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CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 3, 1 February 1984

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

CONTENTS

Adhere To Democratic Centralism (pp 2-7) (Wang Renzhong).....	1
Strive To Establish a Socialist Legal System With Chinese Characteristics (pp 8-12, 18) (Xiang Chunyi, et al.).....	11
Party Spirit Is the Soul of Journalism--Reading the 'Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism' (pp 13-18) (Zhong Peizhang).....	21
How Marx Comprehended and Applied the Concept of Humanism (pp 19-22) (Jin Huiming).....	31
Theoretical Studies and Practical Politics (pp 23-25) (Shi Youxin).....	38
The Necessity of Socialist Planned Economy (pp 26-30) (He Jianzhang).....	43
Our Great Motherland Has Been Jointly Founded by All Nationalities (pp 31-36) (Guo Dehong, Li Mingsan).....	51
A Strict Teacher and a Helpful Friend (p 36) (Song Qing).....	61

Guidance Material on Studying the Documents of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee--Edited by the RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office (pp 37-40).....	62
Why Do We Stress That Party Rectification Should Not Be Carried Out Perfunctorily? (Zhu Wu).....	62
The Question of Party Style Is One That Concerns the Survival or Extinction of the Ruling Party (Wang Yuru).....	65
What Is the Difference Between Bourgeois Humanism and Socialist Humanism? (pp 41-44) (Chen Zhishang).....	70
The '7 February Strike' and the '7 February Monument to Revolutionary Martyrs' (p 44) (Jian Ji).....	76
Explanatory Notes on the Article 'On Humanism and Alienation' (pp 45-48).....	78
Only When Two Wings Are Ready Is It Possible To Fly High (inside back cover) (Langfang City People's Government Office).....	84

ADHERE TO DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 2-7

[Article by Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850]]

[Text] The all-round party rectification which has been in preparation for a long time is now being carried out in one after another of various localities nationwide. As they are listed as the first group of units to undergo party rectification, the organs at the central and provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional levels are now organizing their party members to study documents and deepening their understanding. The basis for triumphantly accomplishing the task of party rectification is to study well the party rectification documents. Here, I would like to talk about the topic of correctly comprehending and practicing democratic centralism, being my personal understanding after participating in the study of party rectification documents.

Appropriately implementing the party's democratic centralism is one of the purposes of the current party rectification and also an important guarantee for accomplishing the task of party rectification. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" has clearly pointed out: "The strengthening of discipline means to adhere to the party's organizational principle of democratic centralism, to oppose the patriarchal system, factionalism, anarchism, and liberalism which completely ignore party organizations and discipline, and to correct the softness, weakness, and laxness of the party organizations." This requirement is raised by correctly analyzing the practical problems existing within the party at present and there is no mistaking what it is aimed at. All party members, including those holding leading posts, must seriously examine themselves in light of this requirement and earnestly correct their mistakes so as to strengthen the party's unity, further enhance its fighting capacity, and give full play to its leading role in the building of socialist modernization.

With regard to communists, democratic centralism is a matter which we have to encounter almost every day. It is a principle of democratic centralism and the party's organizational discipline for the individual to be subordinated to the organization, the minority to be subordinated to the majority, the lower level to be subordinated to the higher level, and the entire

membership to be subordinated to the CPC Central Committee. From the first day of their admission to the party, all members constantly receive education in democratic centralism and also constantly implement the practice of democratic centralism in their political life. Are they still not aware of the truth of democratic centralism and can they not uphold the principle of democratic centralism? We should say that most of the members are aware and can uphold this principle. However, there are some people who lack understanding of this issue. Some party members handle matters according to their one-sided understanding of democratic centralism. They incline to either one side or the other and usually make a mess of correct things. There are also some comrades who are not sober-minded and resolute and feel hesitant and muddle-headed at the stirring up of certain winds. After criticizing the feudal and fascist despotism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some comrades were influenced by the tendencies of anarchism and liberalism and others were still used to their patriarchal behavior of letting only one man have a say and rejecting different opinions and criticism. Some other comrades were affected by both and practiced decentralism against the higher levels and acted arbitrarily toward the lower levels. The CPC is a big party with 40 million members and it is bound to encounter obstacles in upholding democratic centralism. Therefore, it is necessary to constantly do painstaking ideological work, to educate the broad ranks of party members and cadres, and to heighten their understanding to the level required by the party constitution. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to resolutely get rid of all erroneous ideas and deeds which run counter to democratic centralism. We must pay special attention to this issue in the all-round party rectification and particularly in the party rectification of leading organs.

Since 1921, in the process of fighting for the cause of liberation of the working class and the people of all nationalities of the country, our party has done a great deal of work and accumulated extremely rich experience in implementing the organizational principle of democratic centralism. The history of more than 60 years has proved that the upholding of democratic centralism is closely linked to the development of the revolutionary and construction cause. Whenever we strictly follow the principle of democratic centralism in handling the problems within the party, our party becomes vigorous and powerful, the enthusiasm and initiative of its members are brought into full play, and the Central Committee can pool the wisdom of the whole party, combine the basic principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of China, formulate the correct line, principles, and policies, and guide the whole party and the broad masses of people in swiftly winning great victories of revolution and construction. In contrast, if the principle of democratic centralism is distorted and not conscientiously implemented, or even undermined, the party's cause will be harmed or even suffer serious setbacks. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a great historical change has been effected in China. One of the important reasons this became the best historical period since the founding of the PRC is that the CPC Central Committee handled affairs strictly according to the principle of democratic centralism and fully aroused the initiative of the whole party and the people of all nationalities of the whole country. Our party attentively listened to the voice,

opinions, and demands of the masses; determined the major issues of the party and state in light of the organizational procedures prescribed in the party constitution; and formulated the line, principles, and policies which conformed with the historical development of China and the interests of the broad masses of people and which won support from the vast numbers of party members, cadres, and masses of people throughout the nation. As a result, they became a mighty material force which prominently changed the face of China. Historical and practical experience has taught us that democratic centralism has given vigor, vitality, and strength to our party and has enabled our party to formulate and put into practice correct policies, which have energetically guided and promoted the development of the revolution and construction.

The significance and role of democratic centralism are similar to those of the whole party and every party organization. In the party organizations of the same level or department, some have proved themselves to be combat headquarters and have always run affairs according to the objective laws of the development. With great determination, correct methods, and the situation well in hand, and making vigorous and concerted efforts, they have created achievements one after another in their work. However, some others are not so good as these party organizations. They lack creativity and cannot gain the initiative in work. On the one hand, one or two top leaders are up to their ears in work, while on the other, many cadres and party members are unable to exert their strength. The leading bodies cannot appropriately form themselves into a fist and the party ranks cannot advance in step. This has always been the case. The difference between the two lies in whether or not the principle of democratic centralism is conscientiously upheld, whether or not the channel of "from the masses, to the masses" is unimpeded, whether or not the system of collective leadership and division of work with individual responsibility is properly implemented, and whether or not the enthusiasm and initiative of the vast numbers of party members are fully aroused.

In order to sum up the experience and lessons of the past and to strengthen the party's ideological and organizational building, in recent years, the discussion on democratic centralism within the party has been further deepened and the understanding has been raised to a higher level universally. Now, I would like to stress the following views: First, it is necessary to understand the significance of democratic centralism and the mutual relationship between democracy and centralism by proceeding from the nature, task, and historical mission of the party. If we deviate from this fundamental point and talk about democratic centralism in abstract terms, it will be of no significance and may even fall into the trap of "general democracy," which is disadvantageous to our party's cause. Democratic centralism must be subordinated to the needs of building, consolidating, and strengthening the party. The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China, and the force at the core, leading China's cause of socialism. The party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system. The implementation of democratic centralism means to organize the party and to form a unified body in accordance with such a nature and task

and, on the basis of a high degree of democracy, to practice a high degree of centralism, to constantly expand its forces, and to triumphantly accomplish the mission entrusted to it by history. It is definitely essential for the party to have a high degree of democracy. The fundamental manifestation of such democracy is that the party regards the interests of the working class and all the people entirely as its own interests without having any other special interests. Such democracy is also indicated by the following: The party looks upon the wishes and practical experience of the working class and the broad masses as the source of its wisdom and has never for a single moment divorced itself from the working class and other laboring people. Such democracy is also fully reflected in the political life within the party, including the election of the various leading organs of the party and their responsibility and accountability to the party meetings and congresses at the same level, the discussions of the party's principles and policies, the assurance of keeping the activities of leaders at various levels of the party regularly under the supervision of the party organizations, party members, and the masses of people, and so on. Meanwhile, it is also definitely essential for the party to have a high degree of centralism. Otherwise, the tendencies of anarchism and liberalism may arise, which will deprive the party of its fighting capacity. Such centralism is related to the destiny of the party, as it is the combat headquarters and an organized vanguard. While realizing and applying democratic centralism, we must always remember that it must be advantageous to the practice of a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy and not vice versa. Second, the organizational principle of upholding democratic centralism must be regarded as the iron discipline which no party member is allowed to violate. For a long time in the past, some comrades have taken the implementation of democratic centralism as merely a work style, which drastically belittled and weakened the significance of democratic centralism. With regard to the leading organs and leading cadres of the party, only by handling affairs resolutely according to the principle of democratic centralism can they pool the wisdom of the vast numbers of party members, form it into correct decisions, and smoothly put it into practice. We are bound to make subjective and erroneous judgments and affect the party's cause adversely if we violate the principle of democratic centralism, indulge in patriarchal behavior, take arbitrary action, and suppress the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses. The principle of democratic centralism is already included in the party constitution and the rules of conduct for inner-party political life. All party members and particularly leading cadres must, without exception, abide by the principle unconditionally. Whoever violates the principle of democratic centralism violates party discipline. We must raise and handle problems on such a high plane.

While drawing stern lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution," the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: Feudalism in China has had a very long history, "but it remains difficult to eliminate the evil ideological and political influence of centuries of feudal autocracy. And for various historical reasons, we failed to institutionalize and legalize inner-party democracy and democracy in the political and social life of the country, or

we drew up the relevant laws but they lacked due authority. This meant that conditions were present for the overconcentration of party power in individuals and for the development of arbitrary individual rule and the personality cult in the party. Thus, it was hard for the party and state to prevent the initiation of the 'Cultural Revolution' or to check its development." Leading comrades of party committees at various levels should maintain utmost vigilance over the influence of the remnant feudal ideas left over in their minds, guard against committing the historical mistakes again, and strictly implement the principle of democratic centralism in their leading work. Now, I would like to talk about some concrete questions.

1. Give full play to the role of general membership meetings and delegate meetings.

Party organizations at all levels should, in accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution, regularly hold general membership meetings and delegate meetings to discuss and decide major questions of the party organizations, elect the leading organs of the party, and set up party committees. The elected party committees should resolutely implement the resolutions of the general membership meeting or delegate meeting and not do things in their own way. In the course of implementation, if the resolutions adopted by general membership meetings or delegate meetings are proved through practice to be mistaken or imperfect and need to be revised, the party committees should propose the convocation of general membership meetings or delegate meetings to discuss and make proper decisions. If there is not enough time to hold a delegate meeting, the party committee which serves as the supreme leading organ when the delegate meeting is not in session may make a decision on revising the resolution of the delegate meeting but must submit it to the next delegate meeting for examination. The delegate meeting has the right to approve, reject, or make new decisions. The party committees should implement the decisions of the delegate meetings. Only in this way can we fully carry forward democracy within the party and correctly practice centralism on the basis of democracy. This is a reliable guarantee for preventing individuals or a minority of people from taking arbitrary action. Only in this way can the general membership meetings or delegate meetings ensure that all full members and delegates exercise their functions and exert their initiative and sense of responsibility in showing concern for the entire cause of the party. This is a matter of vital importance for practicing the party's democratic centralism.

At present, there are some comrades within the party who still indulge themselves in patriarchal behavior and in "letting only one man have a say" and do not respect the party members' democratic rights. They regard the convocation of general membership meetings or delegate meetings as an extra burden. Even if they attend the meetings, they take a perfunctory attitude which makes the people believe that such meetings are but mere formalities. There are also some comrades who have selfish ideas and are afraid of democracy, criticism, and elections. This unhealthy tendency not only runs counter to democratic centralism and party discipline, but is a manifestation of lacking the mass viewpoint and not understanding the mass line and historical materialism.

2. Conscientiously implement the party committee system.

Early in 1948, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted a decision on strengthening the party committee system for the CPC Central Committee. The decision pointed out from the very beginning: "The party committee system is an important party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs." In his speech made at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Comrade Hu Yaobang emphatically pointed out: "Decisions concerning important matters must be made after collective discussion by the appropriate party committee and no individual is allowed to have the final say. All members of a party committee must abide by its decisions." We must resolutely carry out these instructions.

The implementation of collective leadership in party committees and the prevention of individuals or a minority of people having the final say is another important issue of principle for correctly carrying out democratic centralism. This is because only by exercising collective leadership can the intelligence and wisdom of every party committee member be brought into full play and can correct decisions be made on major questions. Concerning the differences of opinion between party committee members on certain major issues, besides exchanging information and holding talks with each other, only through collective discussions held by the party committees can we attain the aim of distinguishing right from wrong and seeking unity of thought and action. In accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution, regularly holding party committee plenary sessions is an organizational principle that must not be violated. The functions and powers of the party's plenary sessions cannot be substituted by enlarged standing committee meetings, multilevel cadre conferences, and work conferences.

While implementing the party committee system, it is necessary to implement some organizational principles in accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution. 1) The party standing committee must implement the decisions of the party committee. This is because party committees are the highest leading organs after the general membership meetings and delegate meetings are closed. The standing committee has the right to exercise the functions and powers of the party committee while the latter is not in session. However, the standing committee cannot replace the party committee and has no right to revise or alter the decisions of the party committee. If the standing committee has discovered through practice that a decision of the party committee is seriously mistaken, needing further revision, it should convene a party committee meeting to discuss and make proper decisions. 2) The rights of party committee secretaries and party committee members are equal and there is only a difference of division of labor. Secretaries do not and must not have any privileged powers. Secretaries should submit all major issues (not including the problems of day-to-day work) to the party committees for decision. The major issues can by no means be decided by secretaries, deputy secretaries, or a few people. 3) All party committee members, including the first secretary, must implement the decisions of the party committee. If resolutions are to be decided by vote, the minority must be subordinated to the majority.

Individuals or the minority may reserve their opinions if they are against the opinions of the majority, but they must implement in deeds the resolutions adopted by the majority. 4) Party committee members, standing committee members, and party committee secretaries must be elected and regularly reelected in accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution. 5) The collective leadership of the party committee must be combined with the system of division of labor with individual responsibility. In order to increase efficiency, all enterprises and institutions must implement the system of personal responsibility of directors (managers), headmasters, presidents, and section heads under the collective leadership of the party committee so that they are sure of their rights and responsibilities and can overcome the practices of lack of separation of party and government administration. Only in this way can the party committees and the chief responsible persons of the party committees free themselves from routine duties and make more efforts in strengthening and improving party leadership and enhancing the party's ideological and political work. 6) In light of the principle of the lower levels being subordinated to the higher levels and the entire membership being subordinated to the CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee and party committees at higher levels have the right to reject the erroneous decisions adopted by the general membership meetings, delegate meetings, and party committees under their authorities.

3. Energetically carry forward the democratic work style.

Whether or not the collective leadership of the party committees can be appropriately exercised is closely related to the democratic work style of party committee secretaries. Party secretaries shoulder the main responsibility for organizing the activities of the party committees and practicing collective leadership and the system of division of labor of party committee members with personal responsibility. It is small wonder that their ability in work and the achievements made have enjoyed the trust and respect of the people. Under such circumstances, the party secretaries must be more modest and prudent, must take note of carrying forward the democratic work style, and must adhere to collective leadership. Otherwise, they become their opposite and indulge in patriarchal behavior, which will arouse discontent among party committee members and cause disunity within the party committees. Consequently, it will become difficult to bring the initiative and enthusiasm of the party committee members into full play and to make correct decisions. Their mistakes in work will also weaken their prestige. If they stubbornly cling to their mistakes, they will inevitably fall from power.

In the first point of his article "Methods of Work of Party Committees," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The secretary of a party committee must be good at being a 'squad leader.'" During the war of resistance against Japan, I assumed the office of a prefectural CPC committee secretary. At one time, the deputy secretary and members of the prefectural CPC committee said that my work style was not democratic enough. I was not quite convinced at that time. Every decision of the prefectural CPC committee was adopted with the approval of all members. My speeches were also made with the approval of

all party committee members. Why did they insist in saying that I was not democratic enough? During 1944 and 1945, I participated in party rectification in the Yanan central party school. After studying the main topics of seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and the democratic work style, my ideological and political awareness was further heightened. Not until then did I realize that my leading work style was not democratic enough. The problem was not my attitude toward others but that my speeches were made without consulting with other comrades in advance. I considered myself always in the right and read the prepared speech or outline at the meeting. As the comrades did not have ideological preparation, they could not raise any systematic or important views. Speeches adopted in such a manner would mean forcing our views on others. The criticism made by the comrades was correct and I still keep such experience in my mind today.

Party secretaries must be good at presiding over meetings and letting all members speak their minds freely. They must be good at listening to opinions different from their own because these opinions usually merit attention. However, there are some people who are only fond of flattery and do not like to listen to opinions differing from their own. This is also a manifestation of a lack of democratic work style. Party committee secretaries should take note of respecting the opinions of the minority. The fact that the minority or individuals hold the truth is quite common in history. If their own opinions are wrong and the opinions of the minority or individuals are correct, they must have the courage to give up their erroneous views, to support the correct ones, and to persuade and lead the majority of comrades to make decisions according to the correct views. If the majority temporarily disagree with the correct views of the minority, the party secretary may, with the approval of the majority of party committee members, handle the problem by adopting the following methods: First, make no decision for the time being, let the members make investigations and studies and listen widely to the opinions of the cadres and masses, and leave the matter to be discussed and determined at the next meeting; second, report the two different opinions accurately to the party committee at a higher level for examination and instruction.

Party committee secretaries must be good at implementing the system of division of labor with personal responsibility under the collective leadership of the party committees so that there are special persons appointed for every job and so that the comrades concerned are clear regarding their functions, powers, and responsibilities. Party committee secretaries must not monopolize the affairs of others or directly interfere in work which is the responsibility of other comrades (except in special cases). Otherwise, it will be impossible for the comrades who are assigned work with personal responsibility to perform their functions, which will lead to unnecessary confusion. Naturally, while boldly giving these comrades a free hand in their work, party committee secretaries must also be responsible for supervising and inspecting their work. To ensure that the work at various fronts will be correctly and smoothly carried out in accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and the decisions of the party committees, the party committee secretaries should have frequent contact with the comrades assigned work with personal responsibility, listen to their reports, and exchange views with them.

In order to perfect the party committee system, to carry forward democracy, to sum up our work in a timely way, to draw lessons and experience, and to strengthen party unity, party committee secretaries should take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism at party committee meetings and modestly listen to the criticism made by other people. If the criticisms are wrong, the party committee secretaries should make necessary explanations so as to clear up the misunderstanding and reach unity of thinking. Only when the party committee secretaries have taken the lead can they guide the members of the party committees in carrying out criticism and self-criticism and can they overcome the tendencies of laxness, weakness, and liberalism. If we keep on good terms with everyone at the expense of principle, the party's interests will be infringed upon and there will be no genuine party unity. If the problems are not solved by bringing them into the open and carrying out criticism and self-criticism, but are commented on behind people's backs, the spreading of hearsay information will inevitably be rampant. It is extremely dangerous if the chief leading comrades of the party committees, party groups, and various administrative departments refuse to listen to criticisms and are only fond of flattery. This will not only affect the work adversely and be disadvantageous to the party's cause, but will also lead to mistakes in dealing with people and handling affairs. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," many veteran comrades had such experiences. Those who flattered you most were precisely the first to rebel against you during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some even confounded black and white, spread rumors, and made false charges against cadres in an attempt to overthrow and pin them down. Let this be a lesson in judging cadres!

4. Correctly handle the relationship between democracy and centralism.

Democratic centralism is an indivisible whole. There would be no correct centralism but only arbitrary decisions made by individuals or a minority of people if we stressed centralism regardless of democracy. Contrariwise, if we stress democracy regardless of centralism, our party would be in a state of disunity. It would then be out of the question for the party to seek unity of thought, action, and organization. The party would have no fighting capacity and would fail to become the core in leading the masses of people in carrying out revolution and construction. There are some comrades who are only aware of the lack of democracy within certain organizations of the party, but are not aware of those who refuse to implement the party's decisions and who indulge in decentralism, selfish departmentalism, factionalism, and anarchism. This is a one-sided viewpoint. Therefore, while overcoming the mistakes of making arbitrary decisions, we must also at the same time eliminate the pernicious influence of anarchism. Only by combating these erroneous tendencies and correctly implementing democratic centralism can we, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, bring about a vivid and lively political situation of stability and unity throughout the party and nation in which the broad masses of party members and people have ease of mind, and can we rely on the initiative of the vast numbers of cadres, party members, and masses in successfully carrying out the great cause of socialist modernization.

The powerful and centralized correct leadership of the party is of great significance to the development of democracy within the party. Imagine, how could we seek unity of action of the whole party without the ideological, political, and organizational line formulated by the CPC National Congress and the CPC Central Committee and without the discipline of the entire membership's being subordinated to the CPC Central Committee? All localities and departments have the right to take measures that suit local conditions. The nationality autonomous regions enjoy greater rights of autonomy within their regions. However, they must not deviate from or run counter to the unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee and must keep in political unity with the CPC Central Committee. This is an extremely important guarantee for us to successfully build socialism with distinctive Chinese features. In party activities, it would be impossible to practice democracy without centralism. Take the election of delegates to the CPC National Congress for example. If the CPC Central Committee had not proceeded from the needs of developing socialist modernization, strengthening party unity, and convening well the CPC National Congress, and had not laid down the conditions for the distribution of delegates according to the number of party members in different localities, and of different nationalities, professions, age, and sexes, how then could we select the delegates well? Take also the election of the party's leading organ at the delegate meeting of a certain level for example. Without the guidance of the leading organ at the higher level and the correct leadership of the presidium, how can we ensure that the comrades who have both ability and political integrity and who are loyal to the party's ideological and political line are elected to hold leading posts? We have already seen the following cases: Those good comrades who have both ability and political integrity and who dare to adhere to principle and fight against erroneous tendencies have failed in elections, whereas those so-called "benign and uncontentious people" who do not strive for progress and who are worldly-wise and play safe have got most votes. A small number of people who still indulge in factional activities have unexpectedly got a lot of votes and even usurped the party's leading power (the case of Feixiang County, Hebei Province is a living example) by utilizing their factional forces, contacting one another in secret, lauding themselves, and slandering others. This fully shows that centralized guidance is absolutely important. The leading organs at the higher levels should not let the party organizations at the lower levels do as they like in carrying out elections. Naturally, the elections should be carried out democratically according to Article 11 of the party constitution. The method of appointment of candidates by the higher levels in advance and of nomination of candidates equal to the number of deputies to be elected should also be changed.

In the decision on party rectification, the CPC Central Committee has set strict demands on the leading cadres of the party at various levels. We must constantly raise our consciousness, resolutely act according to the party constitution, conscientiously implement democratic centralism, ensure the smooth progress of party rectification, and, through party rectification, further strengthen democratic centralism, effect a fundamental turn for the better in party style as quickly as possible, and give full play to the leading role of our party in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

STRIVE TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST LEGAL SYSTEM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 8-12, 18

[Article by Xiang Chunyi [7309 8642 0001], Yang Jingyu [2799 2529 1342] and Gu Angren [7357 2491 3544]]

[Text] A socialist constitution with Chinese characteristics has already been produced. With this constitution as guidance, we have summed up the practical experiences of legislative work since the founding of the People's Republic of China, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and striven to establish a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics, so as to further strengthen the socialist legal system, develop socialist democracy, and guarantee the smooth progress of socialist modernization. This is the requirement of history, and the demand of the people.

In a class society, only after obtaining political power can the ruling class, by means of the form of law, transform the will of its own class into the will of the country, and rely on the coercive force of the state to safeguard its own class interests. Since the founding of the PRC, particularly since the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in 1956, and in the wake of the shift of focus in the work of the whole country, we should strive to strengthen the socialist legal system, and step by step establish a socialist legal system of our own. As a matter of fact, we had for a time also made efforts and attempts in this direction, but because we did not persistently and steadfastly persevere, some basic laws had still not been drafted and developed into a stable socialist system until several years ago. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been a great development in legislative work. From 1979 to 1982, the National People's Congress and the NPC Standing Committee passed a number of laws, including the Criminal Law, the Law of Criminal Procedure, the Law of Civil Procedure (tentative), the Marriage Law, and the Economic Contract Law as well as several basic laws related to state organs, which have become important components of the Civil Law. The drawing up of the new constitution indicates that our socialist legal system has entered a new phase, and that we already have a good beginning as well as a correct orientation for establishing a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics.

Law belongs to the superstructure, and in the final analysis, it is determined by the economic foundation and is also in its service. A socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics can only be produced in the practice of an established socialist society with Chinese characteristics, and moreover, step by step developed and improved. With the development in society, and the development in productive forces and relations of production, law must also develop. Legislation cannot but take into consideration the system evolved by the development of law itself, and cannot but pay attention to all sides. It cannot contradict itself. Each legal system has its own logic which cannot be violated. However, the logic of this kind of legal system stems from social practice, and if the legislation of our country becomes separated from the actual conditions of our country, and subjectively and one-sidedly seeks some other kind of complete system, it is bound to fail. In other words, the legislative work of our country must take after the current revision of the constitution, realistically proceed from the actual conditions of our country, and must not proceed from books and concepts, or indiscriminately copy from foreign laws.

What are the actual conditions of our country? Here we will only discuss several main points we must always take into consideration in legislative work:

1. China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class, and is based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The socialist system is the basic system of our country, and the exploiting system has already been abolished. The exploiting class has already been eliminated as such. However, within certain limits, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time, and bourgeois ideological influence is still seriously contaminating the minds of some people.
2. China has rich natural resources and great economic potential, but to date, it is economically and culturally still very backward in comparison with modern developed countries.
3. China is a unitary multinational country with a total of 56 nationalities, of which the Han nationality accounts for the overwhelming majority of the population.
4. China is a vast and populous country, extending from the northeast to the southwest and from the coastal to the border areas, and various regions have very unbalanced economic, political, and cultural development, as well as enormous differences in customs and habits.
5. China is one of the countries of the world with the longest history of civilization. The splendid Chinese national culture has continued without a break for several thousand years, and this is a rare thing in the world. The Chinese are an industrious, intelligent, and courageous people with glorious revolutionary traditions. At the same time, China also lacks the concepts of democracy and a legal system due to the historical tradition of several thousand years of feudal rule. The influence of the vestiges of feudalism is fairly stubborn, and many of the social defects at present are tinged with the color of feudalism.

These actual conditions in China have been reflected in the constitution, and they are also the point of departure for our legislation in the future.

Through the practice of legislative work in recent years, particularly the current revision of the constitution, we have learned from experience that in order to proceed from actual conditions in China and establish a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics, we must clarify the following problems in guiding ideology:

1. Thoroughly sum up the experiences of establishing a socialist legal system, and in the light of actual conditions in China, establish and develop socialist jurisprudence theories for guiding legislative practice.

Legislation cannot be without theories. Without jurisprudence theories, it will be impossible to completely and essentially grasp the internal law established in the legal system, or to solve various legal problems of a universal and common nature, and it will also be difficult to avoid blindness, occasional deviation, vacillation, and internal contradictions in legislative work.

The stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought have provided us with a weapon, and indicated to us the orientation for setting up socialist jurisprudence theories. However, it is impossible to have ready-made answers to all kinds of actual problems that constantly emerge in establishing a socialist legal system. For the sake of developing socialist jurisprudence theories, we definitely cannot be bogged down in the concepts and theories advanced by bourgeois jurisprudence theories, become separated from our legislation, judicature, and the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, and carry out abstract study and discussion. Theories come from practice. Theories that are scientifically formed and thorough, and not subjectively concocted and crude, can only be summed up from historical practice as well as actual practice. Here, the important thing is adhering to the viewpoint of historical materialism, and to the style of study of integrating theory with practice. We must conscientiously and thoroughly sum up both the positive as well as negative practical experiences in the establishing of our legal system, pay attention in particular to the study of new conditions and problems appearing in the new period, and sum up the law governing the development of law in socialist society.

As a branch of social sciences, jurisprudence theories have a vivid class character. Some are bourgeois legal principles based on the capitalist economic system, and they safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie. Some are socialist legal principles based on the socialist economic system, and they safeguard the interests of the people. While taking the socialist theory of law as a guide, we should make concrete and scientific analysis of the bourgeois theory of law formulated by the capitalists during the period when capitalism was prevailing over feudalism, and critically absorb or use as reference what is rational. The people's congress system in China was instituted under the guidance of the socialist theory of law, in line

with China's actual conditions, and on the basis of studying comparable systems in other countries. Facts have proved that the people's congress system is superior to the system based on the capitalist theory of dividing power among the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative branches. The principle of "taking the facts as the basis and the law as the criterion" in jurisdiction stipulated in China's Law of Criminal Procedure, which was formulated by summing up China's practical experiences, has also proved to be correct in long practice. It is not only different from the "presumption of guilt" in feudal society, but it is also different from the "presumption of innocence" in bourgeois society.

The creation and development of socialist jurisprudence theories cannot be separated from the development of democracy. In theoretical and academic matters, we must practice the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Only by means of the full discussion of different views can our understanding gradually come into contact with the truth. In contrast, the crude suppression of different views will result in a "pool of stagnant water." Unanimity on the surface often covers up actual differences, and this will only jeopardize the forward development of jurisprudence theories. The "let a hundred schools of thought contend" in jurisprudence study and legislative process is different in category from upholding a dignity of the law and carrying out work in strict accordance with the law. Once a law has been passed, it must be enforced. Different views should be lodged or internally discussed by means of organizational channels, and we cannot openly attack the law, or instigate breaking the law and not enforcing the law. The interpretation of the law must take the legislative interpretation of legislative organs and the applicable legal instructions of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, and the Supreme People's Procuratorate, as criteria. Inquiries of an academic nature and classroom teachings have no legal effect, and we cannot ask the judicial work personnel to comply with them. Problems in jurisprudence theory may be debated. By means of the debate, who is right or wrong must still ultimately depend on the outcome of examination in social practice. As long as our jurisprudence workers adopt this scientific attitude, their understanding of problems in jurisprudence theory will gradually attain the truth, and the orientation of legislative work will also become more explicit.

2. Law is generally speaking the summing up of experiences in social practice, and what it affirms is established fact, but at the same time, it also does not rule out scientific prediction, and makes concrete stipulations of a programmatic nature or still without practical experience in reality. In mainly protecting rational things existing in reality, law must at the same time also promote the development of things in conformity with the law.

Law is based on the will of the ruling class. It stabilizes the existing policies, rules, and regulations beneficial to the ruling class, and protects them with the coercive force of the state. In China, it is founded on the basic interests as well as the common will of 1 billion people, and it affirms and stabilizes in legal form things which contribute to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the prosperity and

development of the country, and the wellbeing and happiness of the people. Therefore, law must have maximum authority, and besides relying on the coercive force of the state, this kind of authority must above all be based on the maturity and stability of the law itself. If the law itself has not passed through social practice, and is an immature thing hastily drawn up, it will not work in practice. If this kind of situation occurs, the only solution is to amend the law. If the law is amended too frequently, and "an order issued in the morning is rescinded in the evening," this would inevitably affect the stability of the law, cause people to lose confidence, and increase uncertainty and wavering in implementation. The correct attitude should be to proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, and not only actively, but also cautiously strengthen legislative work in a planned and measured manner according to actual needs and possibility, so that our law will gradually become more perfect along with the maturity of practical experience, and will also maintain its stability and solemnity.

Among practical experiences, including those of the nation and the world, actual and historical, the most important is the actual practical experience of the nation. Relatively speaking, law should be stable over a long period of time, but actual reality is always developing and changing, and is not fixed and unchanged. If workers in law are not clear-headed in legislative work, they will unconsciously lag behind the new reality, and their thinking will become conventional and ossified. Particularly under the situation of the reform of the organizational structure and the economic system which the party and the state are carrying out, our workers in legislative work should understand this point even more consciously, pay attention to seeking truth from facts, and study the new conditions and problems, so that our law will not only be stable, but will also keep on developing and improving along with the changes in the development of objective reality.

Since generally speaking law is the summing up of the practical experiences in our own country, then, does this mean to say that things which do not exist in actual life, and which have not been tested in the social practice of our own country, cannot become legal provisions? Of course we cannot make such a mechanical interpretation. Facts are not like this. There are many stipulations in the new constitution that are not the simple affirming of established facts, and there are also some basic policies in the general program which remain to be gradually realized through our efforts. Take specific laws for example--the Chinese and foreign Joint Venture Law is a notable case. During the formulation of this law, there was still no stipulation in law for this kind of Chinese and foreign joint venture in our actual life. Actually, each new law cannot be completely confined to only making stipulations for the mature experiences already directly tested in the social practice of our own country, but will invariably have more or less some stipulations related to actual reform, development, or creation.

However, all of these laws or certain of their stipulations which have still not been directly tested in the social practice of our people, are based on the social practice of our country as well as the objective needs

of the people, and they are not divorced from reality or subjectively visualized. Although they are not based on direct practical experience, most of them are still derived by means of summing up relevant positive or negative experiences, and this includes drawing on historical and international experiences as well as indirect experiences.

In short, law stems from social practice, and is in the service of social practice. Social practice is the "mother" of law. Legislative work must proceed from reality, and seek truth from facts.

3. Study, and draw on historical as well as foreign experiences.

Legislation cannot cut off history, because China today is a product of China yesterday and the day before yesterday. At the same time, we cannot disregard foreign countries, because as a result of the development of human society to modern times, contacts between various countries have become more and more frequent, and ties have become closer and closer. There are many things in the world which cannot be taken separately.

Since time immemorial, the cultural achievements created by mankind are the common spiritual wealth of humanity. Taking law as an example, this kind of wealth is equally abundant. There are many Chinese laws handed down through the ages, among which the laws of Tang and Ming are extremely rich in content. Since time immemorial, there have also been many laws in foreign countries, and the modern capitalist laws in particular are rather complete. Moreover, as a result of daily increasing international contacts, many international public laws as well as private laws have gradually taken shape. We should critically study all these laws, regardless of whether they belong to ancient times or to foreign countries, and regardless of whether they belong to slave owners, feudal lords, or capitalists, and discarding the dross and selecting the essential, draw on the useful and beneficial things which conform to our actual conditions, and are suited to our actual need.

In recent years, this is what we have done in legislative work. Here are two kinds of conditions:

The first is purely in the nature of using for reference. For example, in the drafting of the Civil Law, we must pay special attention to the customs and habits formed over the years reflected in the history of our country. The principle of the measurement of penalty for the crime of making false accusation in the Criminal Law has also used the principle of "sentencing the accuser to the punishment facing the person he falsely accused," which existed in the Chinese law of past ages, for reference, and it goes without saying that basic changes have also been made in its character and content.

Second is studying carefully and making corresponding stipulations, otherwise, our laws will not be able to keep in step with actual need. Laws involving foreign countries, such as the Chinese and foreign joint venture law, several stipulations regarding taxable items and tax rates in tax laws involving foreign nationals, stipulations directed at cases involving

foreign nationals in the Civil Procedure Law (tentative), and the Maritime Environmental Protection Law, have all been drawn up in this way. If we did not use the laws and stipulations of foreign countries for reference in the drawing up of these laws, and did not study international public laws as well as private laws, but carried out legislation behind closed doors, these laws would definitely not work, and we would suffer.

4. Take the highest interest of the maximum number of people as the criterion, bear in mind the overall situation, and make unified planning by taking all factors into consideration.

Law invariably will directly and closely interfere with and affect people's rights and interests. Therefore, in the legislative process, all kinds of contradictions related to law, such as contradictions between the state, the individual, and the collective, contradictions between immediate interests and long-term interests, and between partial interests and overall interests, contradictions between the central authorities and the localities, and contradictions between the nationalities, objectively exist, and will inevitably be exposed.

In this socialist country of ours, the aforementioned contradictions are basically produced on the basis of unanimity with the basic interests of the people. Practical experience has demonstrated that contradictions that are fully exposed can be correctly solved. For the sake of properly solving these contradictions, we must make thoroughgoing investigations and study, and extensively solicit the views of experts and theoretical workers, but we must also listen to the views of the comrades engaged in actual work. We must not only listen to the views of law enforcement departments, but we must also listen to the views of the people. We must not only listen to the views of the central departments responsible for the work, but we must also listen to the views of the standing committees of local people's congresses representing various sectors, and in particular, we must welcome as well as listen to differing views. In this process, we must discover problems, accurately take hold of problems, draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas, look thoroughly and further ahead, take the highest interest of the maximum number of people as the criterion, and on the basis of fully bringing democracy into play, centralize the correct views, and eventually develop a law more consistent with reality. This kind of law can naturally play a "stabilizing" role. In this respect, the determining of marriage age in the Marriage Law is an example. At the outset, there was quite a bit of controversy in this respect. For the sake of solving this problem, we put in a great deal of work. We not only took into consideration the need to carry out family planning in our country, but we also used the legal marriage age in foreign countries as reference. We not only listened to the views of the experts and the departments responsible for the work, but we also extensively listened to the views of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, and women. We not only took into consideration the physiological characteristics of the young people, but we also took into account the immediate and long-term interests of the urban and rural areas. Practice has proved that the legal marriage age finally determined is quite appropriate.

5. Correctly handle the principled nature as well as the flexibility of legislative work. The general principles and rules in law must be clear and explicit, and at the same time, it is also necessary to leave some leeway.

Law is the drawing up of rules on the focus of contradictions, and strict enforcement of orders and prohibitions on what is allowed, what is not allowed, what to protect, and what to punish, must be implemented throughout the country. Therefore, it must be explicit. At the same time, we must also take into consideration the actual condition that the situation throughout the country is complex and volatile, and that the development of various places is very uneven. There must also be flexibility, so that the law can be applicable in practice and easy to implement. We must correctly and appropriately combine principled nature with flexibility, and this is in itself a Marxist principle. If we lacked flexibility, principles often would not work. If we did not leave some leeway, it would also be difficult to universally apply them throughout the country.

The new constitution has affirmed the four basic principles with the form of the fundamental law of the state. This is the common political foundation for the unity and progress of people of various nationalities throughout the country, and also the basic guarantee for the cause of socialist modernization. This is the general guiding ideology of the constitution, and also the general guiding ideology for all our laws. On this important issue of principle, there definitely cannot be any ambiguity or vacillation. Does adhering to the four basic principles mean getting rid of flexibility? No, it does not. Judging from the constitution, China is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship, and the socialist system is the basic system of our country. At the same time, "the state may, where necessary, establish special administrative regions. The rules and regulations in force in special administrative regions shall be stipulated by law according to special conditions." This shows that according to the legal provisions, the system practiced in different regions may be totally different to the system in force throughout the country.

In recent years, we have been doing this not only in the constitution, but also in legislative practice.

First, the law itself contains the stipulation for flexibility. For example, the Criminal Law has made explicit stipulations for measuring the penalty for each crime. These stipulations have a greater degree of flexibility than those of other countries. This is because they are based on the actual conditions of our country, and therefore they can more properly adapt to changes in the situation as well as different circumstances of the crime.

Second, law only stipulates the principles and rules universally applicable throughout the country. At the same time, it stipulates letting the localities or administrative departments in charge make special stipulations and supplementary stipulations based on actual conditions, and allows the nationality autonomous regions to also make flexible stipulations.

Third, explicit stipulations have already been made in law, but it is difficult to carry them out within a specified period because conditions are not ripe. By means of legislative procedure, we may make a separate decision to flexibly carry them out within the specified period.

Principled nature and flexibility are not subjective products. They are the reflection of objective reality, and take the highest interest of the maximum number of people as the criterion. Of course, the kind of problem, the degree of flexibility, and the process of legislative procedure, can only be prescribed by law. They cannot be decided by the various localities and departments as they think fit. Otherwise, principle will become meaningless, and law will also become a mere formality.

6. The legal system must not be too complex or too simple, and all laws must be concise and comprehensive. At present, the whole party and the whole country are attaching greater importance to the establishment of a socialist legal system than at any time in the past, and the enthusiasm of various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, as well as various ministries and commissions of the State Council, in drafting statutes, laws, and regulations, is very high. They are drafting and preparing to draft many statutes, laws, and regulations. This is a good thing. At the same time, this also poses a problem: What, actually, should be legislated into law, what should not be legislated into law, what should be legislated first, what should be legislated later, and what should be regarded as not too complex and not too simple. This problem must be given full consideration based on needs and possibility.

Experiences and lessons have made clear: The method of a "Buddhist monk opening an umbrella," hoping to defy laws both human and divine, is detrimental to the socialist cause, and definitely will not work. The main task before us at present remains that the legal system is still not complete and sound, and we must further strengthen the legal system and continue to draw up some basic laws. At the same time, laws are not omnipotent, and it is not a case of the more laws the better. Not all problems can be solved by relying on law. To have too many and too complicated laws will also produce an opposite effect. Some major capitalist countries in the West are already crying out in alarm that their laws are "numerous as buffalo hairs," and have become a "legal maze." Not only are the people baffled, but the judges and lawyers also have headaches. In the process of establishing a socialist legal system of our own, we should be forewarned by the lessons in this respect, and avoid landing in the same predicament.

Furthermore, in China the people are the masters of the state and the society, and all laws are mastered, observed, and safeguarded by the people. It is not like in the capitalist countries where judges and lawyers run everything in litigations. Therefore, all our laws must not be too complex or too simple. They must be explicit, concise, and understandable, so that the people and personnel concerned can read, understand, and apply them. Of course, laws that are too simple will lack the restraining force they should have, and this also will not do. How can we prevent the laws being too complex or too simple?

(1) Define the problems mainly to be solved by law as those which must rely on the coercive force of the state to be solved. Such contents as administrative management, work planning, work methods, plans and funds, moral norms, propaganda and education, which go beyond the bounds of legal regulation, are not problems the law must solve, and it is generally inadvisable to write them into legislation.

(2) Laws should only be for the solution of vital issues of principle, and we must draw a clear line of demarcation between general rules. As for details and problems in the course of concrete implementation, we must still carry out the detailed rules and regulations worked out by the administrative organs of the state as well as the local government organs in accordance with the law.

(3) Pay attention to the thoroughness of the logic of the legal system as well as the laws themselves, and to the simplicity and accuracy of the language.

Establishing a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics is an important and arduous project. It requires the making of gigantic efforts, and a fairly long time. It is definitely not something that can be accomplished overnight, nor a goal that can be reached in one step. However, this accords with the will of the people and the trend of the general situation, and is imperative under the circumstances. Under the correct leadership of the Chinese CPC Committee, we will certainly be able to fulfill this glorious task entrusted to us by history and the people.

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PARTY SPIRIT IS THE SOUL OF JOURNALISM--READING THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG ON JOURNALISM'

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[Article by Zhong Peizhang [6988 3099 3864]]

[Text]

I

The publication of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" is a great event which merits our celebration. These works have a far-reaching significance for us in inheriting and developing the good tradition of the CPC in journalism, correctly summing up positive and negative experiences, eliminating spiritual pollution in journalism, training the growing ranks of journalists, and further creating a new situation in news reporting.

In the protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Mao Zedong was not only a great leader of the people of various nationalities in China, but also a great fighter in the journalism front. He was an outstanding pioneer, organizer, and leader of proletarian journalism in China. From the time he first took part in revolution in his youth, he always regarded newspapers and magazines as representing a sharp weapon in revolutionary struggles. Long before he became a Marxist, he was active in leading the publication of XIANGJIANG PINGLUN [XIANGJIANG JOURNAL], XIN HUNAN [NEW HUNAN] and HUNAN TONGSU BAO [HUNAN POPULAR DAILY]. And following the founding of the PRC, he wrote a number of articles for party organs XIANGDAO [GUIDANCE] and QIANFENG [VANGUARD]. He personally set up the monthly XIN SHEDAI [NEW ERA] and he was chief editor of ZHENGZHI ZHOUBAO [POLITICAL WEEKLY]. Situations were developing following the outbreak of the war against Japanese aggression and Comrade Mao Zedong paid even more attention to the leadership over the work of publishing newspapers and magazines. He wrote introductions for the publications BALUJUN JUNZHENG ZHAZHI [MILITARY AND POLITICAL JOURNAL OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY], ZHONGGUO GONGREN [CHINESE WORKERS], and JIEFANG RIBAO [LIBERATION DAILY]. During the party rectification campaign in Yanan in particular, he led the work of reforming party organs to free them from bourgeois journalism viewpoints and the influence and bondage of old newspapers and magazines and from the features and tradition of the party organ of the proletariat in China. In April 1948, Comrade Mao Zedong made his famous speech to the editors of JINSUI RIBAO [SHANXI-SUIYUAN DAILY], a speech which represented a theoretical and systematic summary of these

features and tradition. And in the process of the socialist revolution and construction following the founding of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong made a series of expositions on journalism and consequently he further developed the theory for journalism work of the proletariat. At the same time, he wrote a number of commentaries and news reports with Chinese features, and these articles have become examples in news reporting. He had tremendous and profound influence over the guiding ideology and style of writing in journalism in China. It can be said that a number of journalists during the war against Japanese aggression, the war of liberation, and after liberation were trained under the guidance and influence of the journalistic theory of Comrade Mao Zedong. But such a rich theory and practice of Comrade Mao Zedong have previously never been sorted out and studied in a systematic way. A number of our comrades have never read many of his important speeches and directives about journalism work. The "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" that recently have been compiled and published included the three parts of exposition, works, and corrected scripts, all published for the first time. These works have for the first time systematically reflected Comrade Mao Zedong's journalism theory and practice and they also represent a summary of the experiences of the CPC in journalism work over the past decades. The "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" are invaluable for both veteran and young journalists.

Comrade Mao Zedong's journalism theory is very rich in contents. It includes the nature, tasks, and roles of proletarian journalism; persistence in the principle of party spirit in proletarian journalism; proceed from reality and speak the truth; keep close ties with and reflect the opinions of the masses; the management of newspapers by the whole party and the masses; criticism and self-criticism in newspapers and leadership by CPC committees over newspapers and magazines; Chinese style and features; and the building of the ranks of journalists and CPC committee leadership over newspapers and magazines. The first and most important principle in Comrade Mao Zedong's journalism theory is the principle of party spirit. Lenin pointed out that one of the basic principles of the Bolshevik in the work of newspapers and magazines is to disseminate the party spirit of the proletariat. Basing himself on the practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched and developed the party spirit and principle in journalism work. It is necessary to particularly point out here that in 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong carried out the reform of party organs. The "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" have carried valuable related articles in this aspect.

Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the whole party launched a rectification campaign in 1942 to oppose subjectivism, factionalism, and stereotyped party writing. This campaign was in fact a great political movement to reform the work style of the whole party as well as a far-reaching movement to popularize Marxism. In February of the same year, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered the famous speeches "Rectifying the Party Work Style" and "Opposing Stereotyped Party Writing." In January of the same year, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee passed this resolution: "Agreeing with Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal that in the future, JIEFANG RIBAO must implement party lines and policies through editorials, special articles, news, broadcasts, and in wording, it is

imperative to resolutely eliminate the stereotyped party writing." But JIEFANG RIBAO did not do so. Nor did it pay due attention to such a big event as the rectification campaign. It carried a report on the event in a secondary place and devoted major columns to the news from foreign news agencies. Thus, as a party organ, JIEFANG RIBAO consequently was divorced from the major work of the party and failed to disseminate the ideology and work of the party well, and therefore it could in no way be termed as a perfect party organ. This situation drew the serious attention of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, who consequently put forth the task of reforming party organs. On 16 March, the Ministry of Propaganda under the CPC Central Committee issued a notice on reforming party organs. It demanded a "check and reform of newspapers on the basis of Comrade Mao Zedong's call for rectifying the style of party writing." The notice said: "The main tasks of newspapers are to disseminate and implement party policies and reflect party work and the life of the masses so as to become true party organs." On 30 March, leading comrades from the various departments in Yanan took part in the discussion of reforming the columns of JIEFANG RIBAO. Comrade Mao Zedong made a speech at the end of the discussion. That same month, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his telegram to Comrade Zhou Enlai: "A discussion has been held as to how to improve JIEFANG RIBAO so that it will be able to strengthen party spirit and reflect the views of the masses. XINHUA RIBAO [NEW CHINA DAILY] also has made improvement." On 1 April, JIEFANG RIBAO carried an editorial, entitled "To Readers." The editorial said: "JIEFANG RIBAO will be turned into a truly military party organ" and "all the columns will implement party line and reflect the situations of the masses. JIEFANG RIBAO will strengthen ideological struggles and contribute its share to promoting party work. In this way, our newspaper will be able to reflect party spirit and the situations of the masses with combat readiness and organizational nature!" Later, JIEFANG RIBAO constantly carried five editorials, including "The Party and Party Newspapers." Following the directives of Comrade Mao Zedong, these editorials systematically expounded the principle of party spirit and the basic viewpoints of proletarian journalism. On 15 September, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote happily in his letter to Comrade He Kaifeng: "As progress has been made in the work of the newspaper offices, it is hoped that imperfect party organs will become true party organs."

At the same time, Comrade Mao Zedong based himself on the experience of reforming JIEFANG RIBAO to guide the newspapers, magazines, and news agencies in revolutionary base areas across the country. In September and October of the same year, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted three telegrams for the CPC Central Committee. In the telegram to Comrade Chen Yi, he said: "Will you please strengthen your guidance over the newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Jiangsu Province so that their propaganda work will be subordinated with the present party policies." The telegram sent to the bureaus and subbureaus of the CPC Central Committee said: "Change the previous habit of not discussing the policy of journalism and editorial principles and step up leadership over news agencies and newspapers so that the propaganda carried out by news agencies and newspapers will totally accord with party policies, while our propaganda will have stronger party spirit. It is imperative to educate our propagandists with the many

documents issued by JIEFANG RIBAO on how to enable newspapers to strengthen their party spirit and how to help propagandists overcome their mistakes of seeking independence." The telegram to Lin Feng, secretary of the Shanxi-Suiyuan subbureau, said: "Subbureaus must always pay attention to and grasp journalism policy and editorial principle of all news agencies and newspapers so that our propaganda will accord with party policy." These directives helped in unifying propaganda work across the country and strengthening party spirit and combat readiness of journalism propaganda and became a tremendous motive force for the ideological building and organizational building of the ranks of journalists in all base areas.

II

In 1941, the CPC Central Committee made a decision on strengthening party spirit and said that in order to enable the whole party to have a unified will, unified action, and unified discipline, it was imperative to step up the political, organizational, and ideological training of party spirit. Through the rectification campaign and reforms of party organs, Comrade Mao Zedong considerably enriched the contents of party spirit in journalism propaganda. The study of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" will help us understand the principle of party spirit in proletarian journalism, including the following four basic requirements:

First, party stand is consistent with the people's stand.

Comrade Mao Zedong began his speech at a discussion on reforming the columns of JIEFANG RIBAO with these words: "The line of the Communist Party is the line of the people. The present party policy of the national united front against Japanese aggression is a policy that is in line with the will of the people." Comrade Mao Zedong later elaborated this basic requirement of the party spirit on a number of occasions.

In his speech at the Yanan forum on literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the party, and keeping to party spirit and party policy."

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in "On Coalition Government": "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interest of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the party."

Later, in his talks with editors of JINSUI RIBAO, Comrade Mao Zedong made a further summary. He said: "The basic principle of Marxism is to make the masses understand their own interests and unite and struggle for these interests. The roles and strength of newspapers lie in the fact that they are able to publicize the party program, line, principles, policies, tasks, and work methods rapidly and in a widespread manner among the masses."

Second, unconditionally propagate the line and policies of the CPC Central Committee.

In 1941, the CPC Central Committee decided to merge XIN ZHONGHUA BAO [NEW CHINA DAILY] with JINRI XINWEN [TODAY NEWS] and publish JIEFANG RIBAO and improve the work of NCNA. The announcement of the Central Committee that was drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong said: "All party policies will be announced throughout the country by JIEFANG RIBAO and NCNA." And a further stipulation was made in the 1942 notice reforming party newspapers that: "The principal tasks of newspapers are to promote and implement party policies and reflect party work and the life of the masses." It was then a wartime period and various revolutionary base areas were isolated from each other. Consequently, newspapers and magazines and news agencies in various places often were not consistent with the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee. Under this condition, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted a number of telegrams to pinpoint the necessity of overcoming the tendency of propagandists in seeking independence and to regard this work as a basic requirement in strengthening the party spirit in propaganda work of newspapers and magazines. The whole country was about to be liberated in 1948 and therefore it was more pressing and important that the propaganda of all party organs be in political accord with the CPC Central Committee. And when Comrade Mao Zedong was drafting the decision of the CPC Central Committee on the system of asking for instructions beforehand and submitting reports afterwards, he particularly added this very important paragraph: "The party organs in various places must unconditionally disseminate the line and policies of the CPC Central Committee and, in carrying out the dissemination, they can in no way put the CPC Central Committee in the same category with the organizations that are implementing the line, policies, and tasks of the CPC Central Committee (these organizations refers to various bureaus and subbureaus, the sub-military commissions, and the former military commission, of the CPC Central Committee)." Such defining guaranteed that the principle of democratic centralism would be implemented in the propaganda front to strengthen the sense of organization and discipline. As a result, the propaganda by party organs and news agencies was turned into a tremendous strength to disseminate the party line and policies rapidly and widely across the country. These organs displayed an important role in the victory of the revolution and the seizure of political power across the country.

Third, seek truth from facts and speak and disseminate truth.

Lenin pointed out that materialism itself includes party spirit. Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist party. This scientific world outlook must be implemented in various aspects in the process of understanding and transforming the world, therefore it is only natural that it must also be implemented in all practices of our journalism work. The opposite of dialectical materialism is subjectivism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the method of subjectivism, which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, is the big enemy of communists and people as well as a manifestation of an impurity of the party spirit. He said: "The truth of Marxism-Leninism can come to the fore, the party spirit can be consolidated, and the revolution

will win only when subjectivism has been eliminated. We must say that without a scientific attitude, that is, without the attitude of unifying Marxist-Leninist theory with practice, there would be no party spirit or the party spirit would be imperfect." In journalism work, this means that we must pay attention to study and investigations, report reality to the people, seek truth from facts, and speak the truth. That is, we must regard truthfulness in journalism as a basic principle for proletarian journalism. The speech by Comrade Mao Zedong, "Speak the Truth, No Falsehoods, No Pretension, and No Bragging," that was for the first time publicized and, included in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism" represents an important Marxist document that must be ardently read by all reporters. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly warned us: "In the final analysis, those who are honest and dare to tell the truth are working in the interest of the people's cause and they themselves will not suffer a loss. Those who like to tell a lie will harm the people and themselves and they will always suffer losses."

In order to be able to seek truth from facts, it is imperative to carry out study and investigations and go among the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote this inscription for JIEFANG RIBAO: "Go deep among the masses and do not talk empty words." This should be the motto for all journalists.

Fourth, take a clear-cut stand and persist in active ideological struggles.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must uphold truth and truth must have a clear-cut stand. We communists have always regarded it a disgrace to conceal our viewpoints. The newspapers run by our party and all the propaganda work carried out by the party must be lively and must have a clear-cut stand, without even a slight hesitation. This is the combat style of us revolutionary proletariats." Clear-cut stand means daring to disseminate the truth and to fight against all bad tendencies and influences that are in opposition to the party line, principles and policies. Clear-cut stand also means persistence in active ideological struggles and persistence in launching criticism and self-criticism in newspapers. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded the attitude of whether we are able to conscientiously make self-criticism as an apparent criterion for distinguishing the Communist Party from other political parties. In order to guarantee the principle of party spirit in launching criticism in newspapers, Comrade Mao Zedong said that it is imperative for newspapers to implement the principle of "beginning, correctness, and management" in carrying out criticism. That is to say, it is imperative to begin criticism; the criticism must be carried out correctly and in the interest of the people; and party committees must manage the launching of the criticism. This teaching of Comrade Mao Zedong has a direct guiding significance for us today in disseminating the four basic principles with a clear-cut stand and in eliminating spiritual pollution on the journalism front.

The above exposition showed that Comrade Mao Zedong's elaboration of the principle of party spirit is overall and it is aimed at guaranteeing high party political and ideological unity. The new party constitution approved by the 12th CPC National Congress has summed up the positive and negative

historical experiences and lessons and put forth the following basic three requirements that are needed in party building: First, being highly consistent in ideology and politics; second, serving the people wholeheartedly; third, persisting in democratic centralism. These requirements totally accord with the principle of party spirit that should be followed by our journalists.

III

In order to create a new situation overall for the realization of the socialist modernization program, work is now being transformed and our news reporting work must also be reformed. Our journalism has made considerable developments and progress since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but this achievement is still lagging far behind the requirements of the party and people. Our guiding ideology is also still lagging behind in some aspects and the scale of our journalism is also far from meeting the needs of the developing situations. To a certain extent, the level of our propaganda work is still low, the effect is not ideal, and the ranks of young journalists are yet to be trained, while our journalism management has yet to be improved. There is much work to be done. Leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee pointed out that we must grasp the core and soul which are representing the party spirit in journalism work. We must inherit and develop the glorious tradition of the party journalism work, uphold the principle of party spirit in this work, acquaint ourselves with the orientation of the reform of journalism, and create a new situation in journalism work. Because of complicated historical reasons, some comrades do not pay enough attention to the principle of party spirit, and some young journalists still do not really understand the principle of party spirit. In order to uphold the principle of party spirit in journalism work, it is also imperative that we get rid of internal and external interferences. Some problems related to understanding must be resolved through the conscientious study of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism."

The first question is how to correctly sum up the historical experiences and lessons in journalism work. We all know that when the party made mistakes, our news reports also made a number of serious mistakes. Consequently, some comrades have considered that the principle of party spirit is not perfect and that by solely relying on party spirit, they will still make mistakes. Therefore, in order not to make mistakes, they have considered it necessary to have, in addition to party spirit, the nature of the people, and to put these two ideas in the same position. According to this advocacy, it seems that the party only represents leadership and not the interests of the people. This view has in fact distorted the implication of party spirit and put it in conflict with the fact that the party is also representing the people. In fact, it does not mean that party spirit is not perfect; it only means that it is often in our practice that our understanding of the principle of party spirit is not perfect and precise and that this understanding is also lopsided. In the past, we regarded obeying the higher organizations as representing party spirit and we neglected how to reflect the situations of the masses. This situation must be corrected and historical experiences and lessons must be summed up. But this correction

and summing up must be based on overall and precise implementation of the principle of party spirit. We can in no way resort to a sense of responsibility for the people to condition and supplement the principle of party spirit, because if we do so, our understanding of party spirit will become vague. If party journalists do not really understand and uphold party spirit and instead regard themselves as the representatives of the people, they will consequently become inconsistent with the party ideologically and politically and make the mistakes of seeking independence as was criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong. In the final analysis, past mistakes in news reporting stemmed from violating party spirit and not because of the persistence in party spirit. The mistakes made by the party can in no way be corrected by relying on the sense of responsibility for the people, but can only be corrected by relying on the principle of party spirit.

Another question is how to treat the theory of journalism of the Western bourgeoisie. We are now living in an environment that is opened to the outside world for the first time since the founding of the PRC. On the one hand, our news reports will be spread throughout the world so that people in various countries will be able to hear the voices of the Chinese people and the advances made by them, and in this way, we will take our due position in the sharp competition of news reporting in the world. On the other hand, exchanges of journalism between China and other countries are increasing. Therefore, under this condition, the theory and practice of Western journalism no doubt will affect us through various channels. Some comrades said that we must follow the theory of Western journalism. For example, they suggested that the task of journalism should be to provide news and not to engage in propaganda and that we follow the Western mode by introducing "free journalism." Consequently, it will not be necessary to implement the principle of the proletarian party spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In socialist society, newspapers represent a reflection of the socialist economy or the planned economy on the basis of public ownership through the means of journalism. They are different from the newspapers in capitalist countries which are the reflection of anarchism and the reflection of the economy of competition among groups through the means of journalism." Of course, it does in no way mean that it is not necessary for us to acquaint ourselves with the theory and practice of Western journalism. The attitude of Marxism is to pay attention to all creations by mankind but these creations must be subject to one's own test, analysis, and criticism. Therefore, it is imperative that we resort to the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to analyze, criticize, and actively absorb all that is in our interest and eradicate all sorts of spiritual pollution on the basis of our clear-cut stand. It is also a subject in persisting and developing Mao Zedong's theory on journalism under the new historical period to expound the principle of socialist journalism through such analysis and criticism.

Some comrades worried that stressing the importance of the principle of party spirit will give rise to the return of "leftist" ideology and the old road and consequently make the journalism reform fail. Such worry can be eliminated if we are able to precisely understand the principle of party spirit in an overall way. In addition, we will be able to correctly sum up

the experiences and lessons in our journalism work and carry out the journalism reform in a correct orientation only when we are able to correctly understand and uphold the principle of party spirit in the journalism work in an overall way. We must understand that in the past, the "leftist" mistakes in our news reporting were not caused by persistence in the principle of party spirit. And the events during the "Great Cultural Revolution" were merely the products of particular historical conditions, because what was persisted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was not proletarian party spirit but the spirit of a reactionary gang.

But we cannot say that there will not exist contradictions in newspapers between responsibility to the people and responsibility to party leading organs. There may appear a situation in which what is welcomed by the leadership is not welcomed by the masses. This is because, first, the party principles and policies must be subject to constant tests, perfection, and development in practice by the people and the correct understanding and implementation of party principles and policies by the people need a process of dissemination and persuasion. The unification between the responsibility toward party leading organs and toward the people can only be constantly realized through practice. That is why the party stressed the importance of giving consideration to the masses in news reporting. The party has consequently put forth that newspapers, news agencies, and broadcasting and television stations must become the mouthpiece of the party and the people and that they must fully reflect the opinions and demand of the broad masses of people. We must support all the correct opinions and demands of the masses. Correct persuasion and guidance must be given to irrational demands and wrong opinions, coupled with criticism and self-criticism among the masses. In the past, news reports concentrated more effort on reflecting the activities of leaders, with less effort made for reflecting the vigorous creative activities of the masses, and concentrated more effort on reflecting the directives and resolutions of leading organs and less effort on reflecting the opinions and suggestions of the masses. This situation was not in line or was not totally in line with the principle of the party spirit. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this committee put forth the principle of "less dissemination of individuals" and more dissemination of the broad masses of people, and this principle must be conscientiously implemented in our news reporting.

In short, in implementing the principle of party spirit in news reporting, we must guard against two tendencies. One is the "leftist" tendency of solely stressing the importance of being responsible for the central government and neglecting and even departing from the interest and demand of the people. Another tendency is that in opposing stereotyped party writing in news reporting, it is necessary to prevent lopsidedly stressing the importance of protecting people's interests and to prevent putting the question of being the masters of the state in contradiction to party leadership and putting the interest of the people in contradiction to party advocacy. We must closely stand by the people, proceed from reality, be good at understanding the dissemination methods that are welcomed by the masses, rapidly and widely spread party ideology, principles, and policies among

the people, and lead them to spare no effort for their own interest and for the realization of the grander goal set by the 12th CPC National Congress.

Let us make contributions through our own creation in persisting in the principle of party spirit, keeping even closer contact with the masses, sparing no effort in reforming journalism, improving the level of dissemination and creating socialist journalism with Chinese features.

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HOW MARX COMPREHENDED AND APPLIED THE CONCEPT OF HUMANISM

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[Article by Jin Huiming [7246 6540 2494]]

[Text] In the course of the newly emerged bourgeoisie's combating feudalism, the humanistic trend of thought came to the fore. It was initiated during the "Renaissance." It developed during the period of bourgeois revolutions in the 17th and 18th centuries and the United States' "Declaration of Independence" and France's "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" constituted its embodiment of the highest order. In the 1930's, when the British and French bourgeoisie eventually secured their political power in history, the positive role of bourgeois humanism reached its limit. In the 1930's and 1940's, confronted with the task of rising against the feudal and autocratic Prussian system and supernatural theology, the German bourgeoisie, which had its development rather belatedly, once again held high the banner of humanism. However, Germany's particular historical conditions and philosophical environment gave humanism some new characteristics: First, more than ever before it had the abstract nature of philosophy. Second, it was turned into philanthropism. In spite of this, we can underestimate neither the progress made by humanism in German philosophy, its positive role in practice, nor its tremendous impact on the founder of scientific communism.

With Hegel as the starting point and through Feuerbach, Marx' thinking developed "in the direction of historical (and dialectical) materialism."¹ Thus, with the development of, and the changes in his outlook on world, Marx' views on man and humanism were constantly in a state of flux.

Before he criticized Hegel's philosophy of law in the summer of 1843, Marx' thinking was under the influence of Hegel's idealism. At that time, he interpreted human nature as "freedom in general," suggested that "freedom is surely something innate in man" and that "it is the essence of man," and considered "unrestrained rationality" to be the foundation of all states."² Obviously, these were Hegel's idealistic views. However, in that period, Marx did not apply the concept of humanism.

Marx applied the concept of humanism in his explanation of his political and social ideas in 1844 when he "left Hegel for Feuerbach." Feuerbach's

humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] was a special version of bourgeois humanism. What was in common between the two was that both were based on a theory of abstract human nature. The two differed in that the latter gave humanism in the 18th century the flavor of philosophical speculation and turned humanism into a humanistic doctrine [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030]. It had two special characteristics: First, it advocated naturalism and suggested that man is part of nature and that he is the ultimate manifestation of nature. Second, it acknowledged the existence of the ultimate essence of the abstract and immutable man and its alienation. This humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] doctrine emphasized the need to realize the essence of man and suggested that man should be a natural being which conforms to his true essence.

Before the founding of historical materialism, Marx was profoundly influenced by Feuerbach. The influence was twofold. On one hand, Feuerbach's humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] materialism helped Marx discard Hegel's rational man in order to make man the principal object of his studies. In addition, through a study of actual man and his material activities and social relations, it helped Marx "move toward" historical materialism. Closely related to all this was the fact that Marx began to discard his previous views which suggested that freedom is the essence of man and embark on an examination of the "unrestrained human nature"³ in the light of communities of citizens. On the other hand, as a traditional force, Feuerbach's version of humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] also confined the development of Marx' thinking. Feuerbach's humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] views intermingled with the germination of Marx' ingenious outlook on the world. The materialistic concept of history was gradually formed in the course of overcoming Feuerbach's humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] concept of history.

At that time, the influence of Feuerbach's version of humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] on Marx was principally manifested in: First, Marx also held that the ultimate essence of man does exist. He said: "The fundamentals of man are man himself." "Germany's only practical and possible emancipation is the emancipation based on the pronouncement of the theory which suggests that man himself is the ultimate essence of man."⁴ He agreed to Feuerbach's view that "man is the substance and basis of all human activities,"⁵ suggested that the emancipation of man is the elimination of the alienation of the self, and called for the "return of man's world and his relations to man himself."⁶ These views were precisely characteristic of Feuerbach's version of humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030].

Second, Marx expressed his communist view at that time in terms of the concept of "true humanism" he derived from Feuerbach's version of humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030]. The term "humanism"⁷ is employed on six occasions in Marx' works. With the exception of one occasion, where the term is used for explaining the phenomenon of society, the employment of this term on all other occasions is for explaining his communist ideas. Communism, Marx thought, is the realization of the principles of humanism. However, the communist doctrines adopted by such people in the past as

Cabet, Dezamy, and Weitling, were a wholly different matter. "This kind of communism was but a particular expression of the principles of humanism. It had not freed itself from the influence of its own antithesis, namely, the existence of private ownership."⁸ Later, in criticizing vulgar egalitarian communism, again Marx pointed out that this version of communism was but "a form of the expression of the despicable character of private ownership of property."⁹ That means, these past communist doctrines did not consider private ownership to be the alienation of man's self or discarded it. Thus, Marx defined communism as he understood it as the "vehement discarding of the private ownership of property, that is, the alienation of man's self," "the true possession of the essence of man," and "man's return to himself." He said: "This version of communism, as a complete form of naturalism, is equal to humanism and, as a complete form of humanism, it is equal to naturalism."¹⁰ Naturalism and humanism are interlinked by "man." Perfect naturalism should include man, the ultimate manifestation of nature, as part of its content and perfect humanism should facilitate the realization of man's natural self. If the two merge into one and supplement each other, they will become "true humanism." That is the basic character of communism as Marx understood it at that time.

Third, precisely because of this, Marx praised Feuerbach for his "providing socialism with a philosophical basis."¹¹ French communists such as Dezamy and (Guy) Gai Yi [5556 0122] considered French materialism "to be the logical basis of practical humanism and communism."¹² Likewise, Feuerbach's "version of materialism, which was in accord with humanism,"¹³ had provided German communism with a theoretical basis. Engels called this version of communism, which was an inevitable derivation from "local German philosophy," "philosophical communism." In addition, he considered the young Marx to be one of its earliest adherents.¹⁴

Thus, it can be seen that "true humanism" was a particular concept with which Marx explained socialism and communism when he was under the influence of Feuerbach's humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030]. This kind of communism with Feuerbach's humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] as its philosophical basis and with "true humanism" as its banner did help Marx denounce private ownership and condemn the inhumane capitalist system. However, this doctrine was unscientific. It could not properly guide the proletarian movements in practice nor correctly predict the future.

The period from the spring of 1845, when Marx wrote "On Feuerbach's Program," to the time he wrote the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" was one in which he comprehensively formulated the materialistic conception of history. At that time, an important theoretical breakthrough made by Marx was that with the formation of a scientific concept of social production relations, he gained an insight into the substantive relations among various social phenomena, and that, on the basis of this, he brought to light the universal laws governing the development of human society, which are based on the dialectical principle of productive force and production relations. As a result of his own great discoveries, Marx was able to free himself from speculative philosophy and to found his understanding of man, his essence, and communism on perfectly scientific grounds.

What is man? "Man is identical with what and how he produces." In short, "what man is, is dependent on the material conditions under which he carries out production."¹⁵ The essence of man does not consist in "man's self." "It is the sum total of all social relations."¹⁶ The basic things of which the essence of man is composed are neither his natural character nor a combination of his natural character and social character but the social relations between man and his fellow human beings. In elaborating the above views, Marx pointed out: "The sum total of the productive force, funds, and forms of social intercourse (that is production relations--the author), which each individual and each generation inherits as some ready-made things, is the basis of the very things which philosophers visualize as 'substance' and as 'the essence of man.'"¹⁷ If we depart from this "actual basis" and the social relations in which man lives in making general statements about the essence of man, we are then generalizing from the concept of man and making conceptual generalizations. In this case, "man" is "merely another name for concept or idea."¹⁸

This new theoretical stand was followed by radical changes in Marx' understanding of communism. Communism was no longer the humanistic conclusion of "the alienation of man's essence" and "its return." It was an inevitable outcome of the intensification of the contradiction between the productive force and the production relations in capitalist societies. Communism, he pointed out, "does not begin with the search for 'essence,'" rather, "it is the most practical movement to fulfill certain practical purposes by practical means."¹⁹ In addition, he further pointed out: "What we call communism is a practical movement to eliminate the status quo. The conditions for this movement are brought about by the existing preconditions."²⁰ The higher development of productive force and production relations and the proletarian struggles against the bourgeoisie based on it constitute the preconditions for this reality. The philosophical basis of scientific communism can be no other philosophical doctrine than historical materialism. Thus, at that time, Marx no longer called communism "true humanism." He directly called it "practical materialism" or "communism."²¹ He replaced Feuerbach's version of "materialism, which was in accord with humanism," with "practical materialism" or historical materialism and replaced the premature terminology employed in "true humanism" with scientific communist concepts which were in keeping with the contents of communism. This clearly shows that Marx had eventually drawn a clear line of demarcation between scientific communism and the kind of "philosophical communism" which attempted to make reality conform to abstract reason.

In addition, Marx had incisively criticized Feuerbach's idea of "man in the abstract" and Germany's "true socialism" which persistently interpreted socialism and communism in terms of Feuerbach's humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030]. Those "true socialists" advocated that "the essence of man is all there is to it," regarded "man" as the ultimate purpose of history, and suggested that all kinds of actual relations and the development of history were but the unfolding of "man's" self. They raised such slogans as: "It is necessary to realize communism in order to realize humanism" and "communism and socialism will eventually be merged into humanism."²² That means, the truth of socialism and communism consist in

humanism. On the basis of this, they condemned the French socialists for teaching "people" not to be aware of "their own essence" but to be "dependent on crude material things." They criticized the French socialists "because the Frenchmen do not regard Feuerbach's philosophy as the highest guiding principle for their movement." Marx profoundly pointed out: "The Germans... (from an eternal point of view) base their judgment of everything on the essence of man, while foreigners base their observation of everything on the actual circumstances, the people who have an actual existence, and the relations among them. Foreigners think and take action for the sake of their own times, while the Germans think and take action for the sake of eternity."²³ "True humanism" was concerned not with the actual man but with "man"; what it reflected was not the interests of the proletariat but the interests of the essence of man; and what it advocated was not revolutionary enthusiasm but "universal love." They had turned communism into "babble about love."

In the light of the replacement of the study of complex social phenomena with "true socialism," which summed up all actual problems in terms of "man's essence" and his "special characteristics," Marx pointed out: "In this way, all possibility of continuing the discussion will be ruled out."²⁴ "It is much easier to 'vehemently talk about' 'love' and 'subduing oneself' than to study the actual problems and the development of actual relations."²⁵

Marx' criticism showed, on one hand, the fundamental opposition between the materialistic conception of history and Feuerbach's humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] and, on the other hand, that he had thoroughly "criticized" his "former philosophical beliefs" and that he had "completely broken with" traditional ideas.

Marx' principal theoretical commitments after the publication of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" were: First, he summed up the experience of Europe's 1848 revolution and the experience of the Paris Commune in 1874. Second, he worked on "Das Kapital" in order to expound scientific communism in terms of economic theories. In doing all this, Marx never again explained his communist views in terms of the concept of humanism. However, in his first and second drafts of "The Civil War in France," there are two instances of the positive employment of the concept of "humanism." The first case is that he said the Paris Commune would provide reasonable conditions for carrying out class struggle "in the most rational and most humane way." The second is that he said the working class had been "too humane"²⁶ in combat. Thus, it can be seen that although Marx had criticized abstract humanism, he had never indiscriminately discarded the concept of "being humane."

In addition, Marx also touched on humanity and humanism on certain occasions. However, in most cases, he used them to expose the hypocritical character of bourgeois humanism. For example, in criticizing German petit bourgeois democrats such as Hai Yin Cen [3189 0936 1478], who used "humanity" to denounce class struggle, Marx pointed out: "They raise a hue and cry which has a smell of blood and which they take to be humane." "They are merely lackeys of the bourgeoisie."²⁷ On another occasion, Marx

pointed out that "behind the merciful words and sentences" of the "Declaration on Law of the Sea" passed in 1856 during the war between Britain, France, and Turkey on one side and Russia on the other, "there was great inhumanity." "The humane pretexts of the declaration, as well as those religious pretexts of the Holy Alliance, were for the European people to see."²⁸

To sum up, Marx' understanding and the use he made of humanism constituted a developmental process. Marx regarded humanism as an important concept and employed it in an explanation of his version of communism when he was under the influence of Feuerbach because as he attempted to provide communism with "theoretical justification," his scientific world outlook had not been formed. Thus, he could only resort to Feuerbach's humanistic [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] philosophy, the most influential school of philosophy after the disintegration of the Hegelian school. Consequently, contradictions between the concrete contents of his thought and his abstract method of thinking arose. The contradictions were resolved as a result of the formation of his historical materialism. Then, Feuerbach's humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] was no longer the philosophical basis of communism and communism was the inevitable outcome of historical materialism. After that, Marx criticized bourgeois humanism. However, Marx continued to employ the concept of "humanity" as a principle or a method.

In order to adhere to Marx' views, we should criticize bourgeois humanism and propagate and put into practice socialist humanism. Socialist humanism is neither an ideological system, world outlook, nor the basic theory of Marxism. It is a concrete moral or ethical category for regulating interpersonal relations in society under the guidance of Marxism. Thus, in regard to its theoretical basis (historical materialism) and class basis (the proletariat), it has nothing in common with bourgeois humanism. They are diametrically opposite. In theory, socialist humanism is the application and development of Marx' humanistic principles under socialist conditions; in practice, it is a sequel to, and an extension of the revolutionary humanism we practiced in the past. In addition, it is one of the features of the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The correct dissemination and practice of socialist humanism can play a positive role in carrying forward our socialist modernizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 387.
2. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 58, 63, 67, 127.
3. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 144-145.
4. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 9, 15.
5. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 118.

6. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 443.
7. Ibid., Vol 1, p 416; Vol 2, pp 7, 160, 167-168; Vol 42, pp 120, 122.
8. Ibid., Vol 1, p 416.
9. Ibid., Vol 42, p 119.
10. Ibid., Vol 42, p 120.
11. Ibid., Vol 27, p 450.
12. Ibid., Vol 2, pp 167-168.
13. Ibid., Vol 12, p 160.
14. Ibid., Vol 1, pp 591-592.
15. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 25.
16. Ibid., Vol 1, p 18.
17. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 43.
18. Ibid., Vol 3, p 332.
19. Ibid., Vol 3, p 236.
20. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 40.
21. Ibid., Vol 1, p 48.
22. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 651, 540.
23. Ibid., Vol 3, pp 541, 544-545.
24. Ibid., Vol 3, p 548.
25. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 94.
26. Ibid., Vol 17, pp 593, 640.
27. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 28, p 509.
28. Ibid., Vol 15, p 452.

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THEORETICAL STUDIES AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 23-25

[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] To implement a realistic ideological line in the field of theoretical work is to carry out the only correct principle of integrating theory with practice, and to concentrate efforts on the study and solution of major theoretical problems relating to actual life. In his speech at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized a tendency in some theoretical workers "to keep themselves at a distance from the realities of the day" and refuse to study major existing problems arising from socialist modernization. Such a tendency to make theory lose contact with reality is absolutely wrong. If we are resolved to engage in the study of Marxist theory, but we refuse to integrate theory with practice and to concentrate our main efforts on the study of all sorts of major existing problems which are related to the interests of the people and the future of the country and nation, as well as basic theories which are closely connected with these existing problems, this means we are aiming at the south while driving the chariot northward. It is impossible for such theoretical work to have any prospects and it cannot in the least be regarded as Marxist theoretical work. Let us imagine, if Marx and Engels had divorced themselves from the capitalist development in the 19th century and the reality of the international workers' movement in those years, and from the economic and political movements in such major capitalist countries as Britain, France, and Germany at that time, could there have been scientific Marxist theory? As far as the situation in China is concerned, during the 30 years from the May 4th Movement of 1919 to the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, our revolutionary theorists of the older generation, who are represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, scaled the heights of theoretical thinking of modern China, greatly developed the Marxist theory of philosophy, politics, and military tactics, and added a brilliant page to the chronicles of Marxist development, precisely because they personally participated in and led the actual struggle of the Chinese revolution and engaged in theoretical work to meet the needs of the struggle. Could pedants who kept themselves far from the realities of the revolution achieve such things as they did in the field of theoretical work? In his speech at the meeting to discuss ideological guidelines for the party's theoretical work in March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping noted: "Marxist ideological

and theoretical work cannot be separated from practical politics. Politics here refers to the general situation of class struggle at home and abroad and the advantages and disadvantages of both the Chinese people and the people of the world in their struggles of the day." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 165) Meanwhile, he also set a series of tasks for theoretical workers in order to meet the needs of China's socialist modernization. During recent years, we have scored some success in this area, but, generally speaking, what we have done is far too little. It is essential for us to examine our theoretical work and to correct its orientation in line with the spirit of the criticism made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his speech at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee.

Some people may say that in making a study of existing problems and in integrating practical politics with theoretical studies we are liable to commit errors. Some comrades have made mistakes and have been criticized for their articles on humanism and alienation, precisely because these articles were directed against reality and were linked with practical politics. As for this question, it is necessary to make concrete analysis and to furnish a correct answer to it.

In truth, the question of humanism and alienation involves very abstract academic theory, but the remarks of some comrades on this question are directed against reality and are linked with practical politics. For this reason, their mistakes are beyond the range of general academic and theoretical problems, but are mistakes made on the major academic and theoretical question of immediate political significance which is related to the upholding of the fundamental tenets of Marxism and the correct understanding of socialist practice, and are mistakes of cardinal principle. For example, they have alleged that "man is the starting point of Marxism," and publicized "man is the goal" and the "value of man" in the abstract. All these not only go counter to the historical materialism of Marxism theoretically and palm off the materialistic viewpoint of Marxism on man, which proceeds from the specific conditions of material life and the relationship of material production, upon the empty conception of man which is divorced from specific historical conditions, but have also actually brought about harmful influences. Being divorced from the specific conditions of our socialist construction, our actual difficulties and our current endeavors, any idle talk that "man is the goal" and on the "value of man" and the "requirement of man," which is not based on concrete analysis, will certainly lead to doubts and dissatisfaction for some people with the socialist system and the party leadership. Moreover, their remarks about the so-called socialist "alienation" in the ideological, political, and economic fields not only distort the original meaning of alienation which Marx really referred to in Marxism, and theoretically degenerate into the erroneous viewpoints and methods of speculative philosophy, but also obscure the different characters, reasons, and solutions of some drawbacks and problems existing in our socialist society and allege that all sorts of negative phenomena in socialist society are antagonistic to each other and are inevitable because they are produced, and are bound to be produced continuously by the self-activities of the principal part of the society.

This, in fact, spreads distrust and pessimism on the guiding ideology, political system, and economic management of our socialist society. That is to say, the erroneous remarks of these comrades on the question of humanism and alienation have diffused negative and harmful influences in the political field. Therefore, it is essential for us to get rid of such influences (or eliminate the pollution).

Nevertheless, the reason why these comrades commit errors is not because they study or link themselves with current political problems, but because they carry out theoretical studies and deal with these problems concerning reality in an abstract way and separate theory from practice. They fail to sum up seriously historical experiences, to look into the real state of affairs, and to probe into the objective law of our modernization with the viewpoints of historical materialism which the party Central Committee stands for. Instead, based on some erroneous theoretical viewpoints (especially the idealist conception of history which has long been conquered by Marxism), and proceeding from abstract conception regardless of the specific conditions and tasks of socialist construction, they indulge in empty talk which is not at all helpful to the solution of actual problems. Some comrades even think that they are wiser than the party is. They are indifferent to criticism from other comrades and ignore the consequences of such propaganda and the whole situation which has a bearing on the gains and losses of the people of our country. This is actually divorced from the Marxist principle of integrating theory with practice. As a matter of fact, some of these people neither make any profound exploration of the question of humanism and alienation in terms of theory, nor make an investigation and study of the real state of our country's economy, politics, and culture. They merely resort to lofty theoretical words to express their views on existing problems. For example, they, in the first place, held erroneous views on the history of our country in the 30 years and more since its founding, the summings-up made by our party on this period of history, and some problems of principle concerning socialism. All these views are not identical with the resolutions and policies of the party Central Committee, but, they have failed to strive to identify their views with these resolutions and policies and refused to accept criticism made by the party and comrades and to correct their erroneous views. Moreover, they did not have reservations before carrying out the party's resolutions, instead they raised a fanfare of their views in their theoretical articles by making a convenience of their jobs as theoretical workers. Anyway, these comrades made mistakes not because they studied problems connected with the realities of the day, but because they publicized humanism in the abstract and played up the theory of alienation of socialism. Theoretically, they adopted the erroneous viewpoints and methods of historical idealism and drew a conclusion on existing problems from such viewpoints and methods, or established their erroneous viewpoints on political issues in reality by separating theory from practice and then published them in a theoretic way. Of course, such mistakes should be criticized.

Does this mean that those who engage in the study of existing concrete problems should promise not to make any mistakes? Of course it does not mean that. Generally speaking, the study of existing concrete problems is

much more difficult than that of abstract theory or historical problems. First, existing concrete problems, particularly the major ones, are still in a state of development and practice, their innate character is not revealed or is not fully revealed, and people do not know much about these problems or do not know them well. Under such circumstances, it is, undoubtedly, very difficult to explain these problems clearly in terms of theory. Second, our practice at present is the work of opening up a new path never trodden before. So is our theoretical work on some new problems on which no conclusions have been drawn and for which reference materials are not sufficient and available. Therefore, we must proceed from actual conditions on everything. We must collect data, make investigation and study, sum up experiences, and carry out exploration all by means of the fundamental tenets and scientific viewpoints and method of Marxism. Such theoretical work is really difficult and creative. Of course, in order to seek truth, or to be responsible for the people's cause of revolution and construction, we must act with caution and do our best not to make mistakes, or to make fewer mistakes. However, in the face of such arduous tasks, it is impossible for us not to make mistakes. Mistakes must be permitted. An attempt to eliminate mistakes would mean that our theoretical work should not touch existing concrete problems. This is in itself a big mistake. For this reason, we should not describe all mistakes being made in the course of studying and approaching existing problems as spiritual pollution. In dealing with such mistakes, we must take an attitude of upholding the truth and correct them. We must draw a clear distinction between right and wrong, carry forward the truth, and correct mistakes through free contention and through criticism and self-criticism. This is just what is called for in a series of the party's policies on theoretical work, including the "two-hundreds" policy. Spiritual pollution involves only the diffusion of decayed and bad ideas of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, the dissemination of dissatisfaction with socialism, communism, and the party leadership, and the mistakes which cause harmful political influences among the masses. Of course, any erroneous theoretical views may have certain bad influences on us just as any shortcomings and mistakes in our practical work may cause some losses. Like workers in various fields, those who engage in theoretical research and propaganda work should deal with their work very carefully and pay attention to the result of their work. Whenever a mistake is made, they must be bold to criticize themselves and strive to correct the mistake. It is absolutely wrong to stick to mistakes and to refuse criticism by others. However, we cannot say that all mistakes which cause harmful influences should be regarded as spiritual pollution. Even in dealing with those mistakes which cause spiritual pollution, we should take an attitude of helping those criticized correct their mistakes through discussions and contention on their thinking and theory and through serious criticism and self-criticism in terms of theory and politics. To do this, on the one hand, we can help the comrades who commit mistakes correct their mistakes; and on the other hand, we can do away with the influences of these mistakes on the masses. In a word, we aim at achieving a correct understanding theoretically and politically. Therefore, there is no reason for us to give up the duty of theoretical workers and to refuse to study existing concrete problems concerning socialist modernization only for fear of making mistakes.

Of course, when we say that the stress of theoretical work should be placed on the study of theoretical problems relating to reality, we do not mean that we can take no notice of the theoretical problems which do not have a close connection with reality. We must assign a certain number of personnel to carry out studies of relatively abstract basic theories and valuable theoretical theory and schools of thought in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere. The reason for this is quite obvious. However, in carrying out studies of these problems, we must also have a correct guiding ideology and political position, and adopt the method of integrating theory with practice. If a person has erroneous theoretical viewpoints and is in a fit of political depression, then he cannot be relied on to come up with something great in the study of these problems, because he does the work only to try to escape reality and "to keep himself at a distance from the realities of the day." Even if he studies a certain historical or academic problem which is connected with society 2,000 years ago, he may also commit serious mistakes theoretically and politically. This is because the subjects of theoretical studies can be something which happened a long time ago, but theoretical workers cannot separate themselves from human society. They have to live in reality and to show their points of view and political attitude. It is absolutely wrong to try to escape reality and to lose contact with reality at a time when the people throughout the country are working hard for socialist modernization. Therefore, the key to evading mistakes is to straighten out our viewpoints, take a correct attitude toward politics, strive to grasp Marxist theory, and keep in line with the party and people on major political problems of principle. The crux of the problem is not what kinds of subjects we take in theoretical studies.

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THE NECESSITY OF SOCIALIST PLANNED ECONOMY

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[Article by He Jianzhang [0149 1696 4545]]

[Text]

I

The planned economic system has emerged as an opposite to the capitalist market economy and is specific to a socialist economy. However, in the past few years, some comrades doubted the superiority of the socialist planned economic system and held that a market economy like that of capitalism had to be practiced in our country. This confused the demarcation line between socialism and capitalism.

We all know that a proportionate development of economy is the demand of socialized mass production. However, under capitalist conditions, because of the private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists, inside a private enterprise, the capitalist can organize production in a planned manner, but the various kinds of proportional relationships required by the development of the national economy cannot be adjusted by the unified planning of the society and thus the production in the society as a whole is in anarchy. Engels said: "The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist ownership is manifested in the antithesis between the organized manner of the production in individual factories and the anarchy in the production of the society as a whole." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 313) Capitalists arrange their management activities entirely in accordance with the situation in the market and a capitalist economy operates under the domination of an "invisible hand"--the law of value. Aggravated by the contradiction between the expansion of capitalist production and the relative reduction in demand in the market resulting from the consumption that the people can afford, this causes the capitalist economy to be unavoidably in cyclical crises. Therefore, the basic characteristics of a capitalist economy are: 1) The production of the society as a whole is in anarchy and is not arranged consciously in a planned manner by the society. 2) The proportional relationships in social reproduction processes are spontaneously readjusted by the law of value through the market and this is a kind of aftermath readjustment. 3) The process of social reproduction is often interrupted and often undergoes economic crises, and a temporary balance

can only be restored after the productive force has suffered serious damage. All these characteristics are determined by the basic contradiction between the socialization of production and the capitalist private ownership of the means of production. When capitalism has developed to a monopoly stage, the basic contradiction of capitalism is further aggravated, the anarchy in production becomes increasingly serious, and economic crises also become increasingly frequent. Under these circumstances, many capitalist countries have intensified the state's intervention in the economy. They have formulated various kinds of economic plans in an attempt to reduce the anarchic mode of production and to eliminate economic crises. However, all their efforts have been in vain. From the beginning of this century to the time before World War II, there were five world economic crises, including the most serious crisis from 1929-1933. Since the end of World War II, the cycle of economic crises in the capitalist world has been shortened. There have been seven crises in Britain, the United States, and Japan, six in the FRG and Canada, and five in France. In each crisis, there were various degrees of reduction in production, large numbers of bankruptcies, wound up enterprises, and unemployed workers, and serious waste of social wealth.

In a socialist society, because of the socialization of the means of production, the contradiction between the socialized nature of the production and the private ownership of the means of production has been eliminated and thus it is possible to develop the national economy in a planned and proportionate manner. Engels said: "Once the society possesses the means of production,...the anarchy inside social production will be replaced by planned and conscious organization of production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 323) Lenin also said: "Capitalism will inevitably be replaced by a new social system, in which planned economy will be practiced." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 555) A socialist planned economy is diametrically different from a capitalist market economy. 1) The production of the entire society is conducted under the guidance of the unified centralized planning of the state. The goal of socialist production is to continuously satisfy the daily increasing material and cultural demands of the society and its members. How can socialist production satisfy, to the greatest possible extent, the demands of the people in accordance with objective conditions? In order to achieve this goal, the state, which represents the interests of the entire people, is required to plan, manage, and coordinate production in the society in order to ensure that production is conducted in a manner that is suited to the goal of socialist production. If it gives up its guidance of unified centralized planning and allows its enterprises to operate at will, it will be difficult to achieve the goal of socialist production and a socialist economy will no longer be a socialist economy. It is precisely in this sense that Lenin said: "Establishing socialism means establishing a centralized economy, an economy under the centralized leadership of the central authorities." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 378) 2) In a socialist system of planned economy, the readjustment of social production is carried out beforehand and is consciously arranged by the state in the light of a thorough investigation and study of the various kinds of proportional relationships required by social reproduction. The aim of socialist countries in formulating plans for national economic and social development

is precisely to consciously readjust the proportions of the distribution of social labor among various production sectors in order to strike a balance between social production and social demand and to ensure the harmonized development of the national economy. 3) As is determined by the former two points, socialist expanded reproduction will neither be restricted by the relative reduction in social purchase power and the market nor be interfered with by anarchy in production. There will not be capitalist cyclical crises and social production can grow continuously and steadily and people's livelihood can be continuously improved. This is precisely a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist economic system.

II

A socialist planned economy requires practicing unified and centralized planned management over the national economy. How can we satisfy this requirement? Can we only pursue centralization and unity of planning and reject flexibility in allowing diverse forms of planning?

Because the greater the degree of socialization of the production in a socialist society, the more elaborate the social division of labor, material products become increasingly abundant and varied, and so do people's livelihood. It is impossible for us to entirely fully and exactly see the demand for social production, particularly the complex and continuously changing demand resulting from social life, and it is only possible to know roughly the production of and demand for major products. Therefore, the state cannot help but be, to a certain extent, restricted in its direct allocation of social labor and it should not pursue thoroughness and a high degree of detail in formulating its plans and should leave enough margin. Besides, because of the existence of commodity and currency relations, a socialist society cannot directly allocate social labor according to labor time, as Marx and Engels tentatively proposed, but must do so with the help of the category of value. The fulfillment of the plans should be achieved through the market and by means of applying prices and other economic levers. If we overlook this, if in formulating and carrying out our plans we fail to attach importance to the role of the law of value or to carry out thorough investigation and study regarding changes in supply and demand in the market, and if we are not good at applying economic levers, we will not be able to carry out our plans smoothly. We should say that we have lacked enough understanding of these two special features in our socialist planned economy. In formulating our plans, we pursued thoroughness and details and often failed to leave any margin. And moreover we strove to regard all plans as mandatory ones in carrying them out. In the process of implementing our plans, because we did not acknowledge the existence of commodity production and exchange in our socialist economy, and particularly the fact that the exchange between publicly owned enterprises is still of the nature of commodity exchange, we failed to pay attention to market research and were not good at applying economic levers to guide our enterprises in achieving what was required by the state plans. These defects in our system of planned management greatly hindered the development of our country's economy.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee put forward the task of reforming our economic management system, including the system of planned management. The 12th CPC National Congress fixed the principle of regarding planned economy as the core and supplementing it with the regulation of market mechanism and also concretely stipulated the principles and orientation for the reform in the system of planned management: "In order to develop our economy in a manner that is both centralized and unified and flexible, we need to adopt diverse forms of planned management in light of different conditions." Instead of the single form in the past, we have adopted three forms of planned management: mandatory plans, guidance plans, and regulation of market mechanism. At the same time, "in formulating both mandatory and guidance plans, we should strive to adapt them to objective reality. We should always study the changes in supply and demand in the market, consciously apply the law of value and prices, taxation, credit, and other economic levers to guide our enterprises in achieving what is required by the state plans, and give our enterprises different degrees of power to maneuver. Only by so doing can we promptly add new necessary things to and perfect our plans in the process of implementing them." ("Collected Documents of the 12th CPC National Congress," pp 24, 25)

Mandatory plans are an important embodiment of our country's socialist ownership by the whole people in the organization and management of production and are an indispensable form of great significance in the entire system of planned management. They are compulsory and restrictive and our enterprises must ensure their fulfillment. However, our mandatory plans will be detrimental to giving play to the initiative of our enterprises in implementing the plans and to the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated in the plans if they are not suited to objective reality and to changes in the situation of supply and demand in our market or if our prices are irrationally fixed. Our mandatory plans should be circulated to our enterprises and should become the main basis for our enterprises' management activities. The relevant administrative departments of the state must strive to apply various kinds of economic levers to promote the fulfillment of these plans. Guidance plans are not restrictive for our enterprises and in implementing them the enterprises have relatively greater power of maneuver and they can make necessary amendments in the light of the market situation. As for the regulation of market mechanism, the state does not set any planned targets for its enterprises, which are given full power to arrange their production and management activities in light of the market situation. Thus the state allows these activities to be spontaneously readjusted by the law of value. This regulation by market mechanism differs in principle from the regulation of market mechanism under a capitalist system. 1) Under socialist conditions, the scope of the regulation of market mechanism is stipulated by the state in its plans; and 2) this regulation is restricted by the mandatory and guidance plans because most of the social gross output value is governed by these plans. Therefore, it can only operate as a supplement to the state plans and thus constitutes a part of the unified plans and the united market of the socialist state.

III

Some comrades hold: There are not the material conditions in our country for practicing planned economy. Their argument is that only when there is a high degree of socialization in the sectors of the entire national economy and only after the establishment of a uniform ownership by the whole people can it be possible to practice planned economy. I think that this viewpoint is wrong.

Indeed, in expounding on the necessity of planned economy, Marx and Engels regarded a high degree of socialization of production and the owning of all means of production by society as its conditions. However, in their time, they envisaged that the socialist revolution would first achieve victory simultaneously in all the countries with the most developed productive force. The socialist planned economy they envisaged was designed based on the experience in these countries. However, this does not mean that we cannot develop this theory in light of the development of our practice. In light of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in its imperialist period, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that socialist revolution would first break out and achieve victory in the weakest link of the capitalist world, that is in a few or a single country where capitalism was only moderately developed. It was precisely under the guidance of this new theory that the victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution was achieved. In light of the reality in the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, Stalin creatively applied the Marxist theory of planned economy and established a system of planned economy in the Soviet Union. From 1928, the Soviet Union began to carry out its First 5-Year Plan. In spite of various problems in its concrete system of economic management, the system of planned economy still manifested its tremendously great superiority and enabled the country to develop into an industrial power ranking second only to the United States in the world in a period of three 5-year plans (the Third 5-Year Plan was interrupted by the breaking out of World War II).

Our country achieved the victory of its new democratic revolution and switched to a socialist revolution on a semifeudal and semicolonial foundation. Judged by its degree of economic development, our country was more backward than the Russia of that time, however, from 1953 we began to implement our First 5-Year Plan. At that time the socialization of our production was very underdeveloped. In 1952, only 32.7 percent of our gross industrial and agricultural output value was contributed by our modern industry. There were diverse kinds of economic factors and capitalist economy and individual economy constituted a great proportion of our national economy. In our agricultural economy, the dispersed small-scale peasant economy accounted for an overwhelming majority. Of our gross industrial output value, 41.5 percent was contributed by industry owned by the whole people, 3.3 percent was contributed by collective industry, 4 percent was contributed by joint state-private enterprises, 30.6 percent was contributed by private enterprises, and 20.6 percent was contributed by individual handicraft undertaking. At that time, the output value of the industry owned by the whole people did not constitute a great enough percentage, but

it controlled the lifelines of our national economy, including the socialized sections of communications, iron and steel, machine building, coal mining, and electric power industries and thus played a dominant role in our entire national economy. What was more important was that the socialist state, through its unified economic planning, concentrated its financial and material resources on key project construction and brought capitalist and individual economy into the orbit of the state's unified plans by economic and administrative means. The First 5-Year Plan stipulated the pooling of our strength on the economic construction of 694 above-norm projects centered on 156 key projects. At that time, the form of direct planning was adopted in managing state-run industry, large capital construction projects, and the joint state-private enterprises where fixed dividends were paid to capitalists. The state assigned planned targets to these units. The form of indirect planning was adopted in managing collective and individual agriculture and handicraft industry, private industry, and lower-level joint state-private enterprises. The state regulated their activities mainly through the formulation of its economic policies, the adoption of economic measures, and the application of economic levers, such as making forward purchasing contracts, paying deposits for goods ordered, contracting processing of goods, acting as an agent in purchases and sales, and applying the means of pricing, taxation, and credit.

The measures and methods adopted in the period of the First 5-Year Plan were basically adapted to the level of the development and socialization of our country's production and, therefore, relatively satisfactory results were achieved. Both agriculture and industry grew relatively quickly and agriculture and light and heavy industry basically grew in a proportionate and harmonized manner. During the 5 years, an annual average growth rate of 10.9 percent was achieved in increasing our gross industrial and agricultural output value, in which the gross industrial output value increased by 18 percent (14.7 percent was the planned target) and gross agricultural output value increased by 4.5 percent (4.3 percent was the planned target). Concerning our industry, the annual average growth rate was 25.4 percent for heavy industry and 12.9 percent for light industry. This basically ensured the satisfaction of the demand for means of production resulting from the development of our national economy and that for consumer goods resulting from our people's livelihood. On the basis of the development of production, our people's livelihood was gradually improved. During the 5 years, the annual consumption of the urban and rural residents throughout our country rose by 4.2 percent on average. The success of our country's First 5-Year Plan proved that even if the socialization of production was not highly developed in the various sectors of its national economy and even if the socialist public ownership of the means of production did not constitute a very great percentage in our economy, a socialist country could practice a system of planned economy and bring, through direct and indirect planning, the activities of the entire economy into the orbit of the state's centralized and unified plans, as long as its socialist economy owned by the whole people controlled its economic lifelines which were of a relatively high degree of socialization of production and which played a dominant role in our entire national economy. Today, the socialization of our country's production is much more developed, and the socialist economy owned by the

whole people and collectively has not only occupied a dominant position but also has absolute ascendancy in our national economy; therefore, even less can we say that there are no material conditions for practicing planned economy in our country.

IV

Because of certain errors in our planned work and because of some setbacks in the process of our economic development, some comrades doubt whether the planned economic system can guarantee the steady, continuous, and rapid development of our country's economy. There are no grounds for such doubts.

Our country has persisted in implementing the planned economic system and has successively implemented six 5-year plans. In that period, because of the influence of "leftist" ideology, because of our lack of experience, and because of the defects and malpractices in certain links of our system of planned management, our economic development fluctuated several times, our speed of economic development slowed down, and our efforts to increase economic results were hindered. For example, we were divorced several times from the national conditions of our country, were eager for achievement, and blindly pursued an impractical speed. As a result, high targets and high accumulation squeezed out consumption. In our economic development, we also placed undue emphasis on giving priority to developing heavy industry and "taking steel as the key link," and thus neglected agriculture and light industry. We placed undue emphasis on developing grain production and "taking grain as the key link," and thus neglected diversified economy. As a result, it brought about dislocation between accumulation and consumption and dislocation in our agriculture, light and heavy industry, and in various sectors in our industry and agriculture and thus caused the whole national economy to get bogged down in an extremely difficult predicament. However, we must clearly and definitely know that this predicament was not brought about by the planned economic system, it was principally due to the errors in the guiding ideology relating to our economic development and the practice of undermining some aspects of the planned system, such as the violation of the principle of striking an overall balance. At the same time, we must realize that when our economy suffers a setback, it is precisely our reliance on the superiority of the planned economic system that enables our national economy to be rapidly extricated from a predicament through readjustment of direct and indirect planning and to develop again along the road of healthy development. Generally speaking, the speed of our country's economic development is still one of the world's fastest, as shown in the table below:

	<u>China</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Japan</u>	<u>FRG</u>	<u>UK</u>	<u>France</u>
Annual average growth rate of agricultural production from 1953 to 1980 (%)	3.5	3.2	1.7	1.4	1.8	2.4	2.7
Annual average growth rate of industrial production from 1953 to 1980 (%)	11.1	8.3	3.7	10.7	5.4	2.2	5.0

The statistical data show that even though we suffered many setbacks, the growth rate of our country's industrial and agricultural production was still greater than that of quite a lot of developed capitalist countries! In the past 30-odd years, by means of relying on the system of socialist planned economy, we have built up our country from an extremely poor and backward agricultural country into a country with considerably developed industry and agriculture and established independent and comparatively integrated systems of industry and national economy. Certainly, compared with the economically developed countries in the world, the economic and technological level of our country's industry and agriculture still lags behind. But, we must know that those countries have passed through the stages of capitalist development for several hundred years, and it is only 30-odd years since our country broke away from a semifeudal and semi-colonial system. We will be able to avoid setbacks similar to past ones, maintain a steady and continuous growth, gradually eliminate the disparity of production levels between our country and the developed capitalist countries, and finally surpass them, as long as we adhere to the socialist road and the system of socialist planned economy and are good at summing up our experiences and correcting our mistakes and as long as we establish, through reforms, systems of economic management and planned management which have distinguishing Chinese features and are suited to our country's national conditions. This is an objective law independent of people's will.

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OUR GREAT MOTHERLAND HAS BEEN JOINTLY FOUNDED BY ALL NATIONALITIES

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[Article by Guo Dehong [6753 1779 1347] and Li Mingsan [2621 2494 0005]]

[Text] Our great motherland is today made up of more than 50 different nationalities. During the long process of historical development there has been a gradual process of rapprochement, mutual reliance, and friendly cooperation between the various nationalities in China, despite various periods of aggression, oppression, and exploitation. Every nationality has made its own contribution to the historical development of China. After the founding of the PRC new form of relations between the nationalities developed, characterized by equality, friendship, unity, and mutual benefit, and in addition a close and interdependent relationship also grew up. However, the effects of historical prejudices and traditional beliefs, left over from long periods of history, have meant that some kinds of erroneous thinking and confused beliefs still exist among a small number of people and this, to a lesser or greater extent, has affected national unity and the construction of socialist modernization. For this reason it is extremely useful to take a look back over the developmental history and creation of our unified and multinational country, especially the contributions of the national minorities which in the past have not been fully understood by the people. It is also extremely useful to look at ways of accurately absorbing the experiences and lessons of history and to clarify the effects of some erroneous ways of thinking and to thereby strengthen unity among the nationalities of China.

The Development and Creation of Our Unified and Multinational Country Is the Crystallization of the Joint Efforts of All Nationalities

Since ancient times our country has been a multinational country but at the very beginning it was in no way unified. In the very earliest days of the founding of China, the area of land involved was very small and the number of nationalities was also small. Today our country has more than 50 different nationalities and it has developed into a unified and multinational country unprecedented in its history. Thus modern China has developed as a result of the joint efforts of all the nationalities and as a result of a long period of historical development.

During China's very earliest times, the Xia Dynasty, there was, in addition to the Xia nationality, the Dong Yi nationality. By the time of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, the nationalities had increased to include Yi, Di, Qiang, Rong, Miao, and Man nationalities. After the Spring and Autumn Period, the Warring States Period, and up until the Qin unification, even more nationalities became unified under one dynasty over an area "extending to the sea in the east..., Lintao and Jiangzhong in the west, Beixianghu in the south, and to the river and Yinshan in Liaodong"¹ and in most major areas a unified and multinational country began to develop. Later on, during various different historical phases, while there were movements among the different nationalities and some aggression, and coexistence and opposition between different powers, unification gradually began to take hold on an increasingly large scale and thus more and more nationalities began to be unified. By the Qing Dynasty, China had been basically established in its present form and the nationalities now in China had become unified into one family of Chinese nationalities. In recent times colonialism and imperialism attempted in all sorts of ways to divide this unity of nationalities, seeking to isolate the country, and while they succeeded for a time in certain areas, they were in the long run forced into defeat. With the victory of the new democratic revolution and the establishment of the PRC, China at last achieved an unprecedented monolithic unity in the country among the various nationalities.

Within the various nationalities of China, the Han nationality is the most populous and within the development and creation of a unified and multinational country, the Han made the greatest contribution and played a very important role. However, in addition to the Han nationality, the various national minorities also made important contributions. First, the distribution of China's national minorities is very wide and most of them are located in the country's border regions, where there are rich natural resources, and they occupy an important position in the country's economic life and national defense and security. The development of these regions was primarily carried out by the national minorities living in the areas. The Huanghe valley, the eastern seaboard, and the Changjiang valley are the birthplace of ancient Chinese civilization. At the same time as, or a little after the Huaxia, Dong Yi, Miao, and Man nationalities were developing these regions, the Qiang, Rong, and Di nationalities were opening up and developing the northwestern and western regions. It was the Bai and Yue nationalities which first developed the southeast, southwest, and southern coastal regions, while the Bei Di, Xiong Nu, and so on were the first to develop the northern grasslands and the Su Shen and Dong Hu were the first to develop the northeastern regions. The economic and cultural development of these regions and the strengthening of links with the central regions laid the foundations for the creation of a unified and multinational country.

Second, throughout history each nationality established many regimes and achieved unity within some areas and this thus paved the way and set up conditions for a major unity on a national basis. During the Qin and Han periods, the Xiong Nu nationality unified large areas of the northern and southern deserts. During the Northern and Southern Wei and Jin Dynasties, the Jie nationality founded Hou Zhao; the Di nationality founded Qian Qin,

while the Xian Bei founded the Northern Wei and in this way all of them unified the northern areas of China to varying extents. During the Tang Dynasty, the regimes established by the Tu Fan and the Hui He, as well as the Southern Zhao established by the Yi and the Bohai kingdom founded by the Heishui Mo He together unified Xizang, Xinjiang, the southwest, and the northeast. By the time of the Five Dynasties and the Song, Liao, and Jin Dynasties, the Liao, set up by the Qidan nationality, the Jin, set up by the Nuzhen nationality, the Western Xia, set up by the Dang Xiang Qiang, the Dali, set up by the Bai nationality, and the Gao Chang Hui Hu, set up by some of the Hui Hu nationality, had unified the north, the northeast, the northwest, and the southwest respectively.

Third, some national minorities, such as the Monggol nationality and the Man nationality, actually directly unified the whole country and in doing so laid important foundations for the further consolidation and development of a unified and multinational country. Ghengis Khan unified all of Mongolia and afterwards Kublai Khan went on to establish the Yuan Dynasty. This was followed by the unification of the Western Liao, Western Xia, Jin, Dali, Tufan, and Southern Song, and the creation of a unified country. After Nuerhachi unified all the areas of Nu Zhen and Huang Tai Ji founded the Qing Dynasty, which supplanted the Ming Dynasty, all of Mongolia was unified, Taiwan was recovered, and the "Sanfan rebellion" of Wu Sangui and others were put down along with other rebellions, thereby further preserving and consolidating the unity of Taiwan, Xinjiang, Xizang, and other regions with the motherland so that the great unity among the nationalities of the country reached unprecedented proportions.

Fourth, the Han nationality established the greatest number of dynasties, which ruled for the longest periods of time, but these political regimes were in fact multinational regimes and many national minorities made up integral parts of them. Without the support of the national minorities these multinational and unified regimes could not have consolidated themselves. The establishment of some dynasties, such as the Tang Dynasty, and their consolidation, depended to a very great extent on the strength of the national minorities. Among the officials at the Tang Dynasty court there were more than several thousand Tujue nationals and Huihe nationals. The Tang emperors consistently practiced very enlightened policies as far as national minorities were concerned and this greatly tightened the relationship between the Han nationality and the national minorities. The story of the marriage between Princess Wen Cheng and Zang Pu Song Zang Gan Bu of the Tufan nationality has always been a favorite, told by both the Han and the Zang nationalities. Naturally the political powers of the national minorities, which started in localized regions and spread throughout the country with a unifying effect, were also to a large extent multinational political powers. Their founding and consolidation in many cases won the support of the Han nationality and the Han nationality landlord class. Not only did many of the rulers from the national minorities gain legal status and foundation from the central dynasties of the Han in the form of official mandates and so on, but some of these leaders also said directly that they were the successors and inheritors of the cause of the Han nationality. Kang Xi of the Qing Dynasty wrote in a poem that "the Qing Dynasty's

ancestral inheritance originated in the Zhou Dynasty and was founded in the Han Dynasty."²

A great number of historical facts prove that the creation and development of our unified and multinational country have been the result of the joint efforts of the people of all nationalities in China. If one only looks at the historical role of one's own nationality and denies or rejects the historical efforts and contributions of other nationalities, one is not conforming with the reality of history and is in error.

Economic and Cultural Prosperity Are the Crystallization of the Wisdom of All the Nationalities

The Chinese nation is a hardworking, courageous, richly creative, and great nation. During the several thousand years of historical development, its dazzlingly brilliant culture, highly prosperous economy, and world renowned science and technology have become the glorious stamp of our unified and multinational country and it has made a deep and ineradicable impression on the development of human history. But this was not the effort of one single nationality, it is the crystallization of the wisdom of all the nationalities of China and each nationality made a large contribution.

First, every national minority has created an economy and culture with its own national character and this has added luster to the entire country's economic and cultural prosperity. Many national minorities built up on animal husbandry were the first to raise and breed many kinds of domestic animals and to produce very good breeds. Other national minorities were very quick to grasp the techniques involved in the cultivation of crops. In handicrafts, many national minorities were very advanced in ancient times, as proved by the Zhuang brocade, Tong brocade, and Li brocade woven by the Lingnan people as well as the "poluo cloth" woven by the Dai nationality, the "cong cloth" woven by the Miao, and "Yaoban cloth" woven by the Yao nationality, all of which are of a very high standard. The "mumian cloth" woven by the Zhuang has also been called "heavenly clothing." The languages, writing, and characteristic literature of the national minorities have also enriched the cultural treasure chest of our country. The "Tujue Dictionary," written by the 11th century Uygur scholar Mamude Kashenheer, and its rich content and academic value has attracted attention throughout the scholarly world. The frescoes found in Huashan in Guangxi and the grottoes in Jianchuan, Yunnan, created by the Zhuang, Bai and Yi nationalities are all of a very individual national character. Many of the scholarly works of the national minorities, such as "The Dream of the Red Chamber" by the Man national Cao Xueqin, have important positions in China's scholarly and literary history. In the sphere of science and technology the famous "Essentials of Agriculture, Silk Cloth Production, and Food" by the Uygur scientist Lu Mingshan, who lived during the Yuan Dynasty, played an important role in the development and transmission of agricultural science in China. The Qing Dynasty Monggol nationality mathematician, Ming Antu, in the face of scorn from French missionaries, boldly wrote his work "Ge Yuan Mi Lu Jie Fa" [0480 0955 1378 3764 2212 3127] and independently researched 13 formulae of international standards, thereby boosting the morale of the Chinese people.

Second, all the nationalities freely allowed the results of their knowledge, technology, and labors to infiltrate into the central plains, thereby strongly influencing the economic and cultural development of the Han nationality. During the Qin and Han periods, the Xiongnu and other nationalities living in the western and northern Sai regions passed by on their donkeys and mules to the central plains and not only did this promote improvements in agricultural productive forces in the central plains, it was also extremely influential in the development of the Han nationality's animal husbandry, military, and communications undertakings. Many agricultural crops in the central plains such as common sorghum, sesame, broad beans, grapes, pomegranates, walnuts, hyacinth beans, cucumbers, eggplant, spinach, carrots, watermelons, and so on as well as varieties of greens and planting and growing techniques came from national minorities, in particular from the western regions. Cotton, the raw material for clothing, was first grown by people in Xinjiang and the Li nationality and gradually it spread to the Weihe, the Huanghe, Zhujiang, and Changjiang regions. The pedal loom which allowed the weaving of three lengths of yarn with one hand, created by the famous Yuan Dynasty weaver Huang Daopo, was the result of studying and improving on Li nationality weaving techniques. In the sphere of music and dance, the influence on the Han nationality by national minorities has been even greater. Music in the central plains was originally fairly similar, but from the Han Dynasty onward, beautiful and moving music from the western regions, as well as instruments such as the bamboo flute, side flute, bifa, hujia, huqin, konghou, sanxian, suona, jie drum, yao drum, and so on penetrated the central plains thereby gradually enriching the melodies and instruments of Han music. As the musical influence continued, graceful dance forms, acrobatics and forms of magic from national minorities began to grow up in the central plains. In addition, the clothing and day-to-day objects used by the Han nationality were greatly influenced by national minorities. After the promotion of the "Hufu" clothing by King Zhao Wuling during the Warring States Period, ancient Han nationality clothing constantly changed and improved and thus we saw the qipao and kanjian, both of which were originally Man nationality clothing and are still worn throughout China. Originally the Han nationality did not have tables and chairs, instead they simply had small and narrow kinds of low tables. It was only after the introduction of beds from national minorities that tables and chairs gradually began to be developed and this changed the Han nationality's custom of sitting on the floor, which was a big step forward in terms of style of living.

Third, the people of all national minorities have been in friendly cooperation with the Han nationality and together they have promoted the economic and cultural development of the country. The world-famous Dunhuang, Yungang, and Longmen caves as well as the Kezier Thousand Buddha Caves are the joint creations of the Han, Xian Bi, Tufan, and Western Region nationalities. China's famous and enormous historical work "The 24 Histories" includes three sections compiled from the Song, Liao, and Jin periods and these were written jointly by historians from various nationalities under the guidance and direction of the Monggol historian Tuo Tuo and the Uygur historians Yue Gui, Quan Pu An Che Li, Lian Hui Shan Hai Ya, and Sha Ce Ban. The buildings found today in the Forbidden City in Beijing and throughout the

city of Beijing have gradually developed and grown up out of foundations designed by the Hui national Yi Hei Die Er Ding. During the first 100 years of the Qing Dynasty the cultivated land in Dongbei increased in area from around 400,000 shang [1 shang equals 15 mu] to 2.9 million shang and this was as a result of joint efforts by both the Man and Han nationalities.

From this incomplete list of historical facts we can see very clearly that the contributions of all the nationalities to the development of economic and cultural prosperity in China were enormous, their links with the Han nationality were intimate, and that their influence on the Han was very strong. Naturally these national minorities also learned a great number of things from the Han nationality as well, such as their advanced agricultural and handicraft knowledge as well as aspects of science and culture, and all of these things greatly influenced the national minorities. The introduction in large quantities of salt, tea, porcelain, and silk products into the national minority regions helped satisfy the everyday needs of the people living there. All of these things have been known for a long time. This kind of close relationship between the various nationalities influenced and guided changes in political relations between various nationalities so that in the end most of China became "one body under heaven and one family of Chinese and non-Chinese"³ and thus reached its present form of a unified and multinational country.

Social Progress and National Independence Have Been Gained as a Result of the Common Struggle of the Peoples of All Nationalities

The nationalities of China all have a glorious revolutionary tradition. The peoples of all nationalities have carried out a tireless and ceaseless struggle in resisting class oppression, national oppression, and foreign aggression.

In the class society, class contradictions and contradictions between nationalities are always intertwined. The ruling class which dominated a people or nationality, of whatever nationality that people might be, always oppressed and exploited the workers of that nationality as well as the workers of other nationalities and hence the only difference between the oppression of the workers of the oppressed nationality and the workers of the ruling nationality was one of degree, there was no essential difference. While distrust and misunderstanding might exist between different nationalities and while there might even be war between different nationalities, the provocation of the ruling classes meant that the common interests of the working people of the two nationalities would encourage and incite them to unite during certain periods of struggle.

The mutual support and unified struggle between the Han nationality and the national minorities in resisting national oppression and class oppression has manifested itself in many ways. First, all the national minorities often actively took part in the struggle with the Han nationality against the Han rulers. In the peasant uprisings at the end of the Qin, Han, Tang, and Song Dynasties, many national minorities were involved. For example, toward the end of the Ming Dynasty, the armed uprising led by the Hui

national Ma Shouying in northern Shaanxi involved long periods of cooperation with Li Zicheng and Zhang Xianzhong. Second, the Han people often actively took part in struggles with national minorities against rulers from these or other national minorities. For example, when Po Liu Han Ba Ling, descendant of the Xiongnu nationality in Northern Wei led the uprising of the six towns and various nationalities, "all the Han and other nationalities responded to the call."⁴ During the Hebei uprising by Xian Bei national Du Luozhou and Ding Ling national Xian Yu Xiuli, there was also an "uprising brought about together by the national minorities and the Xia."⁵ Third, the Han and the national minorities often united to jointly oppose the rulers of other nationalities and their own rulers. After the uprising of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, not only did all nationalities enthusiastically work together, they also each organized uprisings in various different locations, such as the Wan and Yu Nian army uprisings, the Zhuang and Han uprisings in Guangxi, the Hui uprisings in Shaanxi and Gansu, the Uygur and Dong uprisings in Xinjiang, the Hui uprising led by Du Wenxiu in Yunnan and the Yi uprising led by Li Wenxu also in Yunnan. All these together paint a glorious picture of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all nationalities and resulted in a serious and lasting attack on the Qing Dynasty rulers. During the 1911 revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, the peoples of all nationalities also responded to the call and as a result the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty was overthrown. This fully illustrates that in national struggles and class struggles, whether the rulers be Han rulers or national minority rulers, rulers from one's own nationality or another, the peoples of all nationalities often gave each other mutual support and engaged in a mutual and common struggle. These struggles effectively attacked feudal rule and promoted social progress.

When the motherland was faced with foreign aggression, the peoples of all nationalities often stepped outside the interests of their nationality or class and united to fight the enemy in the interests of all the Chinese peoples. As early as 400 years ago, during the Ming Dynasty, the Zhuang, Tujia, Miao, and Yao nationalities actively participated in the struggle to resist Japan, led by Qi Jiguang. When Japan took control of Fujian and Taiwan, the She nationality and the Gaoshan nationality united with the Han in the struggle. Later, when Holland and Tsarist Russian bandits invaded Taiwan and Dongbei, the Gaoshan nationality and the Da Wo Er nationality also joined in a courageous struggle to resist. During the middle of the 17th century in particular the Da Wo Er nationality were involved in a struggle to resist Russia for 40 years, thus writing a glorious page in the annals of China's struggle against invaders.

In more recent times, the sharp contradiction between the Chinese peoples and colonialism and imperialism gradually became the most important contradiction in society, and common interests and a common struggle further united the various nationalities even more closely. None of the national minorities feared sacrificing themselves and together with the Han nationality they waged a courageous and incessant struggle. During the first Opium War, there were nationals of the Zang, Qiang, Yi, and Tujia nationalities among the frontline soldiers. When the British Army invaded Zhenhai and Zhenjiang, there were Monggol, Man, and Han nationals involved

in the firm resistance. Engels highly praised the battle of resistance at Zhenjiang when he said: "Although the garrison soldiers were not skilled in the art of war, they did not lack courage or drive." They "put up a life-and-death struggle until the very last man." "If these aggressors had come up against such resistance everywhere, they would never have reached Nanking."⁶ For more than half a century after this, the struggle of all the nationalities of China against external aggression continued without cessation and the scale of the struggle grew and grew. Thus for example there were the head-on blows dealt to the united British and French armies by the Man and Han defending troops and the Menggu cavalry at Dagu fort, the steadfast struggle against Russian invasions maintained in Dongbei by the Man, Han, Da Wo Er, and He Zhe nationalities and in the northeast by the Uighur, Hui, Kazak, and Monggol nationalities, the bloody struggle between the Han and Gaoshan nationalities in Taiwan against the Japanese and American invaders, and during the Yihetuan movement there was also a wave of resistance against aggression by the peoples of all nationalities in China. All of these examples illustrate the courage of all the Chinese peoples in resisting aggression and invasion. Just as Engels said during his discussion of the second Opium War, the struggle of the Chinese people was "a universal uprising on the part of all Chinese peoples against all foreigners," "it was a fight to protect the country and homeland," "it was a people's war to maintain the Chinese race," and "it clearly illustrated how they had become aware of the extreme danger in which the ancient country of China was." Engels confidently went on to say that no matter how many years it would take, one day we would see "the dawn of a new epoch in Asia."⁷ The epic struggle of all the nationalities of China effectively smashed the evil plots of colonialism and imperialism and as a result our motherland was not divided up and was not wiped out.

After the founding of the CPC the struggle of all the nationalities against oppression, exploitation, and foreign invasion developed into a brand-new stage. If we say that due to the restrictions of the times or class conditions in the past the consciousness for a common struggle among all the nationalities in China was not sufficiently high, and organization was not sufficiently strong, then, under the leadership of the CPC, the struggle of the various nationalities of China was no longer spontaneous and decentralized, rather it gradually changed into a conscious and organized struggle with leadership. Among the 12 famous delegates at the first party congress of the CPC there was Comrade Deng Enming, of the Shui nationality from Guizhou. During the Northern Expedition and the agrarian revolutionary war not only did people from all nationalities organize many armed uprisings, they also actively took part in, and supported the Northern Expeditionary Army's struggle and the struggle of the peasants' and workers' Red Army and united forces fighting Japanese aggression. In 1935, the Red Army's Long March passed through national minority regions and when this happened the various nationalities were able to clarify the differences between revolution and reaction, thanks to the work of the party and thus they threw off their former nationalistic prejudices and gave the Red Army a great deal of aid and support. The actions of Xiao Yuedan, chief of the Guji clan of the Yi nationality, in making a pact with General Liu Bocheng so as to allow the Red Army to pass through Yi areas without problems, was unprecedented and

became a story passed on with approval in revolutionary struggle. During the war of resistance against the Japanese and the war for liberation, the peoples of all nationalities joined the army and took part in fighting even more actively and on an even greater scale, thereby supporting the front-line. Not only were there large numbers of national minorities in some army troops such as those in the Dongbei United Army to resist Japan, the Qiongya column, and the Yunan, Guilin, and Guizhou border region columns, but some national minorities also specially organized their own columns such as the Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia Hui nationality cavalry, the Bohai and Jizhong detachments, the Daqingshan Monggol guerrilla troops and so on. In these struggles countless outstanding sons and daughters of all the nationalities gave their very lives. It was because of the united and joint struggle of all the peoples and nationalities of China that the new democratic revolution was victorious and the great People's Republic of China was founded.

The creation and developmental history of our unified and multinational country fully illustrates how mutual reliance, mutual influence, common struggle, and common progress between nationalities is an outstanding tradition of the races of China. Views which consider the Han nationality or the Central Plains Kingdom to be China, which consider China's historical borders to be restricted only to those regions under the jurisdiction of the Han or the Central Plains Kingdom, and which consider the national minorities and the political powers that they established during the course of Chinese history to be "foreign nationalities" are all clearly incorrect. Such opinions do not conform with the historical reality of our country nor are they beneficial to unity among nationalities.

The CPC is the inheritor of the glorious and outstanding traditions of Chinese history. After the founding of the PRC, the party and the state implemented nationality policies ensuring total equality, unity, and mutual benefit, and made enormous efforts in wiping out the various aftereffects and actual inequalities between nationalities which had been left over from the system of suppression of nationalities in history. In this way earth-shattering changes took place for all national minorities in their economic, cultural, and social lives and not only were the original friendly and cooperative relations between all nationalities further consolidated, they were also developed to levels unseen and unattainable during the dynastic periods of history. Naturally, some "leftist" errors did occur in our nationalities work after 1957 and this was particularly true during the "Cultural Revolution" when all national minorities suffered terrible disasters, as did the Han nationals. However, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the party Central Committee quickly rectified the "leftist" errors and studiously implemented various nationality policies and thus great successes were seen in all areas of nationality work. Practice proves that the CPC truly has the interests of all nationalities in China at heart. Only under the leadership of the CPC can all nationalities attain liberation and can the Chinese peoples enter the ranks of the world's advanced races.

During July and August of last year, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and other party and state leaders constantly stressed on an inspection tour of Gansu,

Qinghai, and Xinjiang how inseparable and invaluable the Han nationality and the national minorities are to one another, thus fostering the idea of "the two inseparables," and pointing out that each nationality has its advantages and each has its shortcomings, and that they should unite and help each other and this will produce an enormous material force. The peoples of all nationalities and all cadres should make the work of strengthening national unity and consolidating unity in the motherland their own sacred duty and glorious task, and all their actions should benefit national unity and the unity of the motherland. This clearly tells us that strengthening close relations between all nationalities and together protecting and constructing our socialist country represents the fundamental interests of the peoples of all nationalities in China. We must constantly improve our understanding of the nationalities question and we must firmly and staunchly oppose big-nationality chauvinism, especially Han chauvinism, and at the same time we must oppose regional nationalism and make great efforts to educate people in national unity, mutual benefit, and the indispensability of all nationalities to each other, thus further developing the glorious tradition of the Chinese peoples, struggling hard for the construction of a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilization and for the prosperity and strength of the nationalities of China.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Annals of Qinshihuang, the Historical Records."
2. "Kang Xi Imperial Collection of Articles," Part 1, Vol 36.
3. "Da Yi Jue Mi Lu" [1129 5030 6030 6617 6922], Vol 1.
4. "Zi Zhi Tong Jian," Vol 149.
5. "Wei Shu," Vol 77, "Xin Xiong Chuan."
6. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, pp 189-190.
7. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 20, 21, 22.

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A STRICT TEACHER AND A HELPFUL FRIEND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 p 36

[Article by Song Qing [2646 7230]]

[Text] Lenin spoke highly of Gorkiy. But he also harshly criticized his errors. In 1919, the imperialists colluded with Russia's antirevolutionary forces, vainly attempting to strangle the Soviet regime in the cradle. Surrounded by some capitalist intellectuals who detested the Soviet regime and were corroded by capitalism, Gorkiy lost confidence in the revolutionary cause and even cast stones to the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party. His error was harshly criticized by Lenin. In his letter to Gorkiy in July 1919, Lenin said: "Your letter, like your oral statements, is full of unhealthy precepts, which have led you to some unhealthy conclusions." He pointed out that Gorkiy's erroneous feelings resulted from his divorce from the revolutionary struggle of the peasants and workers. He urged Gorkiy "to go to the rural areas or the factories in other parts of the country (or to the frontline) and see how people lead their lives in a new manner," "to observe directly the novelties of the workers and peasants who made up 90 percent of the total population of Russia."

Later, Gorkiy gradually came to know that he was wrong. In "Lenin" of his memoirs in 1930, Gorkiy said: "I was instinctively disgusted with politics. I did not trust the rationality of the ordinary masses, especially that of the peasants and workers." "I thought that was the case 13 years ago. But I was wrong." With deep feelings he said: "Lenin has taken himself as my strict teacher and genial friend who has 'looked after me with meticulous care.'"

Lenin respected Gorkiy very much and praised him as "the authority of proletarian art" and "the most outstanding figure of proletarian art." However, he was not indulgent toward Gorkiy's mistakes and he did not forsake his principles. This shows that the party should make necessary comments on the incorrect trends of literature and art leaders. Mistakes made by outstanding figures should also be seriously dealt with. Comrades who are being criticized should not be self-assured for being special. If they make any mistakes, they should earnestly accept criticism and make corrections. Only in this way can they serve the people and socialism better.

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GUIDANCE MATERIAL ON STUDYING THE DOCUMENTS OF THE 2D PLENARY SESSION OF
THE 12TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE--EDITED BY THE RED FLAG THEORETICAL
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Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 37-40

[Text] Why Do We Stress That Party Rectification Should Not Be Carried Out
Perfunctorily?

(By Zhu Wu [4554 2745])

The CPC Central Committee party rectification decision and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech delivered at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee stressed guarding against perfunctoriness in the party rectification. By carrying out the party rectification perfunctorily, we mean taking a passive and perfunctory attitude toward the party rectification and toward taking the steps that should be taken, leaving the main problems unsolved and the tasks of party rectification uncompleted. In so doing, the party rectification will become a mere formality and end in failure.

There is no mistaking what the assertion of guarding against perfunctoriness in the party rectification is aimed at and it is by no means advanced without a definite object in view. Because of the influence of the damage caused during the 10 years of internal disorder and the complex situation in the party, there do exist some negative factors that can lead to perfunctoriness in the party rectification in some localities and units.

For example, the leading bodies of some party organizations are soft, weak, and lax and do not have the courage to tackle hard and difficult problems. Some leading cadres, having summed up the experience and lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution" from a negative point of view, still have a lingering fear, are afraid of making mistakes, and dare not adhere to principle and wage a struggle against the acts that run counter to the party line, principles and policies, and in particular, the violations of the law and discipline. As a consequence, they lack courage to deal with those who should be dealt with and to punish those who should be punished or, even if they do handle some cases that should be handled, they do so in a soft and weak manner. When they meet with difficulties in handling the cases, they will not hesitate to leave them unsettled. Others, themselves

being not very clean politically and contaminated with unhealthy tendencies of all kinds, fear "getting themselves into trouble while handling others' cases" and more often than not, they fail to adhere to party principle boldly and forcefully, and to cope with evil deeds in the way of turning big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all, and even retaliate against those who dare to adhere to principle and shield and wink at evildoers by taking advantage of their power and position. If leading bodies are soft, weak, and lax and if healthy trends fail to prevail over unhealthy ones, the party rectification is apt to proceed perfunctorily.

Take another example. A section of party members, party cadres in particular, have succumbed to anarchism, individualism, and the mentality of "trying never to offend anybody" in a serious way. In his article "Combat Liberalism," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon." "But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the party and the revolutionary organizations." The manifestations of liberalism cited by Comrade Mao Zedong at that time can still be found now and then in some comrades. They concentrate on becoming one "who tries never to offend anybody," favoring the "study of relationships," rejecting active ideological struggle, and shutting their eyes to acts that harm the interests of the party and the people, and to the unhealthy tendencies prevailing in the party. Liberalism stems from individualism, it places personal interests first. Those who have succumbed to liberalism always put personal interests first, are bound to ignore and forget the party principle and the people's interests, fear making criticism of "leftist" and right erroneous tendencies, waging a struggle against such unhealthy tendencies as seeking private interests by taking advantage of one's power and position and bureaucratic attitudes, and have no end of scruples about weeding out [qing li 3237 3810] "people of three categories." Actually, in applying liberalism to others, one hopes that others will apply liberalism to oneself in return and in not making criticism of others, one hopes that others will not make criticism in return. If this individualistic philistine philosophy is in vogue, carrying out active ideological struggle and conducting criticism and self-criticism will be out of the question. Failure to overcome this mentality of "trying never to offend anybody" will result in perfunctoriness in the party rectification.

These negative factors mentioned above are a corrosive influence which corrupts the party, which is the vanguard of the working class, and harms the purity of communism and presents vital obstacles to party rectification work, which should be carried out in a very strict manner. If we allow these negative factors to continue to exist and spread rather than deepening our understanding, paying strict attention to, and vigorously overcoming them at the very beginning of party rectification, the party rectification will be in danger of being carried out in a perfunctory manner.

Every party member and party cadre must earnestly think of the consequences resulting from the party rectification being carried out perfunctorily.

If the party rectification proceeds perfunctorily, it will mean storing up trouble for ourselves later. The serious impurities that exist in the party in ideology, work style, and organization are bound to increase constantly and various dangerous factors, the dangerous "people of three categories" in particular, are bound to hide themselves in a deeper way, becoming a hidden peril that seriously harms the party. Objectively allowing the party rectification to proceed perfunctorily means supporting, shielding, and winking at unhealthy trends and evil practices and encouraging those who have indulged in unhealthy tendencies to become more brazen and unscrupulous in the future.

If the party rectification proceeds perfunctorily, it will mean losing the people's confidence. The CPC Central Committee policy decision on rectifying the party organizations in an overall manner is an embodiment of the common aspirations of the whole party and the people throughout the country and has won the warm support of the masses of people inside and outside the party. The people all over the country place high hopes on the present party rectification. They hope that after the present party rectification, the face of the party will take on an altogether new aspect and a fundamental turn for the better will be brought in the standards of social conduct accordingly. It is already known to all that our party is always true in word and resolute in deed. For this reason, the people believe that the present party rectification can be carried out successfully. If the party rectification proceeds perfunctorily, the people's hope will come to nothing and the party's prestige among the masses will decline substantially.

If the party rectification proceeds perfunctorily, it will seriously hinder the process of the modernization program. The fundamental purpose of the present party rectification is to enable the party to become the staunch force at the core leading socialist modernization. The arduousness and complexity of the modernization program requires our party to vigorously raise its fighting capacity, to improve its ideological and work levels, and to maintain closer links with the masses. If the party rectification proceeds perfunctorily, none of these requirements can be accomplished and our party will be in no position to adapt itself to the new developments and new tasks it faces in the modernization program and there will be no reliable guarantee for attaining the objective of struggle put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress.

Now that there does exist the danger of the party rectification being conducted in a perfunctory manner and perfunctoriness in the party rectification does great harm to the party, we should take it seriously and eliminate it with firmest determination. For this purpose, the CPC Central Committee party rectification decision stipulates three powerful measures: First, leading party cadres at all various levels and senior cadres in particular must seriously set an example; second, it is necessary for the party organization at the higher level to supervise its subordinate

organizations and vice versa; and third, the party committee at the higher level should organize acceptance tests, according to the five standards for acceptance tests as stipulated in the decision, whenever a subordinate organization has finished its rectification work. Resolute remedial measures should be taken whenever a party organization is found to have failed to fulfill any of these five requirements. Since the party rectification was launched, the Commission for Guiding Party Rectification of the CPC Central Committee has issued a series of circulars and formulated concrete stipulations on carrying out the party rectification in a very strict and satisfactory way. For example, the Document No 6 which was issued not long ago requires that all party committees or leading party groups of the units involved in the first stage of party rectification must implement the principle of simultaneous rectification and correction of defects, take prompt action to solve some problems which can be solved, and place the main emphasis of simultaneously rectifying and correcting defects on checking serious unhealthy tendencies. So long as we act effectively in accordance with the above-mentioned requirements, we can entirely prevent the party rectification from proceeding perfunctorily.

It must be noted that through a lot of work done and struggles waged since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, healthy forces have prevailed in the party. With the proceeding of party rectification, there will be a further change in the relative strength of positive factors and negative ones. This accords with the will of the party and the general trend of events. The fact that negative factors are highly influential or even fairly stubborn in some localities and units, as if they are "chronic" and "deep-rooted," is only a transient phenomenon. Do we not often see that the day when a spring breeze comes to warm up the earth is the time when the ice has to gradually melt, no matter how solid it is, and that wherever a sharp axe is directed, all roots will be planed down readily, no matter how firm they are? If the party rectification is carried out in highly strict manner, any negative factors that give rise to perfunctoriness in the party rectification will be disdained and cast aside by the majority of party members and be overcome by the healthy forces and positive factors in the party because they run counter to the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class, and the will of the party and the people. This is like the case of a spring breeze thawing out the frozen earth and a sharp axe planing down all roots. We must have full confidence in this point.

The Question of Party Style Is One That Concerns the Survival or Extinction of the Ruling Party

(By Wang Yuru [3769 3768 1172])

The rectification of the party's work style is one of the four tasks for the present party rectification and is also a question which the masses of people inside and outside the party are most concerned about and a question which calls for urgent solution. Party style refers to the styles of a party in power and its organizations and members in such fields as thinking, work, and life and is the concrete embodiment of the nature of the party. The party's three great work styles which took shape in the protracted

revolutionary struggles, namely, the integration of theory and practice, the maintaining of close links with the masses, and self-criticism, are the outstanding symbol which distinguishes our party from other parties. These new styles embody the nature of our party, which is the vanguard of the working class, the party's fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and the revolutionary style formed by the party by taking the revolutionary scientific theory--Marxism-Leninism--as the guide. Party style and party spirit are therefore interdependent. On the one hand, party style is determined by party spirit and on the other, the former reflects the latter and has a bearing on the nature of a party. If a working class party is contaminated by the styles of the exploiting classes and if, instead of promptly overcoming them, it lets them develop unchecked, it will be hard to maintain its nature as the vanguard of the working class.

Maintaining fine party style provides an important condition for the party to win the trust of the masses of people. More often than not, the masses of people judge the party from its work style. They base their appraisal of our party not only on what the party has said but more importantly, on what the party has done. In other words, they evaluate our party in accordance with the line, principles, and policies the party practices and the styles of its organizations and members. Practice shows that to win the support of the masses of people, in addition to the line, principles, and policies which tally with objective realities and represent the interests of the people, the party must possess a fine work style and its members must play an exemplary role in everything. Without the latter conditions, it will be hard to implement its correct line, principles, and policies. Therefore, the question of party style has a direct influence on the will of the people, and the will of the people directly concerns the life and death of the party.

Party style is of great importance at any time. With the changed position of the party from being a party oppressed to becoming one in power throughout the country, the question of party style has become more pronounced and important.

On the one hand, after our party took over the political power of the whole country, maintaining the purity of the party's ranks has become more difficult than in the previous periods. During the revolutionary war years or under the reign of White terror, joining the party meant that one should bear hardships and stand hard work and risk one's life at all times. The majority of people who joined the party under such circumstances worked hard for the revolution wholeheartedly. The difficult and perilous circumstances themselves objectively prevented opportunists and wavering elements from sneaking into the party and thus protected the purity of its ranks. Things have changed since the party came to power throughout the country. In joining the party, people do not necessarily face the dangers which their elders risked in the past and moreover, they are likely to be in power. Just as Lenin said: "The temptation to join the ruling party at the present time is very great." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 22, p 225) Some people join the ruling party with a view to becoming officials and gaining extra advantages and they naturally bring the style of thinking of the exploiting classes into the party.

On the other hand, in the long years since the party took over the political power of the whole country, the party has been in a peaceful environment and a section of party members have slackened their efforts to resist the increased influence of the style of thinking of the exploiting classes. During the years of revolutionary wars, in the situation in which the enemy was strong and we ourselves were weak, if the party organizations and party members had not earnestly and sincerely worked for the interests of the masses of people, they would not have been able to wage struggles and win victories and moreover they simply would not have been able to survive and develop--like fish leaving the water. At that time, the disastrous effect of infringing upon the interests of the masses and staying apart from the masses could be constantly felt and easily seen. However, things have changed since the party took over the political power of the whole country. Because the party's position has changed, some comrades have as often as not failed to see the danger resulting from the infringement of the masses' interests and the separation of themselves from the masses. Influenced by the ideas of the exploiting classes, some weak-willed revolutionary comrades are liable to be hit by sugar-coated bullets and become politically degenerate. More often than not they mistakenly regard the party's leading position as the rulers' position. This is bound to give rise to unhealthy tendencies, such as seeking private interests by taking advantage of one's power and position and bureaucratic attitudes. For this, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "It is a fundamental change for a Marxist party to turn into a ruling party throughout the country, from a state of itself being oppressed, slaughtered, and encircled and suppressed. After being in office, can it become politically degenerate? The development of history has posed this question to the communists all over the world and to the international communist movement." "When things do not go well, degeneration may occur."

Consistent attention has invariably been paid to the question of how a proletarian party, after it takes office, should maintain purity in thinking and organization and guard against degeneration--Lenin took the lead in this respect. In 1919, Lenin pointed out: "Our party, the party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not with increasing its membership but with improving its quality, and purging itself of 'self-seekers'" and it is necessary "to purge the party of those who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of devoted work on behalf of communism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 76) At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong reminded the whole party to guard against the bourgeoisie's attack with sugar-coated bullets, and to preserve the style of being modest, prudent, and plain living and of maintaining hard struggle after it was in office nationwide. In his report on the revision of the party constitution delivered at the Eighth CPC National Congress held in 1956, in light of historical experiences and the new developments the party encountered after it was in power, Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out: "Contrary to bourgeois parties, a working class party willingly maintains that it is the tool of the masses of people by which they accomplish a given historical commission during a specified historical state rather than

taking the masses of people as its own tool." "Affirming this concept of the party means affirming that the party has no right to put itself beyond the masses' supervision, that the party has no right to bestow favors on the masses of people, to monopolize everything, and to resort to coercion and commandism in dealing with the masses, and that the party has no right to lord it over the masses of people."

During the 1950's and early 1960's, our party always attached importance to the question of party style and paid close attention to party education discipline and thus considerably resisted the inroads of the bourgeois style of thinking. However, during the decade-long "Great Cultural Revolution," party building was seriously damaged and the sense of organization and discipline was lax, and through various channels and forms, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" spread and pursued the extremely pernicious bourgeois work style. All this has brought extremely great harm to our party. Through the endeavors made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to bring order out of chaos, things have changed but there has not yet been a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style. There are serious phenomena in which some party members and party cadres take advantage of their power and position, and the conveniences provided by the work to seek private interests and they are seriously affected by the bureaucratic attitude of not holding oneself responsible to the party and people. If we fail to resolutely wipe out these unhealthy tendencies and decadent phenomena, our party's image, and prestige, its relations with the masses, and its leading role will be discredited and undermined. In 1980 Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The question of party style is a question of life and death for a party in power." This is a scientific thesis advanced on the basis of summing up the historical experiences both at home and abroad. To counter the serious unhealthy tendencies prevailing in our party, the report to the 12th CPC National Congress and the CPC Central Committee party rectification document have reaffirmed this Marxist viewpoint. Earnest efforts should be made to grasp the profound meaning of this viewpoint. By so doing, we can strengthen party spirit and enhance the willingness to rectify the party's work style.

Some comrades hold that party style is a matter that should be handled by the whole party and individuals are powerless in this regard. Others even argue that limited unhealthy tendencies will not affect the situation as a whole and have nothing to do with the question of life and death. They have failed to realize that a party is an integral whole and the words and deeds of its organizations and members have a bearing on its cause. Moreover, unhealthy tendencies have great centrifugal effect and are highly corrosive. Those who have indulged in unhealthy tendencies are liable to be at odds with the party and the masses. Being contagious, unhealthy tendencies can rot part of the body of an organization. It is appropriate to describe the damaging role of unhealthy tendencies to the party as "moles, crickets, and ants being able to eat away a thousand li of dikes." The party is the model of the society as a whole. If its style is unhealthy, how can it transform the general mood of society? It is appropriate for a veteran comrade to say: Starting a career is like shouldering baskets of earth but ruining a business is like breakers washing away the sand. This

is the case with party style. It is difficult to form a sound party style but it can deteriorate quickly. Therefore we must on no account cling to the assertion that limited unhealthy tendencies existing in individuals cannot affect the situation as a whole. During the years of revolutionary wars, was the soundness of our party's work style not connected with the merits of every party member who played a vanguard, exemplary role in every concrete thing? To rectify the party's work style, we must now start with every party member. All party members, leading party cadres in particular, must start with themselves and with every concrete thing from now on in checking unhealthy tendencies and in carrying forward the party's fine traditions. In this way, we can, through the present party rectification, surely attain the objective of bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

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WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BOURGEOIS HUMANISM AND SOCIALIST HUMANISM?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 41-44

[Article by Chen Zhishang [7115 1807 1424]]

[Text] In his article "On Humanism and Alienation," Comrade Hu Qiaomu has clarified the difference between bourgeois and socialist humanism. Here, I would like to deal with the question in terms of my own superficial understanding.

Although there are many sects of bourgeois humanism, and they are expressed in various forms, they coincide with each other in their basic views and approaches. To sum up, it can be said that bourgeois humanism is a social ideological trend, with abstract humanism as its theoretical basis, with individualism as its basic principle, with the discussion of human value and rights as its chief form, and with liberty, equality, and fraternity as its political program and moral ideal. In essence, it belongs to the idealistic world outlook and conception of history, and to the realm of bourgeois ideology.

And although socialist humanism has adopted the term "humanism," and has inherited in a critical manner the rational factors of bourgeois humanism that have played a progressive role in history, it is derived from the revolutionary practice of the proletariat and the laboring people, and is basically different from the old bourgeois humanism. The differences are mainly as follows:

First, the difference in theoretical basis. Bourgeois humanism takes the abstract theory of human nature as its theoretical basis. The "man" it refers to is an individual divorced from any concrete historical stage, any realistic social practice, and any social connections, while human nature and the intrinsic qualities of man are regarded as things possessed at birth by such a person, things that never change, namely, "things abstract implanted in the individual." As to what human nature and the intrinsic qualities of man are, though there are diverse concrete explanations, such as self-preservation (pursuing interests while avoiding being hurt), love, emotions, selfishness, doing good to oneself, self-consciousness, rationality, will, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, pleasures, and even some irrational psychological instincts, and so on,

in essence, they all sum up human nature and the intrinsic nature of man as conceptual and spiritual things. They change man into an empty and abstract concept, then make arbitrary deductions from this kind of concept, giving explanations of various questions. The whole theory of bourgeois humanism starts from and is based on the premise of such an abstract, eternal, and universal man and human nature through subjective supposition. The basis of socialist humanism is "the science concerning man in reality and his historical development." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 237) This means that socialist humanism is fundamentally opposed to discussion on abstract man divorced from real life, denying that there exists any eternal human nature and opposing the summing up of the intrinsic qualities of man as something spiritual. It follows the basic principle of historical materialism that social existence determines social ideology, and believes, strictly according to the facts, that men are material beings with objective existence, namely, men in reality, and that their chief characteristics are organizing society under particular historical conditions, engaging in production and other social practices, and dynamically remolding the objective world. Man's social practice and social relations are forever changing, therefore man, human nature, and the intrinsic qualities of man are always concrete and historical, invariably caused and determined by the whole social practice man is engaged in and his various social relations, and given expression in such social practice and social relations. In a society in which people are divided into different classes, all men possess certain class relations and interests, and human nature is invariably one with a class nature. All realms relating to man, such as: human value, rights, dignity, liberty, happiness, love and hatred, humanity and inhumanity, and so on, can only be accurately understood and explained through concrete, historical, and class analysis.

For instance, both socialist and bourgeois humanism talk about attaching importance to and realizing human value, but they are fundamentally different, whether in theory or practice. Bourgeois humanism explains human value in terms of the absolutely free development of the natural instincts of abstract man, and sums it up as the rights and purposes of the individual man, worshipping and publicizing it above all else, with money, position, and power as the criterion by which to weigh human value. Such a conception of human value is established completely for the sake of demonstrating the rationality of individualism and egoism. While socialist humanism holds that human value lies in the ability of man to carry out manual and mental labor, and, therefore, he is the creator of social material and spiritual wealth, and the basic factor of the existence and development of society. Society is constituted of individuals, and the individual cannot exist independently of society. Since the existence and development of the individual and his capacity for labor have to depend on the nurture of people and society in the final analysis, it is impossible to speak abstractly of human value independent of his relations with people and society. The premise and chief indicator in weighing the value of a man is his service to the people and his contribution to social development. In the old society, the exploiting classes never regarded the laboring people as human beings; in their eyes, the laborers were only beasts of burden, and the means to acquire surplus value; and they never recognized

the human value of the laboring people. Therefore, for society as a whole to realize and to raise human value, it is primarily necessary to eliminate the system of exploitation and oppression of men by men, to implement the socialist ownership system of the means of production, so that every citizen may have the right and obligation to take part in labor. At the same time, it is necessary to unfold the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, so as to ensure the continuous satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people while creating conditions in every aspect to enable the people to bring into play their initiative, creativeness, and abilities. As for the individual, it is necessary for him to exercise the rights and fulfill the obligations of the citizen, to love labor, and to respect and care for laboring people, while fighting against all conduct injurious to people and society, opposing the tendencies of loving ease and hating work and of looking down upon laboring people, but promoting the building of cooperation, mutual respect, and care for each other between laborers. Here is included the attitude toward those who have committed mistakes. It is necessary to draw a distinction between right and wrong, aiming at helping them, while we should not adopt a principle of sheer punishment. In society, we should promote the spirit of healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, of showing respect for the aged and caring for the young, of protecting women and children, and so on.

Second, the difference in fundamental principles. Bourgeois humanism takes individualism as its fundamental principle. It advocates regarding "man" as the center, and is keen on discussing in abstract terms the idea that "man is the purpose," playing up respect for and realization of "human value," "human rights," "human dignity," "human liberty," and so on. Superficially, this talk puts on an appearance of universality (the so-called "everybody," and "all men") and it seems that it is for all men (the whole of humanity), but in reality it is a false appearance. In fact, both the starting point and the goal of the discussion on abstract man are the individual, taking the interests, needs, or will of the individual as the criterion for appraising right and wrong, good and evil, and focusing on the expression of the so-called doctrine that the liberty and ownership of private property of the individual are sacred and inviolable. But in a society in which the means of production belong to the capitalists, in which the dictatorship of the exploiting classes is practiced, such a "man" or "individual" can only be the idealized substitute for the bourgeois or the petite-bourgeois. Therefore, the so-called human value, rights, liberty, and so on are only the expression of the interests and demands of the bourgeoisie and the petite-bourgeoisie, safeguarding their liberty and rights, advocating the outlook on life and the philosophy of life of individualism and egoism. Some humanists are for self-restraint, advocating "rational egoism," and talk of the need for "benefiting others," "fraternity," and so on, but because they do not understand the actual relations between the individual, class, and masses, they fail to admit that people are the creators of history; therefore, they never go beyond the ideological realm of individualism. The theory they advocate is but a compromising, and hypocritical variation of individualism and egoism. The principle of socialist humanism is collectivism. This means that socialist humanism is fundamentally opposed to placing individual interests

first, and taking the individual as the starting point, center, goal, and criterion; it is opposed to singing the praises of the primary position of human value and liberty, but advocates that all speech and conduct should take the greatest interest of the greatest number as the starting point, goal, and criterion. The question of man is one that involves not just the individual, but primarily the collective and the masses. Concerning so-called "showing of respect for man," it is primarily necessary to show respect for the people, enabling them to be rid of the status of being exploited and enslaved and satisfying their material and cultural needs. Needless to say, the people consist of numerous individuals. Therefore, every man should respect himself as a socialist laborer, and his character as a socialist citizen, while respecting others, mutual respect and concern being shown for each other. In socialist society, the interests of the individual and those of the collective and the state are basically one. As an individual, he should conscientiously subject himself to the needs of the collective and the state, and devote his whole self to the people; while the collective and society should attach great attention to caring for the proper interests and needs of every individual, helping them to develop their characters and specialties. In other words, he should serve the people heart and soul, and bear responsibility for the people. Therefore, socialist humanism is incompatible with individualism; it advocates the correct combination of individual and collective interests, the slogans of "all for one and one for all" (Lenin: "On Saturday Voluntary Labor," People's Publishing House, March 1975 edition, p 11), and of "being concerned for one's country above all else, and being happy only when the whole country is happy," requiring the whole people to carry forward unity, friendship, and collectivism in the spirit of sacrificing oneself for the public.

Third, the difference in place and role in each ideological system. Bourgeois humanism is an idealistic world outlook and conception of history; it is a political doctrine and ethical theory of the bourgeoisie, and it occupies a position of basic principle in the bourgeois ideological system, playing a guiding role. All bourgeois humanists explain history in terms of abstract human nature, and attribute everything to the changes in, loss, and restoration of human nature, holding that human nature is the motive force in the development of history, advocating that man is the criterion in judging history (the so-called theory of "making man the criterion for weighing all things"). Their ideal is to achieve the full realization of human nature, namely, the so-called paradise on earth of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which is suited to the natural instincts of mankind. And the road and approach to realizing such an ideal are to place hope in the universal improvement of "human nature," in persuading rulers to display mercy and to exercise benevolent government, or in the appearance of a "messiah," so that rationality and justice may fall from the skies. At the same time, they advocate peaceful reform, and oppose all forms of violence, in particular showing antagonism and opposition to the revolutionary struggle of the laboring masses. In fact, if one departs from the proletarian revolution and dictatorship, and departs from the elimination of the private ownership system and of classes, any talk of liberty, equality, and fraternity can only be the political fraud of the

bourgeoisie, or the fantasy of the petite-bourgeoisie. Although socialist humanism still adopts the term humanism, what it implies is not a world outlook, a conception of history, nor the fundamental or primary principle of the socialist ideological system. The world outlook and conception of history of the proletariat are dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and its political doctrine and ethical theory are scientific socialism. Socialist humanism is only part of scientific socialism, and is the ethical principle and moral norm placed in a subordinate position. Its implementation will serve the whole historical mission of the proletariat, subordinate to the basic principle of the morality of communism.

For instance, we advocate and implement the following policies: By means of socialist transformation, the overwhelming majority of the members of the former exploiting classes have become socialist laborers, who can now earn their own living; regarding those criminal and counterrevolutionary elements who have brought injuries to the socialist cause and the interests of the people, with the exception of an extremely small handful of them who have committed heinous crimes, they are given a way out, a chance to turn over a new leaf, and are enabled to become new men through labor and ideological remolding; for criminals, corporal punishment is abolished, the practice of obtaining confessions from them by compulsion and giving them credence is strictly forbidden, and they are not to be subjected to personal insults; there should be no ill-treatment of prisoners of war, and their personal security is to be safeguarded, and so on. All this gives expression to the principle of socialist humanism. However, in doing so, neither the starting point nor the basis are the so-called universal fraternity of leniency and benevolence advocated by bourgeois humanism, but it is based on people's scientific understanding of the class relations in society and the objective law of class struggle. While the implementation of these humanist principles is not isolated, but is entirely subject to the goal of the basic interests of the proletariat and of class struggle in eliminating classes, and emancipating the whole of mankind, it is itself a component part of the entire class struggle. Such practice will be helpful in disintegrating the enemy, and in uniting all forces that can be united, and will not only bring into play all positive factors but will also change negative factors into positive ones.

As another instance, healing the wounded and saving the dying is part of the essence of socialist humanism, and the practice of it is the minimum requirement for us. This means that in our socialist society, if a doctor should neglect his duty and be irresponsible, failing even to heal the wounded and to save the dying, he would lose the eligibility to be a people's doctor, and it would be immoral conduct. However, as a conscientious socialist medical worker, he should not be satisfied with only generally fulfilling the task of healing the wounded and saving the dying, but should conscientiously aim higher, requiring himself to follow the example of Norman Bethune, being utterly responsible in his work, with utter devotion to the people. This is because he understands that the object of his work is not only a biological "man," but also a comrade and comrade-in-arms in the common struggle for the communist cause, and it is

not out of "love for humanity" or "sympathy" that he cures the disease and saves the patient, but out of his devotion to the people and his comrades, and responsibility for the people's cause. Here the practice of healing the wounded and saving the dying is based on the spirit of collectivism in serving the people, and loyalty to the communist cause, and this is the difference between socialist and bourgeois humanism.

In short, we should by no means disregard their essential differences and confuse the two because socialist humanism has adopted some of the terminology used in bourgeois humanism. Socialist humanism is not a mixture of scientific socialism and bourgeois humanism. The practice of summing up scientific socialism as a kind of humanism, including it in the so-called realm of a "general," "humanism in a broad sense," which has been passed down from ancient days to the present, and the view that its difference from bourgeois humanism is just the difference between one kind of humanism and another is actually nullifying the essential differences between socialist and bourgeois humanism with a formalist, abstract approach, and is degrading scientific socialism to the level of humanism, summing it up as humanism, and tainting Marxism with humanism.

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THE '7 FEBRUARY STRIKE' AND THE '7 FEBRUARY MONUMENT TO REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 p 44

[Article by Jian Ji [0313 6549]]

[Text] The Monument to the "7 February" Revolutionary Martyrs, which is made of granite and in memory of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the "7 February massacre," towers aloft on the courtyard of the Memorial Hall of the 7 February revolution in Hankou, Wuhan city, Hubei Province. It is an obelisk erected on a stone pedestal with a smaller circumference in the middle, with a height of 12.6 meters. On its front side is an inscription by Comrade Mao Zedong made on 16 September 1958. It is inlaid with white marble sculpture. On its front side is a design representing the union of the workers and peasants who hold high the torch of revolution. On its two sides are two sculptures which depict the heroic barehanded struggles of the railway workers in support of the February strike in Wuhan and its neighboring areas, against the reactionary army and police. On its back side is an inscription. Surrounded by flowers, the monument looks more magnificent.

The "7 February strike" is also known as Beijing-Wuhan Railway strike. Under the leadership of the CPC, the workers of the Beijing-Wuhan Railway held the inaugural ceremony of the Beijing-Wuhan Railway Union in Zhengzhou on 1 February 1923, with the aim of opposing the suppression of the imperialists and feudal warlords. The movement, however, met with armed obstruction by the feudal warlords. Consequently, the union decided to launch a big strike and it moved to Hankou. The big strike started on 4 February. As the workers acted in unison, within 3 hours all of them were on strike and all the trains stopped and the 1,000-odd kilometer railway was paralyzed. More than 10,000 people joined in the demonstration in Wuhan and its neighboring areas.

Soon after the strike, the imperialists colluded with the feudal warlords and plotted against the labor movement. On 7 February, they ordered bloody suppression in places such as Zhenzhou, Jianan, and Changxindian. Consequently, more than 50 workers were killed, more than 300 wounded, more than 40 jailed, and more than 1,000 fired. That was the well-known "7 February massacre" during the cause of Chinese revolution. The strike lasted until 9 February.

The big strike revealed the revolutionary character of the working class and its spirit of discipline, selflessness, and self-sacrifice. It also reflected the political awareness and revolutionary strength of the Chinese working class. "The big strike placed the Chinese working class on the world political stage."

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EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE ARTICLE 'ON HUMANISM AND ALIENATION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 3, 1 Feb 84 pp 45-48

["Cadres' Theoretical Studies" column; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Asceticism/ This generally refers to the practice of extreme denial of physical desires in order to attain a moral or religious ideal. It was also called "self-denial theory" in ethics and was represented by the stoic and cynic schools in ancient Greece and Rome. These schools despised material life and regarded self-denial and preservation of one's own purity and integrity as virtue. The schools of yoga and vaisa in India and certain sects of Buddhism also advocated asceticism. Asceticism looked upon the body as the source of all kinds of evil and suffering. It advocated denial of personal desires, discarding reason, and the practice of asceticism so as to gain supernatural powers and to free oneself. Asceticism was an important subject in the theology of the Middle Ages in the West. The fathers of Christianity and many scholastics publicized such thought. From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the uprisings staged by the masses which possessed religious features were also characterized by asceticism. On the one hand, they opposed the luxurious life of the ruling class and advocated absolute equalitarianism; and on the other hand, they called on the masses to give up their pleasures so as to further exert their revolutionary will. "Asceticism" here is different in meaning from the above two concepts. It is the attitude and methods adopted for realizing certain political propositions, which had certain progressive significance at that time. Today, we advocate the revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard work. This is entirely different from asceticism.

/"The Communist Manifesto"/ "The Communist Manifesto" was a program drafted by Marx and Engels for the Communist League. It was written between December 1847 and January 1848 and was first published in London in a separate edition in February 1848. "The Communist Manifesto" was the first programmatic document of scientific communism, which comprehensively and systematically expounded the theory of Marxism for the first time. In the "Preface to the English Edition of 1888," Engels pointed out that the fundamental proposition which constituted the nucleus of "The Communist Manifesto" was: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic construction and exchange, and the social organization

necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, the form which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." It is pointed out in "The Communist Manifesto" that since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, the whole history of mankind had been a history of class struggle. It analyzed the outcome and process of development of the bourgeois class, revealed the contradictions and laws of development of capitalist society, and proved the inevitability of the doom of capitalist society and the victory of socialism. "The Communist Manifesto" expounded the great historical mission of the proletariat that it must emancipate the whole of mankind and pointed out that the proletariat must use force to overthrow the rule of the bourgeois class, establish its own political power, and wield this weapon to deprive the bourgeois class of all the means of production, to abolish private ownership, and to increase the total amount of productive forces as quickly as possible. "The Communist Manifesto" also pointed out that the communists were the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, which pushed forward the proletarian movement. They had no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. Lastly, "The Communist Manifesto" solemnly put forward the fighting slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" and called on the proletariat to struggle for its own emancipation. From the day it came out, "The Communist Manifesto" has been the common program of millions upon millions of workers of all countries and a mighty ideological weapon for guiding the struggle of proletarian emancipation.

/"Anti-Duhring"/ This was one of the main works of Engels, written between September 1876 and June 1878. In the 1870's Duhring, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, appeared as a socialist "reformer" and attempted to carry out a radical "reform" of the three component parts of Marxism--philosophy, political economy, and socialism. He won support from Bernstein and others. For the sake of defending Marxism and the healthy development of the workers' movement in Germany, Engels thoroughly criticized the erroneous theories of Duhring in the polemic work and systematically expounded the basic theories of the three component parts of Marxism. In the field of philosophy, Engels criticized Duhring's idealist a priorism and metaphysics and expounded the basic viewpoints of dialectical materialism concerning matter and consciousness, matter and movement, time and space, relative and absolute truth, freedom and necessity, and so on, demonstrated the law of materialist dialectics, and brought to light the role of class struggle in social development and the class nature of state, law, morality, and so on. In the field of political economy, Engels criticized Duhring's vulgar viewpoint on economy, explained the object and mode of political economy, and elaborated the economic theory of Marxism and particularly the theory of surplus value. Meanwhile, he also criticized Duhring's idealist theory of violence and pointed out that revolutionary force was the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one and that it was the instrument by means of which social movements forced their way through and shattered the dead, fossilized political forms. In the field of socialism, Engels criticized Duhring's theory on petty bourgeois socialism, expounded the historical conditions and economic source of the outcome of scientific socialism, and brought to light the inevitable law of the

doom of capitalism and the victory of socialism. He also made expositions on the basic features of socialism and communism. Marx participated in the writing of "Anti-Duhring." He actively urged Engels to be determined in criticizing Duhring's system and completely agreed with the plan drafted by Engels for the whole work. He also helped Engels in collecting the necessary data, acquainted himself with the writing of all the manuscripts, and personally wrote the chapter criticizing Duhring's critical history of political economy.

Lenin pointed out: "Anti-Duhring" "is an extremely rich and useful book." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 92) "Like 'The Communist Manifesto,' 'Anti-Duhring' is a book every worker with consciousness must read." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 442) Neither Marx nor Engels used the concept "alienation" in this book.

/"Critique of the Gotha Program"/ This is a programmatic document on scientific socialism which was written by Marx during April and early May 1875.

There were two workers' organizations at that time. One of them was the Social Democratic Party led by Liebknecht and Bebel (because it was founded in Eisenach, the organization was also named the Eisenachers). The other was the General Association of German Workers (because it believed in Lassalleism, the organization was also named the Lassalleans). Some leaders of the Eisenachers were infatuated with the unity of the two organizations and refused to accept the correct views of Marx and Engels on not making any concession on matters of principle. Together with the Lassalleans, they drafted a program which was full of Lassallean opportunist views. The draft program was prepared for the merging of the two organizations into the German Social Democratic Party. This draft program fundamentally deviated from the theories of Marx on class struggle, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship. Marx added notes to the draft program, sternly criticizing it from political, theoretical, and tactical viewpoints. It was first entitled "Marginal Notes to the Program of the German Workers' Party" and later abbreviated as "Critique of the Gotha Program." In this work, Marx, for the first time, pointed out that the communist society would develop in two phases, namely, the initial phase and the higher phase (later, Lenin clearly defined the initial phase of the communist society as the socialist society). Marx said: The initial phase of the communist society will inevitably bear economic, moral, and spiritual defects as it has just emerged, after prolonged birth pangs, from the old society. Therefore, the means of subsistence can only be distributed according to the amount of labor an individual has contributed (deducting his labor contributed to social funds). Only in the higher phase of the communist society can we implement the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Because some leaders of the Eisenachers blocked the availability of information, this work of Marx' was not made public at that time. The draft program was slightly revised and adopted at the Gotha Unity Congress held in May 1875. In order to oppose the right opportunism in the international

workers' movement and particularly within the German party, Engels published this work of Marx' in 1891.

/"Wages, Price, and Profit"/ This was an address delivered by Marx in English on 20 and 27 June 1865 at two sittings of the general council of the International Working Men's Association. The preserved manuscripts were first published in London in 1898, under the title "Value, Price, and Profit," by Marx' daughter Eleanor. Later, the title was changed to "Wages, Price, and Profit" in the German edition. This address was aimed at the speech made by John Weston, a member of the International Working Men's Association, on 2 and 23 May the same year. Weston was a man of action in the British workers' movement. His occupation was that of carpenter and he later became a factory owner. In his speech, he tried to prove that higher wages could not improve the condition of the workers and that the trade unions must be considered as having a "harmful effect." In his address, Marx criticized Weston's erroneous views, explained the relations between wages, price, and profit, expounded the production and distribution of surplus value, elaborated the relationship between economic and political struggles, and called on the workers to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wages system!" Prior to the publication of "Das Kapital," this article penetratingly expounded the subject matter of the theory of surplus value.

/"The German Ideology"/ This was a philosophical work jointly written by Marx and Engels between 1845 and 1846. It was partly published in 1847 and published in full for the first time in 1932 under the title "The German Ideology. Criticism of the Modern German Philosophy Represented by Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, and Stirner and the German Socialism Represented by All Kinds of Prophets."

Through the criticism of idealism and "real socialism" pursued by Bauer, Stirner, and other Hegelians, the book pinpointed the limitations of Feuerbach's materialism. It explained history by proceeding from the specific conditions of social material life, demonstrated the principle that social being determined social consciousness and that the production mode of the material means was the basis of social development, expounded the dialectical relationship between the forms of connection (production relations) and the productive forces, elaborated the basic features of various economic formations which superseded one another by analyzing all the historical forms of ownership, pointed out the historical role of the proletariat and for the first time put forward the principle that in carrying out proletarian revolution, it was necessary to seize political power above everything else, used the scientific concept "historical materialism" for the first time, combined materialism with scientific socialism, criticized the views which insisted that the abolition of private ownership was the desire of human nature, and gave materialistic explanations on the history of philosophy, aesthetics, linguistics, and so on.

"The German Ideology" was an important work in the period in which Marxism took shape. Its greatest achievement was that it got rid of the author's previous philosophical beliefs, made a clear distinction between Marxist

philosophy and classical German philosophy, and expounded the basic principles of historical materialism. This work indicated that during that period, Marx and Engels "went from Hegel to Feuerbach, and further beyond Feuerbach to historical (and dialectical) materialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 386)

/"The Poverty of Philosophy"/ This was one of the mature works of early Marxism which was written by Marx in the first half of 1847 under the title "The Poverty of Philosophy. On Proudhon's 'The Philosophy of Poverty.'" In this work, Marx penetratingly criticized the reformist views, idealism, and metaphysics pursued by the French petit-bourgeois thinker and anarchist Proudhon. He elaborated the basic principle of scientific socialism, demonstrated the law that production relations must suit the production forces, analyzed the antagonistic contradictions in the capitalist mode of production, expounded the historical mission of the proletariat, and pointed out that the confrontation between the proletariat and the capitalists would inevitably lead to all-round revolution--the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the socialist system. Engels pointed out: Our communist world outlook "first came into being from Marx' 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and 'The Communist Manifesto.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 49).

/Freedom Is the Recognition of Necessity and Remolding of the World/ Freedom and necessity belong to the category of philosophy, as they reveal the mutual relationship between objective law and people's practical activities. Necessity is the law of objective subsistence. Before the recognition of necessity, people's activities are always blind and constrained. Freedom is the recognition of necessity and remolding of the world. Man's knowledge of the dialectical relationship between freedom and necessity undergoes a process of development. Spinoza, Netherlands materialist philosopher of the 17th century, put forward an important dialectical thought: "Freedom is recognized necessity." The German idealist philosopher Hegel also held that freedom was the recognition of necessity. He said: "Necessity is blind only when it is not understood." As Marx said, these old philosophers "are trying by different ways to explain the world, but the matter lies in transforming the world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 19) After affirming Hegel's correct views on the issue, Engels further pointed out: "Freedom does not consist in an imaginary independence of natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws and in the possibility which is thus given of systematically making them work toward definite ends." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 153) Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically summarized the process of development of man's recognition in this field. While refuting Wang Ming's "left" deviationist line in 1941, he said: "The European philosophers have already understood the truth 'freedom is the recognition of necessity.' Marx' contribution did not lie in negating this truth, but in admitting the truth and complementing it by adding 'the remolding of the world' on the basis of the recognition of necessity. 'Freedom is the recognition of necessity' is the proposition of earlier philosophers, whereas 'freedom is the recognition of necessity and remolding of the world' is the proposition of Marxism." The transformation from necessity to freedom is gradually realized along

with the development of social practice. As the objective world is constantly changing, our understanding and remolding of the objective world will never end. The transformation from necessity to freedom is also a process that will never end. It is precisely in this sense that Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending."

/Natural Rights/ This is a bourgeois political theory. It came into being during the Renaissance and took shape and developed during the bourgeois Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries. This theory was first put forward by Grotius of the Netherlands, Locke of Britain, Rousseau of France, and others. Proceeding from human reason and aimed at the feudal autocratic system, the feudal hierarchy privileges, and the theological view that "power comes from God," they advanced the theory of natural rights. As this theory was against theocracy and monarchical power, after its emergence, it immediately became the basic content of the theoretical foundation and the political program which the bourgeois class used to oppose the feudal system. The "theory of natural rights" claimed that human beings had innate freedom, equality, and property rights and the right to defend themselves and resist oppression. These rights were natural, eternal, and universal. They were not transferable and a person could not be deprived of them. These rights existed before the state and law and even before human beings. Consequently, the state could neither govern nor change them. This was an idealist conception of history. Superficially, the theory of natural rights flaunted everyone's having these rights. In fact, it represented only the interests and demands of the bourgeois class. Engels pointed out: By the theory of natural rights "is meant the replacing of all the personal and hereditary privileges in the past with the privileges of money." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 648) In capitalist society, these rights are of course monopolized by capital. As Marx said: "Equal exploitation of labor is the primary human right of capital." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 324) This is the essence of natural rights.

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ONLY WHEN TWO WINGS ARE READY IS IT POSSIBLE TO FLY HIGH

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[Article by the Langfang City People's Government Office--contributed by the Hebei Editorial Board for Economic Journals]

[Text] The Langfang Wire Factory is a small collective with 200-odd workers. The factory started producing wire for use underwater in 1970; after that, its output value and profits doubled many times. In 1979, the factory had a profit of 960,000 yuan, which marked its "best year" since it began operations. However, there was a sudden change in 1980. As the price of underwater wire was regulated by the market and since its price was reduced several times by some leading factories of the trade, the price of underwater wire per meter was 1 cent lower than that of the Langfang Wire Factory. The price was reduced to such an extent that a further reduction of 1 cent would surely deprive the factory of any profit. As a result, the factory suffered heavy setbacks in major orders. In March 1981, its stock-piled goods amounted to 750,000 yuan and its production reached a stalemate.

Price is the sum of cost and the profit that is to be made. With respect to pricing, the Langfang factory was at a disadvantage since its costs were greater than that of others. How could costs be cut? Through a comprehensive technological and economic analysis, the factory's leaders discovered that during the preceding 29 months, an average of 64 percent of newly marketed products proved successful. In other words, 36 percent of labor was wasted. The cost of its products became greater. It was evident that the solution to cut costs was to improve the success percentage. The factory leaders determined to implement the following five policies: 1) To strengthen ideological and political work; 2) to consolidate labor organization and discipline; 3) to improve quality control. Technical experts were sent to various processing points to act as commodity inspectors to control quality and inspect work procedures; 4) to reform the award system, and replace the overall award with an award for success percentage; and 5) to appoint competent personnel to key posts. Cadres at all levels in the factory were reshuffled. Both the leadership and the rank and file welcomed these five policies. The success percentage soared from 64 percent to 79 percent.

The factory was an enterprise which required expansive raw and supplementary materials, which accounted for 70 percent of its costs. In the past, many materials were wasted. Then, the factory leaders decided to reassess the amount of consumption and to keep a close watch on the materials section. An award for strict economy was introduced. Bonuses and encouragement were given to those who saved raw and supplementary materials. The cost of management was reduced. Fifteen nonproduction workers were posted to the production frontline. Administrative expenses for the factory office and the workshop were rebudgeted. The contract system was implemented. The factory leaders led their cadres and staff in performing small-scale loading and unloading. Consequently, 12 temporary workers were cut. After a few months of struggle, the factory's consumption of materials and expenses dropped remarkably. Costs were cut tangibly. As a result, the factory lowered the price of its products.

One of the major ways to cut costs is to adopt advanced technology and equipment so that human labor can be gradually reduced. As the factory was small and its capital limited, it laid its stress on only one or two projects a year. In 1981, capital was raised for setting up a contained workshop which operated at a constant temperature. Consistent quality was thus ensured. As its technical forces were insufficient, it had to be self-reliant and to try its best to learn and carry out research. After a few years of struggle, the factory improved its production skills, from manual operation to semimechanical, and then to semiautomation. Many production processes adopted variable speed control by silicon rectifiers and photoelectronic figure displays. Productivity was greatly improved.

The cost of the Langfang Wire Factory's underwater wire dropped year after year as its success percentage increased, the consumption of raw materials dropped, and advanced technology was introduced. In 1982, it made a profit of 1.2 million yuan, 25 percent more than in 1979. In 1983, although the price of raw and supplementary materials went up, its annual profit was expected to exceed 1 million yuan.

The law of value is a big school. All along the factory was complacent with the quality of its products. Now, it has come to realize that although the survival of an enterprise hinges upon the quality of its products, it is not the lone aspect. The higher the quality, the greater the consumption. In this case, the enterprise fails to achieve good economic results and, to a certain extent, is in jeopardy. Only with good quality and low cost (that is, consumption) can it gain an upper hand in market competition. Good quality and low cost seem to be the two wings of a bird. Only when a bird has two mature wings can it fly high.

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END