revolutionary contingent. At the same time, it is achieved by raising people's consciousness through ideological and political work.

Comrade Zhou Enlai set strict requirements on ideological and political workers. As early as in 1926, when he was engaged in political work in the national revolutionary army, he said: In doing political work in the army, we should ourselves set an example. To set an example oneself is the primary requirement for ideological and political workers; otherwise, ideological and political work will inevitably become empty talk. "Political workers must themselves become models for the whole body of officers and men in ideology, politics, and actions." (p 97) Shortly after arriving in Beijing in April 1949, he required CPC and CYL members to "be strict on themselves

while becoming more lenient toward others." (p 328) He also said: The cadres of our state are public servants of the people; they should share bitterness and joy and a common fate with the masses. If they should go after pleasure, be afraid of hardships, seek personal privileges, it will lead to the public wrath of the masses. Of course, these words also apply to ideological and political workers. Comrade Zhou Enlai set an example for us himself. He was as good as his word, setting strict requirements on himself, and was a model for all state cadres and political workers.

Ideological and political workers should adopt a modest attitude. As a leader of the party and the state, Comrade Zhou Enlai often said: We should acquire the spirit of "fear when anything crops up," we must not be rash and careless but meticulous in handling affairs. He said: We should not be conceited and arrogant, and should not be complacent over occasional success, while forgetting the modest attitude and spirit of self-criticism we should acquire. People should always continue to make progress, and people will make progress only when they refrain from being conceited; otherwise, they will retrogress. If one fails to realize this point, one will believe that one understands everything. We should not put on airs, just because we are engaged in political work. Putting on airs will turn people away, making people afraid of you, and making them feel disgusted upon seeing you, not to say on listening to your opinions. Comrade Zhou Enlai always said that he would work, study, and reform his world outlook as long as he lived. What a modest attitude! In doing ideological and political work, if we adopt a modest attitude and show respect to others, the work will be more easily accepted by others.

Ideological and political workers should be good at uniting people. Comrade Zhou Enlai held that unity was a long-term and important requirement. In a class society, mankind is divided into classes. Because there are class differences, there will be struggle between antagonistic classes, and unity between friendly classes. Even when classes are eliminated in the future, mankind will continue to struggle against nature; therefore, unity will still be needed. The struggle against nature is infinite; so, unity will be a lasting requirement. One of the aspects of doing ideological and political work is to overcome incorrect ideas among people, so that unity and unanimity may be achieved. Another aspect is that under circumstances when unanimity in ideology has not been completely reached, or even when there exist contradictions, we should seek for unity under the premise of achieving unanimity on major issues while allowing differences on minor ones. Unity means unifying all contradictory aspects on common ground. Those who are good at uniting with others are those who are good at unifying contradictions on common ground.

Ideological and political workers should be good at study. Speaking of the tasks for a leader in his famous article "How To Be a Good Leader," Comrade Zhou Enlai held that the first thing was to require leading cadres to take a firm grasp in leadership in ideology and politics. This requires them to continuously raise their ideological level, and to enhance their theoretical level. In the years of socialist construction, there is still much more to be learned. Ideological and political workers are to teach people in the service of socialism. In order to make their ideological work efficient, it

is imperative for them to study hard so as to improve themselves. The higher the level of ideological and political workers, the more efficient their ideological and political work will be. It is necessary for us to admit that our own knowledge is limited, and that there are a lot of things which we do not know yet. Comrade Zhou Enlai time and again told us: The question lies in being good at studying. We should learn all those good things which are ancient or contemporary, Chinese or foreign, and should not reject them. Ideological and political workers should have a good command of their own professions, while they should also acquire a wider range of training and knowledge in other aspects. This will promote their own work, causing it to be done better. Even if our present work is done well, we should still refrain from being conceited, and we should not stop studying. Only then will we be able to make continuous progress.

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LEADING CADRES SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE IN EXAMINING THEMSELVES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 14-15

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The party rectification in units of the first batch has entered or will enter the stage of comparison and examination after months of study of the relevant party rectification documents. At this very moment, it is imperative to lay special stress on the question that leading cadres should themselves set an example in preventing a superficial job in comparison and examination.

At the stage of comparison and examination, when we say leading cadres should set an example, we mean that they should take the lead in unfolding criticism and self-criticism. This we often advocated in the past, but it was not well implemented. It was often the case that we took the lead in criticizing units at lower levels, or other people, but without taking the lead in criticizing ourselves. The two stipulations of "from top to bottom" in the decision on party rectification should not be understood as a matter of mere preferential order, the essence of it being that we should primarily solve problems in leading bodies and leading cadres in all grave seriousness.

That leading cadres will unfold genuine, grave, and earnest, and not superficial criticism and self-criticism is the key to preventing the comparison and examination stage from being carried out superficially. When leading cadres, in particular principal members of a leading body, set strict requirements on themselves, they will correctly understand and regard gravely their own mistakes and shortcomings; then, they will be able to analyze and understand the problems of other members of the leading body at due height from an appropriate moral plane. If someone fails to make self-criticism of his own major or crucial problems, he will lose the power of initiative to lead the party rectification in his own unit. He will not be bold and assured when he speaks, while others will have excuses to resist the criticism against them. Then, party rectification will not genuinely solve any problems. Therefore, we lay special stress on unfolding criticism and self-criticism among principal members of leading bodies. Once they set an example, it will be possible for criticism and self-criticism within the leading bodies to be smoothly unfolded. When there is earnest mutual

criticism within the leading bodies, criticism and self-criticism among the party members will be pushed forward, and they will receive an education and raise their consciousness. Past experiences have shown that what we require the general party members to achieve should be primarily achieved by leading cadres, and that in what we require the party members to refrain from doing, leading cadres should primarily set an example. Now, to push the lower levels to conscientiously carry out party rectification, the higher levels, particularly leading bodies and leading cadres, should first of all take the lead in conscientiously carrying out party rectification.

Then, what should we do in order to be good leading cadres and to avoid perfunctory practice in the course of comparison and examination? A leading party cadre will violate the principle of taking the lead in comparison and examination if he simply enumerates a number of phenomena without differentiating what is primary from what is secondary; if he simply emptily preaches without mentioning his own major mistakes; and if he just delivers an impassioned speech attacking unhealthy trends in society without "resolutely criticizing" his colleagues to their faces. In order to take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism, leading party members, especially principal members of leading bodies, should be courageous in upholding the truth and should not be afraid of losing face and offending other people. In making examination, they should grasp both their own and other people's major and substantive problems. Not only should the problems be laid bare, but effective and earnest remedial measures should also be adopted to really solve these problems. Strictly centering around the general goal of the party rectification laid down in the decision on party rectification by the party's Central Committee, leading party members should discover the key problems which are drags on progress in their own units and which affect the relations between the party and the masses, then sum up experience, carry forward strong points, correct mistakes, overcome shortcomings, and make sure that the guiding ideology and orientation for the vocational work of their own units are in keeping with the party's line, principles, and basic policies, thus make unremitting efforts to create a new situation in their work. As far as work style is concerned, they should concentrate their attention on conspicuously unhealthy trends in their own units, carry out rectification and correction of defects to deal with major problems concerning vocational work, as well as those persons and cases concerned, eliminate erroneous bureaucratic practices, such as seeking personal interests by making use of one's power, not being responsible to the party and the people, and so on, and thus show the vast number of party members and the masses the substantial results of the party rectification. Only in this way can we really successfully complete comparison and examination, can we hold the initiative in exercising leadership over the party rectification, and can we really fulfill the general goal of party rectification laid down by the CPC Central Committee.

To effectively carry out criticism and self-criticism, apart from continuing to study profoundly party rectification documents, it is important for us to immerse ourselves among the masses, to actively carry out the activities of heart-to-heart talks, and to humbly heed the opinions and criticism of the masses. The people's eyes are discerning. They have a good idea of what are

the main and essential problems of leading bodies and leading cadres, as well as what their less important and nonessential problems are. Without the help of the masses, it is impossible for leaders to make comparison and examination. Generally speaking, the masses are now more cautious in criticizing cadres. If possible, they prefer not to criticize leading cadres. Even middle-ranking cadres have to think twice before criticizing their immediate superiors. Therefore, to truly seek the help of the masses, we should drop pretentious airs, sincerely immerse ourselves among the masses, and ask for their criticism. In the meantime, we should, first of all, understand our own problems and explain them to the masses, so that they believe that their leaders have sincerity and determination to correct their own mistakes and shortcomings. Only thus can we truly heed the opinions of the masses, discover our main problems, and create a favorable environment and atmosphere for carrying out criticism and self-criticism.

Our purpose in making comparison and examination is to get rid of the seamy side of things and to enhance our political and ideological consciousness as well as our vocational level. Through making comparison and examination, we should become more energetic, arouse our spirit to do our work, and play a greater role in leadership work. We should on no account become depressed and overcautious, or lack vitality because of making comparison and examination. Therefore, at the stage of making comparison and examination we should unswervingly persist in seeking truth from facts. We should neither cover up our error nor talk big to impress people. We should guard against the interference of factionalism, and prevent "disputing over trifles," and "taking hold of some people's mistakes and shortcomings." We should also prevent those who have done nothing at all making things difficult for those who are conscientious in their work. We should resolutely protect the enthusiasm of our comrades for the four modernizations.

At present, there are several thoughts which may hamper the process of serious comparison and examination: 1) The thought of "being outsiders." Some comrades influenced by such thought have regarded party rectification as a matter for the party. They do not regard it as their own business. Hence, they stand by with folded arms when the party rectification is being carried out. 2) The thought of "being muddle-headed." Comrades influenced by such thought are indifferent to the impurity of the ideology, work style, and organizations of the party. They do not fully understand the serious harmfulness of bureaucratism. Some comrades say: "I joined the revolution scores of years ago. It is pardonable even if I make some mistakes." They do not understand that they are boring through and impairing the prestige and the great cause of the party. 3) The thought of being "good old boys." Some comrades say: "They are my colleagues and neighbors, why should I offend them?" Some comrades have wrongly summed up the experience of the "Great Cultural Revolution." They fear that "they will repent all their lives if they actively criticize others even for a period of time." All these thoughts show that these comrades lack vigor. All Communist Party members, and leading cadres of the party in particular, should be conscious revolutionaries. They should make the interests of the party organizations and the masses their prime concern. Leading cadres of our party should attain a lofty realm of thought. They should not see only what is under

their noses. Otherwise, they will become insignificant. We should think more of our country and our descendants. We should do as Comrade Zhou Enlai did. We should "devote ourselves entirely to the cause of the party and people."

At present, the great majority of party members and ordinary people have sincerely welcomed the party rectification; but at the same time, they are afraid that leading cadres may not necessarily mean what they say. They are also afraid that leading cadres will not take practical action to correct their mistakes in their ideology, behavior, and work. All this, in essence, shows that party members and the masses cherish high hopes in the party and leading cadres of the party. We should take all this as a motive force to further promote our progress and to do well in making comparison and examination. We should always be in the van when charging and commanding the battle, just as we were during the war years. At the stage of making comparison and examination, we should have a good state of mind, and consciously take up the Marxist weapons of carrying out criticism and self-criticism. We should stand up for the truth and correct our mistakes, and use our exemplary actions to lead the majority of party members to carry out the party rectification successfully.

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THINKING SHOULD BE SUITED TO THE DEVELOPING SITUATION OF RURAL COMMODITY PRODUCTION

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[Article by Wang Fang [3769 5364]]

[Text] The system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, that is mainly implemented by peasant households, has been popularized in rural areas of Zhejiang Province in the past few years. As peasants have been entrusted with more decisionmaking powers, their initiative in production is now unprecedentedly high. An enormous labor force has been shifted from farm work to carry out other production work in forests, on beaches, and in water areas. As a result, the rural areas have been able to carry out agricultural production simultaneously with various trades such as processing, transportation, building, and services. It means that with these measures, the rural areas have begun to crash the bondage of self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economy to consequently develop commodity production. A new atmosphere caused by this change already prevails in rural areas.

Production activities in the rural areas have been constantly expanded, and increasing numbers of peasants have eventually joined the ranks of commodity producers. Peasants can now be found working in various trades such as processing industries, building material industry, commercial services, sea and land transportation, animal husbandry, poultry, eggs, dairy produce, fruit, flowers and plants, birds and beasts, worms and insects, and fish. In 1983, a total labor force of 7.52 million left farm work to carry on diversified undertakings and this figure made up 45 percent of the total labor force in the rural areas. The gross output value of the enterprises run by people's communes and production teams totaled 7.9 billion yuan (the gross industrial output value across the province in 1976 was only 7.8 billion yuan). A considerable amount of the products turned out by people's commune and production team enterprises has been marketed in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai; some products have already entered the international market.

Various specialized households and key households are making rapid development. The number of such households has already reached as many as 1.09 million across the province in 1983, representing more than 13 percent of

total peasant households. The production carried out by these households is quite considerable in amount, coupled with more intensive management, higher commodity rates, and greater economic effects. Some households have contracted responsibilities for more than 1,000 mu of barren hills; some have been able to provide commodity grain up to tens of thousands of jin; some have provided from a dozen up to tens of thousands of commodity pigs. All this shows that the rural areas are developing into specialized and socialized production.

Following the expansion of commodity production, many things cannot be done by individual households. Therefore there have emerged various forms and multilayer coordination and combination. Such united organizations vary in size and they represent the combination of capital, labor force, and technology among the households. There are now more than 65,000 units of such combination across the province, involving a total of 320,000 households, making up 4 percent of total peasant households. Peasant households have also cooperated with collective and state enterprises in the form of joint ventures that combine agriculture with industry, agriculture with commerce, and agriculture with industry and commerce. The production, purchasing, processing, storing, transportation, and sales of such products as vegetables, flowers, and saplings of Xiao Shan, edible fungus and indigenous paper of Fuyang, grass products of Wenling, white geese of Xiang Shan and dairy products of Jinhua are all carried out through multilayer management, to form a complete system from production right through to sales.

The development of commodity production has been followed by constant market expansion. As a result, new markets have been established to form multi-channel circulation systems. The number of free markets and the markets for daily use industrial products in rural areas and cities and towns totaled 1,788 across the province in 1983, an increase of 373 over the figure for 1980; transaction volume was 2.16 billion yuan, doubling the figure for 1980. In addition to state commerce and supply and marketing cooperatives, there are now various circulation channels such as agricultural-industrial-commercial joint enterprises, supply and marketing management departments, the enterprises run by people's communes and production teams, agents of state economic departments, rural purchasing and selling specialized households, factory sale points, cooperative shops, and free markets. In the past 1 to 2 years in particular, individual commercial households have developed rapidly in urban and rural areas. The number of such households that have been granted licenses was 214,400 throughout the province in 1983, an increase of 14.9 times over the figure for 1980.

Thanks to the development of diversified economic undertakings and the development of commodity production, peasants have gradually become rich. Peasants were having a hard time in the past when they were solely engaged in a single production item and when grain output dropped. But in the past few years, they have still been able to live a stable and happy life and constantly improve their living standard even though they have been hit by serious natural disasters. Such high-quality and high-priced products as TV sets, recorders, motorcycles, refrigerators and washing machines have found their way into peasant houses. More and more peasants have built

their new houses and replaced sheds with brick houses; multistoried houses have also become a common sight in some places. Peasants have also raised money to build public welfare facilities such as concrete roads, theaters, water supply facilities, small hydroelectric power stations, schools and dormitories, parks, and small towns.

It has become an irresistible trend for the broad masses of peasants, under the guidance of CPC policy, to develop commodity production and build prosperous rural areas. Some comrades have become aware of and followed this new situation. But other comrades have failed to understand this situation or have treated this situation in their old way. Consequently, they dislike this situation and have refused to enthusiastically support the demands of the broad masses to becoming rich through their own labor and they can in no way promote the development of commodity production. Therefore it is an urgent task for us to resort to the line, principles, and policies of the CPC since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the spirit of Document No 1 of the CPC Central Committee for 1984 and to unify the thinking of the broad masses of cadres, continue to eliminate "leftist" influence, and further emancipate thinking so as to promote in a big way the development of commodity production in rural areas.

We have been living for quite a long period under an environment which is characterized by underdeveloped commodity production and consequently there have emerged concepts which are contradictory to massive commodity production. And the most striking example of these concepts is confusing commodity production with capitalism. Those with this concept have regarded commodity production as being contradictory to socialist planned economy. As commodity production has been regarded as capitalist, peasants have consequently been confined in farm production for a long period. They were not allowed to undertake sideline production or to participate in commodity circulation activities. "Outflow of labor force" and "discarding farm work for commercial work" were subject to criticism, free markets were abolished, long-distance transportation of goods for sale was banned, and the so-called "capitalist tail" was constantly criticized. All these represent manifestations of the above-mentioned thinking. In fact, the history of commodity production dates back to a period long before the emergence of capitalism. Commodity production can serve both capitalism and socialism. As socialist public ownership has been formed in China and as there is the guidance of CPC policy and state planning, the development of commodity production will in no way give rise to capitalism; to the contrary, it is in a position to consolidate and develop the relations of socialist production. The productive forces in China are still backward, therefore, in its efforts to build socialism for the purpose of realizing communism in the future, the country can in no way leap over the stage of developing commodity production in a big way. Socialism cannot be formed on the basis of self-sufficient natural economy. How can we realize the socialist modernization program and meet people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life under the condition in which productive forces are low, there are shortages in commodities, and the material foundation is weak?

The backward situation in which the 800 million peasants were earning their living by agricultural production was created by history. And now, following the development of productive forces, the division of labor in rural areas will become more and more stabilized and more of the labor force will turn from agriculture to other trades, and this situation represents historical progress. Will there be any way out for the labor force in rural areas and can peasants become rich when they are totally confined to agricultural production? We have said that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and that it is imperative to strengthen and not weaken this foundation. Here strengthening means promoting the development of agriculture in various aspects so that agriculture will be able to provide more commodities for the development of the whole national economy; it does not mean that the more people that take part in agricultural production the better. If, in future, only 20 to 30 percent of the population are engaged in agricultural production, while the rest are working for the development of other economic and cultural undertakings, the foundation of our national economy will become more solid and our economy and society will be considerably improved.

Rural policy in China has been relaxed over the past few years and consequently some peasants, mainly specialized households and key households, have become rich through developing commodity production. How to treat these peasants? This question has not been resolved well. Some comrades have considered these peasants as being "dubious" persons who have attained "ill-gotten wealth" through "dishonest practices." This view does in no way accord with CPC policy; nor does it accord with needs in the development of commodity production and reality. A very important key of CPC principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is to spare no effort to make peasants rich. Of the 1 billion population in China, 800 million are peasants. And if the 800 million peasants remain poor, there is no way for the country to become modernized. Therefore, it can be said that the fate of the 800 million peasants is also the fate of the country and the prospects for peasants are also the prospects for the country. "The method of managing a country is first of all to make people rich." Some politicians with foresight in ancient times understood the importance of this theory. How can the communists who have taken the task of realizing the modernization program as their responsibility be afraid of part of the people becoming rich earlier than others? In addition, the fact is that peasants in China are not really rich enough. It is a long-term policy of the CPC to make part of the people become rich in advance, so that through their example we will be able to promote the development of the whole rural economy and reach the goal of common prosperity. Investigations in a number of places show that those who have become rich in advance in rural areas can be divided into the following four categories. First, those who have experience in business management; second, skilled craftsmen or those who have grasped specialized technology; third, those who have acquired culture and knowledge and are willing to master technology; and fourth, those who have experienced life, have a large circle of friends, and have courage and insight. Some of them are cadres and supply and sales staff and others are retired army men and educated young people. These persons have the common feature of being relatively quick in understanding and

implementing CPC policies and they are enthusiastic in developing commodity production. And they have also shared the experience of becoming rich through industrious labor. Most of them are careful in calculation and strict in budgeting, they work tirelessly from dawn to dusk, and are active in mastering science and technology, improving management, and collecting information in their effort to open up more production items. Why is it that some people have always disliked these peasants? A very important reason is that some of the members of specialized and key households were criticized in the past, with their "capitalist tails" having been cut off. We have found now that the majority of them should not have been criticized. It is true that a few of them have carried out dishonest practices and made ill-gotten gains; but we cannot consider the few as representing the whole, nor must we mistake the nonessentials for the essentials. Another reason is that the thinking of "it is an honor to be poor" and the thinking of equalitarianism of small producers have taken deep root in the minds of some comrades. To them, it is better that all should remain poor rather than that a few people should become rich in advance. Therefore it is imperative to continue to eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideology, to overcome the backward thinking of small producers, and to basically change the incorrect view toward some peasants becoming rich in advance before the broad masses of peasants dare to promote commodity production.

Enormous work can be done in developing commodity production in rural areas. The most important work for the leadership is to assume overall responsibility for the economy as a whole. We have carried out rural work for many years, and yet a number of comrades still do not really understand the content of rural economy. According to these comrades, rural economy means agricultural production and to grasp agricultural production means to grasp grain production. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the work of solely grasping grain production has been shifted to grasping agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fisheries. This move means a little improvement in rural work but under this situation we are still within the range of solely carrying out production. This means that we still do not understand the whole process of social production and reproduction that includes such links as production, exchange, distribution, and consumption. A number of prefectural CPC committee secretaries and prefecture heads are familiar with agricultural production but it can be said that they are strangers to such aspects as industry, commerce, finance, banking, science, and culture. During my recent visit to some places, I was acquainted by the comrades there with local advantages. But it seemed to me that they gave little consideration to such aspects as how to turn the advantages in resources to product advantages, how to turn product advantages to commodity advantages, and how to further turn these advantages into overall economic advantages. It has become frequently the case over the past few years that certain agricultural products which have been produced by peasants through their arduous work are unsalable. These products cannot be turned into commodities and consequently they cannot increase income. When such products as rabbit hair, tea, and pearls are small in quantity, the masses are called upon to increase such products, coupled with various measures to award those who have been able to increase those products; but when such products are

enormous in quantity, the departments are at a loss as how to handle them. Why? It is because, primarily speaking, we do not understand the law of commodity production. Concretely speaking, we only know how to grasp production; but we do not grasp circulation, do not study the market, and do not pay attention to market information. In many aspects, we have only paid attention to buying raw materials, but have not studied how to improve processing and carry out comprehensive utilization. As a result, the related products are unsalable, or marketable but at marginal profit. This situation has caused strong reaction from various aspects. Now the objective situation has demanded that leadership at various levels changes its method of thinking, its method of work, and its style of work. That is to say, it is imperative for leadership to change from solely leading agricultural production to leading commodity production characterized by overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fisheries and comprehensive management of agriculture, industry, and commerce; to change from leading the collective economy of three-level ownership by people's communes, production brigades, and production teams, with the production team as the basic accounting unit, to leading multiform and multilayer cooperative economy; to change from solely grasping production to grasping production, circulation, science and technology, and education; to change from solely relying on administrative orders in leading economy to leading economic work by relying on economic law as guidance; and to change the situation in which the departments responsible for rural areas have nothing to do with the situation in urban areas, those responsible for urban areas have nothing to do with the situation in rural areas, and in which rural areas are divorced from urban areas into the situation in which the departments concerned are responsible for both rural and urban areas and rural economy is closely combined with urban economy to develop harmoniously. To realize these changes, it is imperative to study, to be able to assume overall responsibility for the whole economy, to understand more things, to grasp economic knowledge, and to be able to lead massive commodity production. In this way, we will be able to accord with the new situation of tremendous development of rural commodity production.

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A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON SPECIALIZED HOUSEHOLDS

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[Article by Yu Guoyao [0151 0948 0342]]

[Text] In recent years, a large number of specialized households have emerged in our countryside. In turn, this has given rise to various kinds of service organs catering to the production needs of these specialized households. All this has played an important role in speeding up the transformation of our rural economy from self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient production to commodity production. Providing active support and guidance to the development of specialized households is an important task in our current rural economic work.

I

At present, in speaking of the specialized households (including households doing specialized jobs), we are referring to the economic bodies formed on the basis of the development of division of work and division of trade in the countryside, existing in single units of families or households and specializing or principally engaging in certain specialized lines of production and operation. The differences between specialized households and the rank-and-file households under the responsibility system are that the former are commodity producers, that their products are principally not for meeting the families' own needs but are commodities for the purpose of exchange in the market, and that the special features of their production and operation activities are of a specialized nature, and a "commodity character," seeking economic results.

Although specialized households appeared only a short while ago, the speed of their development is rather rapid. At first, they were principally confined to the raising or rearing trade, to the breeding and raising of aquatic products and to the handicraft trade. Gradually they have been extended to various economic sectors such as cultivation, processing, commerce, service trades, transport, and so on. Accompanying the development of specialized households, specialized villages of varying special characteristics have appeared in the localities, such as grapevine villages, milch-cow villages, beekeeping villages, and so on. According to statistics, at present the number of various kinds of specialized households in the

countryside of our country accounts for about 13.6 percent of the total number of rural households.

The emergence of specialized households in our countryside is not accidental but has its objective economic and social conditions:

1. Specialized households are the product of the division of work inside agriculture brought about by the rapid development in our country's agricultural production. Specialization is the result of development in productive force and progress in technology. The more developed the social productive force, the more minute and intensive becomes the division of work and the greater development is achieved in commodity economy. For a long period, due to various causes, commodity production in our countryside did not develop, the economy in many localities stagnated in a state of self-sufficiency or semi-self-sufficiency, division of work inside agriculture progressed at a snail's pace, and the rural commodities stayed at a low ebb. In recent years, as a result of the thorough implementation of the party's correct guidelines and policies on the development of agricultural production, particularly the institution of the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis, with remuneration linked to output, and the development of diversified operations, agricultural production has shaken off the prolonged state of stagnation and achieved sustained and continuous development of an all-round nature. This has created the conditions for the development of division of work in agriculture. In 1982, the gross value of agricultural output in the country amounted to 262.9 billion yuan (at 1980 constant prices), an increase of 33.4 percent over 1978. Output of grain, cotton, edible oils, and the sugar crop all set new records. According to a sample survey, in 1982 the average net income per peasant was 270 yuan, an increase of 100 percent over 1978. At 1982 yearend, the aggregate balances of deposit accounts of commune members in the countryside amounted to 22.8 billion yuan, an increase of 300 percent over 1978. As a result of the great rise in the peasants' production enthusiasm and a great increase in the labor productivity rate, rural surplus labor in various localities has in general amounted to one-third of the total labor power and to one-half in some localities. With surplus funds and surplus labor power in their hands, the peasants naturally look for some production outlet. At the same time, following the institution of the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis, with payment linked to output, the peasants possess even greater decisionmaking power in production than before. They can thus make use of their own know-how, special talent and operation ability, take advantage of the natural resources of the locality and market needs, bring the role of family operation into full play, increase investment in labor power and capital, and open up new production avenues. This has thus given birth to specialized households, which have the family as the basic unit and are principally devoted to certain production items.

2. Specialized households constitute a good form of meeting the needs at the present stage of development of commodity production in the countryside. Although at present the production and operation form of the rural specialized households has not yet reached the stage of development of

agriculturally developed countries in mechanization, automation, and labor productivity rate, the former traditional form of household sideline production and operation has been discarded and has gradually developed and been transformed from traditional family sideline production to the collective operation of family plants (farms). Hence, in pig-raising, each household owns from 10 or 20 pigs to over 100 pigs; in chicken-raising, each household has 100 or 200 chickens to over 1,000 chickens; while in the case of farmland cultivation, the smaller households have a few dozen mu each whereas the larger households have 100 or 200 mu each. Judging from information materials from the localities, in comparison with the rank-and-file rural households, specialized households enjoy the superior advantages of a high labor productivity rate, high commodity rate, high income, and good economic results. The labor productivity rate of many specialized households has been found to be several times, and even over 10 times, higher than that of peasants in the same locality; and their commodity rate, over 70 percent higher. In Shanxi Province in 1983, there were 310,000 specialized households cultivating grain, 6 percent of the total number of peasant households in the province. The area of cultivated land under the responsibility system accounted for 10.8 percent of the total area of cultivated land in the province. Their grain output made up 16.1 percent of the gross grain output of the whole province, while the grain levies delivered to the state amounted to 37 percent of the total for the whole province. In Shaoxing city of Zhejiang Province, the Qianbaiyang brigade of the Dahe commune has seven duck-raising specialized households which have engaged in trans-commune and trans-county raising of 100,000 ducks in cooperation with other households and succeeded in supplying two-thirds of the total state purchase of live ducks and duck eggs from the city. The income of the specialized households is also higher than that of the ordinary peasant households, averaging a per capita annual income of 600 to 700 yuan. A small number of the specialized households receives an income of 10,000 yuan a year, being the first to become affluent in the village.

In operation, the specialized households have the superior features of making small investments but reaping quick results. This meets the needs of the development of commodity production in the countryside and also conforms with the level of the productive force in our countryside. Take for example, specialized households engaged in chicken-raising. In the beginning, they do not undertake any capital construction. Rather, they make use of their larger houses to raise chickens and their smaller houses for people's living, thus starting their chicken-raising business by making do with whatever is available. In time, at the end of the year, a profit is made, after which by means of their accumulations of funds and with the help of the state and the collectives, they gradually develop into chicken-raising specialized households with a definite scale of operation. As for their style of operation, the specialized households may extend their production sphere from land space to water surface and air space, in this way developing and utilizing the hidden potentials of economic resources. At the same time, their operation area is extended from agricultural production to processing and circulation. This is helpful to undertaking overall utilization at many levels, to utilization of a revolving or circulating

character, and to continuously improving agricultural ecological benefits and economic effects. In production and operation tactics, they can combine the heritage and display of traditional technology with modern scientific technology, thereby making it possible for the various kinds of people in the countryside to fully display their wisdom and ability. This will greatly improve the labor productivity rate and speed up the development of commodity production. At present, in the countryside a number of specialized households possessing a definite scale of production have developed into various kinds of specialized plants (farms) such as "family livestock farms," "family agricultural farms," "family orchards," "family breeding farms," "family processing plants," and so on. These family plants (farms) also serve as basic points for rural commodity production. Each and every move of the specialized households has a great impact on peasants in the neighborhood. They exert an enormous power of attraction and have truly become the most lively factors and guiding force in promoting commodity production in the countryside.

3. Specialized households have come about as the result of the party's rectification of the past "leftist" erroneous policies in rural work. For a prolonged period in the past, due to the influences of "leftist" errors, we one-sidedly emphasized grain production, demanded that "all labor power be devoted to farming in the fields," impeded the development of diversified operation and commodity production, and even went to the extreme of cutting off, as "tails of capitalism," the peasants' endeavors in diversified operation and in household sideline production. This seriously suppressed the peasants' enthusiasm for development of commodity production. In addition, the organizational structure of communes and brigades is based on administrative zones and the demand was posed that each commune and brigade should seek "all-round development." This effectively curbed division of work in production and the exchange of commodities. Moreover, economically only vertical relations existed while horizontal relations extending to other localities and industries and trades were lacking, thus restricting production from achieving specialized and regional development. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the influences of "leftist" errors have been continuously eradicated, rural policies have been liberalized, and the productive forces in the countryside have been liberated. In agricultural production, as a result of the implementation of the correct policy "never slacken grain production, but actively develop diversified operation," which encourages the peasants to open wide the avenues of production, and also to widely and deeply deploy their forces into the arena of production, and emancipates the extensive masses of peasants from the shackles of producing nothing but grain, a new situation has arisen which features the emergence of a hundred trades promoting and facilitating each other's development and progress, and stimulating division of labor within agriculture. As a result of enforcing the system of contracted responsibilities linking payment to output and paying due attention to displaying the role of the household in management and operation, the peasants possess greater decisionmaking power in production and enjoy the possibility, in accordance with their own conditions, of selecting and engaging in certain specialized production, freely disposing of their labor time and investment, and ultimately turning into specialized households.

Moreover, by allowing a portion of the peasants to become affluent before others, creating the coexistence of diversified economic forms, allowing labor power, technology and capital funds to freely circulate to a certain extent, and enforcing policies to protect the legitimate status of specialized households, we have effectively facilitated the development of specialized households. At the same time, aid and support rendered by the state and collective economy to the specialized households in matters of finance, material resources and technology have also played an important role in facilitating their development.

II

Since the specialized households engage in commodity production, naturally they must develop extensive economic and technical relations with social production; and since they provide commodities to society, in turn they also ask for services from society. If they cannot obtain the supply of the means of production, or technological guidance, or market information and the requisite credits and loans, they can hardly carry on their production work. The better the performance of service work and the richer the contents of socialization, the more effectively will the process of socialization be promoted and the more rapidly and steadily will commodity production progress forward. Take the case of chicken-raising. If a household of several persons engages in both farming and chicken-raising and if it has a stock of only 100 or so chickens, then the household can handle everything by itself and will not require socialized services so urgently. On the other hand, if the stock of chickens is 300 or 400, then the conditions will be different. If the specialized household wishes to raise fowls of good breed, which can lay more eggs and are fast in meat-growing, then it must rely on a service company to provide good breed and also rely on a feed and fodder company to supply good fodder and feed; and to prevent the spread of disease among the livestock, disease prevention organs must be relied on. If the specialized households themselves handle their own marketing, the chances are that they may lack sufficient hands to perform the work, and if adequate market information is lacking, they may not be able to market their stock, or obtain a good price for them. All this means that they must seek the services of marketing firms, and also points to the emergence of various forms of specialized service organs (companies or stations) such as organs handling or dealing in breeding stock, fodder and feed, livestock disease prevention, livestock transportation, product marketing, and so on. These service organs provide services of both a preproduction and post-production nature. This brings about a qualitative change in production on the part of the specialized households, freeing them from the self-sufficient economy of the closed-door type and accelerating the development of commodity production. As the service organs provide and steadily improve their socialized services, the extent of production development on the part of the specialized households is no longer confined to the restrictions imposed by their own limitations in respect of labor power and technology. Rather, they are enabled to greatly display their capability in business operations through reliance on the available socialized service facilities. Facts have shown that a good job done in organizing various forms of service facilities not only can enhance, in the first instance, production

development on the part of the specialized households, but also helps in guiding observance of the state plan and enables the production and operation activities of specialized households to strictly follow the road of socialist economy. This is because the operation activities of the various categories of service organs are, at the upper level, related to the state plan and, at the lower level and through contractual forms, are linked with the production and marketing activities of the specialized households.

At present, although in the localities the development of service work has achieved much progress and results, it has still failed by far to satisfy the needs of the production development of the specialized households. The major problems are: demarcation between the departments and the localities, dislocation between production, supply and marketing, inadequate circulation channels, imperfectness in the socialized service system, and so on. The important lessons in rural economic work now are how to meet the needs of the development of specialized households in the countryside, speed up the restructuring of the rural economic system, and make the various kinds of socialized service rapidly progress forward.

Restructuring of the economic system to conform with the needs of commodity production of specialized households is related to the various phases of rural economy. Apart from speeding up the transformation of the supply and marketing cooperatives from the operational to the service type and from merely engaging in purchasing and marketing operations to embracing comprehensive operations such as processing, warehousing, transportation, provision of technical services, and so on, we must also firmly grasp other problems such as how to set up a first-class service system in the countryside, including work coordination between enterprise units serving agriculture, supply and marketing cooperatives, credit societies, and so on, to bring about close liaison between them and the cooperative economic organs of a local character, various kinds of specialized service households, and scientific and technical households. At the same time, other problems such as development of diversified forms of agricultural-industrial-commercial combines, rural credits and loans, restructuring of the taxation system, and so on, should be well solved. In the course of restructuring, apart from setting up relevant structures, it is also necessary to solve well the problems of directly linking the economic interests of the various departments and supporting the specialized households' production activities, so as to fully stimulate the enthusiasm of the various departments concerned and facilitate the development of production on the part of the specialized households.

In organizing the various kinds of specialized services, it is necessary to employ economic methods and firmly insist on the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit. As for the economic relations between the various kinds of specialized service organs and the specialized households, we should enforce the principle of equality, mutual benefit and exchange at equal value, and should not resort to administrative tactics to compel the specialized households to accept designated kinds of services. To attract the peasants, specialized service units should only make use of such

features as their low production cost, high benefits, and superior quality of service. Actual practice has proven that competitive bidding in providing services to specialized households is much better than having just one unit monopolizing the whole business. Hence, apart from the state specifying departments or organs to take charge of operations and control, as far as other services to production are concerned, "monopoly-operation and/or exclusive control" will not suffice and cannot perform a good job, and more people should be allowed to take part in the operations. By means of competition, service units can improve and strengthen their management and control, and, if economic development so demands, can even carry out the necessary restructuring or combination. Competition will allow the peasants to select the best service units through evaluation and comparison. This will help the growth of socialized services which can produce economic results and are well liked by the people. Only by making the various phases of service work provided to specialized households in the countryside become essential links in the development of rural commodity economy is it possible to effect a timely solution of the various problems encountered in production on the part of the specialized households, and can rural specialized commodity production attain a relatively speedy development.

III

Since our countryside is vast and expansive and economic development in the localities is still uneven, the size and scale of development of specialized households in different places cannot be alike. In some localities the development is greater and faster, while in other places it is smaller and slower. The measuring standard of specialized households also differs. The scale of production of specialized households is governed by the level of development of the productive force in the countryside. Under the conditions of a relatively low degree of socialization, the majority of the specialized households usually undertake commodity production on a rather small scale. While simultaneously giving active support to the development of specialized households, we cannot make hasty demands, try to help the shoots grow by pulling them upward, or indulge in formalism. Recently a small number of localities have handed down from the top directives specifying development targets for specialized households, demanding that within a certain period of time a designated number of specialized households should be developed. Certain other localities, in order to be exemplary, have subjectively demanded that the specialized households expand their field of activities and enlarge their production scale. Some localities have rather unrealistically demanded that their specialized households give up their sideline production activities, or have even mobilized the specialized households to give up contracting responsibilities for the use of land. These demands and methods sadly illustrate the lack of a correct understanding of the laws governing the development of specialized households. In our opinion, it is necessary, in accordance with the actual needs of the specialized households, to provide them with the necessary social services and a certain degree of support relative to capital funds and means of production. However, blindly expanding their scale of operation in excess of their current household operation capacity and management level may lead to a general shortage of capital funds, an increase in indebtedness, or

inability to develop production on the basis of self-reliance and regeneration, or failure of management and control to catch up with development, or even the lowering of economic results.

After the production of specialized households has developed to a certain extent, a demand for combination will arise. The households will of their own volition join together to form economic combines to suit expanding reproduction needs concerning such items as capital funds, labor power, technology and material resources. In this way, they can better display their own specialization and form an operation pattern with bigger and better economic results than before.

Judging from the economic combines that have already emerged, in general the combines may be divided into horizontal and vertical types. The horizontal type of combination is a small-scale household-to-household combination developed from among specialized households. It is comparatively loose and flexible. A rather large number of them are combines comprising family members or relatives. Some of the combines are centered on "capable persons" who have specialized technical knowledge or are well versed in management technique; they may be formed on the basis of apprentices learning their trade or workers changing or shifting their jobs. The great majority of them are "linked but not actually combined," that is, the households concerned retain, relatively speaking, their independence in operation and are combined together only in certain aspects in the course of production. The combination period may be short or long and the number of members may be large or small. Some of them may even develop to the stage of becoming trans-territorial combination bodies. As to the vertical type of combines, these are economic combines centering on collective or state-run enterprise units and service organs and absorbing specialized households into their fold. We may cite such examples as specialized companies, joint companies, service centers (stations), and so on. The practice in general is to extend combination in production to combination in processing, transportation, and marketing. So far as the specialized households are concerned, they join the combines with the purpose of improving their marketing facilities and processing conditions and procurement of technical services, market information and intelligence, as well as for credits and loans.

At present, neither the horizontal type nor the vertical type of combine is confined or restricted to a unitary or single form. Some of them are combines in the production process itself, such as combines in chicken-raising, or fish raising, or rice husking and flour milling, or ore excavating, and so on. Some practice division of work following their formation, devoting part of the labor power to field cultivation and part to other forms of specialized production. Some are combines handling various kinds of pre-production and postproduction service work. For example, several specialized households may form a marketing combine. They separately do chicken-raising work, but some specially assigned and responsible persons take care of the unified purchasing of feed and sale of eggs. Some assume the role of agricultural and commercial combines of supply and marketing cooperatives and specialized households. Some of them are combines devoted to technical combination in certain stages in production such as cultivating

seeds, nursing of seedlings, disease prevention, and so on. Finally, we may mention another type of combine, namely, financial or capital combines, in which the peasants collectively raise funds to start various kinds of enterprises, and earn dividends on them at a fixed ratio, and so on.

In treating the question of the combination of specialized households, the urgent task at present is to institute various kinds of service organs to provide them with facilities for the development of commodity production. The stress should not be on expanding their scale of production by means of combination. Certain individual localities have resorted to the methods of creating an impetus, following the trend, and blindly advocating the development of economic combines. These improper methods of combination for combination's sake should be promptly rectified. On the question of economic combination, we cannot resort to the unitary type and return to the former path. But in the development of the specialization and socialization of socialist agriculture, apart from having a portion of the specialized households voluntarily forming diversified forms of economic combines, it is also possible that a portion will like to continue to operate for long on a single or household-to-household basis.

Looking at the trend of development of specialized households, apart from the problem of combines, there is still the question of "engaging in operations away from the land." Following the continuous development of production on the part of the specialized households, some of them are devoted to diversified operations and to industrial and sideline production, transportation, service trades, and commerce. They start by doing these jobs on a sideline and part-time basis or with a tendency toward "specialization." Gradually, when they have become fully "specialized," they begin to feel that devoting too much time to tilling and farming the land is a dispersal of concentration on their specialization and affects their specialized production. Moreover, income from tilling and farming the land is far lower than that from specialized production. Hence, a demand to get away from the land begins to be conceived. They become willing to return the cultivated land originally contracted to the collective, or, with the latter's consent, to transfer it to another peasant household. Such a phenomenon is in reality a step forward. Judging from the trend of development, there will be an increasing number of nonfarming specialized households becoming separated from their land holdings, that is, "separated from the land but not from the township." Correspondingly, a phenomenon will appear in which cultivated land will be "concentrated in large holding units" and in the hands of farming experts, and grain growing specialized households of a rather large scale will emerge. At present, in the country as a whole, by far the majority of specialized households still stick to one trade as their major trade but engage in other trades as sidelines. A very small number have actually rid themselves of land-holding and turned to specialized operations. Therefore, there is no need now to overemphasize that specialized households should not contract for farmland, nor to arbitrarily call for return of the cultivated land already contracted for by specialized households.

In the course of the development of specialized households, it is necessary to subject them to a process of education in warmly loving socialism, the state, and the collective. They must know how to correctly handle the relations between the state, the collective, and the individual, must consciously accept guidance from the state plan, and must overcome any blindness in production. They must rely on diligence and hard toil to become affluent, not on devious and improper methods. They must rigidly abide by the policies and statutes of the state and consciously pay their taxes in accordance with the regulations.

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A HUMBLE OPINION ON THE TRANSFER OF CONTRACTS FOR RURAL LAND AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 24-28

[Article by Wang Xinglong [3769 5281 7127]]

[Text] At present, the phenomenon of transferring land by subcontracts has emerged in our country's rural areas. This recombination of labor and land is suited to the objective demand resulting from the development of the rural division of labor. It is a particular aspect of the trend of development. This article will undertake an initial discussion of the relation between the transference of land by subcontracts and the all-round responsibility system linking remuneration to output and between this transference and agricultural specialization, in the light of the situation in Ezhou city, Hubei Province.

Readjusting the Scale of the Combination of Labor and Land Is an Important Task in Perfecting the All-Round Responsibility System Linking Remuneration With Output

Since the end of autumn 1981, Ezhou city has implemented in an all-round manner the all-round responsibility system with remuneration linked to output, taking the practice of assigning all-round responsibility for land by contracts as its main form. In most of the areas there, land has been assigned to the peasants in proportion to population and not long after the land was assigned there emerged the phenomenon of transferring land by subcontracts. Now, this phenomenon has emerged in the rural areas throughout the city, both in the communes and brigades where natural conditions are relatively good and the productive force is relatively developed and in those where natural conditions are relatively poor and the productive force is relatively underdeveloped. According to incomplete statistics, in 1983, 5 percent of the peasant households transferred their farmland to others through subcontracts and the area of the land transferred through subcontracts accounted for 3 percent of the total area of arable land. Putuan commune is a commune situated on a plain along the shore of a lake. It has few people and much land and its chief product is cotton. Among the 5,756 peasant households there, 380, or 6.6 percent, of the households transferred a total of 2,155 mu, or 4.3 percent of the commune's farmland, through subcontracts. The reasons for the transference were: 1) 77, or 20 percent, of

the households that transferred land by subcontracts did so because of the too-heavy burden of agricultural production; 2) 75, or 19.7 percent, of the households did so because of shortage of labor; 3) 28, or 7.4 percent, of the households did so because they lacked funds, labor, and technology and were unable to do their farming; 4) 54, or 14.2 percent, of the households did so because they were engaged in diversified undertakings and found it a burden to do farming simultaneously; 5) 37, or 9.7 percent, of the households did so because the main laborers were absent and they were thus unable to till their land; 6) 53, or 13.9 percent, of the households did so because they found farm labor too hard for them and moved to the suburbs of the city; 7) 25, or 6.6 percent, of the households did so because they were unable to pay their share of the debt of the production team that they were assigned to repay as a term of the all-round contracts; 8) 17, or 4.5 percent, of the households did so because the land assigned to them was too far away to be economically profitable for them to till; 9) 11, or 2.9 percent, of the households did so because natural disasters or personal misfortune had made them unable to till the land; and 10) 3, or 0.8 percent, of the households did so because they love ease and hate work and thus had no desire to till their land. From the above-mentioned 10 reasons, we can see that cases 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 were caused by the proportional assigning of land. They involved 182, or 48 percent, of these households. Assigning land in proportion to population will certainly give rise to the uneven phenomenon whereby some households which lack labor have too much land to till while others which have plenty of labor lack land to till. As we stressed the stability of the responsibility system and as the cadres in the communes and brigades thought that the problems related to the assigning of land by all-round contracts were too complicated and dared not make any change in these contracts, the rural households had to transfer their land by subcontracts between relatives and friends in order to solve this problem. Most of these households transferred only a part of their land, but a small number of them transferred all their land. The situation was nearly the same for the transference of land in communes where production conditions were relatively poor and the productive force was relatively underdeveloped. The only difference was that the percentage of households that transferred their land was smaller. For example, in Miaoling commune, a commune in a hilly area, only 4.1 percent of its 6,732 households transferred 3.2 percent of the commune's total land. The above-mentioned examples show that transferring land by subcontracts is a demand for the further perfection of the responsibility system.

At present, assigning land in proportion to population (including assigning land in proportion to labor force) is an unavoidable phenomenon in quite a lot of areas. This is principally because: 1) Since a long time ago, cultivation has been the major undertaking of our country's agriculture, while commodity production has been relatively underdeveloped. Land is indispensable for cultivation, and is the peasants' basic means of production. Judging by long-standing practices in the past, the peasants understand profoundly that losing their land means losing their means of subsistence. Therefore, it is difficult for the peasants to change, in a short time, their traditional idea of relying on land. 2) At the present stage, the grain output in our country is still not abundant and the peasants must first solve the problem of grain supply when they develop production other

than cultivation. Therefore, in implementing the responsibility system, the peasants will first consider the question of how they are to use land equally. This is particularly the case in some areas where the commodity economy is underdeveloped. If the peasants there do not have land, there will be no agricultural production and they will have no guarantee for grain supply. It is quite clear that when the agricultural productive force is backward and the commodity rate of grain is low, it is comparatively easy for the peasants to accept the method of assigning land in proportion to population and labor force. Only when we have greatly raised our labor productivity and developed diversified economy and commodity production in our rural areas remarkably can this kind of situation be gradually changed.

However, the practice of assigning land to peasants in proportion to population or in proportion to labor force has already gradually given rise to more and more contradictions as agricultural production develops. First, within a production team, there is a disparity in the amount and strength of labor force and in skill between various agricultural households, as well as a disparity in the means of production in their hands. If land is assigned evenly to peasants, some agricultural households that have large and strong labor forces and high levels of skill will find that the assigned land is not enough to till; conversely, others will find it impossible to till the land. Second, in assigning land to peasants in proportion to population and labor force, land has to be divided up into various grades according to its quality (the landform, soil quality, water conservancy conditions, and distance from the village) and each household is assigned plots of various grades. This often causes an excessive dispersal of farmland and thus is unfavorable for tillage. For example, in assigning land to peasants in proportion to population, the Hongkouqiao brigade in Bishi commune assigns each household plots of various grades. As a result, it cannot help but divide up its land into small pieces. Before the land was assigned, the brigade had 4,264 pieces of farmland in total; after the land was assigned, the number of the pieces of farmland increased to 4,871. On average, every peasant is responsible for tilling 0.6 mu of farmland, consisting of 1.83 pieces. Dividing farmland into too small and scattered pieces has caused quite a lot of inconvenience in tillage, irrigation and drainage, and management. Particularly in some communes and brigades which have more machines and intensive division of labor by profession, this method of assigning land in proportion to population and labor force constitutes even greater obstacles to the best possible use of manpower and land and to the development of various undertakings. Therefore, appropriately readjusting in structure and scale the combination of land and labor force is in line with the current level of our productive force and satisfies the demand resulting from its development, especially in areas where the productive force is comparatively developed.

How shall we achieve this aim? It is obviously impractical to make a great change and for all farmland to be reassigned by the production teams. This is because although our country's agricultural productive force has developed to some extent now, the level of development is still low, and because although the division of labor by profession in our rural areas has developed to some extent, it is still not stable. Moreover, those that are unable to till the land and those that do not have enough land to till do not constitute

a majority, and only a small percentage of peasants demand a change in the scale of combination of labor force and land. Under these circumstances, if we change the form of the existing all-round responsibility contracts, it will be difficult for our peasants to accept the change and they will doubt the responsibility system and there will be confusion in their minds. Therefore, at the moment we can only adopt the method of maintaining the stability of most of the contracts while making minor readjustments. Transferring land by subcontracts is precisely a minor readjustment. The transference of land by subcontracts is an inevitable demand and an important task in perfecting the responsibility system.

The Gradual Concentration of Land in the Hands of Skillful Farmers Is an Objective Demand Resulting From the Agricultural Division of Labor and the Development of Commodity Production

The reason for the transference of land by subcontracts is that the responsibility system is still not perfect. At the same time this is also a new problem that has arisen owing to the development of production since the implementation of the responsibility system. According to investigation, in many communes and brigades the transference of land developed almost synchronously with the development of diversified undertakings and industrial and sideline production. This shows that the development of division of labor in our agriculture raised a demand for the recombination of land and labor. Accordingly, we think that from a fundamental point of view, the transference of land by subcontracts has resulted from the division of labor by profession within our agriculture and the development of commodity production.

Judging by the situation in Ezhou city's rural areas, generally speaking, the areas where there have been relatively larger numbers of instances of land transference are places where various undertakings other than that of cultivation have developed more quickly and where a larger number of specialized households and new combinations have been set up. In these places, since the implementation of the responsibility system with remuneration linked to labor, agricultural labor productivity has risen substantially and many rural households have had surplus labor and have accumulated some funds. They have used the surplus labor and the funds to develop their production in a broader sphere, vigorously carried out diversified undertakings, and turned their previous sideline undertakings into their professions. As a result, they wish to give up the undertaking on their land. Among the 30 communes, towns, and farms in the city, 15 communes have relatively quickly developed their specialized households and new combinations. In these communes, 5.8 percent of their total numbers of peasant households have transferred 4.2 percent of their total land. For example, in Zhouli brigade, Putuan commune, 417, or 36.2 percent, of the 1,152 laborers have at present left farming to engage in other specialized production; 380, or 33 percent, of them are undertaking both farming and other specialized production simultaneously; and only 355, or 30.8 percent, of them undertake farming only. In this brigade, 7.1 percent, or 0.5 percent more than the overage percentage in the commune, of the households have transferred their land by subcontracts.

Facts have told us that the transference of land by subcontracts is not only a demand resulting from the development of production, but, conversely, it promotes the further development of the division of labor and commodity production.

1. The transference of land by subcontracts facilitates increasing the yield of land and labor productivity and pushes forward the development of the division of labor and commodity production. The Tuqiao brigade at Zelin town has 148 mu of paddy land by the shore of Bishi Hu. In 1982, the land was tilled by 15 people in the brigade, but because this brigade is situated in an industrial and mining area where there are many opportunities for developing industrial and sideline production, these 15 people regarded farming as an accessory undertaking. Therefore, even in years of bumper harvests like 1982, they only produced 57,000 jin of grain. In 1983, they transferred the land by subcontracts to 11 people of the Dashan brigade in Zelin commune. In spite of repeated flooding, 110,000 jin of grain was produced on the land. This more than doubled the previous output and has proved that the recombination of labor and land has greatly raised labor productivity. Moreover, when labor productivity has been raised, on the one hand, surplus labor will emerge in our rural areas and, on the other hand, it will cause the output of agricultural products to increase and thus increase peasants' income and enable them to have surplus funds. With these preconditions and, in addition, with the encouragement of the party's policy of making the people rich, our peasants have their minds at ease in bravely using their surplus labor and funds to carry out expanded reproduction, to open up broad prospects for their production, and to carry out diversified undertakings. Therefore, this vigorously promotes the development of division of labor and the development of commodity production and greatly raise the commodity rate of our agricultural products.

2. The transference of land by subcontracts is conducive to the development of new undertakings other than farming and to the relative concentration of land in our rural areas. It promotes the transition from self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economy to relatively large-scale commodity production and urges the peasants to study and apply new science and technology and to improve the intensive management of their agricultural production. We must investigate 10 big households which have undertaken additional land by subcontracts. These households basically use fine species of crops, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, mechanized farming, and new cultivation technology and pay attention to intellectual investment. Moreover, after they acquired the land by subcontracts in 1983, the amount of investment markedly increased over that in 1982 (see following table).

Comparison of Production Investment by the 10 Households That Have Taken Land by Subcontracts for 1982 and 1983 (Unit: yuan)

Year	Amounts of production investment				Total
	Fine species	Fertilizer	Pesticide	Mechanized farming	
1982	935	2,095	205	170	3,760
1983	3,065	4,660	806	660	9,825
Percentage increase in 1983 over 1982	228	122	293	288	161.3

From this we can see that the level of intensive management of our agricultural production has risen and that our traditional agriculture is being transformed into modern agriculture.

Effective Utilization of the Transitional Form of the Transference of Land by Subcontracts Promotes the Specialization and Socialization of Our Country's Agricultural Production

The implementation of the production responsibility system with payment linked to output and the relaxation of our rural policies have greatly emancipated our productive force and promoted the development of undertakings other than cultivated such as fishery, animal husbandry, forestry, industry, and communications and transportation. For some peasant households, undertakings which were previously their sideline undertakings have now become their main undertakings, and in the past only one or two specific members in each of these households were engaged in these undertakings but now most of their members have gradually become engaged in these undertakings. As these undertakings become stable, as the income from them increases and as the food grain supply is ensured, these households begin to find that tilling their land hinders the development of their undertakings; therefore, they wish to be assigned less or no land. On the other hand, some people who are not good at other undertakings but are masters at farming find that they have too little land to satisfy their demand for land to carry out their farming. They demand concentration of land. If we do not allow peasants to transfer land by subcontracts and if some peasants are not allowed to give up farming, others will not be able to expand the scale of their farming. This will certainly hinder the specialization and socialization of our agriculture.

For a long time, there has been a uniform production structure in our country's rural areas. In this structure, self-sufficient cultivation undertakings is the major economic sector and the development of the new undertakings other than cultivation is restricted by many factors, including resources, technology, funds, communications, market, and information. In order to develop these undertakings, our peasants should make vigorous efforts and there should be coordination of other sectors, such as the provision of other social economic conditions and the improvement in the relations between supply and demand in our urban and rural areas, in our communication and transportation facilities, and in the structure of our processing industries. Furthermore, as our country has insufficient land for its large population,

the shortage in the supply of grain and other major agricultural products for our urban and rural people cannot be quickly alleviated. In such circumstances, our peasants are not willing to rashly leave their land. Therefore, the specialization and socialization of agriculture will inevitably develop conditionally and step by step, and the transference of land by subcontracts will certainly be possible only when the food grain supply is not reduced. Just as the people who undertake both industry and agriculture have to take their grain quota with them when they are engaged in industry, for a certain period, some peasants will have to take their grain quota with them in conducting their diversified undertakings. Therefore, under the concrete conditions in our country, the division of labor and the specialization in our agriculture can emerge and develop only after repeated reorganization and redivision. This means that the specialization and socialization of agriculture will not develop quickly and that the number of the peasants who leave their land will not rise suddenly but will increase gradually and the land will be concentrated step by step. In this process, the transference of land by subcontracts is a relatively good form for the transition of our agriculture toward specialization and socialization. This form is also easy for our peasants to accept.

In order to effectively utilize the transference of land as a transitional form, at present the following two questions warrant discussion.

1. How are we to treat the problem related to compensation in transferring land by subcontracts.

Judging by the experience of Ezhou city in transferring land by subcontracts, there have been two ways of compensation: One is to compensate for the additional expenditure those transferring will incur in purchasing their grain ration and the other is to give compensation greater than the above-mentioned expenditure. We think that the first way is reasonable. When some peasant households transferred their land to other people by subcontracts, they got from the transferees only a supply of food grain at state-prescribed prices or payment equal to the margin between the state-prescribed and market prices. This has precisely ensured the peasants who have left their land will be free from worrying about grain supply in pursuing their specialized production and management. If this is not ensured, it will be impossible for them to conduct their specialized production and management. In the past, these peasants ate the grain grown by themselves, but now they have a supply of grain at state-prescribed prices and are thus able to pursue their specialized production and management. This is a reasonable practice like that for fishermen and cotton and vegetable farmers, who also get supplies of grain at state-prescribed prices. We should regard this practice as cooperation between peasant households and as a practice above criticism. As for the second way, of paying compensation greater than the price margin, we should make concrete analysis. By asking for additional compensation, the transferrers often mean to rent their land in a disguised form. However, if some peasants have invested capital in the land after it was assigned to them and have thus improved it and if this has enabled them to get greater compensation, it is also reasonable for this additional compensation to belong to these peasants, because by so doing, we will make people cherish their land

and carefully till their land. This facilitates the development of production.

2. Should the transference of land by subcontracts between peasant households be carried out solely by the production teams? At present there have been two different answers to this question. Some people think that this should be carried out solely by production teams. Their reason is that this will facilitate improving the situation of land being too dispersed and facilitate the concentration of land. Others think that this should be carried out by peasant households themselves and that production teams should not interfere in it. Their reason is that this method is flexible and leaves room for maneuver, and that it is suited to the desires of the peasants who wish to have a try at leaving land to conduct other undertakings. We think that each of the two methods has its advantages and disadvantages and its appropriate scope of application. Their advantages have already been mentioned above. As for their disadvantages, the first method fails to leave much room for maneuver. If the original assignees want to take back and till the land they have already transferred, there will generally be some difficulties. Therefore, some peasant households do not dare to rashly transfer their land, even though they wish to. However, this method can be generally adopted for those households that lack labor to till their land. The disadvantage of the second method lies in the phenomenon of demanding too great a compensation from transferees. Sometimes, because of the inappropriate handling of the economic relations, no transferees can be found and the land has to lie idle. This method is appropriate for the peasant households whose specialized production has not yet been stably developed and who want to have a try at changing the scale of their farming or leaving their land to engage in other undertakings. Our view is that when peasant households transfer land between one another, they should generally apply to production teams for approval. This will facilitate the satisfactory handling of the economic relations between the state, the collective, and the individual, facilitate prevention of the malpractice of the disguised renting of land and of land lying idle, and help transferees to overcome certain difficulties that may emerge in their production. The need for approval from production teams does not mean that transference must be monopolized by production teams. In some cases, peasant households only need to get approval from their production teams and then they can fix the terms for the transference through consultation between themselves. In short, the transference of land by subcontracts is a major issue concerning the development of our agriculture. We should adroitly guide action according to circumstances and strengthen our management and supervision. We should not adopt a laissez-faire attitude or undermine this process by excessive enthusiasm.

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UNDERSTANDING 'SHORTCUT'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 p 28

[Article by Zhou Siyuan [0719 1835 3293]; originally published in XUEXI YU YANJIU No 1, 1984]

[Text] Taking a "shortcut," which means very much the same thing as being "opportunistic," is often ridiculed. Whether we are studying or working, it seems that there is no shortcut, no other way save working steadily and making solid progress. The idea of taking a "shortcut" should be better understood.

It goes without saying that being diligent and hardworking is a virtue. But just being diligent and hardworking is not enough. We must get the knack of thinking and use our brains. This is what we mean by seeking a "shortcut." An example is crossing the sea. If we only have the desire to work hard and assiduously and do not pay attention to choosing the route, we will drift about even if we are not in danger of capsizing our boat. But if we have our compass with us and can read navigation charts, determine wind direction, and keep out of the way of ocean currents, we will be able to take the shortest route across the sea. "Hard work is the boat that can carry us across the boundless ocean of learning." While the spirit behind this saying is commendable, we might find ourselves going the long way and unable to cross the "ocean of learning" and reach the shore of knowledge if we only pay attention to "hard work" and ignore "methods."

When we travel, we have to choose our route by comparing the distance. When we do things, we have to choose a method that is best for us. Shortcut means "selecting the best" and doing "operating research." How can we call a person "opportunistic" when he is striving to gain a free hand in work by understanding the objective laws of things so as to get twice the result with half the effort and achieve early results? In fact, those who have made outstanding achievements are usually good at taking shortcuts besides being diligent workers. Of course, those who dream of effortless success are not this kind of person.

If we overlook the importance of choosing a shortcut, we are bound to get half the result with twice the effort and waste our "tuition fees" for nothing. Some people worked very hard and suffered great hardships for many

years. They put in a lot of hard work but gained very little. They even brought about losses in work. The reason for this is precisely that they had not made an effort to understand the objective laws and had not tried by all and every means to seek the best plan, the best results, the optimum gains, and the shortest way of going about their work, that is, the shortcut.

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ACTIVELY DEVELOP THE FARM AND SIDELINE PRODUCTS PROCESSING INDUSTRY IN
RURAL AREAS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 29-32

[Article by Zhang Yi [1728 3015]; passages within slantlines published in
boldface]

[Text] The farm and sideline products processing industry in rural areas in China makes up a considerable proportion of the national economy after more than 30 years of development. The output value of the textile industry and food industry respectively was 15.5 percent (if the output value of the chemical fibers industry is deducted, it was 14.5 percent) and 13.6 percent of national gross industrial output value in 1982 and these figures respectively ranked second and third after machine-building industry among various trades across the country. The proportion between the output value of light industry using agricultural products as raw materials and agricultural output value was increased from 0.46 to 1 in 1952 to 0.73 to 1 in 1982 and this change has displayed a tremendous role in promoting the development of agricultural production. The development of the agricultural and sideline products processing industry has also resulted in tremendous capital accumulation for the state. The tax and profits delivered to the state by the textile and food industries over the past few years made up more than 20 percent of the figures for the industrial enterprises across the country. The agricultural and sideline products processing industry has also displayed an important role in foreign trade. For example, the products from the processing of agricultural and sideline products made up 24.6 percent of the total exported commodities in 1982.

But we must understand that, given the weak foundation of China coupled with its huge population, the development of the agricultural and sideline products processing industry is still lagging behind needs in various aspects. In particular, people's income has increased considerably since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Consequently there has been a higher demand on both the quality and quantity of the products of the agricultural and sideline products processing industry and therefore the contradiction between the development of the industry and the demand on the products of this industry has become more striking. In addition, the implementation in an overall way of CPC policy, changes in production relations in rural areas, and the initiative of the broad masses of peasants that has been

fully mobilized, as well as the tremendous development of agricultural production over the past few years have demanded that the agricultural and sideline products processing industry must develop more rapidly. In some advanced countries in the West, the output value of the food industry alone is more than twice the agricultural output value and this proportion is much higher than the proportion in China. Of course, there are many factors causing this situation. But viewed from the point of certain aspects, this situation showed that it is a trend in the development of socialized production that the agricultural and sideline products processing industry is developing more speedily.

Efforts have been made over the past 30 years and more to rationally distribute the location of the agricultural and sideline products processing industry across the country. But because of various objective reasons, we did not pay enough attention to developing the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in the vast rural areas; and under the guidance of "leftist" thinking, the development of such industry was even restricted. Such restriction has been lifted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The "Decision on Some Questions About Agricultural Development" of the CPC Central Committee that was issued in September 1979 has clearly pointed out: "The agricultural and sideline products that are suitable for processing in rural areas under the principle of economic rationality must be gradually processed by people's commune and production team enterprises." Thanks to the correct guidance of the principle of the CPC Central Committee, the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in rural areas has made considerable progress in the past few years. The output value of this industry increased from 6.7 billion yuan in 1978 to 20.4 billion yuan in 1982, with a growth of 205 percent and an annual increase of 19.7 percent. But as the thinking and work of various aspects have lagged behind the rapidly developing situation, the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in rural areas still remains a very weak link and the proportion of the output value of this industry only makes up 10 percent of the national agricultural and sideline products processing industry. Therefore it is imperative to solve this problem now.

It is no doubt imperative for the state to build some modern big and medium agricultural products processing factories in cities so as to provide consumer products for the population of big and medium cities and accumulate construction capital for the state. But the initial processing of the agricultural and sideline products and agricultural products processing industry that is directly serving rural population, particularly the foods industry, must be carried out and set up in rural areas when conditions permit because this measure has the following advantages:

/It is in the interest of improving the economic effect of the whole society./ Agricultural products are organic substances: Many are live and fresh products that are perishable; they are subject to the control of natural conditions, their production has a certain cyclical period and their maturity period is relatively concentrated; they are big in size and light in weight; their processing results in enormous by-products that contain enormous substances with high heat energy and nourishment and these

by-products are important resources of fodder, motive power, and fertilizer that are needed in agricultural reproduction. Agricultural production in China is mainly based on peasant households as production units and therefore this production is small in scale and scattered. These features mean that it is better to form agricultural products processing industry in raw materials producing areas. In this way, we will be able to decrease the losses in the process of circulation and transportation and the losses that will occur when raw materials are concentrated and there is not enough time to process them, and also decrease transportation volume in the whole society. Such social and comprehensive macroeconomic effects can in no way be replaced by the economic effect of the big enterprises in urban areas.

/It is in the interest of solving the employment of the surplus labor force in rural areas./ The rural economy in China is still backward, socialized production still remains underdeveloped, the 80 percent of the population in the country are basically still earning their living through agricultural production, labor productivity is still low and the peasants' living standard is yet to be improved. In 1952, per capita agricultural labor force was on the average responsible for 9 mu of cultivated land across the country; in 1982, the agricultural labor force grew to 330 million, with per capita responsibility for 4.8 mu of cultivated land. Decreases in cultivated acreage per capita mean that the problem of surplus labor force in rural areas in China is becoming more serious. We cannot follow the example of Western countries and let rural population blindly flow into cities to cause galloping population growth in urban areas and a series of social problems. What is the way out then? Engels said: "In order to see that those who have been squeezed out of agriculture will not become jobless or that they will not be compelled to gather in cities, it is imperative to enable them to carry out industrial production in rural areas." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 369) According to the present situations in China, most rural areas in the country still do not have the necessary conditions for developing the processing industry based on industrial products as raw materials; therefore, developing the rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry represents an important way for solving the employment of surplus labor force in rural areas.

/It is in the interest of improving the living conditions of the broad masses of peasants./ The 800 million peasants are living in various places across the country and with different habits and customs, they have very many differences in the requirement of consumer commodities. There are few enterprises that are processing agricultural and sideline products to directly serve peasants at present. Even such consumer goods as soy sauce and vinegar are not available locally for peasants in many places and this situation must be changed as soon as possible. The income of the broad masses of peasants has increased considerably over the past few years and it is only natural that they have demanded to be able to buy various consumer goods. In order to meet this new situation, it is imperative to develop an agricultural and sideline products processing industry that is based on local raw materials.

/It is in the interest of making comprehensive use of agricultural products and maintaining ecological balance./ Most of the by-products of the

processing of agricultural and sideline products are organic substances that easily decay. Therefore, if the processing factories are excessively concentrated or too big, it will be difficult to make comprehensive use of by-products and this situation can easily cause environmental pollution. If small factories are built in the places where raw materials are produced, the by-products can be processed any time to feed animals in the interest of improving soil fertility in localities by making use of animal droppings. And in this way, we will be able to realize what Marx said. He said: "Return to the land" "that part of the land consumed by man in the form of food and clothing," so as to maintain the "permanent natural condition of long-lasting soil fertility." (Ibid., Vol 23, p 552)

/It is in the interest of accumulating capital for the realization of the modernization program./ As the foundation of China is weak and state financial revenues are limited, the capital accumulated by the state can only be mainly used in key construction. Therefore, the enormous capital that is needed in modernizing rural areas and building new villages must come from the accumulation by peasants themselves. But the cultivated land of the country is limited and the price of agricultural products is low, consequently it is very difficult to accumulate the capital by solely relying on one-crop farming. And the present situation shows that it is impossible to cut down the price of industrial products. In addition, financial subsidies for the agricultural products with their purchasing price lower than selling price are already quite enormous. If the sales price of these products is increased, it is impossible for the state to cover the increases and if state subsidies are abolished, the consumers will shoulder more burdens. Therefore the feasible way is to develop rural industry according to specific conditions in localities. It is imperative to develop the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in rural areas under the premise of meeting the needs on agricultural raw materials by factories in urban areas so that peasants will be able to increase their income through the processing industry. With more income, peasants will be able to expand agricultural reproduction and improve their processing power, open up more markets for industrial products and rapidly promote the development of industrial production. Following the development of rural and urban industry, state revenues will consequently be increased and it means that the state will have more capital to support key construction projects.

/It is in the interest of narrowing the differences between urban and rural areas./ The development of rural industry is helpful in rationalizing the distribution of industry and in promoting the development of the building of rural small towns. The number of industrial, transportation, building and commercial service enterprises that are run by people's communes and production teams across the country is 1,069,000, with an average of 20 for each people's commune. These enterprises have employed 27.69 million peasants who are carrying out both industrial and agricultural production in their own home villages. In some people's communes and production brigades whose enterprises are developing quite rapidly, the labor force that has been shifted from agricultural production to industrial and sideline production has made up 60 to 70 percent of total labor force. As industrial production is relatively concentrated while people's communes and production teams have

accumulated more capital following the development of their industry, the building of rural towns has consequently been accelerated. There are now more than 10,000 such small towns across the country. Peasants' income and facilities in these towns are basically not much different from those in certain cities. This situation may represent the orientation for narrowing the differences between urban and rural areas and between workers and peasants and for finding the road with Chinese features.

The development of the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in rural areas may give rise to some contradictions because this industry may contend for raw materials and sales with the urban agricultural and sideline products processing industry. But these contradictions can be resolved. That is to say, both urban and rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry will be able to fully develop when there are correct policies and methods.

Compared with rural industry, urban industry in general has better equipment, more advanced technology, higher labor productivity and higher economic effect while its output and output value make up considerable proportion of the whole industry. Urban industry no doubt has a very important role in social production and people's life. Therefore it is only natural that preferences have been given to big state enterprises in urban areas with regard to raw materials and sales. In developing rural processing industry, it is imperative to consider the whole situation and urban industry must not be put aside. Because once this happens, there will be tremendous waste and consequently there will be no way to meet social needs.

There is room for the rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry to develop after meeting the needs of urban industry. Because, first of all, the agricultural and sideline products processing industry in China is still very backward, most places can only initially process the enormous quantities of products such as grain, oil-bearing crops, and meat; some places have not formed a processing industry. Second, viewed from the point of the trend of development, although the productive forces of the existing big enterprises can still be expanded through technological reform, such expansion is limited. In addition, the CPC Central Committee has decided that no big agricultural products processing enterprises will be built in cities in future. In its announcement issued in "On Recent Questions About Rural Economic Policy" in 1982, the CPC Central Committee pointed out that with regard to agricultural and sideline products "the basic purchasing figure must be defined when conditions permit and this figure must remain unchanged for several years so that the producers will have certain rights to handle certain products" and "in future, efforts must be made to set up new agricultural products processing factories in places close to raw materials producing areas." Following the development of agricultural production, the amount of the agricultural and sideline products to be processed by peasants themselves will no doubt increase. Third, enormous resources in rural areas are yet to be exploited and utilized. For example, a yearly total of 2 to 3 billion jin of windfall fruits, large amounts of wild fruits, and hundreds of millions of jin of discarded milk can all be processed. In addition, there are few comprehensive agricultural and sideline products processing

enterprises. Tens of billions of jin of potatoes and sweet potatoes and beans have not been comprehensively utilized and there is much to be done in this aspect. A number of agricultural and sideline products processing enterprises are yet to be set up while foods and fodder processing enterprises are still in their initial stage. All this shows that there is much that can be done in developing the rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry.

In the process of realizing the modernization program, there should be division of work and close cooperation between big urban industry and rural industry. Products that are large and that require much transportation such as ginned cotton and grain and edible oil crops may be processed by people's communes and production teams while further processing such as producing cloth and plant oil can be carried out by state enterprises that are equipped with more advanced technology. The agricultural and sideline products that are perishable and that cannot be concentrated or are unsuitable for concentration can be semiprocessed in scattered rural areas. State enterprises are mainly serving big cities with concentrated populations and they must spare no effort to enter into international markets. The enterprises that are run by people's communes and production teams must be active in opening up rural markets, serving the broad masses of peasants, and expanding commodity exchange between regions. State enterprises must also cooperate with people's commune and production team enterprises on the basis that each will be able to display its advantages. They must jointly set up factories in raw material producing areas. State enterprises may also help the rural enterprises in developing initial processing and the latter can provide the former with semifinished products or finished products for fine processing.

In developing rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry it is imperative to handle well the relations between this industry and big industry. It is also imperative to pay attention to the following questions:

First, the development of rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry must be linked with state long-term planning and be put under the guidance of state industrial planning. The rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry must be based on prefectures as units and it must be rationally distributed under unified arrangement in conjunction with township construction. In order to guarantee that agricultural and sideline products processing enterprises can be set up in a planned way, it is necessary to work out plans for the development of rural agricultural and sideline products processing industry and these plans must consider rural processing industry as an important aspect. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Industrial areas and industrial cities must promote the development of nearby rural areas, help peasants develop small industry to do a good job of agricultural production and include all these in their plans." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 28)

Second, measures must be taken to accord with the features of scattered raw materials and scattered peasants' living places in rural areas and develop small enterprises. In general, the economic effect of these enterprises is

lower than that of big and medium enterprises; but the former are easier to design and their equipment is also easier to make, coupled with shorter construction period and lower cost, while the technology is in general also easier to grasp.

Third, support from various trades is needed. In particular, it is imperative for machine-building industrial departments to accord with the needs in rural areas and manufacture more small, practical, effective, good quality and low-price processing machinery. Research departments must study various agricultural products so as to find simple and practical processing methods and develop new products and new technology. Measures must be taken by the government and the related organizations at various levels to step up technological and management training among workers and staff of people's commune and production team enterprises.

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HOW TO DO A GOOD JOB OF POPULARIZING SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE

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[Article by Zhang Daoyi [4545 6670 5030], Tao Shilong [7118 0013 7893], and Guo Zhengyi [6753 2973 6146]]

[Text]

I

Natural science and applied technology are man's weapons for knowing and transforming nature. The dissemination and popularization of important scientific notions and technological achievements play a tremendous part in promoting social progress.

In 1543 AD, the immortal work by Nicolaus Copernicus, the astronomer, entitled "On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres," was published in Poland. "From that time on, natural science was emancipated from theology" and "began to advance in great strides." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 363) This promoted the ideological emancipation of mankind. However, "On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres" did not receive much attention from the public when it first came out. Even the reactionary Catholic rulers were not yet aware of its dangerous nature. They not only allowed it to be published, but permitted it to be put in the libraries of monasteries so people could read it. It remained obscure for half a century. With the further development of scientific research and the invention and application of the telescope, people like Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei enriched, developed, and extensively popularized the theory advanced by Copernicus. It was only then that his heliocentric theory began to be understood by more and more common people and became a spiritual force that shook the religious rule. The church was extremely terrified by and hostile to this development. Thus it resorted to the merciless persecution of scientists who popularized the scientific truth. In 1592, Bruno was arrested and thrown into prison. Eight years later, he was burned to death by the Inquisition at the Campo dei Fiori in Rome. In 1616, the Vatican declared "On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres" to be a banned book. In 1633, Galileo was put on trial by the Inquisition because he boldly persisted in blazing new trails in science, opposed reactionary forces and scholasticism, and wrote the book "Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican." In order to enable more people to read his book he wrote in Italian instead of in Latin, the language of the scholars at that time. He also adopted the lively form of dialogues in this book.

In 1859 AD, "The Origin of the Species," a great work by Charles Darwin, a biologist, was published in Britain. With the help of an abundance of natural science data, he comprehensively expounded and proved for the first time the materialist theory that living things are constantly developing and evolving, thus smashing the idealist theory that species, which are created by God, will never change. However, the extensive dissemination of Darwin's theory of evolution owed much to the undaunted struggles waged by people like Thomas Huxley, the famous British scientist.

The above facts show that we not only need people to put forward and to test and verify advanced scientific thoughts and theories and scientific and technological achievements, we also need people to actively disseminate and popularize all these, or else they would not be acknowledged by the public. Improvements made in the course of popularization will promote the further development of science and technology.

All reactionary rulers in history were afraid of science. They were even more afraid of the popularization of scientific knowledge. The popularization of scientific knowledge, which is necessary for propelling history forward, has a price tag attached to it. If we do not get rid of feudal and superstitious ideas and benightedness, we have no way of embarking on the road of modernization. Major reforms, whether in production or in politics, are inseparable from the popularization of scientific knowledge.

In the past century, people with lofty ideas who were dedicated to the cause of making China prosperous paid great attention to the work of popularizing scientific knowledge and worked indefatigably in this direction. In 1898, the year the reform movement was carried out, "Tianyan Lun" [1131 3348 6158], a translated work which preached Darwin's theory of evolution, was published. Tan Sitong [6223 0843 0681] and other reformers even gave public lectures to popularize such knowledge of science as the fact that the earth revolves around the sun. Lu Xun pointed out in as early as 1903 that popular science books can help readers "gain some knowledge, smash superstitious ideas they have inherited, reform their thinking, and make up for what is lacking in our culture." Around the time of the May Fourth Movement, people clamored for the need to usher in democracy and science. A great mass fervor for popularizing scientific knowledge emerged. Many scientists wrote popular science articles and gave public lectures. Revolutionary writers like Lu Xun and Mao Dun also contributed a lot in introducing popular science through translations. But in the 30 years that followed, the work of popularizing science encountered numerous difficulties due to imperialist aggression and the reactionary rule of the KMT. Progress was very slow. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, the people's regime made a clean sweep of feudal superstition on a national scale. The cause of popularizing science flourished on an unprecedented scale. Of course things did not always run smoothly. There were bound to be twists and turns. During the decade of internal turmoil, in particular, feudal superstition regained lost grounds because education and popular science activities were trampled underfoot. At present, the popularization of scientific knowledge is still a pressing task in our endeavor to eliminate benightedness and build socialist spiritual civilization.

The popularization of scientific knowledge is not only an important weapon for emancipating the mind and eliminating benightedness, it is also a means for increasing social productivity. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once made this incisive remark on the relationship between science and technology on the one hand and productivity on the other: "The basic factors of productivity are the means of production and labor power. Where do science and technology stand in relation to the means of production and labor power? All means of production in history were associated with particular types of science and technology. Similarly, all labor powers in history were labor powers that had mastered a fair amount of scientific and technical knowledge." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 85) This tells us that science and technology, which are general productive forces in the form of knowledge, must be combined with the basic factors of productivity--the means of production and labor power--before they can be turned into direct productive forces. In other words, they must be grasped by the vast number of laborers through the medium of education and scientific popularization, and must be turned into the intelligence, skills, and experience of the laborers. Exploration and dissemination, as well as improvement and popularization, are two inseparable aspects of scientific and technological development. They complement each other. We should not emphasize one at the expense of another. With science and technology developing as swiftly as they are today, the faster, wider, and deeper advanced and applied science and technology are popularized, the faster will social productivity grow.

In China, the popularization of scientific and technical knowledge is playing an increasingly more obvious role in increasing agricultural production. The popularization of the technique of cultivating hybrid rice has enabled us to increase grain production by more than 30 billion jin in 5 years. The popularization of all kinds of breeding and cultivation techniques has also enabled numerous specialized households in the countryside to become better off through hard work. At the same time, we also realize that many peasants who know nothing about the techniques of applying fertilizer and preventing plant diseases reaped less because they applied too many chemical fertilizers and farm drugs. Experience from the positive and negative aspects prove that the popularization of the most basic knowledge of agricultural science and advanced applied technology is of immense significance to the development of agricultural production in our country. In order to increase labor productivity and achieve better economic results in industry and in other trades and professions, it is also necessary to popularize scientific and technical knowledge and disseminate advanced technology. "Jixie Gongren Sucheng Kantu" [4408 2750 1562 0086 6643 2052 4170 0956] [Easy-To-Learn Diagrams for Mechanics] compiled by Professor Zhao Xuetian [6392 1331 3944] can help the workers master knowledge through diagrams with a view to reducing rejects and improving the quality of products. Professor Hua Luogeng [5478 5012 1649] went down to the grassroots level to disseminate the method of optimization. As a result of his efforts, labor was economized, the consumption of raw and semifinished materials was reduced, and economic results were improved.

A new technological revolution has been brewing in the world in recent years. The dissemination and application of new technology, such as microelectronics,

lasers, new energy resources, new materials, and bioengineering, will lead to new changes in man's economic production and social life. The timely dissemination and popularization of the knowledge of this frontier science and technology is the prerequisite for our efforts to catch up with advanced world levels in science and technology and to achieve the four modernizations. Comrade Zhao Ziyang emphatically pointed out in his "Report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan": "We should put the application and dissemination of the results of scientific research on a par with research itself, commend and reward successes in this field, and overcome the tendency to underrate its importance." The "application and dissemination of the results of scientific research" discussed here is an important component of the work of popularizing scientific and technical knowledge.

II

Our party has always attached importance to the popularization of scientific and technical knowledge. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, mass fervor for loving, studying, and using science emerged in the cities and the countryside. The 12th CPC National Congress and the 6th NPC both listed education and science as one of the three major strategic priorities in national economic construction. Article 20 of the new PRC Constitution also made provision for the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge. All these ensured that the work of popularizing scientific knowledge can develop more swiftly than before. Under this situation, the writing of popular science books also flourished. Today, we have the biggest contingent of popular science writers, the broadest front for popular science writing, and the greatest number of popular science publications in history.

In carrying out the work of popularizing scientific knowledge, we must cater to the needs of economic construction, the needs of the masses, and the needs of the grassroots level, and must wholeheartedly serve the people and socialism. This is the only correct orientation for popularizing scientific knowledge. It is only where its vitality lies. This work should be carried out under the leadership of the party. Activities should be conducted closely around the central task of the four modernizations in order to promote the development of the national economy. This is the theme of the work of popularizing scientific knowledge. At the same time, scientific and technical knowledge relating to livelihood which is of interest to the people should also be popularized. But this should only be put in a secondary position. More efforts should be made to introduce scientific knowledge, such as the knowledge of medical and health care, scientific nursing of infants, and how to use domestic electrical appliances.

In order to cater to the needs of economic construction, we must pay special attention to popularizing applied technology. Idle theorizing will not do. We must make sure that people can receive actual training. At present, some people do not count the dissemination of the knowledge of industrial and agricultural production and relating application techniques as the popularization of scientific knowledge. They think that only the introduction of the knowledge of basic sciences can be considered the popularization of scientific knowledge. We think that both are equally important and should

not be set against each other. As long as what we popularize is science and technology, it makes no difference whether it is the knowledge of basic sciences or the knowledge of applied technology. Both deserve attention and promotion, and neither is to be neglected. The only difference between them is that the emphasis may vary according to the different types of people to whom we popularize science and technology.

In order to cater to the needs of economic construction we must put the stress on promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production in various places. Proceeding from the actual needs of the masses and the existing levels, we must publicize and introduce with definite objects in view new techniques, technologies, equipment, materials, and varieties that are worth popularizing, and offer new information, channels, and experience. In relation to scientific and technical questions that are universally present in economic construction, such as energy conservation, comprehensive utilization of raw and semifinished materials, elimination of environmental pollution, protection of natural resources, and preservation of the ecological equilibrium, we must conduct thoroughgoing and painstaking propaganda work, guide the vast number of cadres and the masses to do things in accordance with scientific laws, correct unscientific practices, and avoid making silly mistakes that will bring harm to future generations. The swift development of industry and agriculture since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has set new and higher demands on the work of popularizing scientific knowledge. Since the implementation of the production responsibility system in the countryside, more and more households are taking up specialized production. As a result of the vigorous development of industrial and sideline production in the rural areas, a multitude of scientific and technical knowledge is being made use of on a large scale. The reforms being carried out in industrial production and in other trades and professions in the cities will also result in an upsurge in the use of new techniques and technologies. In anticipation of this new situation, we must make preparations for doing a good job of popularizing scientific knowledge, and go deep into reality to conduct investigation and study so as to find out about the needs for scientific and technical knowledge in industrial and agricultural production. We must encourage "the promotion of science in the countryside" and disseminate to the rural areas which have a population of 800 million people scientific and technical knowledge that suits the needs of the cadres and masses there. This is a major issue which is of enormous immediate importance and far-reaching historical significance.

In popularizing scientific knowledge, we must aim at fundamentally raising the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation and pay attention to the exploitation of intellectual resources and the cultivation of qualified people. The popularization of scientific knowledge constitutes an important supplement to and extension of school education. It is a component part of social education. With modern science and technology developing by leaps and bounds, the updating of knowledge and the reform of production techniques also have to move very quickly. Under such circumstances, even well-educated professional scientists and technicians need a constant source of new information in order to supplement and update their knowledge. Thus, reading popular science books and journals, visiting popular science exhibitions,

hearing popular science lectures, and so on become part of the regular activities of the people, including scientists and technicians.

In order to carry out socialist modernization, we must make strenuous efforts to popularize scientific knowledge. After achieving modernization, it is all the more necessary for us to persistently and extensively popularize scientific and technical knowledge. In some industrially developed nations, the governments, enterprises, schools, and institutions all pay great attention to organizing all kinds of activities to promote science. Such efforts include building museums of science and technology, publishing popular science books and journals, showing scientific and educational films and television programs, making scientific and technological productions and laboratory apparatus available to the public, and encouraging the masses to invent and create new things. In our country, science and technology have also found their way into every aspect of social life. All trades and professions must constantly absorb scientific nourishment and must disseminate scientific knowledge to the whole society and to their own staff members and workers. The popularization of scientific knowledge has become an undertaking of the whole community.

III

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must make an effort to strengthen the ideological, scientific, and artistic qualities of the work of popularizing scientific knowledge. Popular science writings must adhere to the socialist orientation. They must be scientifically accurate and free from errors and technically practicable. At the same time, efforts must be made to make them vivid and easy to understand in order to achieve good effects in society.

The work of popularizing scientific knowledge is at once scientific work and educational work. It constitutes an important component part of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. People engaged in the work of popularizing scientific knowledge are fighters marching in the van of the four modernizations. They are also engineers of the soul. In writing popular science books, we must not merely disseminate scientific and technical knowledge. We must also pay attention to introducing the achievements of socialist construction in the motherland and to publicizing the moral qualities and truth-seeking scientific spirit of scientists and technicians who have worked selflessly for the prosperity of the motherland. In this way, we can enhance people's love for and faith in the party and the socialist motherland, and encourage people, particularly youths and adolescents, to work hard in mastering scientific and technical knowledge for the socialist modernization.

In order to make our popular science writings vivid and easy to understand, we may write them in the form of literature and art so as to arouse the interest of the readers. However, we must maintain their scientific qualities. This is the fundamental requirement of all popular science writings. We may introduce to the masses questions which are still being probed into, but these questions must have scientific basis and probings must be carried

out along scientific lines with the interest of the masses in mind. We must seek authentication or approval from the departments concerned before we set out to introduce scientific and technical theories and achievements or the needs of scientists. We must seek truth from facts and leave some leeway in our appraisal. In the past, some comrades disseminated and popularized as advanced science and technology things which were immature, full of limitations, or even subjective and metaphysical. This caused us to suffer great losses. We must take warning against such things. Science fiction is very popular these days. Strictly speaking, books in this category do not count as popular science works. They do not aim at disseminating real-life scientific and technical knowledge which has been proved by practice. They are fantasies of things which do not exist in real life. This kind of creation is permitted. In writing this kind of story, a writer should aim at stimulating the imagination of his readers, bring out the vigor of revolutionary theories, and guide the readers to probe into the future along the scientific path. He must not fabricate without scientific substantiation, or violate the basic laws and knowledge of science. Fabricated stuff cannot be called science fiction.

What merits attention is that with the resurgence of the dregs of society after the decade of internal turmoil and the invasion of corrupt ideologies from abroad in recent years, some writers and editors of science fiction and popular science articles who were after "box office value" dished up some vulgar and preposterous works, even things which preached superstitious ideas, in the name of popularizing scientific knowledge. They used "scientific explorations" and "scientific imagination" as excuses to hoodwink the young readers. Some even peddled vulgar and obscene stuff in the name of disseminating the knowledge of beauty care and sex. As Lu Xun pointed out: "They dragged in all sorts of irrelevant matters and nonsense in their discussion of science. As a result, what is right and what is wrong becomes obscure. Even science itself becomes weird." ("Hot Wind": "Jottings of Random Thoughts, No 33") This kind of spiritual rubbish not only corrupts people's minds, particularly the minds of the young people and children, but discredits the popularization of scientific knowledge.

In the sphere of creative writing on popular science, we must strive to improve the ideological qualities of the works by taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as guidance. Youths and adolescents are in the stage of growth. What they need is fine and healthy spiritual food. They love popular science books, but their power of discernment is weak. People engaged in the work of popularizing scientific knowledge have the duty to supply them with the best popular science books. This is the wish of parents as well as the demand of the state. In deciding what to popularize and how to go about it, we must consider the social effects. This is the touchstone for finding out whether a piece of popular science writing is good or bad. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The fundamental criterion of right and wrong in all work is whether it is conducive or harmful to the four modernizations." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 181) We must pay close attention to problems that concern the orientation and guide the work of popularizing scientific knowledge to advance along the correct and healthy track.

In publicizing popular science books, we must be serious and conscientious and must not go about it perfunctorily just because they are for popular consumption. In translating popular science books of other countries, we must be "selective" and make an effort to discard the dross and harmful and select the essential and useful just as Lu Xun suggested in order to truly "make foreign things serve China." We must not mechanically copy and totally accept anything which is novel to us regardless of whether it is harmful or useful. In order to do a good job of popularizing scientific and technical knowledge, we must have a fairly high Marxist theoretical level and a knowledge of the party's principles and policies in addition to having a solid scientific foundation, an intensive knowledge, and a fairly good ability of expressing oneself. On the whole, all scientific and technical workers have made some scientific attainments after years of education and practice in their particular fields. As long as they have a strong sense of responsibility and work seriously, they will be able to measure up to this requirement and become the main force of the contingent for popularizing scientific knowledge. At present, tens of thousands of popular science articles are being carried in the nation's press each year. If the vast number of scientific and technical workers do not contribute sufficient articles, there is no way that we can ensure an abundant supply of fine spiritual works to the masses of workers and peasants as well as youths and adolescents. What is worse, the market may be flooded with harmful spiritual products. Thus, we encourage scientists and scientific and technical workers to actively participate in the work of popularizing scientific knowledge, to introduce various kinds of specialized knowledge, and to report their personal experience in the practice of production and the achievements made by scientific research institutes. Many scientists of the older generation, such as Li Siguang [2621 0934 0342], Zhu Kezhen [4555 0668 2823], Zhou Taixuan [0719 1132 3763], Mao Yisheng [5403 0110 0581], Zhu Xi [2612 3156], and Lu Yudao [6392 1331 3944] attach great importance to the work of popularizing scientific knowledge. They set a good example for us by personally writing articles and giving lectures. Comrade Zhu Kezhen wrote his research findings on phenology into a popular book. Mr Pei Wenzhong [5952 2429 0022] personally wrote a report on the discovery of the Peking Man. Scientists doing the work of popularizing scientific knowledge is not only good for the masses, it is good for the development of the disciplines they are working for. Thus, when we encourage scientists and scientific and technical workers to take part in the work of popularizing scientific knowledge, we are not giving them extra burdens. It is their job to strive to win the understanding and support of the public. This is also their unshirkable and glorious duty.

We ardently hope that our scientists and all those with lofty ideals who are dedicated to the cause of popularizing scientific knowledge will actively take part in activities to promote science and write popular science books that are healthy, noble, vivid, and rich and varied with great enthusiasm and earnestness. In this way, the work of popularizing scientific knowledge will be able to play a more and more important role in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization in our country.

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PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL PRIDE

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[Article by Li Wenhai [2621 2429 3189]]

[Text] In some writings, the proverb "a son does not mind his mother's ugliness" is repeatedly cited as the ground for disseminating patriotism. What is meant is that: Although our motherland is still very backward and poverty-stricken, however, as its sons, we should not snub or reject it! I have complete faith in the good intention of the authors of these writings. However, I have doubts as to the question of whether or not this analogy and this way of saying things can produce the effect of arousing people's passionate patriotism.

Patriotic feelings do not spring from thin air. They stem from a sincere love for the land on which the Chinese nation labors, lives, and multiplies and the history and culture created by the Chinese nation, from a profound concern with the future and the present state of the country, and from a strong desire for a bright future for the motherland and its people.

Even in the semifeudal and semicolonial old China, at a time when our country and the people were suffering from foreign aggression and enslavement and untold humiliation and hardships, those eminent patriots in modern Chinese history did not have the feeling that the motherland was ugly, rather, they cherished a strong national pride. When they disseminated patriotism, on one hand, they always raised a cry of warning and pointed out the imminent danger of national subjugation and genocide; on the other, they affectionately described the greatness of our beloved country and the Chinese nation. The interweaving of an urgent desire to save the country with the sense of national pride precisely formed an important feature of the patriotic ideas in modern history.

Before and after he took part in the patriotic reform movement for saving the country, Liang Qichao "always discusses in agitation with scholars and officials the cause of China's imminent danger of being subjugated," in the hope that "the 400 million people of the country will be aware of the almost inevitable subjugation of our country so that they will devote all their energies to freeing the country from this danger." ("Addressing the Protect-the-Country Society") At the same time, with intense fervor, he wrote the

following lines: "China, our country, is a great and proud country! No country on earth surpasses it in the variety of products and in soil fertility. To say that it is a heavenly heroic country is by no means an exaggeration." ("Patriotic Song") His firm confidence in the motherland's ability to "become the most powerful country on earth" is revealed between the lines.

In the "Constitution" of the "Society for the Revival of China," the first bourgeois revolutionary organization organized by Dr Sun Yat-sen, Dr Sun Yat-sen anxiously raised the cries of warning that "we are surrounded by powerful neighbors who, like fierce tigers and eagles, are covetously eyeing us" and that "they are successively following the example of others in nibbling at and annexing our territory. At present, I am worried about the partition of the country." He thought that the country was like a building on the verge of collapsing. "Our troops were badly beaten and our country was greatly humiliated. Our vassal states have been subjugated and the troops of the powers are stationed within easy reach of our territory. China, a dignified country, is being held in contempt by its neighbors and its culture is being looked down on by other nations." However, at the same time, he also pointed out that "China is rich in mineral resources and other products," that "it is a big country with a population of 400 million and area of tens of thousands of li," and that as long as people with lofty ideals rouse themselves, "they can revitalize China and make it powerful and invincible." (Dr Sun Yat-sen: "Collected Works," Vol 1)

In his foreword to "China in the 20th Century," a well known revolutionary journal established by Song Jiaoren, Song Jiaoren bitterly pointed out the fact that China was in a precarious situation and that "in recent years, Russia has operated in the north, Britain in the Changjiang Valley, France in Yunnan, Guangdong, and Guangxi, Germany in Shantung, and Japan in Fujian. Their spheres of influence have gradually been recognized." Whether the powers advocated the "partition" or "conservation" of China, they "had the power to subjugate it." However, in the same article, he vehemently said: "Among the countries of the world, China has the oldest civilization. It is in the largest continent of the world and it is the biggest country in Asia. It is lovable for its 4,000 years of continued history, for the classics passed on to us from 3,000 years ago, for the 400 million compatriots, for the territories of the 20 provinces, for its beautiful landscape, and for the common language used throughout the country. Oh! China! I admire it. I will sing and dance in praise of it and I will lie prostrate at its feet and cheerfully congratulate it on its greatness." ("Foreword to China in the 20th Century") His conclusion was: "I do not worry about the partition by the powers, but I sincerely hope for the revitalization of our nation."

In their opinion, our motherland was wealthy yet poverty-stricken, great yet weak and small, it was on the verge of being subjugated, and yet it had the chance to revitalize itself. The key to this paradox lies in whether or not the fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people can display their patriotic spirit and fight for national salvation. Only by cherishing a deep love for the Chinese nation can we profoundly feel the tragic reality of the

motherland and be resolved to transform the motherland with strong confidence. Those famous patriots in modern Chinese history precisely did this in order to appeal to people and guide them to display the patriotic sentiment buried in their hearts.

By now, history has opened a new chapter. Our motherland is no longer trampled underfoot, partitioned, or bullied by others. In addition, by acting independently and keeping the initiative in its own hands, it has stood on its own feet among the nations of the world since long ago. In the 35 years since the founding of the country, we have made great achievements unparalleled by any made in old China. Particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have blazed a wide new path for revitalizing China. Today, we have the strongest reason to proudly announce that our motherland is a country "we should sing and dance in praise of," at "whose feet we should lie prostrate," and "which we should congratulate." We do not say this to blindly encourage megalomania. We do not want people to ignore or deny the fact that the country is still quite poor for the time being and that it is quite backward in some areas. We just want to make people understand, in order to make patriotism a positive spiritual force which drives people to make the country prosperous and powerful as soon as possible, we must have a sense of national pride and confidence in the Chinese nation.

CSO: 4004/74

THEORIES DERIVED FROM SUMMATION OF WORK--RECOMMENDING 'SELECTED ECONOMIC
ESSAYS FROM HEBEI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr p 40

[Article by Qi Guangwen [7871 1639 2429]]

[Text] Recently the Hebei People's Publishing House published the first and second books in the series "Selected Economic Essays From Hebei," edited by Gao Yang, first secretary of the Hebei Provincial Communist Party. They are outstanding pieces of popular theoretical writing, well worth reading.

The 50 essays in the "Selected Essays" cover a very wide range but all have one common factor, the close connection between theory and reality. Theory is not discussed in empty, abstract terms while facts and reality are not limited to superficial phenomena. Thus the books succeed in discussing theory on a factual basis and discussing facts on a theoretical basis, with a close connection between both facts and theory. For example, the two essays "Before the Birth of the Air Brake" and "The Lessons of the Shi Tuo Losses" discuss the academic question of management policies in terms of positive and negative experiences. "Record of the Fall and Rise of Shu Pi" and "The Restoration of 'Yanshan' Is the Result of the Use of Market Studies" introduce us to the market sciences. "One Coin Equals Several and Several Do Not Equal One" discusses the important role of credit levers. The article "Joke Unknowingly" is no more than 2,000 words long and it describes a grass-roots supply and marketing cooperative, which, knowing nothing about commodity studies, sends someone to sell chickens and after a journey of 10,000 li loses 10,000 yuan. This stimulating account provides a great deal of food for thought. This integration of theory, knowledge and practice and the way in which rather unusual but very important economic theories are extracted from everyday economic life is one of the traits of this book.

The style is fresh and the language lively and this again is characteristic of the "Selected Essays." The essays in it avoid the technical and rather stodgy style of writing which tends to be found in most economic essays, and instead they read very well. Even the titles of the essays have been selected very carefully. For example, the images evoked in many of the titles are very moving, thus we find "'Shrewd Business Sense' as Remembered and Discussed by Li Zhanmin" and "Prices the Command Baton of Market Regulations" and so on.

The "Selected Essays" is the fruit of activities over the last year in Hebei to assess real experiences and write economic articles for the masses. The editor in chief Comrade Gao Yang went through all the articles exhaustively, making changes to many of the articles and adding annotation to others. This idea of merging the study of theory with assessments of experiences as proposed by the Hebei Provincial Communist Party is doubtless extremely useful in training cadres in their reading habits, increasing economic knowledge, and improving theoretical standards and it is well suited to the demands of the four modernizations.

The knowledge and principles which "Selected Essays" provide for the people are far richer in realism and inspiration than most teaching materials, but there are also a few shortcomings. For example there are too few articles which deal with macroeconomics and in some of the essays the theoretical analyses are too shallow. We now look forward to the publication of the third and fourth volumes of the "Selected Essays" and hope that the contributions they make to readers will be of an even higher quality.

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A KEY TO THE DOORS OF PEOPLE'S HEARTS--A TALK ON 'OH, THE SHOTS IN THE SOLON VALLEY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 41-42

[Article by Miao Junjie [4924 0193 2638]]

[Text] The novel "Oh, the Shots in the Solon Valley" written by the young army writer Liu Zhaolin (see JIEFANGJUN WENYI No 8, 1983) describes in beautiful detail the struggle life of a northern frontier soldier. The story has created a lively, reform-spirited image of the outstanding political work of cadre Xian Wengong. The work describes very well the bleak frontier camp with beautiful detail, and also the monotonous sentry life, and shows us the inner feelings and spirit of the soldiers with great clarity, and also describes army ideological and political work in a very lively way. Not much literature of this quality has been seen in recent years from the military.

As an army political work cadre, Xian Wengong's character is very rich, and it is almost as if we see a magic key in Xian Wengong which can open the closed door to the heart of every kind of soldier.

Xian Wengong comes to the backward army post known as "Ji Mao Lian" to take up the post of political instructor. This army post is the very one in which he had previously struggled and lived. However, what greets him are not smiling faces and a warm reception, but coldness and taunts and even embarrassment and teasing, which are difficult to tolerate. Once he has taken up office, a group of soldiers suddenly play a practical joke on him. "We would welcome the political instructor to exert a little...of his political work powers and help us...catch the snake." This almost dealt the political instructor a head-on blow at first, but Xian Wengong instead gained inspiration from what happened. In all the various things he saw in this backward camp, he discovered serious things which were the result of weaknesses in ideological and political work, but he also found some very positive factors and thus found a way to set up a firm spiritual pillar in the camp.

When discussing the book, the author said: "The reputation of soldiers in the 1980's is not as good as the reputation of soldiers in the past; their inner worlds are very complex and changes have occurred in their traditional

character. However, the very central core of their moral character is still the spirit of sacrifice, which is so hard to commend. But because of changes in time, new types of science, democracy, and modernization have increased, so it is no longer valid to assess and understand these soldiers merely on the basis of traditional moral concepts. It also is no longer possible to manage them and lead them merely on the basis of traditional methods of command." This was the author's guiding idea when he created the character Xian Wengong, and is also the guiding ideology of the author's leading character Xian Wengong.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party clarified the major contradictions that we must solve in our country today. These contradictions are no longer class contradictions, rather they are contradictions between the people's daily increasing material needs and social production. The focus of party and state work has not shifted to socialist modern construction centered around economic construction. As the focus of work shifts, new demands are placed on ideological and political work. In view of this situation, some people feel powerless regarding ideological problems and find themselves at their wit's end. Some other people still find themselves upholding such old "leftist" methods as "taking class struggle as the key link." Xian Wengong, however, is not like this, having attended university and studied military psychology. He recognizes that in the course of history there emerges a new characteristic for each period or stage in time, so he adopts new methods to develop ideological and political work. He sees in the soldiers resentment but not anger, and in the case of one soldier who taunted him, he discovers positive factors. He understands the psychology of the soldiers of the 1980's and he understands the appeal that knowledge has for them. The soldiers of the camp all love playing cards and thus he proposes "to elevate card playing throughout the camp to a new level" and he gives lectures on basic card-playing knowledge and encourages everyone to strive for knowledge and for progress, and he firmly establishes the concept that "knowledge is strength." His absorbing speech about cards as a miniature calendar attracts the attention of everyone in the camp. His actions, which might almost be called "dishonest methods," allow him to gain some initial respect from the soldiers.

Xian Wengong is very aware of the fact that in order to do good ideological and political work and gain the respect and confidence of the soldiers, it is necessary, first, to trust the soldiers and truly respect and love them. Only when one is completely sincere will the soldiers open up their hearts. The destruction wrought during the 10 years of chaos by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their counterrevolutionaries meant that some young people suffered spiritual wounds, and the soldiers of this camp so closely linked to society are no exception. This requires more perseverance, more seeking truth from facts, and greater comradeship. One of the most moving parts of the novel is the active ideological work done with soldier Liu Mingtian. As soon as Xian Wengong arrives at the camp, he discovers that this soldier, who says very little and appears to be very intelligent, definitely has some hidden problems and troubles. After some thorough investigation and research and an exchange of ideas and emotions, he comes to understand that this soldier, who was once in prison and who in the camp is referred to as "having problems,"

is in fact a good and honest person. He respects and trusts this "backward soldier" and shows the utmost concern for him. Comradely sincerity and trust opens up the spiritual mysteries of Liu Mingtian. He absolutely refuses to carry out the commanding officer's order to kill his roe deer for serving to the deputy commander in chief, preferring even to go to jail again rather than do this. But when he discovers that Xian Wengong has lumbago, he readily takes the roe deer to the valley and kills it there so as to use the animal's skin to make a warm coat for the political instructor. Such moving revolutionary friendship! Is this rich feeling of friendship not what Xian Wengong received in return for his sincerity and love?

The strength of a model is infinite. A political work cadre must carry out good organizational, educational, and propagation work among the masses. In order to do this he must present himself as a model and not act like the commander in the camp. Xian Wengong behaved perfectly, presenting himself as a model. Zhang Jiuguang's "examination" of the political instructor is a very interesting piece of descriptive writing. Soldier Zhang Jiuguang has his weaknesses but he is very bright, very reflective, and knowledgeable. He points out the intellectual mistakes of the newly arrived political instructor. Xian Wengong then calls him "teacher." Zhang Jiuguang wants to "examine" him and wants him to go into the woods with him to discuss "cards." He is very moved by Xian Wengong's response and agreement and he says: "I wanted to really find out if your modesty was real or false, so as a teacher, I invited you. A student does not have any reason to refuse a teacher's invitation. You really did come with me and now I believe that you are a knowledgeable person who is as good as his word. In the future you can instruct me as you wish." This method of teaching and moving Liu Mingtian and Zhang Jiuguang, which Xian Wengong uses, makes all those false people truly ashamed.

When Xian Wengong puts up a notice asking for the soldiers' opinions, the first thing the soldiers suggest is that he be true to his word: "No selling of dogskin bandages, if one is to imbibe soldiers with morals and reason then one must first be sincere." The word "sincerity" is the essence of the whole problem. Why is ideological and political work not working properly in some regions? I fear it is because those involved in ideological and political work are not true to their word and the key to it all is that they are not sincere about the morals and ideals which they preach. They talk of Marxism-Leninism for others and liberalism for themselves, so how can they gain people's trust and confidence?

"Oh, the Shots in the Solon Valley" is truly a new breakthrough in creative ideology and has opened up and shown the new face of military ideological and political work in this new period of construction of the four modernizations. It has put forward new problems and questions. Just as the film "The Story That Should Not Happen" may be seen as educational material for party rectification, so this novel is very well suited to be educational material for ideological and political work.

CSO: 4004/75

A MODEL OF PERSISTENTLY INTEGRATING THEORY WITH PRACTICE---UNDERSTANDING
GAINED BY STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 43-47

[Article by Chen Guanglin [7115 0342 2651] in "Cadre Theory Study" column]

[Text]

I

Integrating theory with practice is an important ideological principle and is a fine work style of our party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping sets great store by this principle and has elucidated this point over and over again in many of his talks. He said: "The ideological line of our party is to seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything, integrate theory with practice, and persist in taking practice as the criterion for testing truth." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 242. Hereinafter only the page number will be given for quotes from this book.) This was the first time that Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly elevated the principle of integrating theory with practice to the high plane of the party's ideological line and scientifically delineated the importance of this principle in the party's ideological line.

Man's knowledge develops dynamically from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, and as rational knowledge, it then dynamically guides revolutionary practice and changes the subjective world while transforming the objective world. Integrating theory with practice means applying genuine and true knowledge obtained from practice in the concrete analysis of objective things, in order to correctly know and change the world. This is the unity of practice and knowledge at a higher stage of cognition. It is only through this stage that knowledge already gained can be further tested, enriched, and developed, and then elevated to a yet higher stage. It is precisely for this reason that Comrade Deng Xiaoping had the principle of integrating theory with practice epitomized as a basic point of the party's ideological line. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said there are four basic points to the party's ideological line. Of these four basic points, if seeking truth from facts is the core, proceeding from reality in everything is the premise of seeking truth from facts, and taking practice as the criterion for testing truth is the final guarantee of seeking truth from facts, then integrating theory with practice is the indispensable and important condition for seeking truth from facts. This new theoretical summation of the party's ideological line by Comrade Deng Xiaoping makes the substance of the party's ideological

line more all-round, concrete and profound, and makes it easier for people to understand and grasp.

Integrating theory with practice is at once the important component of the ideological line and the basic point of Mao Zedong Thought as a whole. The universal principles of Marxism can only point out what is basic and general, such as the general condition of the proletarian liberation movement in different countries of the world. They cannot include the particular characteristics of each country. They have great vitality because they are integrated with the concrete practice of the revolution in these countries. They will cease to function and will become exhausted otherwise. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Its process of formation is one in which Marxism-Leninism was given concrete and national qualities in China by Comrade Mao Zedong and members of the CPC in the light of the actual conditions in China. Thus, in order to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice and must not depart from this "basic point." As Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized, this is the only way to truly uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

It is because Comrade Deng Xiaoping has scientifically summed up the historical experience of the party that he thinks so highly of the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice. Our basic experience in leading the Chinese revolution to victory is to closely integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of this revolution. It is precisely because of this "integration" that the Chinese revolution entered the new stage of the new democratic revolution. It also accounted for the emergence of the party, line, and principles and policies concerning the new democratic revolution, which charted the correct way for carrying out pre-socialist revolution in a big semicolonial and semifeudal country. Dogmatism and empiricism, which depart from the principle of integration of theory with practice, can only bring setbacks and defeat to the revolution. "Oppose Book Worship," published by Comrade Mao Zedong as early as 1933, and the series of brilliant writings such as "On Practice," "On Contradiction," and "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" which came out after that year, all catered to the need of bringing about and promoting this "integration" in their guiding ideology. Comrade Deng Xiaoping faithfully carried forward this guiding ideology of Comrade Mao Zedong and summed up the experience and lessons gained during the socialist period. With great insight, he pointed out: "We must combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete situation in our country and follow our own path in building socialism with distinct Chinese features. This is the basic conclusion we have drawn from summing up historical experience over a long period." (Ibid., p 372) From this basic conclusion, we can see how important it is to uphold the principle of integrating theory with practice in the new historical period.

II

The call made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to restore and reestablish the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice has a profound historical background and is aimed at the present situation.

Our party has always attached great importance to the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice and is good at integrating the universal principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Thus, we were able to push forward Marxism theoretically and to constantly lead the revolution to victory in practice. But in the late 1950's and afterward, we adopted a number of methods that departed from the principle of integrating theory with practice in the practice of socialist revolution and construction. We learned a lesson because we misinterpreted or dogmatized certain expositions in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. For example, our misinterpretation of Marx' exposition of "bourgeois rights" and our mechanical application of Lenin's teaching that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily, hourly, and on a large scale hampered to some extent our scientific study and correct understanding of the objective laws governing socialist revolution and construction, and resulted in our losing touch with objective reality. We must have correct theories before we proceed to integrate theory with practice. This is a precondition. If we are confused in our theoretical understanding, or if we stick to outmoded viewpoints when a big leap has already been made in practice, we will not be able to truly integrate theory with practice. We also learned a lesson because we failed to carry through to the end theories which had been proven correct through practice. Comrade Mao Zedong put forward many scientific views concerning socialist revolution and construction in China before and after the founding of the PRC. The basic viewpoints expressed in many of his works, such as "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC," "On the Ten Major Relationships," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Speech at the Enlarged Work Conference of the Central Committee," and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" have been proven correct through practice and are of great significance in guiding the socialist cause. However, due to the influence of "leftist" guiding ideology, not all of these correct theories were put into application in practice. For example, as a result of our failure to properly implement the correct theories and policies concerning the focus of our party's work, the party's leadership, the correct handling of two different types of contradictions, democratic centralism, the mass line, the "double hundred" policy, and so on, our practice was left without correct theoretical guidance. This discrepancy between theory and practice inflicted heavy losses on China's revolution and construction.

The errors in the guiding ideology of our party gave the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing clique of political counterrevolutionary aims a chance to rebel, they resorted to all kinds of methods to undermine the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice. One of their tricks was to seize hold of some of the theoretical errors made by our party, particularly by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and push them to the extreme. For example, taking advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's misinterpretation of "bourgeois rights," they totally negated the socialist nature of it according to his work, and described this principle as the economic base and condition that engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Another of their tricks was to mutilate, distort, and tamper with Mao Zedong Thought, and to vulgarize the integration of theory with practice. They fragmentized Mao Zedong Thought, quoted a phrase or two from Comrade Mao Zedong to swindle or scare others, and prevented people from

learning Mao Zedong Thought accurately and comprehensively and from applying it in considering and solving problems. By quoting things out of context and by stealthily substituting one thing for another, they turned the principle of integrating theory with practice into something pragmatic. A third trick of theirs was to start the personality cult, preach the "theory of the pinnacle," set up forbidden zones, and impose prohibitions. With these, they penned people within the four walls of their sham Marxism. Their refusal to let people study living reality in fact stifled revolutionary theory and fossilized people's thinking.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the comrade who upheld the "two whatevers" advocated mechanically transmitting the exact words of Comrade Mao Zedong. This in essence meant that the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years should be left intact. Had we not been liberated from the "two whatevers," our thinking would have remained in a fossilized or semifossilized state, and we would have been simply unable to integrate theory with practice and solve problems by seeking truth from facts.

As a result of the tight bonds of dogmatism and personality cult over a long period of time, and particularly as a result of the harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the undesirable tendency of separating theory from practice developed among some cadres. The chief manifestations of this tendency are: First, theory is neglected. These cadres did not have a clear understanding of the importance of theory, particularly the guiding role of the basic principles of Marxism. They even erroneously believed that the deeper one goes in his theoretical studies, the more confused he will become. Second, practice is neglected. They did not pay attention to investigation and study, or to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in studying the new situation and solving new problems for that matter. They merely repeated certain theories and notions they had read in books. Some theoretical workers even believed that theoretical research should be kept as far away from reality as possible. Third, thinking is fossilized. Instead of using their brains and creatively carrying out the instructions given by the higher authorities in the light of the actual situation in their own localities, departments or units, these cadres merely relayed messages and functioned as "message centers." They did not say or do anything that was not mentioned by the leadership or contained in documents. Fourth, fondness for idle talk. Instead of conscientiously putting correct theories into practice and making an earnest effort to solve problems, they were quite happy just to issue general orders and talk about principles. They did not bother to solve practical problems. Thus, they were unable to bring about a new atmosphere and create a new situation in work.

With keen political insight, Comrade Deng Xiaoping saw the serious harm of the tendency to separate theory from practice and the importance of restoring the principle of integrate theory with practice. He scientifically summed up the experience and lessons learned by our party in upholding this ideological principle and analyzed the harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." With a view to eliminating their pernicious influence and helping the vast number of cadres to pay attention to and master this principle once again, he devoted much time to removing obstacles and carrying out persuasion

and education, thus laying a solid ideological foundation for reestablishing this ideological principle in the party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping sets an example with his own conduct. He fears neither difficulties nor personal safety. Defying pressure from "left" and right, he takes the lead in upholding the principle of integrating theory with practice. He has set a good example for us and has greatly enhanced the confidence and courage of comrades of the whole party in upholding this principle.

III

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a model in upholding the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice. Under the new historical conditions, he has closely integrated the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with our modernization program, and has accumulated new and rich experience for the party.

The first salient feature of the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice upheld by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is the need for us to understand Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately in the light of actual conditions. The scientific nature of revolutionary theory requires that we make concrete analysis of the remarks made by our revolutionary leaders on certain questions, at certain times and places, and under certain conditions. We must neither interpret things in abstract terms, nor fossilize and dogmatize the viewpoints expressed on certain concrete problems by applying them as universal principles. As proved by numerous facts, mechanical interpretation and application of isolated remarks by revolutionary leaders is bound to vulgarize the solemn matter of integrating theory with practice and simplify this scientific process. Comrade Deng Xiaoping insists on comprehensively and accurately understanding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. He emphasizes that we must be serious and scientific when we are quoting the words of revolutionary leaders. He says that what has been said about one problem should not be shifted to another problem, what has been said at one place should not be shifted to another place, what has been said at a certain time should not be shifted to another time, and what has been said under a certain condition should not be shifted to another condition. This scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts is an important precondition for integrating theory with practice. We will go astray if this is not fulfilled. This point is still worth our attention and vigilance. The eagerness shown by some comrades in publicizing the "theory of socialist alienation" is contrary to this scientific attitude.

The second salient feature of the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice upheld by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is the need for us to unswervingly adhere to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to be good at applying these basic principles in solving problems that have cropped up in practice. He said: "At no time must we go against the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is no doubt about that. However, these must be integrated with practice. We must analyze and study the actual situation and solve actual problems." (Ibid., p 109) To counter the erroneous trends of thought from "left" and right, he

repeatedly emphasized the need to uphold the four basic principles, pointing out that this is the fundamental prerequisite for achieving the four modernizations, and stressed that we must not depart from the four basic principles when we are emancipating our minds. At the same time, he did not evade major problems that have cropped up in practice. Instead, he offered scientific solutions to these problems after conscientiously analyzing and studying the problems with the help of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. With the ingenious views he expressed on every aspect and in every realm since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--from establishing the party's ideological, political, and organizational lines to putting forward the famous proposition on building socialism with distinct Chinese features, from economic construction to political construction--he has greatly enriched the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The third salient feature of the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice upheld by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is the need to be good at applying new practice and new experience to test and develop theory. In this respect, he has demonstrated the courage a Marxist ought to demonstrate on theoretical matters. Since our country has a rather short history of socialism, our understanding of the laws governing socialism cannot be very thorough. Thus, as the cause of socialist revolution and construction develops with each passing day, constantly using new ideas to replenish and develop views that are not mature or perfect enough becomes something both inevitable and necessary. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has done an effective job in this respect. For example, on the basis of new practical experience, he has come up with a number of new interpretations on such questions as the focus of the party's work, the ideological and political work of the party, the relationship between politics and professional affairs and between Red and expert, distribution according to work, scientific education, and intellectuals, to augment Comrade Mao Zedong's correct expositions. In this way, he has made Comrade Mao Zedong's theories even more perfect. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also has the courage to replace outmoded views that can no longer meet the needs of the new historical conditions with new ones. For example, he has revised the theoretical outlines and explanations in the light of new conditions and new practice, and has replaced views that are obviously outmoded with new ones on such matters as the formulation of the class struggle in China's socialist period, the formulation of the relationship between literature and politics, and the appraisal of the remolding of the world-outlook of intellectuals. It is precisely because he has this undaunted spirit in handling theoretical matters and is good at considering and solving problems in the light of new historical conditions that he has been able to play a decisive role in helping the party Central Committee formulate theories, lines, principles, and policies that meet the needs of the new historical conditions.

Upholding the ideological principle of integrating theory with practice is a matter of major importance for the whole party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping urges comrades of the whole party, from leading cadres and leading organs down, to conscientiously implement this important principle and to earnestly carry forward this fine work style of the party. He places particularly

high hopes on the vast number of theoretical workers, pointing out that Marxist ideological and theoretical work should never be separated from the overall political situation and must take into consideration the actual development of the revolutionary struggle. Ideological and theoretical workers must integrate with the greatest reality, that of socialist modernization, and offer answers that are of important significance in providing guidance. As long as we advance in this correct direction charted by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and fully carry forward the fine work style of integrating theory with practice, the party's ideological and theoretical work and its work in other fields will definitely continue to advance with greater vitality, and we can definitely do a good job of party rectification.

CSO: 4004/74

HOW TO UNDERSTAND 'THESIS ON FEUERBACH' AS THE FIRST DOCUMENT CONTAINING THE SHOOTS OF THE NEW WORLD OUTLOOK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 pp 47-48

[Article by Zhang Qihua [1728 0796 5478]]

[Text] Some comrades challenge Engels' statement that "Thesis on Feuerbach" "is the first document to contain the shoots of the new world outlook" and believe instead that the starting point for Marxism was when Marx first published the fundamental principles of historical materialism in "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." This viewpoint lacks foundation.

It should be affirmed that the "Manuscripts" which Marx published contained many valuable ideas and some of them contained the very first sparks of the materialist conception of history. However, these cannot be called the first shoots of the new world outlook since they were still not fundamentally differentiated from the old world outlook. This old world outlook was Feuerbach's humanist materialism.

Feuerbach's humanist materialism represented the greatest achievement of German classical philosophy during the 1840's. This philosophy was an effective weapon with which Marx criticized Hegel's and Bauer's idealist philosophy and it also acted as a bridge for Marx to shift from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to ideas of communism. However, as Marx' ideological changes were completed, he gradually came to understand that Feuerbach's metaphysical materialism and his humanist studies of "humanism" and "naturalism" which started out from abstract man only represented the highest levels reached in capitalist class ideology and that in historical terms they were still idealist and as such could not be used as ideological weapons in the proletarian struggle. At the same time they were also an obstacle to any further development of his own ideas. Thus the arduous task of thoroughly criticizing Feuerbach's old materialism was called for in the practical class struggle of the proletariat and it also became the key to Marx' creation of a new world outlook.

By the spring of 1845 Marx had already realized this and, as Engels later recalled "when we met once again in the spring of 1845 in Brussels, Marx had already completed his work on the theory of the materialist conception of history, whereupon we began to outline these new views in fine detail in many

different areas." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 192) Thus, "Thesis on Feuerbach" represented notes that Marx made at that time for his detailed outlining of these new views. The "Thesis on Feuerbach" was distinct in two important aspects from all other old philosophies, including Feuerbach's. First it proposed that the essential nature of man "was the sum of all social relations." This famous conclusion represented a complete breakaway from Feuerbach's humanist materialist handling of the essential nature of man. Second, it proposed that philosophers should not only "explain the world, the point is to change the world." This conclusion clarified revolutionary practice and in terms of the theory of knowledge it also overcame the direct perceptuality of Feuerbach and all old philosophies and set itself apart from all forms of idealism and old materialism. Starting out from these two important points, Marx in his later works cleared up his former philosophical convictions and criticized in historical terms all forms of the idealist perception of history and thus moved toward the creation of the materialist conception of history. In "The German Ideology," completed in the spring of 1846, the theories of historical materialism achieved detailed explanation. Thus we know that in the process of the formation of Marxism, "Thesis on Feuerbach" represented a turning point from the old world view to the new world view. It may be called the starting point of Marxism since it contained the first mention of these two important aspects of historical materialism and contained many ideological shoots for the new world view.

Naturally Marx' criticism of Feuerbach's abstract man did not begin in "Thesis on Feuerbach." As far back as the "Manuscripts" we can see some clues to this, thus there is mention that the essential nature of man is "the essential nature of society," while in "The Holy Family" he took the first step to surpassing Feuerbach when he proposed the use of "real man" as a substitute for Feuerbach's abstract man. However at this point Marx himself had not consciously seen his divergence of opinion with Feuerbach and so his criticism of Feuerbach was not very thorough. For example in the "Manuscripts," although he said that the essential nature of man was "the essential nature of society" and considered the resolution of the contradictions between and man in reality (as between workers and capitalists), when drawing his theoretical conclusions he still continued to make use of Feuerbach's terminology, referring to man as a "being" and concluding that the essential nature of man was "the essential nature of the being." He called the oppression of the workers by the capitalists "alienation of the essential nature of man" and referred to his own theories as completed naturalism and humanism while his handling of some other points contained clear remnants of Feuerbach. In "The Holy Family" Marx and Engels still referred to communism as "true humanism" and "the realization of humanism" and they even endorsed some of Feuerbach's incorrect views, such as Feuerbach's beliefs concerning love. In other words, while at this point Marx had already surpassed Feuerbach in many areas, he still worshipped him and still used his theories as his own weapons of criticism. Hence these two works of Marx cannot be said to be the first document containing the shoots of the new world outlook. The decisive step taken in shifting from adoration of Feuerbach to criticism of him was completed in "Thesis on

Feuerbach." This work laid down the programmatic view for this criticism and overcame the basic shortcomings of Feuerbach's humanist materialism and all old materialist views in terms of the essential nature of man and the meaning of revolutionary practice and activities. It was only at this point that Marx finally broke away from Feuerbach's intermediary link and gradually matured independently.

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QUESTIONS ON THE NUMBER OF THE ENEMY WIPED OUT IN THE BATTLE OF PINGXINGGUAN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 inside back cover

[Article by Liu Wusheng [0491 2976 3932]]

[Text] Editor's note: We published Comrade Zhu De's article "Heroism of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army" in issue No 15, 1983. Many readers have since written in to inform us of the different versions given by some newspapers and magazines on the question of the number of enemies wiped out in the battle of Pingxingguan. Some said that "over 2,000 enemy were killed." Others said that "more than 3,000 crack enemy troops were wiped out." Note 3 of the said article and note 100 of the "Selected Works of Zhu De" said "more than 1,000" Japanese troops were wiped out. Which of these versions is more accurate? The following short article by Comrade Liu Wusheng of the Document Research Office of the Central Committee is hereby published for your reference.

The battle of Pingxingguan was a major victory won by our army in the fight against the Japanese invaders. This battle broke the myth about "the invincibility of the imperial troops" and enhanced the confidence of the Chinese people in winning the war of resistance. On the question of the number of the enemy wiped out in this battle, the version which says that "more than 1,000 Japanese troops were wiped out" seems to be more accurate according to the relevant historical material. The major substantiations are:

In a telegram addressed to Bo Gu [0590 0657], Ye Jianying, and Pan Hannian [3382 3352 1628] on 1 October 1937, Mao Zedong clearly indicated that "more than 1,000 of the enemy were killed." The telegram read: In the battle of Pingxingguan fought on the 25th, in addition to capturing 82 vehicles, 1 artillery piece, about 2,000 rounds of ammunition, and several hundred rifles, and killing over 1,000 of the enemy, we also besieged the enemy's supreme command and seized a large amount of confidential documents.

Zhu De and Peng Dehuai, in their telegram addressed to Chiang Kai-shek, Cheng Qian [4452 3480], and Yan Xishan [7051 6932 1472] on 3 October of the

same year, also clearly said that they had "killed more than 1,000 of the enemy." The telegram read: We captured more than 80 vehicles (now destroyed by fire), a type 92 field artillery piece (without ammunition), about 3,000 rounds for the type 7375 mountain howitzer, 300-odd rifles, 20-odd machine guns, together with much more military goods. We also killed more than 1,000 of the enemy.

These two telegrams were sent out shortly after the conclusion of the battle of Pingxingguan. The figures they carried on military feats should tally with the actual facts.

Besides, "more than 1,000 of the enemy were wiped out" also seems to be a reasonable figure if we consider the size of the Japanese troops which fell into the ambush in the battle of Pingxingguan. At that time, the main force of the 21st Brigade of the Japanese Sakakaki Division was pitted against our friendly forces in the Dongpaochi area to the north of Pingxingguan. A 1,000-strong reserve force and impedimenta of the Japanese Army were moving up the mountain roads from Lingqiu to join their main forces. The 115th Division of our Eighth Route Army, with two regiments of the 343d Brigade as the main attack force and two regiments of the 344th Brigade serving as reserves, hurried over to Xiaozhai and Laoyemiao near Pingxingguan in the early morning of 25 September to lay an ambush for the Japanese reinforcements. Not long after, a line of more than 80 vehicles and over 100 horse carriages of the Japanese troops entered the section where the ambush was laid. There were over 1,000 troops on the vehicles. Behind them was a small cavalry unit that acted as escort. When all the enemy troops were within the ring of the ambush, our troops, occupying a commanding height, blocked the two ends of the "pocket" and fiercely opened fire on them. Taken by surprise, the enemy were thrown into disarray. Men, horses, and vehicles pushed against each other on the narrow mountain road. Our troops then charged forward full of valor and vigor to kill the enemy. After several hours of intense fighting, over 1,000 Japanese troops who fell into the ambush were wiped out, and their vehicles and military supplies were captured by our troops. These are the actual facts about the great victory won at Pingxingguan.

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'POLITICAL ECONOMICS' IS GUIDANCE READING FOR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CADRES
IN SELF-TEACHING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 84 outside back cover

[Book review by Guo Xi [6753 3556]]

[Text] "Political Economics" edited by Song Tao and Wei Xinghua and published by the RED FLAG Publishing House is guidance material in self-teaching for party and government cadres and links together reality and theory.

This book discusses the fundamental theories of Marxist political economics and makes use of these principles in solving some blurred problems of understanding related to study among cadres and the masses. For example under a capitalist system some highly automated enterprises will introduce computers and robots into the production process as science and technology quickly develop. This will bring enormous profits to these enterprises and in some people's opinions this will not be created by workers but by robots. Hence it is felt that under conditions of capitalist production mechanization, Marxist theories of labor value and surplus value are "outdated." This book looks at this conjecture and analyzes it by using the theory of labor value. It points out that no form of mechanized and automatic production can change the fact that workers are the creators of surplus value or can deny the Marxist theory of labor value and the theory of surplus value. Quite the contrary, it is only on the basis of this Marxist theory that one can explain the economic relations of today's capitalist society in their essence. Some people believe that since the wages and standards of living of workers in some advanced capitalist countries improved considerably after the war, Marx' theory concerning the pauperization of the proletariat is no longer "valid." This book points out that although workers' wages in advanced capitalist countries are high, the extent to which they suffer capitalist exploitation is greater. Thus not only is the Marxist theory of the pauperization of the proletariat not "outdated," its accuracy has in fact been proven by facts.

This book also makes use of political economic theories to discuss some problems involved in the construction of a characteristically Chinese style of socialism. On the basis of assessing the experiences and lessons learned in the construction of socialism in China, the writers discuss the main

theories in socialist economic construction. For example, when discussing the conditions for and necessity of diversified economic styles during China's socialist period, the writers also stress that the state-run economy is the foundation of the socialist economic system and that it must occupy the leading position in the national economy. At the same time it is also necessary to permit the existence of diversified economic styles on the basis of the actual situation in China and the requirements of development in the productive forces. These diversified economic styles include the existence of individual laborers' economies as a supplement to the socialist economy. The writers also integrate China's reality and discuss the necessity of reforms to the economic system and the urgency and deep significance of implementation of the contract responsibility system with payment linked to output in the countryside.

In one chapter concerning the production aims of socialism this book makes a specialized analysis of the mutual relationship between the construction of a material civilization and the construction of a spiritual civilization and discusses the importance to socialist construction of training the next generation of socialists and establishing a new socialist life style. In the chapter which discusses distribution according to labor there is a penetrating analysis of the socialist nature of distribution according to labor and the important role that it plays in socialist production development. It also discusses the relationship between improving ideological and political work and correctly implementing the principle of distribution according to labor. It states that we must place ideological and political work in a position of primary importance and carry out communist ideological education and promote communist work attitudes. We must also oppose "eating from the large rice bowl" and egalitarianism.

In general then "Political Economics" is rather good guidance reading for self-study. The only shortcomings that it has are that it does not go into sufficient depth in some questions and there is some repetition between the various different chapters. We hope that improvements will be made by the authors in the next publication.

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