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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING

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No. 468

SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 1-373

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INTRODUCTION TO THE PUBLICATION (4 March 1983)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by CPC Central Committee Editorial Committee on Party Literature]

[Text] This selection has collected 47 of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important speeches and talks during the period from 1975 to 1982. Most of them have not been openly published in the past. Works of the author prior to this period have not been included in this selection.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speeches in 1975 reflected his tit-for-tat struggles against the "gang of four," his firm grasp of the reorganization of various items of work, and the tremendous efforts he made in eliminating the disturbances of the "Cultural Revolution" and in promoting stability and unity and the development of the national economy.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speeches after 1977 reflect the strategic decision-making role he has played and the outstanding contributions made in promoting and guiding the whole party in bringing order out of chaos, in the course of realizing the great historic change, and in defining the correct road and principles and policies of socialist modernization construction in accordance with the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and with the state of affairs of our country.

These works not only have indelible historic significance, but are of great guiding significance to the cause of socialist construction today and in the future.

In editing this book, the author has made a few revisions in the wording of various articles.

CSO: 4005/21

ARMY NEEDS CONSOLIDATION (25 January 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 1-3

[Speech at a Meeting of the Cadres of the Headquarters of the General Staff Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army]

[Text] Our army has a fine tradition. Beginning in Jinggangshan, Comrade Mao Zedong established an exceptionally fine system for our army, and set up an exceptionally fine workstyle. In our army, it is the party that directs the gun; the gun does not direct the party. As a result of the long struggle against warlordism, the army is internally very unified, and its relations with the masses are very good. However, ever since 1959 when Lin Biao took charge of army work, and particularly during the late stage of his responsibility, the army has been in considerable disarray. Today, numerous fine traditions have been lost, and the army has become cumbersome. The number of people in the army has increased greatly, and military expenditures have become an increasingly large proportion of the national budget, with a great amount of money being spent on food and clothing for personnel. More important, the army has become bloated and is not a crack outfit that will make a good showing in combat. I feel that an overwhelming majority of comrades in the army are dissatisfied with this state of affairs. Consequently, Comrade Mao Zedong has proposed a reorganization of the army. The overall size of the army is to be reduced, and the overly large numbers of cadres in excess of authorized strength are to be removed. Fine traditions are to be revived. This means that a lot of work has to be done. Responsibilities of the General Staff, the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department will be greater, and the three departments must themselves be consolidated.

We must follow Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions on stability and unity in consolidating the army. In recent years, a large new problem has appeared in our army, namely factionalism. In some units, factionalism is not very serious. This problem exists mostly among cadres. An overwhelming majority of our army's cadres are good; however, a small number of people are fond of engaging in factionalism. They engage in it inside the army, and they engage in it in places to which they go. Stability and unity requires the elimination of factionalism

and an increase in party spirit. Our army has crossed numerous mountains in its history as a natural outgrowth of its long dispersal in a rural guerrilla warfare environment. The Long March carried it to northern Shaanxi, and during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward to the entire party and armed forces the need to surmount tendencies toward a mountain stronghold mentality. As a result of the rectification and anti-factionalism of Yanan, the whole party achieved new unity. This was a fundamental guarantee for our victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and in our victory in the War of Liberation. Most recently another factionalism has emerged, and this is a point to which we must give attention. Unless factionalism is eliminated, stability and unity cannot be attained, and the army's fighting strength will certainly be weakened. Each and every cadre should put party spirit first. Those who enjoy engaging in factionalism should wake up and change their ways, and having changed their ways, all will be well. One important principle to be followed in future use and promotion of military cadres is no important use of seriously factional people, and no important use of those who persist in factionalism and are unwilling to change.

Another problem is that army discipline is very poor. Why did Comrade Mao Zedong advocate singing the song, "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention," and especially to sing the line that goes, "in every action, obey commands?" This was to emphasize discipline. The army should behave like an army. In proposing a strengthening of discipline today, it is necessary, first of all, to begin with our government organizations and armed forces right here in Beijing. How can it be otherwise? Therefore, in consolidation of the army, one thing is to improve party spirit and eliminate factionalism; and another thing is the strengthening of discipline.

Still other problems require solution, such as the implementation of policies. Today numerous policies have not been implemented. Individual units are to study conscientiously and implement policies well. This is the only way in which to help arouse enthusiasm and help stability and unity.

Our General Staff Department should, as the name suggests, act as a staff to the Communist Party Central Committee and to the Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, and should perform well as a staff to the army's commander-in-chief, Mao Zedong. In the past, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the General Staff for not acting as a staff, and this state of affairs must change. A series of tasks need to be done. The problems have piled up now. Our General Staff Department must act in accordance with the military line and the principles for building the armed forces formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong, and do a good job of putting its house in order so that we can genuinely perform a staff function.

Today has been for the purpose of meeting all of you. The question of just how the army should be run will require discussion later. However, I believe, that the principles about which I just spoke of the need for consolidation of the army, the need for stability and unity, and the need to implement policies are not amiss. In order to achieve them, we must strengthen party spirit, eliminate factionalism, strengthen discipline, and improve work efficiency. I hope that some cadres in our General Staff Department will follow such a spirit to unite and perform their jobs well.

9432
CSO: 4005/991

THE WHOLE ARMY SHOULD TAKE THE OVERALL INTEREST INTO ACCOUNT AND PUSH FORWARD THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (5 March 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 4-7

[Speech at the Meeting of Secretaries in Charge of Industry From the Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees]

[Text] Today there is an overall interest that the whole party should take into account. What is that overall interest? The government work reports of both the Third NPC and the Fourth NPC addressed the two step idea for development of China's national economy. The first step is the building by 1980 of an independent and fairly complete industrial system and national economic system. The second step is the building by the end of the 20th century, that is to say over the next 25 years, of China into a socialist power with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense, and modern science and technology. The whole party and the whole country should struggle to realize this great objective. This is the overall interest.

Chairman Mao said that it is necessary to maintain a tight hold on revolution, to promote production, to promote work, and to promote war preparedness. Reportedly nowadays some comrades dare only maintain a tight hold on revolution, but do not dare maintain a tight hold on production. They say that "to maintain a tight hold on revolution is safe, but to maintain a tight hold on production is dangerous." This is an especially great mistake. What is the situation in production right now? Agriculture remains somewhat better; however, in terms of national population, grain output is only 609 jin per capita; grain reserves are not big either; and peasant income is just such a little. Industry really deserves serious attention. Some production capacity is not being used to full advantage today. Last year alone, the industrial production situation was not good. This year is the final year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, and if a poor performance in production continues, implementation of the Fifth Five-Year Plan is bound to be affected. We must foresee such situations and take conscious hold of this problem.

What can be done to improve the performance of the national economy? Results of analysis show railroads to be the weak link at present. Unless the problem of railroad transportation is solved, the production planning systems will be

in complete turmoil, and all plans may come to nothing. Therefore, the Central Committee has decided to solve this problem, and today it will issue, "Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Decisions on Strengthening of Railroad Work."

Solution to the railroad problem requires strengthening of centralization. The Central Committee has always emphasized centralization of railroad work; however, in recent years a very great weakening has actually occurred in this regard. During the past few years, the number of railway staff members and workers, and the amount of equipment such as locomotives, rolling stock, and railway lines has increased, but because of a weakening of centralized leadership, railroad transportation has never improved. Today, only 40,000-odd cars are loaded daily. According to some comrades, in view of current actual capacity, it would be no problem at all to load 55,000 cars. Therefore, the Central Committee's decision is based on the specific characteristics of the railways, and it reiterates centralization. Of course, local responsibility has by no means decreased. Without support from all jurisdictions, the work of the railroad sector cannot be done well. For this reason, cooperation must be strengthened between the railroad sector and local jurisdictions, and they must keep in step with each other.

Establishment of required rules and regulations and strengthening of organizational discipline was also discussed in the Central Committee decision. At the present time, railway accidents are alarming. Last year alone, 750 major and large train accidents occurred. This was many times more than the 88 of 1964 when the smallest number of accidents occurred. Many of these were accidents resulting from negligence including negligence in the maintenance of locomotives and rolling stock. This shows a lack of regulations and a lack of discipline. Some rules and regulations should be reiterated now. Locomotive engineers should not leave their locomotives to eat; they should carry lunch boxes and eat on the locomotives. This is an old regulation, and a sensible one. Leaving the train to eat as one pleases nowadays frequently means schedule delays. Drinking of alcoholic beverages is not allowed while on duty. This has always been a rule, but it is not strictly enforced any more. Mistakes in switching while drunk can result in serious accidents involving head-on collisions. Therefore, necessary rules and regulations must be revived and improved, and organizational discipline must be strengthened. This problem does not exist in the railroad sector alone; it exists likewise in other places and sectors.

The Central Committee decision also addresses opposition to factionalism. Existing factionalism has already seriously jeopardized China's overall interests. This issue is to be presented to the full complement of staff members and workers, and it must be made clear that this is a matter of great right and great wrong. Unless this problem is solved, solving specific problems alone will not work. Those who engage in factionalism are to be further educated, and leaders who engage in factionalism are to be opposed. Probably the two following situations exist: One is where people have been maddened by factionalism; after fighting factional battles for several years, they have become addle-brained, and have lost sight of Marxism, lost sight of Mao Zedong Thought, and have also lost sight of the Communist Party. They must be educated and brought around through

education, their past misdeeds forgiven. But if they will not change, they must be dealt with severely. The other kind is made up of a small number of bad people, of which some can be found in every trade and industry, and every province and municipality. They use factionalism in order to fish in troubled waters, to damage the socialist order, to damage national economic construction and, in the midst of chaos, to engage in speculation and profiteering, and to win power and become rich. Such people must be dealt with. For example, the leader who caused the trouble in Xuzhou had a lot of "ability," but was actually a local dictator in that region. If such people are not dealt with promptly, how long should one wait? I say wait only 1 month, until the end of March. If they do not change, but stubbornly oppose the proletariat, then their character has changed. Those who engage in factionalism in the railroad system are linked to those who engage in local factionalism, and opposition to factionalism requires a severing of the link between them. These people understand that by doing damage and tying up the railroads, matters will come to the attention of Beijing. People in the provincial government supported the Nanchang Railway Bureau affair. Internal and external links to factionalist activities on the railroads must be severed. It was decided that personnel transfers in the railroads sector can best be managed centrally by the Ministry of Railways. The Ministry of Railways has this authority. Factional problems on railroads that local jurisdictions cannot solve can be solved by the Ministry of Railways. Those who engage in factionalism are to be transferred out of their units. Naturally, this means transferring the chiefs. But what is to be done if following the transfers, new chiefs come to the fore? Those that come to the fore are to be transferred, too. Two or three transfers and all will be solved. We will not arrest people either, with the exception of counterrevolutionaries, of course. What is to be done if bosses engaged in factionalism will not submit to transfers? If they will not submit to transfers, wages will not be paid them. Your "occupation" is factionalism, why come here to collect wages? In short, there has to be some method in solving the problem.

Is there more approval than disapproval of the Central Committee decision? Let everyone figure for a moment. If 80 percent of people support it, the Central Committee's decisions can be put into effect. I believe that an overwhelming majority of people support this decision. China's railway workers are the most advanced and the most organized portion of China's working class. Is centralization approved or disapproved? Is organizational discipline approved or disapproved? Are necessary rules and regulations approved or disapproved? Should engaging in factionalism be opposed? Should chiefs who engage in factionalism be transferred? A clear statement of these issues will naturally gain the support of an overwhelming majority of railway staff members and workers. Therefore, the March mobilization must be thorough; it must include the families of staff members and workers and peasants living along railway lines so that it becomes known to all.

Experience in solving railroad problems can help in other industrial sectors. It is necessary to have well-defined policies about existing problems. It is necessary to proceed from the overall interest, and there can be no procrastination in solving problems. Procrastinate for how long? How can the practice of socialism wait?

SOME PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY (29 May 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 8-11

[Speech at a Meeting on the Iron and Steel Industry]

[Text] The Central Committee has written an approval to the report that the Ministry of Metallurgy provided Chairman Mao and the Communist Party Central Committee several days ago, and it is preparing to forward it. I believe that everybody will demand action in accordance with the program that the Central Committee has approved, increase in steel output is completely in prospect.

Right now the steel industry should emphasize solution to four problems.

The first is the need to establish strong leading bodies.

The main reason for no rise in steel production today is no rise in production at the Baotou Steelworks, the Wuhan Steelworks, the Anshan Steelworks, and the Taiyuan Steelworks. At the Anshan Steelworks, in particular, unless production rises, between 2,000 and 3,000 tons are lost daily that other steel mills cannot make up for. Naturally medium and small size steelworks also have some shortcomings. The key to poor performance in steel production lies in problems in leadership bodies, which are weak, lax, and disorganized. Even if the Ministry of Metallurgy's leadership body is weak, naturally one cannot also say that it is lax and disorganized. Weakness just requires some strengthening. The situation among leadership bodies in individual industrial enterprises is not entirely identical. Disorganization among leadership bodies in some units is related to factionalism. Today there is one main problem among cadres, and that is fear; they do not dare touch a tiger's backside. Leaders in individual sectors and individual enterprises cannot fear this and fear that. It is necessary to find some people to enter leadership bodies who do not fear being toppled as a prerequisite for Central Committee support to them and provincial CPC committees support to them. Without this condition, the situation cannot be turned around. Leadership bodies are combat headquarters. Performance in production, performance in scientific research, and opposition to factionalism alike amount to combat. Unless the headquarters is strong, combat will lack force. The Ministry of Metallurgy lacks force in combat. Leadership bodies in

some companies and steelworks also lack force. The leadership bodies issue relates to the issue of whether or not the party line can be carried into effect. If this issue is poorly solved, getting started will be very difficult to say nothing of leading the masses forward. Therefore, we must first emphasize the need to solve the leadership bodies problem well. Not only the Ministry of Metallurgy, but individual company, plant and mine, and workshop leadership teams, including functional organizations, require strengthening. Leadership bodies have to be made neither weak nor lax nor disorganized so that when they speak everybody listens, and so they are able to command action and be able to lead.

Second, it is necessary to combat factionalism resolutely.

After the Central Committee's decision on strengthening of railroad work was handed down, it very greatly affected and gave great impetus to all trades and industries. The rapid rise in coal industry production was a clear example. Their experience was in daring to carry out a resolute struggle against factionalism. It was also only after the Taiyuan Steelworks solved this problem that its output rose. Achievements of the railway sector in this regard were even more conspicuous. Xuzhou's experiences are fairly representatives. These experiences merit careful study by everyone.

Leaders should have a well defined attitude of resolute opposition to factionalism. Some people make a mess of party matters, so are you going to wait for them to wake up, and do you have time to wait? One has to dare to take the lead. Those who persist in factionalism should be transferred if necessary, should be criticized if necessary, and should be struggled with if necessary; one should not dawdle along waiting forever. The masses should be rallied and the masses should be aroused in joint opposition to factionalism. Do those who persist in factionalism fear the Central Committee? Do they fear provincial CPC committees? Municipal CPC committees as well as leaders of companies, plants and mines are even less able to constrain them. But they greatly fear the masses, and they fear the masses will rise against them. So the way to deal with such people is to rouse the masses to struggle with them, not give an inch, have a single momentum, and not be cold and indifferent. We must believe the masses, and bring the Central Committee documents directly before the masses so that the spirit of the Central Committee will be genuinely made common knowledge in every household, so that wives and babies will know, and so that the enthusiasm of the broad masses for struggle against factionalism will be aroused. Experience everywhere has shown that more than 95 percent of the masses support the spirit of the Central Committee. Of course, this is not to say that no one opposes it. When I spoke in March this year at the meeting of national industrial secretaries, some people termed my speech "a program for restorating the old order." There are such people, but do not be afraid. So long as we have a well defined attitude and a correct policy, matters will be well taken care of.

Today only a small number of people are engaged in factionalism. Some of them are enemies who use factionalism to cause trouble; some wage a factional war for personal fame and fortune; and some have fought a factional war for several years and have become maddened with factionalism. On the basis of the railroad

sector's experiences, and the experiences of Xuzhou and other places, those to be attacked in the struggle against factionalism are the same minority of several people. The uproar in Xuzhou was so fierce, yet in the end only three people were attacked. An overwhelming majority of people, including those who have been maddened by factionalism, can be saved. Therefore, in actual results achieved, the extent of attack will be extremely small, and the extent of education will be extremely large. We must make up our mind to carry on a resolute struggle against factionalism.

Third is the necessity for conscientious implementation of policies.

In terms of experience in solving railroad problems and the problems in Xuzhou, implementing of policies is a very important issue. In the "16 May" check, Xuzhou City made accusations against more than 6,000 people. This was a very frightening number. Can bringing accusations against so many people without implementing policies for them arouse the enthusiasm of the masses?

When speaking of the implementation of policies, we should not only solve the problem of people who have been labeled, but should also solve the problem of the people around them who have been implicated. Xuzhou City accused 6,000-odd people, but figuring five people per household plus relatives and friends the number of people affected runs to several tens of thousands. They should be allowed to put down their burdens very quickly.

In the implementation of policies, it is also necessary to watch out for the following kind of situation: Though they have not been labeled, nevertheless, some people's feelings have been hurt, as a result of criticism or struggle to which they have been subjected. Though some places have not had a "16 May" kind of check, something similar has been done. These problems should be properly solved.

In the implementation of policies, special attention should be given to old workers, technical mainstay cadres, and old labor models. The enthusiasm of these people should be aroused. Those who deserve to be returned to leadership positions should be returned to them and placed in suitable roles. Of course, this is not to say that all should be returned to their former positions.

Fourth, necessary rules and regulations must be established.

After the foregoing several matters have been conscientiously done, the masses should be aroused immediately afterward to establish and perfect needed rules and regulations. This is a question of strengthening organizational discipline. For some time in the past, no heed was given to rules and regulations, except on a few issues. Recently a large accident took place at the Wuhan Steelworks in which molten steel flowed twice in 1 day. When some accidents have taken place, no determination of responsibility has been made. For this reason, necessary rules and regulations must be established and perfected. In some plants, discipline is very lax. Staff and workers may go to work or not go to work; regulations may be carried out or not carried out. It should be made clear that such situations as occurred in the past may be excused, but they

should not be permitted to exist in future. Whoever heard of not going to work just as one pleases, willy-nilly? If people do not go to work, they will not be paid, and if they do not do their work, they should be told to leave! Since you do not want to work, why should the country continue to pay you wages? It is preferable to be somewhat strict in carrying out rules and regulations for without strictness they cannot be established. Some rules and regulations were fairly elaborate in the past, and they should be reformed. We should summarize both positive and negative experiences and revive or establish necessary rules and regulations.

In short, a very large amount of work has to be done to make steel output rise. I believe that firm hold on the foregoing four points is most important.

9432
CSO: 4005/991

STRENGTHEN PARTY LEADERSHIP AND RECTIFY PARTY STYLE OF WORK (4 July 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83, pp 12-14

[Speech to the Students of the Fourth Study Class Arranged by the Party Central Committee]

[Text] I would like to say a few words at our meeting today.

During the previous period, Comrade Mao Zedong had three important instructions. The first was the need to study theory, and to combat and prevent revisionism. The second was the need for stability and unity; and the third was improvement of the national economy. These three instructions are interrelated and form a whole; no one of them can be omitted. This is our work program for the present period. Comrade Mao Zedong passed away last year, and the Great Cultural Revolution has been going on for 8 years. Stability would be good. This year makes the ninth year, and it is time to unite and stabilize. We have a lot of work that needs to be done. There are numerous matters in the international struggle. Domestically, too, there are many matters to do, particularly in improvement of the national economy.

Bringing about stability and unity, and development of the socialist economy requires strengthening of party leadership, and the carrying forward and continuation of our party's superior workstyle. This is an extraordinarily important issue. Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of the need for rectification of the army, and the whole party also has this problem, particularly with regard to party leadership and party workstyle.

Today party leadership has not been established in some local parties, and party leadership has become weak. This is a problem at all levels. Without party leadership, what is to be done? When the party speaks without great effectiveness, what is to be done? The key to solution of this problem lies in establishing the leadership of provincial CPC committees. Bringing a lot of matters to the Central Committee for solution will not do. Many comrades in attendance here have a part in provincial work, and it is hoped that as a result of study and your own work, you will establish the leadership of provincial CPC committees so that whey provincial CPC committees speak, people will listen, and so that they will be able to assume leadership responsibilities and be neither weak, nor indolent, nor lax. Can a provincial CPC committee

make mistakes? It is possible or even certain that they can. This or that comrade can make mistakes. They should be allowed to make mistakes and to correct their mistakes. When they make mistakes, they should be helped. Central Committee criticism of them is also for the purpose of helping. Provincial CPC committee leadership is to be maintained, and provincial CPC committees should be helped to establish prestige so that provincial CPC committees will be able to lead the work of workers, peasants, traders, students and militiamen, in the north, south, east, west and central parts of the country. When they have become strong, provincial CPC committees will dare to lead and be able to help prefecture CPC committees and county CPC committees. In this way, our party will be able to bring about its own leadership. Recently the issue of strengthening of party leadership was discussed with regard to Central Committee decisions on strengthening of railroad work, and in instructions on efforts to fulfill this year's steel production plans. Our whole party must do this work.

In speaking of the party's workstyle, what is meant is the "three do's and three don'ts" that Comrade Mao Zedong put forward. [Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split'; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"].[quotation marks as printed] This is the party's principle, and it is also the party's workstyle. Everyone has read numerous books, and should carefully read the documents and the seven major reports pertaining to the time of rectification in Yanan. In the seven major political reports, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the three important workstyles of linking theory and practice, closely uniting with the masses, and self-criticism. During the Yanan rectification, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote reports titled, "Reform Our Study," and "Rectification of Party Work Style." That was the time of the rectification of three bad styles of work. First was rectification of bad study style, opposing subjectivism; second was rectification of bad party style, opposing sectarianism; and third was rectification of bad literary style, opposing stereotyped party writing. This was Comrade Mao Zedong's distillation of the party's historical experiences. Among this series of party principles, opposing sectarianism, which means opposing factionalism, and strengthening of party spirit is a very important point. The unite and don't split admonition of the "three do's and three don'ts" was in the same spirit of opposition to sectarianism of the Yanan rectification. Party members are to act in accordance with the party constitution, respect party discipline, and not engage in sectarianism, establish mountain tops, fortify mountain tops, or occupy this or that mountain top. If they do so, the party will split and will have no combat strength. The Yanan rectification was for the purpose of solving this problem, uniting the whole party on the basis of a unanimity of ideology. Without that rectification, defeat of the Japanese aggressors and defeat of Chiang Kai-shek would have been impossible. Solution to problems in every area and sector today requires opposition to factionalism and strengthening of party spirit as the point of departure. During the former era of revolutionary war, it was only natural for individual parts of the Red Army and cadres at individual revolutionary

basis to form individual mountain tops. If one were to say that the two factions of the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution also formed naturally, then the continuance of two factions today is different in nature. Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of the need for stability and unity. By allowing a small number of people to continue to make an uproar, can there be stability and unity? Those several people in Xuzhou drove the Communist Party Municipal Committee "underground." What kind of dictatorship is this? It is a factionalist dictatorship. This has nothing to do with stability and unity. Actually, those who keep factionalism going are only a small group of several people; more than 95 percent of people, including the masses who go along with factionalism, detest factionalism. If this issue is made clear and the masses awakened so that they see clearly the true face of those who persevere in factionalism, they will leave them. Most of those who engage in factionalism can be reeducated. We must use the formula of "unite - criticize - unite" that Comrade Mao Zedong put forward to solve the problem of factionalism among the masses; we must proceed from a desire for unity and use criticism to attain the goal of unity. Naturally, struggle will be required as part of this.

My main point is having said all of this is strengthening of party leadership, opposition to factionalism, and carrying forward the superior work style that Comrade Mao Zedong established. Comrades throughout the party should pay attention to this problem, and members of the Central Committee and high ranking cadres, in particular, should be even more attentive.

9432
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TASKS FOR CONSOLIDATING THE ARMY (14 July 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 15-24

[Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee]

[Text] It should be asserted at the outset that the overall situation of our army has been good and that the army has been able to stand tests both before founding of the People's Republic and after founding of the People's Republic up to the present time. Our army is a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. No matter whether in the great anti-America aid Korea war or the not very large wars of Zhenbao Island, the Xisha Islands, and the war of self defense on the Sino-Indian border, and no matter whether a regiment, a company, or a squad was sent to battle, they all fulfilled their missions. This shows that our army's tradition is a fine one, and that it is brave and skillful in battle. Some comrades have told me that except for individual instances, the situation in the army below the regimental level is satisfactory. We are happy about this.

Today I would particularly like to go into some problems that still exist in the army. What I mean is that just because the army has received excessive praise, one should not report only the good news and not the bad. As a result of the damage caused by the Lin Biao gang, quite a few problems truly do exist in the building of the army. Numerous comrades in attendance here also have this feeling. I have thought of five terms: overstaffing, laxity, arrogance, extravagance, and indolence. Certainly this is not the overall condition of the entire army; however, these five terms may be applied to some units and to some comrades.

First is some overstaffing. The streamlining and reorganization that this meeting studied was for the purpose of solving this overstaffing problem. One cannot say that every division in the army is overstaffed, but the army as a whole is indeed overstaffed.

Second is some laxity. This is manifested in the two aspects of factionalism and poor organizational discipline. Historically our army was formed out of forces on individual mountain tops and from all corners of the land.

Formerly, we had a three part army, each part of which was formed by combining forces from numerous mountain tops. This naturally gave rise to a mountain-stronghold mentality to a certain extent. During rectification in Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong called for opposition to factionalism and solution the mountain-stronghold mentality in the whole party and in every area, particularly in the army. As a result of the rectification, within about 3 or 4 years beginning in 1941, the problem was solved. Following rectification, both military cadres and local cadres pulled together and what a force they made! As a result, the war was won. Subsequently, the issue of opposition to factionalism was no longer raised in the army. So why bring up this problem again now? This is a new problem that has appeared in the army's support of leftism. When the military supported leftism, numerous people became embroiled in factionalism. Some people were embroiled in this faction, and others were embroiled in another faction. The army had a very great amount of authority, which was turned into backstage support for factions. Later on, factionalism was carried into the army, and within the army quite a few units also divided into two factions. It has now been 9 years since the Great Cultural Revolution, but the army still has a considerable number of people who have not shaken off factionalism, and this has hurt the unity of our army itself. The existence of factionalism in the army is very dangerous. To put it somewhat strongly, this situation cannot be countenanced, nor should it be countenanced. Nowadays there are always a small number of people in the army who like to fortify a mountain top; they like to organize a small circle; they like to tout their own people, listen to what their own people say, and tolerate only their own intimates. In fact, those who frequently tout people particularly deserve to be brought into question. However, some of our comrades like others to brag about them and sing their praises; they are comrades who are not very good at bringing together people from all corners of the country or not very good at unifying different view. In this way a mountain-stronghold mentality has unconsciously been erected. In Beijing some units have comrades of this kind, and some of them are even high-ranking leading cadres. They delight in such activity and use "arduous struggle" to get rid of comrades whose views differ from their own, seek people who will obey them, and run this kind of organization. Doesn't this amount to the building of a mountain-stronghold mentality? Isn't this engaging in factionalism? Implementation of policies has been talked about for many a year, but numerous policies have not been implemented, and factionalism is one important reason why. Factionalism in some military units has turned around and affected local areas so that local factionalist issues cannot be solved. When a military unit that supports the left leaves an area, the personnel go, but their influence remains. For this reason, we say that local problems are related to the army.

Some comrades feel that organizational discipline in the army is so poor that lower echelon failure to obey upper echelons, and individual failure to subordinate themselves to the organization is ignored. Formerly organizational discipline in the army was very strong; once an order was issued, it was carried out unquestioningly. This is not the case today. Not only individuals but even some units disobey orders. Poor organizational discipline is related to

factionalism. Their concern is not with the interests of the revolutionary body as a whole, but rather with the interests of their own clique and individual interests. The interests of a small faction transcend everything else. They want fame, fortune, and position, and if they are not satisfied, they are unhappy and even refuse to be transferred. Nowadays it is no easy matter to transfer a person. Lots of people like to remain in large cities, and they particularly like Beijing. Transferring them elsewhere is very difficult. They may say their health is not good, and if they are transferred elsewhere their heart trouble will certainly recur. But when they are in Beijing, their heart trouble is all right. In short, reasons they give are numerous.

It is not only organizational discipline that is poor today; political discipline is also poor. For example, when the Central Committee wants to implement policies, nothing is done. Why is this? This is a political discipline problem. Or take another example when army comrades are to help local jurisdictions eliminate factionalism to unify the masses, some comrades do not carry out this policy. This is a problem of organizational discipline. It is also a problem of political discipline.

Recently the Central Committee issued a series of documents, all of which were addressed to the solution of problems with leadership bodies. The problem of weak, indolent and lax leadership bodies exists in local jurisdictions and in the army alike. The army has a considerable number of lax bodies, and a considerable number of indolent bodies, and it is feared that weak bodies are largest in number. During the present stage, local jurisdictions have solved these problems fairly well and fairly rapidly while the army has been somewhat slow.

Third is some arrogance. The problem of arrogance has existed in our army for a long time. During the war years, the army made great exertions; it was reliable; and it had a good reputation, so it was easy to become arrogant. As a result of corrections that have been made for many years, this situation has improved considerably. However, it should be pointed out that a new situation emerged during the Great Cultural Revolution. The army's authority in supporting leftism was very great. The holding of great authority, plus other reasons, engendered arrogance among some people in the army. Some were not only arrogant but imperious as well. Some people were fond of making indiscreet remarks and criticisms, and the fine traditions of the mass line was lost. Today numerous problems exist in the unity of the army, and in the unity of the army and government and the army and the citizenry. In some military units, interrelationships are fairly strained, and relationships between the army and government and the army and the citizenry are also fairly strained. Formerly when army comrades rode a public bus, they would always give their seat to old people or to women carrying babies, but now they will not. One soldier was riding a bus on which there was a woman carrying a baby. He did not give up his seat and when the baby cried, he paid no attention. An old person close by said that Uncle Lei Feng was dead.

From this incident, one can see the problem. Formerly our army had a very good tradition in this regard. Today, however, there is no concern for unity and no concern for discipline. Observance of the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention has been lost at least to some extent. Some people have turned to pursuit of a bourgeois way of life, and the traditional workstyle of arduous struggle has been lost. There are very large number of examples in this regard. If one supposes this to be of no importance and is not vigilant, that will be very dangerous.

Fourth is some luxury. The pursuit of a bourgeois way of life was mentioned above. Some people seek enjoyment, pay and emoluments, with everything moving up to a higher level, and the larger the number of homes they have the better. Some make no distinction between the public and the private; they draw no dividing line. Some military units entertain guests and send presents; they construct multi-story buildings, halls, and places of entertainment. The army goes in for luxury, doing many things that contravene policies. Some people take things at will from local jurisdictions or buy them at a low price. Some take things without going through any procedure whatsoever. In pursuance of Comrade Mao Zedong's "May 7 Directive," the army has operated numerous farms and enterprises. This is a fine thing. But comrades should be reminded of the need to carry out conscientiously the spirit of the May 7 Directive. Some farms and enterprises spend as they please the money that they make, and some leading cadres view with each other for authority to approve I.O.U's. This situation must be changed. The army has taken over too many houses and too much land in local jurisdictions, and local jurisdictions very much resent it. Whatever can be returned should be returned. The army took over some houses and land that local jurisdictions had formerly not used; but they seized some forcibly. When it comes to examples of luxury, I believe every comrade has a large pile stored in his brains, so I will not continue further.

Fifth is indolence. Indolence exists not only in the bodies of people, but in government organizations to a certain degree as well. Revolutionary zeal has flagged in some high-ranking cadres who seek individual benefits and do not devote attention to the maintenance of revolutionary integrity in their later years. Some people make much ado about small illnesses, and moan and groan without being ill at all. They are bureaucratic, do not work hard at their jobs, are not dependable, do not go down into the grassroots, do not take action personally, do no thinking, and rely on their secretaries to do things. When they are to give a 5-minute talk, they have someone prepare a draft, which they then read aloud and sometimes read incorrectly. This is mental indolence. Some people are more afraid than not. They do not dare do anything or say anything. They fear criticism should they say something wrong. Why should members of the Communist Party be afraid? Why should they not dare speak? Why should they not dare take responsibility? By so doing do they absolve themselves of responsibility? Does reading a draft that someone else has written mean they will not commit any errors? I feel it means a poor style of writing at very least. When written drafts are copied out of newspapers, isn't that stereotyped writing? These problems arise not solely as a result of individual mentality but because of insufficient organizational support and assistance as well. So-called assistance also includes criticism;

criticism is also assistance. The Central Committee has a responsibility to help each province, and the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee is also responsible for assisting each military region and each branch of military service. They must dare to be responsible and not be afraid. It is difficult to avoid making mistakes, and when mistakes are made they should be criticized and changes made. Then all will be well.

In short, the army's overall situation is good. Today there is some overstaffing, laxity, arrogance, luxury and indolence in it. Though it is only some, it may not be overlooked.

2. What should the army rectify? It should rectify the five attributes discussed in the foregoing. In the reorganization at this meeting, we have rectified overstaffing. But not just the rectification of overstaffing, but also simultaneous attention to laxity, arrogance, luxury, and indolence should be solved together. By solving the problem of overstaffing, and by doing a good job of consolidating army reorganization and consolidating the system, other problems in the army may be properly solved. For example, this reorganization requires putting into shape and perfecting leadership bodies at all levels, while at the same time devoting attention to the overcoming of laxity and indulgence, and solving problems of weak bodies, indolent bodies, and disorganized bodies. This reorganization must be strictly carried out, and the reorganization must be genuinely observed. One might say that reorganization is law. There certainly can be none of the past business of soldiers serving themselves! When regulations call for one secretary, several cannot be used. Fewer secretaries are better, and more personal action, harder work, and greater use of one's head is also better for oneself! When strengthening leadership bodies at all levels, the need for proper selection of people should be understood well. In this reorganization, good selection of cadres should be made all the way down to the company level to say nothing of cadres above the battalion and regimental level. In the course of consolidating the army, it is also necessary to strengthen cadre study, to enhance party spirit, to oppose factionalism, to strengthen discipline, and to carry forward the traditional workstyle of arduous struggle.

3. The Work of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee

Military Commission Standing Committee comrades have already been discussed. The actual tasks of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee are two. The first is "consolidation of the army," and the second is "readiness to fight a war." Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of these two tasks, and this is our army's work program. Once we have taken reorganization firmly in hand, a firm hold on equipping of the armed forces will be next; a firm hold should be taken on equipping as well. The country is currently considering the next five-year plan and ten-year plan, and equipping the army also requires planning. Scientific research must take precedence. Not only are sophisticated weapons and conventional weapons scientific research problems, but the lightening of the weight of things that soldiers must carry is likewise a scientific research problem. Today when a soldier has to carry several tens

of kilograms on his back, how can he fight? When the time comes, who knows how many non-combatants can be reduced! This is no small matter; it is an equipment matter that should also be studied and designs finalized. The General Logistics Department should draw up plans and have some people specifically assigned responsibility for this matter.

In addition to taking firm hold of organization and equipment, a firm hold must also be taken on strategy, with priorities assigned. The problem of the battlefields on which we will fight and the problem of tactical methods under various circumstances all require thought. The strategic problems requiring study include not only combat problems, but also include training. Training should be placed in an important position among stragetic problems. This is the day of combined military operations in the air, on land, and at sea; not the former small Mijia rifle of the past. A company commander today differs from the company commander of the past. The former company commander would raise a Mauser pistol over his head and "charge!" Today a company commander's knowledge requirements are much greater than formerly, to say nothing of cadres above the company level. When fighting starts, if you are equipped with several tanks and an artillery company, and also have to carry on air liaison, how will you command? This requires an upgrading of cadre command levels. One cannot suppose that our level of combat command has risen. Unless attention is devoted to training, during the early stages of conflict, at very least, there are likely to be considerable reverses. It is also necessary to improve cadre management skills. At the present time, our cadres are not very skilled in managing military units. For example, company messes are universally poor. A very large amount of money is spent, but food is very poor. This is a management problem. There are a very large number of additional management problems. In order to improve cadre command and management, and increase cadre knowledge, schools must be operated. This includes the running of good schools for each general department [General Logistics Department, General Staff Department, and General Political Department], for each service arm, and for each echelon. When no fighting is going on, running of schools is always a good method in addition to conducting exercises.

A very large number of comrades have raised the hopes of holding a political work conference. I think this is a very good idea. Convening of a political work conference for the entire armed forces is needed to study the strengthening of party work and political work in the armed forces. Collective leadership of military CPC committees should be buttressed; political organizations should be strengthened, and the prestige of political organizations should be increased. In assigning political work cadres, attention should be given quality. Political cadres should be able to play a model role. The cadre problem in the army today very much deserves attention. How to proceed in accordance with requirements for cadre selection is very important. In the strengthening of political organizations, special attention should be devoted to strengthening of the cadre management sector. Cadres in political organizations, and particularly cadres who manage cadres, should be very fair-minded, very honest, very orthodox, and not be afraid of offending people. At the same time they should be patient, able to become well acquainted with cadres, and able to relate to cadres. Our tradition has always been one in

which political organizations manage cadres. Leading cadres have always had to use political organizations for the testing and examination of cadres in order to conform with organizational principles. This fine tradition should be continued. Particular attention should be given to intensification of political work in companies. Company cadres, particularly political instructors, must be able to do their work. Considering that company political instructors are a little bit older, their length of tenure is a little longer. If they are replaced once every 2 or 3 years, they will be unable to accumulate the experiences that enables them to do ideological work. In addition, the matter of internal unity within the army, the matter of unity between the army and local jurisdictions, and the problem of relations between the army and the populace all require study.

4. Cadre Problems in Reorganization

Cadre problems in current reorganization are two. One is the problem of their handling within the army, and the other is the problem of the local jurisdiction of their assignment. With several hundred thousand cadres being transferred to local jurisdictions, local jurisdictions will have to take responsibility for their proper placement. This is a matter for our army itself; therefore, the army should also provide support and assistance to local jurisdictions. There are also large numbers of cadres in local jurisdictions at the present time whose placement is not easy. When some comrades encounter problems, they may return to their units to complain. Everyone should pay attention to this matter, and the army should adopt a supportive attitude toward local jurisdictions. The problem within the army is one of who remains and who goes, and who holds a post and who does not. Cadres who have returned from support of leftism, and cadres who stood aside during the early period of the Great Cultural Revolution now present a problem in their job assignment, and matters have to be considered across the board. For cadres above the division level in the army, solution to the problem of who holds a post and who does not, and who acts as an advisor is not easy. The amount of work is very large, and proper handling must be done. The several problems that I just talked about as requiring related solutions are related to the matter of cadre assignments and should be very well considered. Then there is the cadre readjustment and exchange problem. Comrade Mao Zedong said that in addition to transfers of commanders among the eight military regions, cadres should also be exchanged within provincial military regions and some branches; it is not good to stay in one place for too long. Some have been involved in local factionalism and have hampered local work, and should be transferred. If they are guilty of a mountain-stronghold mentality, they should certainly be gotten rid of and their mountain tops leveled. Exchange of cadres does not have to be done in one fell swoop. For some people, transfers to other areas would hold advantages, mostly in that by changing locale, they would come in contact with more people, understand more situations, and be more circumspect when encountering matters. In short, to stay in one place for too long is not good. Cadres must be educated in this, and this problem must be explained clearly.

As far as the steps to be taken are concerned, I suggest that readjustments first be made from top to bottom in leadership bodies at all levels. In solving problems in local jurisdictions, including the problems of entrepreneural units, first comes solution to leadership bodies. Leadership bodies should have prestige. They should dare to lead, be able to carry out party programs and policies well, and be able to do a good job. Otherwise, some jobs will not be done by anyone, and the Central Committee will have to send people, or else provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions will have to send people, and what kind of a situation is that? The same is true for the army. In making up teams, first and second line hands should be selected first, those having a good party spirit, a good work style, and good unity being selected. Emphasis today should be placed on the particular importance of a work style of arduous struggle. When this exists, many situations can change and improve. Therefore, when selecting cadre now, and particularly in the selection of high-ranking cadres, those who struggle arduously or fairly arduously should be selected.

Let us talk about the advisors problem. Advisors are something new, and they are a good method proposed for the present state of our army. In appointing advisors, the first problem is who should be an advisor, and the second one is what an advisor does. This is a question of who goes and who stays, not all of them can be so fair-minded. Comrade Mao Zedong said that members of the Central Committee are not necessarily better than others, and not being a member of the Central Committee likewise does not mean one is worse than some Central Committee members. All comrades, particularly comrades who serve as advisors, must emphasize the general interest and subordinate themselves to the wishes of the organization. The organization must show solicitude for advisors, and this solicitude includes the matter of material rewards; however, it is particularly necessary to show solicitude toward their political ideology. They should be able to see documents, listen to reports, and be privy to some matters within the CPC committee at the same level. Advisory unit chiefs are not a part of CPC committees, but may attend CPC committee meetings as non-voting delegates so that advisory units can keep in touch with events. There should be no changes in other pay and emoluments, but secretaries should change the practice of providing them a motor vehicle. This point should be made clear on the basis that their work does not require it rather than that it is a lowering of status. Comrades who act as advisors should also have a personal consciousness. When they do inspection work at lower levels, they should not let others invite them as guests or prepare banquets for them. When they go to lower levels, they travel everywhere, and wherever they go people invite them. They are regarded as being from higher authority, and not to invite them is considered a lack of respect. Then they will not be happy and won't that be awful! Inspection work at lower levels must be planned; otherwise, subordinates will find it unbearable. Advisors also have authority, namely the authority to make suggestions. Advisors have to be able to do their work with detachment. Otherwise, when problems are encountered they will become personally involved, and CPC committees at the same level will find this difficult to accept. What problems may come up in the appointment of advisors will have to wait for about a year for further summarization of experiences.

5. Responsibilities of High Level Cadres

Good performance of responsibilities in the army lies, first of all, with us comrades at this conference or, to go slightly farther afield, with the major members above the army level. If we lead the army well, all the fine traditions of our party can be maintained and the army can be extraordinarily united and have exceptional fighting strength. If we do a bad job, the army will be very badly led, and some existing problems will get worse. Today there are some matters truly deserving of attention that we should be worried about! For the past several decades, the army has been very good overall; we have made efforts, and we have had a part in the contributions that have been made. As to whether some bad situations in the army now can be overcome, and as to whether the fine traditions of the past several decades can continue to be carried forward will depend largely on the help and example that these old comrades provide. So long as everyone takes the lead and works hard to achieve the eight characters of which Comrade Mao Zedong spoke, namely unity, intensity, earnestness, and liveliness, I believe that the army's problems will not be difficult to solve, and the party's lines, programs, and policies can be carried out well.

The foregoing several thoughts summarize the "carry forward the revolutionary tradition to win greater honor" about which Comrade Mao Zedong spoke.

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ON CONSOLIDATION OF ENTERPRISES IN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRY (3 August 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 25-27

[Speech at a Meeting of Major Enterprises in the National Defense Industry]

[Text] During the past several months the Central Committee has issued several documents one after the other on solution to railroad problems and problems in steel production, which have clarified programs and policies. You have asked me to say a few words, which is going to be the same old thing.

First, leading bodies that dare to lead must be established. It seems that most industrial enterprises have already solved this problem and that only a few have not. "Units with serious and long-standing problems" not surprisingly have such problems. If you want to fight factionalism and do not have leading bodies that dare to take the lead, it simply cannot be done. Necessary rules and regulations have to be established, and policies implemented; without such leading bodies, nothing can be accomplished. Some are fearful. Fearfulness made some sense in the past, and one cannot say that those who were fearful are bad. For anyone who is a member of the Communist Party to have been fearful in the past was wrong; nevertheless, it may be excused because of the circumstances of the times. Today the Central Committee supports local jurisdictions; higher levels support lower levels, so one can only blame oneself for further fears, blame oneself for flagging revolutionary will, and blame oneself for poor revolutionary zeal. This is the only conclusion that can be reached. Leading cadres who fear to lead, do not do their work, make much ado about small problems and moan and groan about no problems might better be asked to take a rest; otherwise what is the use of them holding a post without doing any work and not letting anyone else take over either. The problem of leading bodies must be firmly grasped and solved; some comrades who are able to do things and dare to do things must be found to take responsibility. This matter cannot be allowed to drag on, and particular attention must be devoted to secretaries in charge of industry in provincial governments. Solution to the problem of leading bodies requires mostly putting in good hands and assistants. When good hands and their assistants dare to lead, the ranks can be led. Some fairly young cadres with some practical experience should go into leading bodies--people 50 years old, or 40 years old, or even younger would be better. Such people are always available. You can find

them in your own plant, and if they are difficult to find in your own plant, you can find them in another plant or you can find them locally. Of course you can find people! People of ability should be selected, and once they have been selected, they should be well trained.

Second is the need to insist on quality first. This is a very important matter, particularly for military ordnance. If several artillery shells fail to explode at a critical moment on the battlefield, the entire battle can be affected. Today's military ordnance is modernized weapons, so even greater attention to this matter is required. Recently I read some material that told how many national defense plants had completed a certain amount of output value, and that products of good or fairly good quality numbered more than 55 percent. You positively may not be satisfied with these figures. Less of such talk in the future would be better. To say that the quality of a majority of products is good does not solve the problem. Sometimes just 1 percent or even 0.5 percent of key items or key spare parts develop problems. Those in charge of national defense industries must watch this problem. Nowadays a lot of flying accidents occur. Naturally, this is partially a problem resulting from poor training in the armed forces, poor quality of airmen, and low standards of ground control; however, problems about aircraft quality should also be studied. A certain number of accidents result from that 1 percent or even 0.5 percent of parts that develop problems. When inspection was made, it was found that 0.5 percent had not [been] inspected. Several times we have been unsuccessful with scientific experiments, and inspection has shown that it was not that skills were not up to standards, but that 1 percent or 0.5 percent of parts was not up to standards; just such a tiny bit did not meet requirements. The quality problem is related to the establishment of rules and regulations. Without necessary rules and regulations, it is difficult to assure quality. The situation in this regard must be rectified. In addition, it is necessary that comrades in charge of national defense industries take firm hold of research work. This is because really quite a large number of military ordnance items cannot be produced regularly because technology is not up to standard. It is necessary to bring into play the enthusiasm of scientists and technicians, and to use the three-in-one combination [of leading cadres, technicians, and workers]. Scientists and technicians should not become dejected. Isn't it true that scientific and technical personnel are called "Old Nines" [intellectuals]? Chairman Mao said, "The old nines cannot leave." By this he meant that scientific and technical personnel should be valued. When they have shortcomings, they should be helped and encouraged. Fairly good conditions should be provided them so that they can work wholeheartedly on research. This will be of very great significance for development of our future endeavors.

Third, it is necessary to be concerned about the livelihood of the masses. This problem is not one that can be solved with the saying of a single sentence; much solid work must be done. For example, steel workers do such heavy labor, yet fresh vegetables are scant and meat is in short supply; basic requirements cannot be assured. Problems of this kind must be studied concretely and solved.

In cities having numerous industries, particular attention should be given this point. Isn't it true that some cadres like to raise chickens, rabbits, or ducks? If one transfers to the life of the masses the enthusiasm one has for one's own concerns, I think the problems can be readily solved. Then there are the three line plants in mountain regions in which commercial work also requires improvement. I am from Sichuan, and frequently I hear workers in my home village say that fresh vegetables are scant and meat is in short supply. Not only Sichuan, but numerous other places have this problem of a shortage of non-staple foods. Some action should be taken. For example, some land near Chongqing could be specially designated for the growing of vegetables, and the vegetables produced could be supplied to industrial plants first, as well as to city residents. The workers would have a few vegetables and a little meat to eat, and the peasants would have a slight increase in their incomes. This would also be helpful in improving relations between industry and agriculture. We are now considering whether or not to divert a little grain for the raising of hogs in suburban areas, for example, the transfer of 500 million jin of grain to raise 5 million hogs. This grain would not be for distribution throughout the country, but would be for special grain for the sole use of several places. Or consideration could even be given to the use of modern methods of operating some chicken farms. This problem should be studied. Most important is hog raising. Expansion of hog raising could both increase the peasants' cash income, and could increase fertilizer and grain output. Doing heavy labor nowadays is still hard work, so something must be done about the livelihood of staff members and workers. The masses discuss their livelihood at considerable length, and do not suppose that it is all just complaining. Our party and country must be concerned about the livelihood of the masses, and this problem should be raised now.

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SOME VIEWS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY (18 August 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 28-31

[Talk at the State Council's Discussion on the Document, 'Some Problems in Accelerating the Development of Industry' Drafted by the State Planning Commission]

[Text] A document drafted by the State Planning Commission raised a considerable number of questions. Such a document has been needed. Comrade Mao Zedong always espoused the need for a constitution. Only a constitution can embody the party's programs and policies. The former 70 articles for industry were fundamentally good; they require revision not abolition. Once the document has been revised, it can be presented for discussion. Now I will state several thoughts on problems related to development of industry.

1. Establishment of the idea of taking agriculture as the foundation and service to agriculture. Industrial support to agriculture to promote the modernization of agriculture is a major task for industry. Industrial areas and industrial cities should stimulate nearby rural villages and help rural villages develop small-scale industries and do a good job of agricultural production. They should include these things in their own plans. Numerous third line industrial plants that are scattered in rural villages should also help nearby communes and brigades do a good job of agricultural production. A large plant could give impetus to a surrounding area. This also has another advantage in that nearby commune members might take good care of the plant and not go to the plant to take things as they please. Agricultural modernization is not just mechanization; it also includes the application and development of science and technology. Cities might help rural villages set up some mechanized chicken farms or hog farms. This would increase the peasants' income and improve the supply of non-staple food to cities at the same time. If workers have no vegetables or meat to eat, how can industries operate? Industrial support to agriculture, and agricultural support to industry, in turn, is a matter of the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. I wrote a letter to comrades in Sichuan telling them that the more industry is developed, the more the need to put agriculture in the primary position.

2. Introduction of new techniques and new equipment, and expansion of imports and exports. Foreign countries devote very serious attention to the introduction of new techniques and new techniques from abroad. If you

take their products apart and look at them, you will see that numerous parts have been manufactured in other countries. Some raw and processed materials that we cannot provide ourselves must be imported, and more of them should be imported. For example, when a chemical fiber plant got underway, it was unable to produce for lack of a certain chemical industry raw material; unless it was imported, what was to be done? In order to import, it is necessary to export more. This is an export policy problem. Export what? Major efforts should be made to produce petroleum and do everything possible to export some. Every available means should be used to increase the export of traditional exports such as arts and crafts articles. Consideration should be given the export of chemical industry products. Consideration should also be given the export of coal, and consideration may also be given to the signing of long-term agreements with foreign countries whereby coal is used to pay for the importance of their techniques and equipment for extracting coal and petroleum. This holds numerous advantages. First it could increase exports; second it could spur the technical transformation of the coal industry; and third it could take care of the labor force. This is a major policy awaiting further action following Central Committee approval. In short, more things have to be exported in exchange for high-grade, precision, and advanced technology and equipment to hasten the transformation of industrial technology and increase the labor productivity rate.

3. Intensification of research work in enterprises. This is a major way in which to develop industry to achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results. As industry expands, scientific and technical personnel in enterprises must become increasingly numerous, and the proportion of them to staff and workers as a whole must become increasingly large. Large plants should have their own scientific research organizations. Scientific research at small plants can be done jointly with the municipal government, or several plants can do it jointly. There are some intellectuals today who are being used for purposes other than those for which they were trained, or who formerly learned skills that are not being used to the full. Work in this area should be improved. There are numerous problems in scientific research, and one need look no further than the problem of packaging of exports, which I believe should be studied well. How to lighten the weight of military equipment also very much merits research. Sole reliance on the General Logistics Department to handle some equipment will not do; several research organizations should work on it together.

4. Reordering of enterprise management priorities. It seems numerous problems exist within enterprises, and one universal problem is poor management priorities in enterprises resulting in a poor in-service rate for equipment. In heavy industry, in particular, the problem is a conspicuous one. Consideration should be given to a concentrated reordering of enterprise management priorities during November and December this year, and strengthening of equipment maintenance to lay a good foundation for production next year. In enterprises where equipment is in serious disrepair, the emphasis should be on maintenance. It is preferable to produce somewhat less and be sure that equipment is well maintained.

Otherwise, the more hurry the less speed, and the more production is spurred, the less it will advance. Waste in enterprises is shocking and is a universal phenomenon that should be rectified in order to make profit and pay the state more of it. Management of enterprises is an important matter that must be done conscientiously.

5. A firm grip on product quality. Quality first is a major policy. This includes both variety and specifications. Improvement in product quality is the greatest saving. In a certain sense, good quality is the same thing as large quantity. Only when quality is good is it possible to open export channels or expand exports. One must remember that competitive ability in the international marketplace requires stringent efforts or product quality.

6. Revival and perfection of rules and regulations. The key lies in establishment of responsibility systems. In numerous places a situation of no one being in charge exists. Bad old practices die hard, and extra efforts will have to be made. The carrying out of rules and regulations must be somewhat strict. It is necessary to be a little spirited, not fear criticism, and not fear making mistakes. If you are not strict, rules and regulations cannot be revived, and there will be no way in which to change the tumultuous situation in enterprises. An old worker in the Nanjing Radio Plant spoke of the need for strictness in carrying out rules and regulations. This material should be made available to everyone to read.

7. Adherence to the principle of distribution according to work. In the building of socialism, this is always a very great problem about which everyone should do some thinking. So-called material incentives were not numerous in the past. When people make different contributions, should there be a difference in their pay and emoluments? The same applies to workers, but the technical skills of some are higher than of others, so should their grade, and their pay and emoluments be raised? Should the pay and emoluments of technical personnel also be raised? If no consideration is given the size of contributions, the level of skill, capabilities, whether one does light or heavy work, and wages for all are 40 or 50 yuan, on the surface it appears that everyone is equal. In fact, this is not in keeping with the principle of to each according to labor. How can the enthusiasm of people be aroused? I feel that the pay for occupation in high temperatures, at high altitudes, at the bottom of mine shafts, and where toxicity exists should be different than for occupations in general. Wage policy is a very complex problem requiring study.

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THINGS MUST BE STRAIGHTENED OUT IN ALL FIELDS (27 September and 4 October 1975)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 32-34

[Talks at a Rural Work Meeting]

[Text] Problems in need of straightening out exist in all fields. Agriculture requires straightening out; industry requires straightening out; policies on literature and art require straightening out. Readjustment is, in fact, straightening out. Straightening out will be required to solve rural problems, to solve industrial plant problems, to solve scientific and technical problems, and to solve problems in all fields. I spoke at the Politburo about the straightening out of several fields, and made a report to Comrade Mao Zedong, which Comrade Mao Zedong approved.

Current problems are considerable and have to be solved. Only persistent efforts will do. It is necessary to dare to lead, and to act as one. During the past 6 months I have spoken on several occasions on the theme of daring to lead. Formerly a unit "with serious and long-standing problems," dared not touch the tiger's behind. Later on, it decided that no matter whether it was a 60-year-old tiger's behind, a 40-year-old tiger's behind, or a 20- or 30-year-old tiger's behind, it would have to be touched. And once it was touched, results appeared.

At the heart of straightening out is the straightening out of the party. Once firm hold is taken of the key link that the party is, the straightening out of all fields is not difficult. This symposium should discuss the topic of party rectification. Comrade Mao Zedong agrees with this. How is party rectification to be carried out? Certainly the methods used should not be the same as those of the past. Let each province work out a plan on the basis of its own characteristics. Party rectification consists mostly of the rectification of leading bodies at all levels. In rural villages, that includes first echelon communes and brigades; in industrial plants it includes first echelon workshops; and in scientific research organizations, it includes first echelon research offices. This is a fairly rapid way of solving problems. Once leading bodies have been straightened out properly, the problem of party members can be readily solved.

Party rectifications should be used as the basis on which cadre selection is done. Each production brigade, each commune, and each county can select leaders and assistants, and then the entire leading body can take charge. Of particular importance is first echelon county CPC committees. The building of a powerful county CPC committee is very important! Being a county CPC committee secretary is by no means easy. You have to have all-around leadership experience, and be able to take firm grip on matters in every quarter, north, south, east, and west, and in the party, government, military, civil affairs, and schools. This differs from being a plant manager with only a single plant manager. If one performs the functions of a county CPC committee secretary well, one can work fairly easily and smoothly in a prefecture or provincial CPC committee. Nowadays some provinces find it difficult to promote a person to provincial CPC committee secretary, but I do not think it should be all that difficult. There are large numbers of county CPC committee secretaries and prefecture CPC committee secretaries, so why can't even one provincial CPC committee secretary be found? I feel the problem may result from not paying attention or from paying insufficient attention. Of course, it is not that some of these people are without fault or have not made mistakes and have undergone self-criticism; they have both positive and negative experiences. These people should not be ignored, because to ignore them is to a loss. [as printed] In choosing leading cadres, no matter whether old, middle aged or young, one must look at whether they are willing to work, and whether they can take the lead in sustaining great adversity and be patient in doing large amounts of work. This is the first rule. Of course, they have to have brains too. Among the old, the middle aged and the young, the focus today should be on the middle aged. The so-called middle aged means cadres who are presently a little over 40. These people have had at least 10 to 20 years work experience, and some of them have had as much as 10 years work experience as leaders. When a fine sprout is found, he should be allowed to advance upward step by step, taking each step a little faster, for example, moving up again in a year or so. This method of bringing people along takes good care of cadres.

I have felt all along that there is one very large problem in the party today, and that is how to propagandize Mao Zedong Thought. It was Comrade Lo Ronghuan who first expressed disapproval of the methods whereby Lin Biao debased Mao Zedong Thought. He said that in studying the works of Chairman Mao, one should study the spiritual essence. At that time, the Secretariat discussed and approved Comrade Lo Ronghuan's views. Lin Biao had expressed the view that study of the "three standing articles" ["Serve the People," In Memory of Norman Bethune," and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains,"] (later amended to the "five constantly read articles") [the "three standing articles" plus "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," and "Combat Liberalism"] was a fractionalizing of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought contains abundant substance, and is a complete body. How could one term only the "three standing articles" and the "five constantly read articles" Mao Zedong Thought and cast aside Comrade Mao Zedong's other works: How could one focus on one or two sentences, or on one or two points of view and then onesidedly propagandize them? Actually, the problem of fractionalizing Mao Zedong Thought has not been

resolved up to the present time. For example, on the guiding principles for literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong said one should make the past serve the present, foreign things serve China; let a hundred flowers blossom, and weed through the old to bring forth the new. This was very complete. However, today letting a hundred flowers blossom is no longer mentioned; it does not exist any more. This is fractionalization. Nowadays a considerable number of school students do not read books, and this is also not in keeping with Mao Zedong Thought. What Comrade Mao Zedong opposed was education that was divorced from reality, divorced from the masses, and divorced from labor; it was certainly to read no books, but rather to read them better. The motto that Comrade Mao Zedong gave young children was, "Study well, and advance day by day." In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the four modernizations, and about class struggle, the production struggle, and scientific experimentation as the three basic practices of society. Now, scientific experimentation has been cut out and everyone is afraid of mentioning it; to mention it is a crime. How can this be? I fear that problems exist in many fields as to how to study, propagandize, and carry into effect Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is closely related to practice in all fields, and it is closely related to programs, policies, and methods in all fields of work. We must study, propagandize, and implement it in an all-around way without mistaking the sound of wind for rain.

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THE 'TWO WHATEVERS' DOES NOT ACCORD WITH MARXISM (24 May 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 35-36

[Part of a talk with two comrades on the Party Central Committee. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 28 Jun 83]

[Text]

A few days ago, two responsible comrades of the central General Office came to see me, and I told them that the "two whatevers" (1) are not right. According to the "two whatevers," my rehabilitation is inexplicable; (2) nor can the "two whatevers" explain why the 1976 mass movement on Tiananmen Square was just and reasonable. It is not proper to apply Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks on one issue to the treatment of another issue and to apply his statement at a specific time, in a specific place, and under a specific condition, to dealing with things at a different time, in a different place, and under different conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong himself said on many occasions that some of his remarks may be wrong. He said: If only a person is engaged in some work, it is impossible that he can prevent himself from committing any mistake. He added: Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin all did something wrong. If not, why did they correct their manuscripts again and again? That was because some of their viewpoints were not completely corrupt, not so perfect, and not so accurate. Comrade Mao Zedong said that he himself had also made some mistakes. It is impossible for a person to ensure that all his remarks are right and absolutely correct. He said: If a person can be assessed as "70 percent against 30 percent" (3), that is quite good enough. After I die, if people make such an assessment of me, I shall be very glad and very satisfied. This is an important theoretical issue, an issue concerning whether we are steadfast to historical materialism. Thoroughgoing materialists should treat this issue as Comrade Mao Zedong did. Marx and Engels did not mention "whatevers;" Lenin and Stalin did not either; nor did Comrade Mao Zedong himself say this (4). I told the two comrades: In a letter I wrote to the Central Committee on 10 April this year, I put forward that "we must, from generation to generation, use accurate and integral Mao Zedong Thought to guide our whole party, whole Army, and the people throughout the nation so as to successfully push forward the party's socialist cause and the cause of the international communist movement." This is based on thorough reflection. Mao Zedong Thought is an ideological system. Comrade Luo Ronghuan(5) and I have struggled against Lin Biao and criticized him for vulgarizing Mao Zedong Thought instead of treating it as a system. By holding high the banner, we mean that we should study and apply this ideological system.

Explanatory notes:

(1) The "two whatevers" refer to the statement -- "We must resolutely uphold whatever is decided on by Chairman Mao and unswervingly carry out whatever Chaimran Mao instructed us to do" -- which was put forward by a joint editorial of RENMIN RIBAO, HONGGI, and JIEFANGJUN BAO on 7 February 1977 under the title of "Studying Well the Documents and Grasping the Key Link."

(2) This is a criticism directed at Hua Guofeng, then chairman of the CPC Central Committee, who insisted on the mistake of the "two whatevers" at the central work conference in March 1977. In 1975, with Mao Zedong's support, Deng Xiaoping took charge of the routine work of the central authorities and started a series of measures to set things to rights in all fields. This markedly improved the domestic situation.

However, Mao Zedong did not tolerate Deng Xiaoping's attempt to correct the mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" in a systematic way, and launched a so-called "movement of criticizing Deng and counterattacking the rightist trend to reverse the verdicts" at the end of 1975. During the 1976 Qingming festival (on 4 April), mass revolutionary movements to commemorate Zhou Enlai, who died in January 1976, to oppose the "gang of four," and to express disagreement with the criticism against Deng Xiaoping broke out in Beijing and other cities. On 5 April, a vast number of people protested at Tiananmen Square. At that time, the CPC Central Political Bureau and Mao Zedong made an error of judgment of the event occurring in Tiananmen Square, regarding it as a counterrevolutionary incident; and at the same time, Deng Xiaoping was removed from all his posts inside and outside the party. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the masses inside and outside the party strongly demanded that Deng Xiaoping be rehabilitated and that the Tiananmen Square incident be rehabilitated. In March 1977, Hua Guofeng insisted on the principle of the "two whatevers" in his speech at the central work conference. He said: "Criticizing Deng and counterattacking the rightist trend to reverse the verdicts is a decision made by great leader Chairman Mao, so it is necessary to carry out the criticsm." He also said: "There were indeed a very small number of counterrevolutionaries," "who created the Tianammen Square counterrevolutionary incident." However, he could not but concede that "Comrade Deng Xiaoping should be allowed to work in due course," and that "the feelings of the masses to express their sad memories of Premier Zhou are just and reasonable." Here, Deng Xiaoping points out the contradiction existing in Hua Guofeng's speech and criticizes the error of the "two whatevers." In July 1977, the 3d Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee adopted a resolution to restore all of Deng Xiaoping's positions inside and outside the party. In December 1978, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee criticized the error of the "two whatevers" and decided to annul the erroneous documents of the CPC central leadership on the "movement of counter-attacking the rightist trend to reverse the verdicts" and on the Tiananmen Square incident. The session also solemnly announced the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the Tiananmen Square incident.

(3) The term "70 percent against 30 percent" here means that the general assessment of a person's work in his lifetime is that achievements account for 70 percent and shortcomings and mistakes account for 30 percent.

(4) This sentence means that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong did not say that all their words and deeds were absolutely correct and cannot be changed, or anything like that.

(5) Luo Ronghuan (1902-1963), from Hengshan County, Hunan Province, was then a member of the CPC Central Political Bureau and the director of the General Political Department of the PLA.

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RESPECT KNOWLEDGE, RESPECT TALENT (24 May 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 37-38

[Part of a talk with two comrades on the Party Central Committee. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 8 Jul 83.]

[Text] The key to achieving modernization lies in being able to promote science and technology. Developing science and technology cannot be done without developing education. We cannot achieve modernization by relying on empty talk. There must be knowledge and talented people.

How can we improve things without knowledge and talented people? How can we get things done with such backward science and technology? We must acknowledge our backwardness; if we do, then there is hope for us.

Looking at the present situation, compared with the developed countries, our science and technology and education are a full 20 years behind. The United States has 1.2 million scientists and technicians and the Soviet Union 900,000, while we have only some 200,000, including old, infirm, and weak. Not many of them can actually be employed.

The Japanese started to pay attention to science and technology and education from the period of the Meiji restoration. They devoted a lot of effort to this. The Meiji restoration constituted modernization run by the newly-emerging bourgeoisie. We are proletarians, and we should, and can, do things better than they.

While grasping science and technology, we must simultaneously grasp education. We must start with the primary schools and go on to the secondary schools and universities. I hope that, starting from now, we can bring about a small change in the schools in 5 years, a medium change in 10 years, and a major change in 15 to 20 years. In running education, we must walk on two legs. We must pay attention to both popularization and raising of standards. We must run key primary and secondary schools and universities. By conducting strict examinations, we should concentrate the most outstanding persons in the key secondary schools and universities.

We must select several thousand crack talented people from the science and technology system. After these people have been selected, we must create conditions for them to engage in research work with single-minded devotion. We can give subsidies to those in difficulties in daily life. At present some people have old folks and children in their homes, and their monthly salary is a few dozen yuan; they have to spend a lot of time doing daily chores and cannot find a quiet place for reading in the evening. What

is the good of that? The political demands placed on these people must be appropriate. Politically they should love the country and socialism and accept party leadership. If they do their research work well and produce results, then they are benefiting politics and the People's Republic of China.

We must create an atmosphere in the party of respecting knowledge and talent. We must oppose the erroneous idea of failure to respect intellectuals. Both mental and physical labor are labor. People engaged in mental labor are laborers too. Mental and physical labor will become still more inseparable in the future. In the developed capitalist countries, there are many workers whose work consists of standing and pressing buttons for several hours; this is both tense mental labor requiring concentration, and also arduous physical labor. We must attach importance to knowledge and to people engaged in mental labor, and recognize that they are laborers.

It is also necessary to simultaneously grasp scientific research and education in the Armed Forces. How can modern war be fought without knowledge of modern warfare? We must ensure that the leading cadres in the Armed Forces possess knowledge themselves and also respect knowledge. It is necessary to run schools of all types. Through training, the leading cadres in the Armed Forces should master knowledge of modern science and culture and of modern warfare. At the same time we should reduce the average age of the Armed Forces cadres. It will not do to have 60-year-olds as Army commanders.

All trades and sectors must grasp science and technology and education. Large enterprises must have science and technology research organs and personnel. Every department must carry out scientific research.

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GRASP MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AS A WHOLE AND ACCURATELY (21 JULY 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 39-44

[Part of a Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 10th Party Central Committee]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are our party's guiding ideology. Mao Zedong Thought carries on and develops Marxism-Leninism. Lin Biao denied Mao Zedong Thought saying that the "three standing articles" represented Mao Zedong Thought. Lin Biao separated Mao Zedong Thought from Marxism-Leninism. This was a serious distortion of Mao Zedong Thought that was extremely disadvantageous for the endeavors of our party and for socialism, and extremely disadvantageous for the international communist movement.

On 10 April this year, in a letter to Comrade Hua Guofeng and Comrade Ye Jianying, I referred to the need to use accurate and complete Mao Zedong Thought to guide our whole party, our whole armed forces, and our whole people, and to advance our party's endeavors, socialist endeavors, and the endeavors of the international communist movement. My purpose in saying that it was necessary to use accurate and complete Mao Zedong Thought as a guiding ideology was to have a completely accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought, and to be versed in studying, mastering, and applying the system of Mao Zedong Thought in the direction of our every activity. Only in this way is it possible not to fractionalize and distort Mao Zedong Thought and do damage to Mao Zedong Thought. We can realize that at any given time, in any given conditions, and on any given problem, Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks were accurate, and that his words were also accurate on the same given problem at a different time and under different conditions. However, his words on the same problems at different times and under different conditions sometimes differed slightly; their emphasis was different, or even the wording was different. Consequently, we cannot understand Mao Zedong Thought from just individual statement; rather we must gain an accurate understanding from the complete system of Mao Zedong Thought. The "gang of four," and particularly the so-called theoretician, Zhang Chunqiao, distorted and edited Mao Zedong Thought. They used certain of Comrade Mao Zedong's phrases out of context to hoodwink and intimidate people. We must genuinely understand Mao Zedong Thought. We should accurately and completely understand Mao Zedong Thought in terms of problems in any given domain

or area. For example, the problem of intellectuals is a problem of domain. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently devoted serious attention to the role of intellectuals, while at the same time making extremely sure that intellectuals changed their world outlook. In this he proceeded from caring; it was in order better to arouse their enthusiasm, to make the most of their role, and enable them to be able to serve socialist endeavors well. The "gang of four" termed all intellectuals, "stinking old nines," and even said that Chairman Mao had said this. It must be admitted that Comrade Mao Zedong regarded them as a part of the bourgeoisie. We cannot now continue to say such things. However, looked at in terms of the revolution as a whole and the process of construction, Comrade Mao Zedong had a high regard for the role of intellectuals. In 1975, he said, "The old nines should not go" in answer to the slanders of the "gang of four." We must accurately and completely understand the thinking and the policies of Comrade Mao Zedong on the intellectuals issue. As another example, on the matter of relations between the leaders and the masses, Mao Zedong Thought had always held the people to be the motive force in historical progress. As a great Marxist, Comrade Mao Zedong many times opposed improper and unscientific evaluations made of him personally, and he frequently instructed us to understand correctly the relationship between the people and leading personalities or leaders. Mao Zedong Thought elaborated Marxist-Leninism not just in individual regards, but in numerous spheres. Mao Zedong Thought is a system that has developed Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, I suggest that in addition to doing a good job of compiling and printing the works of Mao Zedong that comrades who do theoretical work devote considerable efforts to illuminating the system of Mao Zedong Thought in all fields. The system of Mao Zedong Thought should be used to instruct our party and lead us forward.

I would like to tak this opportunity today to speak briefly about some doctrinal problems in Mao Zedong Thought. Marx and Engels had little to say in this regard, and Lenin had a complete doctrine for party building. It was precisely because Lenin built such a fine party that he was able to win victory in the October Revolution and found the first socialist country. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who developed most completely Lenin's doctrines on party building. During the Jinggangshan period, i.e., during the period of the founding of the Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on party building was very clear. Everybody can understand this by looking at the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress on the Fourth Army of the Red Army. His complete doctrine on party building was established through practice during the Yanan rectification period. Comrade Mao Zedong had a complete body of doctrine on what kind of a party should be founded, what the party's guiding ideology should be, and what the party's workstyle should be. It was precisely because Comrade Mao Zedong established a complete doctrine on party building during the Yanan rectification, and because he used this doctrine to instruct our whole party, whole armed forces, and the people that we have been able to establish such a fine party and be able to win complete victory in the War of Resistance to Japan and in the War of Liberation. Following founding of the People's Republic, the party was filled with vitality, and subsequently Comrade Mao Zedong's doctrine on party building saw new development. In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong outlined a

single goal as follows: "Our goal is creation of a political situation that is at once both centralized and democratic, both disciplined and free, both united in full and in which individuals feel easy in their minds, and which is vivid and vigorous so as to help the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, make it fairly easy to overcome difficulties and build modern industry and modern agriculture in China fairly rapidly and better consolidate the party and country, and be better able to withstand hazards." Of course, in speaking of the political situation here, Comrade Mao Zedong was not speaking only of the party but of the whole country, the whole armed forces, and the whole people; he was saying that the whole party, the whole armed forces, and the whole people should have that kind of political situation.

Let us reflect for a moment that it has been precisely on the basis of Comrade Mao Zedong's party building doctrines that such a fine party has been built. Following the Yanan rectification, both those at the front and in the rear were filled with vitality and dynamism; their minds were at ease, and they united as one. This party that Comrade Mao Zedong had established was both able to carry forward democracy to the full and fully imbue subordinates with a conscious respect for discipline. It was also possible to establish a high degree of centralization on this foundation. Who would not obey the orders and exhortations of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee! Who would not consciously obey them! Without such a party atmosphere, would we have been able to have triumphed over enemies far more powerful than we? Would we have been able to win victory after victory following founding of the People's Republic?

The "gang of four's" opposition to Comrade Mao Zedong's doctrines for building the party caused great damage to the building of the party and to the party workstyle. I will not go into detail. How is one able to attain such a political situation as the one that Comrade Mao Zedong put forward? By studying well Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking in the field of party building. There is a lot of substance here; for example, the intermixture of a high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralization; for example, being able to distinguish correctly and handle the two different kinds of contradictions; for example, the formula of "unite - criticize - unite"; for example, the method of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient; for example, more than 95 percent of cadres and masses fully carrying forward democracy and unity; and, for example, the mass line and having confidence in the masses. At the Central Committee Party School in Yanan, for example, are the four characters written by Comrade Mao Zedong himself: "Seek Truth in Facts." I believe that the talk at Daqing about being "honest in three ways," namely, being an honest person, speaking honest words, and doing honest deeds was a seeking of truth in facts. I consider the mass line and seeking truth in facts to have been the two most fundamental things in the workstyle that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated. Of course, the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the relationship between freedom and discipline are also very important. As far as the present state of our party is concerned, I personally feel the mass line and the seeking of truth in facts to be particularly important. Comrade Mao Zedong was a materialist through and through; he had full confidence

in the masses and he consistently opposed lack of confidence in the masses and failure to rely on the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong was extraordinarily attentive to the comments of the masses. Comrades always remember during the time in Yanan how the production campaign got under way. Why was a production campaign proposed? The major reason was that too much grain had been requisitioned at that time, and the masses grumbled. Many of us Communist Party members felt extraordinarily uncomfortable. But Comrade Mao Zedong had a different view. He said that what they said was right; it was the voice of the masses! Comrade Mao Zedong was really great, and really different from us. He was adept at discovering problems in such remarks from the masses, and he put forward principles and policies for solving problems. Comrade Mao Zedong always was extremely attentive to the comments of the masses, to the thoughts of the masses, and to the problems of the masses.

Why do I say that the seeking of truth in facts is important now? The key to good performance in our party style, military style, and civilian style lies in good performance of party style. The "gang of four" really did ruin our established practices. Destruction by the "gang of four" actually lasted for 10 years, or one might say for more than 10 years. It began with their alignment with Lin Biao. They made comrades within our party not dare to speak, and particularly not to dare speak the truth, but to resort to deception. Even some of our old comrades were tainted with these bad practices, and this is unforgiveable! If only we have full confidence in the masses, seek truth in facts, carry forward democracy, and revive and carry forward Comrade Mao Zedong's doctrines on party building and the whole party work style, the kind of political situation of which Comrade Mao Zedong spoke can certainly be realized. With such a political situation, we will be able to withstand any danger. We should create such a political situation, unite the whole party, the whole armed forces, and the people of the whole country under leadership of the party Central Committee. Possessed of a united will and individual peace of mind and vitality, all problems may be placed on the table and grievances against leaders may be criticized.

Party consolidation and rectification of incorrect styles of work are very necessary. These old comrades of ours should also rectify incorrect workstyles, and naturally not everyone will pass muster. We are not using that method now, but conscious rectification of incorrect workstyles is also necessary! Provide a model for young party members and cadres; give help and set an example; pass along experience and provide leadership in Comrade Mao Zedong's doctrines on party building and party workstyle. In that way, whenever we encounter difficulties, we need fear no dangers; both our socialist revolution and our building of socialist institutions will certainly be able to develop fully.

Today the consciousness of the whole party, the whole army, and the whole country's people, and the ability to distinguish right from wrong have been greatly improved. People use their heads and think through problems; they care about the country and they care about the party. When the "gang of four" damaged the party, an overwhelming majority of people, possibly 99 percent of cadres, party members, and the people, were extremely apprehensive and filled with anxiety. We have

such fine cadres, such fine party members, and such fine people. Their degree of consciousness is very high, and they have unbounded confidence in the party's endeavors. This is the most reliable guarantee of our triumph over all adversities and the winning of great victories in all spheres. It is very precious. Therefore, like my comrades, I have faith that under leadership of the party Central Committee, we will certainly be able to unite the whole party, the whole army, and all nationalities and people in the whole country, raise high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, arouse all active elements, and strive to realize the four modernizations within this century so that our socialist country will prosper, so that our party's endeavors will flourish, so that our country's dictatorship of the proletariat will be further consolidated, and so that we will be able to make greater contributions to the international communist movement and to all mankind.

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SOME VIEWS ON WORK IN SCIENCE AND EDUCATION WORK (8 August 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
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[Speech at a meeting on the work in the fields of science and education. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 11 Jul 83.]

[Text] The main purpose of this science and education work forum is to hear everyone's opinions and to allow everyone to learn from one another. If the layman is to be in charge of the expert, study is vital. The central authorities have agreed with my offer to undertake the work involved in being in charge of science and education. Where should we start if China is to catch up with the world's developed and advanced countries? I believe that we should start with science and education. Science does, of course, include the social sciences, even though this forum was unable, due to the limitations of time, to invite any social scientists. This forum has allowed me to learn and come to understand several situations and I have also begun to understand which problems need to be solved first. There are perhaps some problems and questions which have not been completely discussed by everyone here, or which have not been completely clarified due to the amoung of time we have available. Fortunately, we will have opportunities in the future to discuss such questions and problems.

1. On the question of evaluating the 17 years.

A question which concerns everyone is how to evaluate the 17 years after the founding of New China. In terms of scientific research this question has basically been resolved and answered, but in the area of education there is still a lack of answers. This question must be answered.

I myself believe that during most of the time prior to the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong's series of directives concerning scientific research work and cultural educational work did, in their basic spirit, encourage, promote, and regard the vast majority of our intellectuals as good and serving socialism or wanting to serve socialism. After 1957, he did rather go to extremes in some of the things he said but during the early 1960's, he was still supporting the 14 scientific opinions (footnote 1) ("The 14 Opinions Concerning the Present Work of Natural Science Research Bodies (draft)," drawn up in June 1961 by the leading party gtoup in the National Science and Technology Committee and the leading party group in the Chinese Scientific Academy, and approved for trial implementation in July of the same year by the CPC Central Committee. The central authorities' remarks on the approval of this draft read, "it is extremely important that work with intellectuals is carried out well", "in recent years many comrades have displayed one-sided understanding in their treatment and handling of knowledge and intellectuals, and there has also been an increase in brutal behavior towards such things." This requires serious attention and rectification and correct implementation of the party's policies". The draft

correctly outlined the socialist and specialist demands on natural scientific workers and accurately implemented the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend and the principle of linking theory with practice. It also clearly outlined the fundamental tasks of scientific research organizations (producing results and talent) and preserved the stable targets of scientific research work, guaranteeing the amount of time alloted to scientific research work, and improving party guidance methods within the scientific research organizations. It also drew up several concrete policies and stipulations. The central authorities considered that the spirit of this document was relevant to all departments and work units which employed intellectuals.) and the 60 regulations for institutes of higher education. (footnote 2) (This refers to "The Provisional Work Regulations for Institutes of Higher Education under the PRC Ministry of Education (draft)," ratified in principle by the CPC Central Committee in September 1961.

(The regulations included a total of 16 clauses. This draft of regulations summarized and assimilated the 3 years of higher education work experiences and lessons accumulated since 1958, and was aimed at such serious problems as the low quality of teaching in educational establishments at that time, as well as the tendency to ignore the role of intellectuals and to over emphasize the role of labor. It stipulated that institutes of higher education must make teaching the priority and must work hard to improve the quality of teaching. It accurately implemented the party's policies concerning intellectuals and the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. It also implemented the system of responsibility of the committee for schools and colleges administrative affairs, headed by schools and colleges principal and under the guidance and leadership of the party committee. The draft dealt with the handling of general affairs and guaranteed material conditions for teaching and living. It also improved the party's methods of leadership and the leadership style of work, and strengthened ideological and political work and so on.) We must discuss and clarify Mao Zedong's leading ideology in education and his leading ideology concerning the question of intellectuals. Mao Zedong Thought represents our guiding ideology in every field and it should be expressed completely and accurately in its entirety. This is very important. How should we evaluate the 17 years of work on the educational front in China? As I see it, the red line represents the lead. We should confirm that during the 17 years, the vast majority of intellectuals, both scientists and educationalists worked hard and laboriously and achieved great success under the shining illumination of Mao Zedong Thought and under the accurate leadership of the party. For educationalists, their labors were particularly hard and difficult. Today, just about all the backbone strength that we have in each frontline has been fostered and trained by us since the founding of New China, and especially during the last 10 years or so. If we do not evaluate the 17 years in this way, then there is no way that we can explain all the successes that we have had.

How should we evaluate and assess the changes in the intellectuals' world views? The most important indication of a world view is whom one is serving. The vast majority of China's intellectuals are consciously and willingly serving socialism. Only a small minority are opposed to socialism and only a few are not very enthusiastic about socialism. Naturally, history constantly moves on and mankind's thinking changes constantly. There is a need not only to remold those intellectuals who have come from the old society, but in addition, those who have been fostered and trained since the founding of New China must continue to be remolded. Furthermore, the thinking or ideology of the peasants, workers, and members of the Communist Party must continue to be remolded. Mao Zedong said this very early on.

2. On the question of mobilizing enthusiasm.

To have solved the question of evaluating the 17 years takes, at the very least, a spiritual burden off everyone. As far as the situation today is concerned, we must pay particular attention to mobilizing the enthusiasm of educationalists and we must stress respect for teachers. The hopes of China's scientific research have their source within the ranks of the educationalists. Scientific research depends on education to produce talent, and thus we must organize education well. The carrying out of educational work must be placed on the same level of importance as carrying out scientific work, so that both of them receive equal respect and attention. A primary school teacher who puts his or her all into teaching is indeed a valuable asset. We should accept that the amount of work that a primary school teacher does is no less than the amount of work done by a university teacher, and thus a primary school teacher should be regarded just as highly as a university teacher. Those who dedicate their whole lives to teaching should be given encouragement. I propose that next year China launch a national education forum at which teaching experiences may be exchanged and assessed and where prizes and awards may be given to successful university, secondary school, and primary school teachers. Such a forum has not taken place for many years.

Scientists and educationalists are all workers. There is mental labor and there is physical labor. Scientific work and educational work both involve mental labor, and mental labor is still labor. There is one scientist who feels that growing crops at an agricultural scientific center is not real labor, and that it is only real labor if done in the countryside. This is really very strange. There are many agricultural schools and colleges which nuture their own seed varieties, plant their own fields, and so on. How can this not be labor? Scientific experiments are also labor. Does one have to be holding a hoe before one's work counts as labor? Does one have to be operating a lathe before one's work counts as labor? Automatic production involves standing all day long looking at dials and gauges. This is also labor. Such work is just as strenuous and what is more it does not permit any error. Such questions as these must be clarified because they are connected to the question of mobilizing the enthusiasm of the intellectuals.

We must respect labor and talent. Comrade Mao Zedong did not believe in the theory of innate genius but he was not opposed to showing respect for talent. When he was evaluating me he once said "talented men are hard to come by." In all honesty this appraisal is too high, but this phrase does illustrate that talent is important and that Mao Zedong respected talent. You have all been saying that scientific research organizations should produce results and talent; the same applies in the area of education. There is talent to be found among secondary and primary school teachers for it is the good teachers who have the talent. We should cherish labor and cherish talent since talent is not found everywhere! We should give expression to the specialist skills of the intellectuals, for it is no good if what one is applying is not what one has learned. It has been suggested that we should round up and use those who have changed their occupations, if they show good standard and potential for further training. This is a good idea. The "gang of four" set up what was referred to as "the stinking ninth". The "old ninths" were not actually bad and in "The Taking of Tiger Mountain by Strategy" the "old ninth" Yang Zirong was actually a good man! The mistake is in the word "stinking". Mao Zedong said the "we cannot let the old ninths go." This was correct. We must restore the reputation of the intellectuals. (footnote 3) (During the "Cultural Revolution", the "gang of four" branded intellectuals as landlords, rich people, reactionaries, evil people, rightists, traitors, spies, "capitalist roaders" and so on, and in addition they smeared them as being "the stinking ninth" [chou lao jiu]. On 3 May, 1975 when Mao Zedong called a meeting of the members of the CPC Central Committee's Political Bureau, he drew on a quotation from the Beijing Opera "The Taking of Tiger Mountain by Strategy," which ran "old ninths cannot be let go" and he used this quotation to criticize the way in which the "gang of four" had insulted and smeared intellectuals, thereby illustrating that the revolution and the construction program needed intellectuals.)

Some comrades say that we should have a reward and penalty system. This is a correct opinion. But it should be supplemented a bit by putting the emphasis on encouragement and rewards. Some people have made great contributions to China in the successes they have achieved in scientific research work. Should these people be encouraged or not? I believe they should. There are some people who bury themselves in scientific research and work arduously and they should be encouraged. But if even this is seen as a crime, what can we do? It may well be that some of them have shortcomings, but those working as leaders should have frequent heart to heart talks with them providing both political and ideological help. We shouldn't demand perfection. Mao Zedong once said that we must destroy the metaphysical notion that "gold must be pure and man must be perfect". This is a Marxist stance to adopt and it is a completely materialist attitude. Some people who have committed errors need a fitting punishment, but we should not stress punishment; we should stress help and we should earnestly help these people to rectify their mistakes and we should help them to advance and develop.

In addition to spiritual encouragement to intellectuals we should also adopt several other measures for encouraging them, including measures to improve their material treatment. The treatment of workers in education should be the same as treatment of scientists. If a scientific research worker is a part-time teacher, then the treatment should be even better, because he or she is doing even more work. As far as distribution according to work is concerned, it is simply stated as the more one works the more pay one gets, the less one works the less money one gets, and no work means no pay. As far as this question is concerned there are many concrete problems involved, from the theory to the practice, which demand investigation and solution. This is not merely a question related to the scientific and educational fields, it is an important nationwide question of policy.

3. On the question of systems and organizations.

One thing which came out very strongly in this forum was the desire for an organization to manage scientific work in a unified way. Education is organized by the Ministry of Education and as far as science is concerned everyone seemed to suggest that the national science committee be reestablished. We should confirm that the working principles of the national science committee in the past were correct and they were ratified by Mao Zedong in 1963, after he heard Comrade Nie Rongzhen's report. It was at that very report meeting that Comrade Mao Zedong said that we must fight the battle of science and technology and that if it was not fought successfully then it would be impossible to improve the productive forces. The former national science committee drew up a 12 year development plan for the sciences from 1956 to 1967, and these plans were basically complete by 1962, and later on another 10 year set of plans was drawn up. I have always felt that the present state of science and education is not satisfactory and that there is a need for an organization to carry out unified planning, unified management, unified organization and unified guidance and coordination. I personally approve of the idea of reestablishing the national science committee. When would be the best time to do so? How should it be organized and structured? Should military scientific research be included in the unified management? Such questions as these should be considered by the central authorities and the State Council and for the time being we can draw no conclusions. However, no matter what style of organization is chosen, it must involve unified planning. The planning should include not only specifications about research programs, it should also consider readjustments to research bodies stating which should be incorporated and which should be split up. There should also be unified planning about specialized fields of study in higher education, as to what should be incorporated and what should be split up, what should be increased, what should be reduced, and what should be wiped out. Military scientific research must also be included in the planning. At present, there are not many scientific research workers in China and we are not on the same level as advanced countries. This much we must admit. In the United States, there are 1.2 million scientific research

workers, and sources from the year before last in the Soviet Union state that that country has 0.9 million scientific research workers, although now this number has increased. In China, the figure is around 200,000. However, just as some comrades have said, as long as we give full expression to the natural superiority of the socialist system and we organize our forces in a unified and rational way, then with our small number of scientific research workers we can still achieve more and do more than the same number of people in a capitalist country. The Academy of Sciences has drawn up an 8-year development plan for science and technology; perhaps it could be supplemented on the basis of everyone's opinions. The central authorities do not intend to authorize it immediately, instead the Academy of Sciences is to run pilot schemes first.

There is a problem of readjustment in both scientific research sectors and educational sectors. It is hoped that this readjustment work can be speeded up and even if it is not perfected yet it can always be gradually improved later. There are many concrete problems involved in readjustment and one of the most important is the suitable deployment of leadership groups. In any unit that I might suggest it is important that three people be carefully selected. To ensure unified leadership of the party committee, a secretary is very important and must be carefully selected. This then is the first person. The second person will be in charge of scientific research or teaching. He or she must be an expert or at the very least a layman approaching expert level. There should also be someone to manage rear-service or logistic work. This person must be industrious, thorough, and modestly heroic. With these three people things should not be too difficult to run and readjustments to other units beneath it and the implementation of plans can all be put into operation fairly smoothly.

Institutes of higher education, especially key institutes of higher education, should be an important front army for scientific research and this point must be firmly established. These institutes of higher education have potential and they have talent. In actual fact, in the past, institutes of higher education themselves actually did a great deal of scientific research. As institutes and colleges of higher education are reorganized and the quality of students improves, the scientific research capacity of these schools, universities, and colleges will gradually increase and their research responsibilities will increase too. If we move in this direction scientific development in China can be speeded up. Every field has questions and problems which must be researched, for example physics, engineering, agriculture, medicine, and so on. There is also theoretical research to be done in the area of the arts such as using a Marxist viewpoint to research economics, history, politics, law, philosophy, literature, and so on. At present we cannot allow all institutes and colleges of higher education to take on a great proportion of research work, but key colleges and universities should gradually increase their proportion of research work and thus gradually increase their research responsibilities. As far as the numbers of scientific research workers is concerned, perhaps after several years the numbers in scientific research bodies in universities and colleges will be the same as in specialized research bodies. Scientific research teams in the production sector number the most of all. Surely science is divided into the fundamental sciences and the applied sciences, is it not? The production sector may also do some fundamental scientific work but it should concentrate on the applied sciences. Colleges and institutes of higher education should do some more work in the fundamental sciences, but they too should also work with the applied sciences and this is especially true of engineering institutes and colleges.

There must be guarantees for the amount of time spent on scientific research so that scientific research workers may devote their utmost efforts to scientific research. At this meeting it was suggested that in 1 week, five-sixths of the time should be devoted to scientific research, and I have added the two words "at least" and you have added the word "must." This is marvellous! These three words will be added to the Academy of Science's documents when they are issued. I believe that if a person

throws himself or herself into scientific research it should be permitted. If a person wants to, why shouldn't he or she work at scientific research day and night for 7 days a week?

If systems and set-ups are reationally organized then enthusiasm can be mobilized. We must fight for time and speed up reorganization.

4. On the question of the education system and the quality of teaching.

Education needs two legs on which to walk, and as far as higher education is concerned, universities and specialized institutes and colleges represent one leg, while the various assortment of work-study universities and spare-time universities represent the other leg. It is in the universities and specialized institutes and colleges that we must first concentrate our efforts and set up a batch of key colleges and institutes. In addition to the ones that the Ministry of Education must have, some of these key colleges and institutes should also be found in all provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and businesses and enterprises.

Students of universities and colleges of higher education come from secondary school, and secondary school students come from primary school, and this is the reason why we must put emphasis on secondary and primary school education. It is important that a good and healthy atmosphere be established and when we talk of this atmosphere or mood, no matter whether it is the party atmosphere, the military, civilian or school atmosphere, the most important is the party atmosphere. Among today's young people there are some who have some bad traits. These traits which are manifested as a bad atmosphere must be changed and this should be done by beginning in primary schools. For quite a long time after the founding of New China the general atmosphere in society, rules, and discipline were all very good. Students were consciously well-disciplined and one often saw red-scarfed Young Pioneers holding loudspeakers and ensuring that traffic regulations were adhered to. Later, the destruction wrought by the "gang of four" meant that the atmosphere turned bad. One of the greatest of the many crimes committed by the "gang of four" was the way in which they turned some young people bad. Today we must improve this atmosphere and this means that schools must foster a good atmosphere. What is needed is a healthy atmosphere and good habits in which everyone loves and respects work, is disciplined and strives for improvement. Teachers have a duty to promote this kind of good atmosphere. Teachers must become friends to the students and must make contact with the students' families, setting up mutual coordination so that between them they can teach the students well. There should be a reintroduction of guidance in students' extramural activities and the students' knowledge and aspirations should be improved so that the overall development of the students may be promoted. Comrade Mao Zedong advocated all-round development, including morality, wisdom and health.

We must study how to improve teaching standards. In the past few years teachers have not dared to teach; the responsibility was not theirs. Today they must not be afraid of teaching and in addition they must be good at teaching. In order that this may come about we must step up the work of training teachers. We should ask some good teachers to teach teachers. University teachers should help secondary school teachers to improve their standards. Quite a few of the comrades at this forum have tried this before and the results were good. Teacher training should be included in planning. Only if the teacher teaches well can the student learn well. Of course teaching and learning affect each other mutually. The causes of the problems which are emerging among students are many, some are socially caused and some are caused by the family, while others are connected to the teacher's ability to teach and lead the students. Teaching standards must be improved and this includes political and ideological standards, vocational work ability, and improving teaching styles and methods.

There are many concrete problems within the educational system. One of these is the problem of the length of schooling. We should do more research into the question of whether or not to restore a 5-year primary school and 5-year secondary school set up. (Footnote 4) (This refers to a proposal brought up at the time when the length of schooling in primary and secondary schools was too short. In 1977 the length of schooling in ordinary primary schools was generally 5 years and in ordinary secondary schools 4 years.)

Today opinions differ, but this is not the most relevant or important thing. The key point is teaching material. Teaching material must reflect the advanced standards of modernized science and culture and at the same time it should also correspond to China's present situation. Another problem is whether to restore the vacation system. During vacation student activities should be organized on a lively and boisterous scale with a great deal of diversity. Some students may make up missed lessions. Teachers should be allowed to take leave to give them time to recover from their exhaustive work, ponder various problems, and assess their experiences, and give them time to rest and reorganize things, and we should not take up all of their vacation time. By striking a proper balance between work and rest the quality of teaching will not fall, it will rise. Another problem is enrollment in institutes and colleges of higher education of secondary school students. This year we must definitely restore the system of direct enrollment into higher education by examination and we should not continue mass-recommendation. I believe that direct enrollment from secondary school will quickly produce talent and will bring quick results. Another problem is that of skipping or repeating a grade. This actually only affects a very small number of people. I personally lean towards permitting the skipping of grades, for in this way talent will be produced from our schools even more quickly. We should first try out pilot schemes in some schools. Careful attention should be paid to the problem of repeating grades. The utmost should be done to ensure that a whole class of students is taught well and if any students do unsatisfactorily in examinations they should be allowed to retake the exam. Repeating a grade should not be considered lightly. We must work well with those who have to repeat grades. Those who display really bad tendencies and refuse to mend their ways should be expelled. Hooligans and rowdies who do not study well and who are not expelled will damage the mood of the entire school. A great deal of work should be done with those who display bad tendencies while caution should be taken when handling those who refuse to mend their ways. All possibilities should be tried and great efforts should be made to try and change these characters so that the bad may be transformed into good or fairly good students.

5. On the question of logistic or rear-service work.

Logistic work involves serving scientific research work and educational work, and it should set up conditions for scientific research workers and educational workers to allow them to dedicate themselves wholly to scientific research and teaching. Logistic work includes providing material, organizing libraries, purchasing and supplying equipment and apparatus for experiments, and constructing intermediate factories. It also includes organizing dining halls, nurseries, and so on. Such problems as these were originally easily solved, but during the time that the "gang of four" ran wild, there was no one available to solve these problems. Some scientific researchers ran around everywhere trying to get hold of equipment which meant that research was delayed and time wasted and this was a source of great damage. Today we must have a batch of people to carry out logistic work and these people must be humbly heroic, industrious, and thorough, and happy to serve everyone else. Logistic work is also a branch of knowledge and requires study and can also produce talent and if one does not get totally involved in the work then the work will not be done well.

If we want to mobilize the enthusiasm of scientific research workers and those working in education, it is not enough to merely preach; we must also set up conditions for them and help them solve these concrete problems. Of course, as soon as we start talking about this, we come up against many difficulties. These difficulties should be handled in order of importance and urgency so that they may all be gradually solved. For example, within the ranks of scientific researchers we should first solve the difficulties of a selected few people who have already achieved some successes and who display potential for training. These people should not only be elderly comrades but should also include middle-aged and young comrades.

It is often said that "the back waves push on the front waves on the Changjiang" and in scientific research it is often the case that young people overtake the older ones. Our older comrades should happily help our younger comrades to catch up and overtake. Those who represent the backbone of strength in their particular area of work and who are having to live apart from their spouses should be given priority treatment and their spouses and families should be moved to join them. Of course this does not mean that all couples who have to live apart can be reunited immediately. This requires the building of a great deal more living quarters, and cases must be handled in order of importance and urgency.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has stated that there are some Overseas Chinese scholars who have expressed the desire to return home. Zhou Enlai once considered this question. We should set up the right conditions, construct houses, and carry out good preparatory work for their redeployment in their home country. Those who want to return to China always want to have a home and they always want to have the necessary work conditions. Our acceptance of Overseas Chinese scholars returning to China is a concrete measure for developing science and technology in China, and another such concrete measure is to send people to study overseas. We should also invite famous foreign scholars to visit China and give lectures. Of those scholars friendly with China the majority are well-known and inviting people to come and give lectures is a very good thing, so why isn't it done?

China still has some difficulties and there are some realistic problems which cannot be solved in an instant. I personally feel that funds for scientific research and for education should be increased. However we cannot hope that they will be increased by a great deal very quickly. In the wake of our present difficulties we must do our best to work well. In cases where conditions were originally good we should take full advantage of existing conditions and organize our work as fast as possible. In cases where conditions and were originally bad or rather lacking, we should make efforts to gradually improve things. Those difficulties which must and indeed can be solved, should be tackled.

6. On the question of the style of study.

In fostering a good and healthy atmosphere the most important thing to do is to take the mass line and be practical and realistic, seeking truth from facts. Science in itself involves seeking truth from facts and it is a discipline of truth and honesty which does not permit deception and falsehood. During these past few years the destruction wrought by the "gang of four" has created many problems for the style of study such as, for example, the suppression of discussion and mutual blocking. Today there are not very many discussions and arguments with different opinions, indeed, there are far too few. During discussions perhaps some incorrect opinions will emerge, but we should not worry about this. We must uphold the principle of allowing a hundred schools of thought to contend and we should permit argument and discussion and controversy. Different schools of thought should have mutual respect for each other and each one should supplement their shortcomings from the other's advantages. We must promote scholarly exchange. The

results of any scientific research program cannot be the sole achievement of one person. They all involve the absorption of research results of predecessors and contemporaries. The proposal of a new scientific theory is always the result of the assimilation and summarization of practical experience.

Without the practical experiences of predecessors and contemporaries, of Chinese and foreigners, how can new theories be summarized and proposed? Blocking damages others and oneself. The way in which blocking is treated and handled should be seen as an important part of investigating the extent to which a person's world view has been remolded. In some foreign countries a certain product manufacturing technology has existed for a long time while in China we are still blocking ourselves, and this kind of phenomenon must be overcome.

Academic literature should be organized well. Publishing and printing problems that exist in scientific research and educational fields should be solved and included in state planning. At present we have a serious paper shortage as well as serious paper wastage. There are some things which do not need to be or should not be printed that are printed in excess with the result that things which should be printed cannot be printed. Rational organization is extremely important. Comrade Mao Zedong always exhorted organizations and bodies at every level of party leadership to cut down on the printing and distribution of documents and to do more personal delivering of information to lower levels. If this is implemented, a great deal of paper could be saved. We must be able to guarantee the printing and publication of valuable academic articles and publications. At present there are some works which, on the basis of present printing and publishing conditions, cannot be printed for several years, and this situation is causing us to strangle ourselves.

There are many questions and problems involved in the style of study and it is impossible to talk about them all. Thus I will mention one -- namely to foster a good and healthy style of study and create a lovely and active situation so that China's scientific and educational undertakings may prosper and develop.

CSO: 4005/995

THE ARMY SHOULD ATTACH STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING
(23 August 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 56-62

[Part of a Speech at a Meeting of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee]

[Text] Modernization of national defense is one of the four modernizations. A considerable number of problems exist within the armed forces today, and numerous comrades worry about whether the armed forces will be able to carry out modernization smoothly. Still other comrades worry whether, following the long-term destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the armed forces will be able to fight in case of enemy attack unless consolidation is carried out rapidly? These worries are by no means groundless, and this poses the questions of how to consolidate the armed forces, how to prepare to fight, and how to do a good job with the armed forces.

Where should solution to these problems begin?

Certainly readjustment of leading bodies at all levels, including the exchange of cadres about which Comrade Mao Zedong spoke, is the first thing to be done. Had it not been for the readjustment of 1975, possibly more people would have become embroiled in factionalist activities, and possibly more cadres would have been harmed. That readjustment protected some cadres. However, the scope of that readjustment was too narrow. Other readjustments that should have been made were not made, and other exchanges that should have been made were not made. Readjustments and exchanges were advocated on several occasions by Comrade Mao Zedong, and instructions were issued on several occasions. What should have continued to be carried out, we did not have time to carry out, and it was stopped.

My question here about where to begin referred to which problems required consideration and solution aside from the readjustment of leading bodies? When the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission was held in 1975, I proposed a principle in the speech that I gave, namely that in the absence of war the army should attach strategic importance to education and training. Formerly our army had been toughened and grew in a long-term war environment. At that time, cadre promotions depended mostly on the test of the battlefield.

Now when no fighting is going on, what does one use to test cadres, and what does one use to improve cadres, improve the quality of the armed forces, and improve the combat strength of the armed forces? Shouldn't one begin with education and training? The proposal made at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission for attaching strategic importance to a program of education and training should be turned into reality. It should be carried out in two ways.

One way is for the armed forces themselves to encourage hard study and training. As a result of the past period of tumult, discipline in the armed forces is considerably lax in the armed forces today; the workstyle is poor, and the people's confidence in the armed forces has declined. Today, military cadres are not very welcome in civilian life, though naturally not all cadres are welcome. Our People's Liberation Army must know itself, and rely on itself for the revival of its prestige. Military units need to strengthen political education, strengthen discipline, and become skilled through hard study and training. The fine traditions and workstyle of the armed forces must also be revived and nurtured through hard training. The ability of the armed forces to fight rests on improvement of political consciousness and on hard study and training. Not only can skills not be improved except through hard training, but accidents may occur. Everyone from soldiers to cadres needs to study hard. Cadres, including leading cadres at all levels, must increase their command capabilities and management capabilities through hard training. For example, company political instructors should learn through hard training to become good commanders. Numerous accidents must be guarded against. Otherwise when problems become obvious, company commanders will not know what to do and political instructors will not know what to do, and contradictions may even become more acute. If a company commander and a political instructor do not understand the situation of every soldier, what kind of company commander and political instructor are they! If an army commander does not understand his companies, how can he command his army! To say nothing of division and regimental cadres. So, army, division, and regimental cadres should soldier in companies in order to understand their own companies. Military unit training also includes knowledge of modern warfare and the ingredients of combined operations by various branches of service. Study, camp and field training, and military exercises can improve the quality of cadres at all levels. For companies, study of the Hard-Boned Sixth Company is the right thing to do, because the workstyle of the Hard-Boned Sixth Company was not only the workstyle of a company. All companies as well as cadres at all levels should study and train as hard as they did and have a political ideology like theirs. However, simply to emulate the Hard-Boned Sixth Company is not enough. It is also necessary to learn knowledge of modern warfare and much other needed political, cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge. The foregoing discusses military unit training. Naturally military units have very many problems that everybody may discuss.

The other way is the operation of schools to solve the cadre problem. It is necessary to realize that the ability of our cadres at every level to command modern warfare is very inadequate, and we should not wear blinders on our eyes. We should recognize our deficiencies and inadequacies. This is the starting point for solving the problem, and the starting point for overcoming weaknesses and shortcomings. For example, by recognizing the ways in which our country is

backward there is hope. For a period of time, we did not recognize this point and suffered for it. Today we are determined to recognize that in terms of advanced world standards, China's scientific and technical level still lags a long way behind. We should recognize that the ability of our armed forces to fight modern warfare is inadequate. We should recognize that though our armed forces have a lot of manpower, quality is rather poor. During the war years, the quality of our armed forces was very good, and it was also very good during the time of Resist America, Aid Korea. Actually, with such quality it would be possible to fight even with existing weapons, and it would be possible to learn conditions commensurate with modern warfare and defeat powerful imperialism. The problem today is that as result of the disturbance and destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the quality of our armed forces is truly not what it had been. In particular, the ability of cadres at all levels to command and manage is weak. Capabilities are insufficient for command of modern warfare, including the capabilities of our old comrades. This reality has to be acknowledged.

Former schools, with individual exceptions, should be substantially revived. Large numbers of cadres should be sent to school for training. Today schools for the training of political cadres are very few, and the number should be increased. Beginning with the War of Resistance to Japan, we felt a shortage of political cadres, and during the War of Liberation, we also felt a shortage of political cadres. Selection of military commanders is fairly easy, but selection of political cadres is fairly difficult. At least this was true in the Second Field Army in the past. I believe this is the situation throughout the armed forces. During the War of Resistance to Japan, we recruited a group of intellectuals, and thereafter, in addition to the old Red Army, we depended on this group of people for political cadres. These people were selected from among the "Thre-eight style" [party members] [those who joined the party before 1938]. How many qualified company political instructors are there today? How many qualified battalion political commissars are there? How many qualified regimental political commissars, division political commissars, and army political commissars are there? One comrade reported that in the struggle with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," more political cadres were deceived and embroiled than other cadres. If this is a fact, it deserves our vigilance! The number of political cadres above the company level in military units is about the same as the number of military cadres; therefore, schools for the training of political cadres should be increased. The method used for making the increase can be the training of both military and political cadres in a single school, or special political schools can be operated. This problem can be studied. In addition, special technical schools for all branches of services should be revived. If insufficient, they may be increased, and some may be merged.

How should schools be run? I would like to propose three requirements for schools. The first is training of cadres, selection of cadres, and recommendation of cadres. Put in colorful terms, this means that individual schools at each level are to function as concentrated political departments or to function as concentrated cadre departments. Second is diligent study of modern warfare, and study of combined operations among all service branches. Not only should high ranking cadres study this, but company and platoon cadres should also study it. They should all understand modern warfare. I have said in the past

that it is not enough for a company commander of today to wave a Mauser and shout, "Charge." When you are assigned a few tanks and an artillery company, and you must maintain air liaison and communications contact, how do you command? If it is like this for a company, how much more so for a battalion, a regiment, a division, or an army. Third is revival of the traditional workstyle of our armed forces. In a nutshell, this workstyle is a workstyle of arduous struggle, a workstyle of seeking truth in facts, and a workstyle of the mass line. This workstyle must be nurtured in schools and brought into military units where it is enhanced. There can be no more of the methods of running schools of the past several years with talks on some useful things. Are the three requirements that have been posed adequate? Everyone should study them a little.

Schools are at various levels: high level, intermediate level, and primary level. High level ones are the military academies, the political academies, and the logistics academies. Military and political colleges should be separate now. The Navy and the Air Force also have high level schools, and individual branches of service and technical troops also have high level schools. They also have intermediate level and primary level schools. Each division has an instructor corps for the training of squad leaders and platoon cadres. Military regions train company cadres. High level schools train cadres for above the regimental level. Generally speaking, such distinctions are suitable.

In the operation of schools, the three requirements discussed above should be met. I personally think that the following single objective should be achieved in a period of 5 years or a little longer: to raise standards and increase capabilities of the cadre corps, and make it somewhat younger. Cadres in combat units, in particular, should be somewhat younger so that our cadres are able to master some knowledge of modern warfare and have a good workstyle. Cadres recommended by schools should, first of all, have military knowledge of modern warfare as well as ability to command and to manage. Secondly, they should have fine ideology and workstyle. It is on the basis of these requirements that replacement of our cadres should be made, particularly of cadres in combat units.

Operation of schools requires preparation. What preparation? First is where the school is to be operated? How can it be run without a site? On the question of a site, since schools were run in caves in Yanan, why can't we put up some tents and run them? Or run them in simple and crude buildings? Next, cadres, including instructors, must be selected to run the school. This is very important. These cadres are even more important than cadres on the job right now. It is necessary to select the finest ones, and particularly those cadres that are able to plomb realities, work hard, struggle arduously, and act as personal examples. Those who run the school must have a thorough knowledge of trainees. Otherwise, how can they recommend cadres? How can the cadres function as collective political departments and cadre departments? Cadres that run schools must be handpicked, and those cadres suited to run schools might better be transferred from existing positions. Third is the problem of teaching materials. Teaching materials are very important, and they should be uniform. We have talked with comrades in military academies and military political colleges, asking them to take charge of the production

of teaching materials. The content of teaching materials should make trainees understand the enemy and understand ourselves. They should emphasize our own combat experiences. They should contain information about modern warfare, tanks, aircraft, the air, the sea, combined operations of all armed services and branches of service, etc. In short, a whole series of things should be reflected in teaching materials. Fourth is selection of trainees. What kinds of people should be enrolled and what cadres should be transferred to studies. Good cadres should be transferred, and the purpose of training in high level schools should be somewhat altered. At the present time, military political colleges train mostly army and division cadres; regimental cadres number only 20 percent. The ratio of regimental cadres will have to be increased hereafter. I recommend that trainees in high level schools should be mostly regimental cadres, plus some outstanding battalion cadres, with training being given army and division cadres at the same time. As of now numerous regimental cadres have seen combat. During Anti-America Aid Korea, they were squad leaders and some of them were platoon leaders. I am afraid that the number of battalion cadres who have seen combat are fewer, but there are some outstanding cadres at the battalion level. Quite a few cadres in battalions in special forces have seen combat.

Why do I propose that trainees should be mostly regimental cadres? It is for the purpose of making commanders of combat units younger or relatively younger than at present. I believe that within 5 years at most, this goal can be attained. Political cadres may be slightly older, but not too much older, possibly 3 or 4 years older. Two years ago I said that company political instructors could be somewhat older, and that they could accumulate more experience in order to be able to do painstaking ideological work. Analogously, the age of political cadres at all levels may be somewhat greater than for military cadres. Military commanders should be a little younger; however, that should not rule out individuals in good physical condition being somewhat older. The ratio of teaching time at military schools on all levels should be 30 percent to 70 percent with 70 percent devoted to military subjects and 30 percent to political ones. Diligent study must be given to military knowledge such as types and performance characteristics of aircraft and tanks, how to deal with them, and how to conduct combined operations involving all armed forces and branches of service, etc. In political schools, the ratio should be 40 percent to 60 percent, with 60 percent of instruction being in political subjects and 40 percent in military ones. Political cadres are to study military matters. Teachers are very important and must be selected with care. There must be a fine teaching corps. Leading cadres at schools can teach more than one course, and leading comrades in military regions and constituent components may also teach more than one course.

Those cadres who learn well at schools, who are strongest in command and management capabilities, who are best in their knowledge of modern warfare, and who also have a fine ideological workstyle may be recommended by the schools. Battalion cadres may be advanced to regiment, and regimental cadres may be advanced to division. Of course, most cadres will have to return to their former positions since we have only so many armies and so many divisions. After 2 years in a unit, a group of outstanding division cadres and regimental cadres should be "returned to the oven" for another year. They should be

transferred for further study, principally for increased knowledge about modern warfare, after which the fine division cadres should be moved up to army, and the fine regimental cadres should be advanced to divisions. In this way, cadres in combat units can be made younger within 5 years or so. This should also be the case for commanders in the Navy and Air Force.

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PUT TO RIGHTS WHAT HAS BEEN DISTORTED IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION (19 September 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 63-68

[Talk to the Principal Leading Members of the Ministry of Education.]

[Text] Recently a RENMIN RIBAO correspondent found six comrades who had participated in discussions at the 1971 National Education Work Conference. He wrote some materials discussing how the "Summary of Minutes of the National Education Work Conference" were produced that are very readable. The "Minutes" were revised by Yao Wenyuan, and Zhang Chunqiao wrote the final test. At the time, quite a few people were dissatisfied with these "Minutes." The material that the RENMIN RIBAO correspondent has written explain the true facts of the matter.

The "Minutes" discuss the so-called "two appraisals," namely that for the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution the education front was a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and a "dictatorship of the black line;" and that the world view of most intellectuals was basically bourgeois; they were bourgeois intellectuals. Just how should this problem be regarded? For the 17 years following founding of the People's Republic, all fronts, including the front on which intellectuals were fairly concentrated, were fronts on which representatives of Comrade Mao Zedong held a commanding position. Can one get away with saying that such was the case everywhere except on the educational front? The "Minutes" had been reviewed by Comrade Mao Zedong, but Comrade Mao Zedong's review does not mean that there were no problems of right and wrong in them. We cannot act offhandedly. Comrade Mao Zedong also reviewed resolutions on our problems in the Tianamen Square Incident of 1976. The Tiananmen Square Incident involved so many people, but to say it was a counterrevolutionary incident will not do! It has been said that I was a behind-the-scenes supporter of the Tiananmen Square Incident when, in fact, at that time I was already unable to have contacts with the outside world. Much of the wording of Comrade Mao Zedong used in the "Minutes" had been quoted out of context, and many "gang of four" things had been inserted into the "Minutes." A criticism of these "Minutes" should be made to separate truth and falsehood. We should accurately and fully understand the system of Mao Zedong Thought. Some people will oppose my having raised this matter! Everyone knows that there should be an accurate and complete understanding of the system of Marxism-Leninism. Isn't the same true for Mao Zedong Thought? It should be likewise, otherwise, it will be impossible

not to commit errors. Comrade Mao Zedong's motto for the Central Committee Party School in Yanan was "Seek Truth in Facts." This is the quintessence of Mao Zedong philosophical thought.

The "two appraisals" do not accord with facts. How can one tar several million or 100 million intellectuals with the same brush? Were not most of our present personnel brought up through those 17 years. The atomic bomb was successful in 1964, and though the hydrogen bomb was exploded in 1967, it was not worked out all of a sudden. It was achieved by Comrade Nie Rongzhen's firm hold on a 12 year science plan for which a foundation had been laid in 1956. If your thinking has not been emancipated, and if in the management of education you do not speak up for the broad masses of intellectuals and continue to carry the millstone of the "two appraisals," you will stumble and fall in the future. Now when education workers are discussing your Ministry of Education, you had better have a plan in mind. You must dare to speak out courageously. The speech I made at the 8 August symposium on scientific and educational work was a courageous speech that naturally also showed concern for realities. That some people opposed what I said does not matter. There are always some who oppose and disagree with a program and policy. It is good that they dare speak out and begin a debate.

During the National Education Conference in 1971, Comrade Zhou Enlai was in a very difficult position. When he spoke with a Chinese-American physicist in 1972, he discussed the need to enroll students directly from current senior middle school graduates. Under the circumstances of the time, it was very courageous to have raised this issue. He wanted the Ministry of Education to bend, but the Ministry of Education did not bend. Why should students be directly enrolled? The reason is very simple. It is because the continuity of education should not be interrupted. Between 18 and 20 years of age is the best time for learning. In the past we discussed with foreign visitors just how good it was for middle school graduates to do manual labor for 2 years following graduation. Facts have demonstrated that after doing manual labor for 2 years, what they had formerly learned has been forgotten, and time has been wasted. Enrolling students directly by no means means no manual labor, but rather that manual labor can be given attention in middle and primary school. It is good to teach them to love labor from the time they are young. After university, however, the emphasis should be on labor geared to studies. They can labor in rural villages somewhat, but not too much.

Comrade Mao Zedong's July 21 Directive should be accurately understood. At July 21 University and at Communist Labor University, individual provinces were in charge and they set methods themselves. Graduates were not allocated centrally by the state. However, Qinghua University and Beijing University cannot be run this way, I fear. By no means do all universities have to take the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant route [train technicians from among workers as did the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, and as Mao Zedong recommended in his July 21, 1968 directives]. Comrade Mao Zedong always emphasized the need to increase scientific and cultural levels and that without attending university educational quality could not be assured, scientific and cultural levels could not be raised, and qualified people could not be produced.

The Ministry of Education should take the initiative. That you have not as yet taken the initiative shows at least that you lack courage, and I fear you are following me in committing "errors." I know that science and education are hard to cope with, however, I offer to undertake the task of taking firm grasp on them. Unless science and education are taken in hand, the four modernizations are hopeless and will become an empty phrase. Taking firm grip requires specific policies and specific measures to solve specific ideological problems and real problems. You should do everything possible to take firm grip, courageously take firm grip, and think independently without trying to find out what is going on here or going on there. You should clarify problems and do whatever is required. You should yourselves solve those problems that you should solve, and when it is impossible to solve them, you should notify the central authorities. A pile of educational problems exist, and where to start on them has to be figured out. Right now mass zeal has risen, and the Ministry of Education poses not obstacles. The main problem for the Ministry of Education is the need for a unanimity of ideas. Whatever agrees with Central Committee programs should be done; what does not should be changed.

The structure of the Ministry of Education needs improvement. Some people around 40 years old have to be found to make the rounds of schools every day. Forty such people, or at least 20 of them should devote themselves to these rounds. It should be like going into a company as a soldier, but going down to a "student," going into classes to listen, understand situations, and oversee the implementation of plans and policies, returning afterward to report. This is the only way in which to report on the situation quickly and solve problems quickly. First can be a making of the rounds of major universities, and major middle schools and primary schools. These are all concrete actions; one cannot simply speak empty phrases.

The work propaganda team problem has to be solved; they are not at ease remaining in schools. Military supported leftists must be removed without exception. Unless this problem in the schools is solved, wrangling will go on endlessly. How many major schools should be operated, who will be in charge of them, and what system will be instituted? I feel that the Ministry of Education should manage the major universities. Major universities directly subordinate to the Ministry of Education should have a dual leadership in which the Ministry of Education is paramount. The Ministry of Education should take a direct grip on several schools and make them models. Matters such as the number of study hours per week, no political activities beyond a certain amount of time, etc. should all be made specific, with the Ministry of Education interjecting itself. People's University should be operated, mostly for the training of finance and trade and economic management cadres, and Marxist-Leninist theoreticians. Teacher training universities should be run. The Ministry of Education should regularly send people to inspect teacher training institutions under the jurisdiction of provinces and municipalities. Unless teacher training is done, there will be no source of teachers.

Regular college course work will usually be for 4 years; there is basic agreement on this point. Medical training is different; the time is somewhat longer. The time for individual specialities may also be longer. So-called 4 year basic courses will be for 2 or 3 years, I fear. Unless a food foundation is

laid, it is difficult to do scientific research work. I have read your briefing on foreign teaching materials. It seems that attention has to be given teaching materials from the time of middle and primary school. It is necessary to use text books with the most advanced information. Of course, they cannot be divorced from China's realities.

The documents you drafted on student enrollments are written in difficult to understand language that is overloaded with trivial details. I have revised requirements for student enrollment. Political examination should consist primarily of a look at a given person's political record. If a person has a clear political history, cherishes socialism, observes discipline, resolute studies for revolution, acceptance should be granted. In short, student enrollment should emphasize two points. The first is a good record, and the second is preferential enrollment.

Scientific research organizations have decided to institute a responsibility system under direction of CPC committees, and they have decided to revive titles for scientific research personnel. This is a very major policy that solves numerous important problems. It may cause an earthquake, and may affect education and industry. The educational sector should follow along closely. Universities and colleges should also reinstate professor, lecturer, and assistant professor titles. For many years numerous comrades have given thought to the issue of reviving titles, and in its notice of the convening of a national science conference, the Central Committee has resolved this issue.

Logistics departments for scientific research and education have much work to do, have a great bearing on policies, and are extremely important. Universities must have a group of people who are enthusiastic about their work, who diligently and conscientiously serve education and scientific research, and who manage this aspect of the work so that teaching and research personnel will be able to concentrate their energies on professional tasks and will not have to run all over the place for equipment and things necessary to do their work.

School teaching staffs need strengthening, and some people can be transferred out of the research system into teaching to education in order to support education. Involvement in teaching is an honor, and everyone should be encouraged to be enthusiastic about educational endeavors. The Ministry of Education should make all political and material arrangements about those comrades withdrawn from the research system for support of education. In future, we should study how to coordinate scientific research and education, and how to make regular exchanges of personnel. If personnel are not moved around, their thinking may ossify. Foreign scientific research organizations are very much attentive to renewal of scientific research ranks, and frequently augment them with young people whose thinking is flexible. We too should gradually institute a system for renewal whereby people are moved around. Attention should be given to the spotting of talented people. Currently foreigners have acknowledged the achievements of some people that we, by contrast, have not appreciated. This shows that some our systems are defective and unable to spot talented people. They require conscientious improvement.

Great attention must be given education for from 8 to 10 years. I want to continue to devote attention to it. My way of devoting attention to it is to devote attention to leaders and to principles. Major policies and actions are in the nature of principles, and I want to look after these. Many problems exist in education. In the final analysis, talented people and results must be produced.

In short, the Ministry of Education has to emancipate its thinking and take the initiative. Mistaken statements of the past must be corrected in future statements. Order must be brought out of chaos; language must be clear. Ambiguous talk will not do, and cannot solve problems. Matters must be handled quickly without delay.

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SPEECH AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION (28 December 1977)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 69-81

[Text] This meeting of the Military Commission is an important meeting that fully affirms the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of 1975 and underscores the correctness of that meeting. That meeting bore on many points, foremost of which was consolidation. Thinking at that time was to begin with consolidation, by which was meant beginning with the readjustment and staffing of leading bodies, to consolidate the armed forces. Once this problem had been solved, the problem of equipment would then be solved because the equipment problem just had to be taken in hand. Finally was the war preparations problem, because without a clear strategic policy, numerous matters could not be handled well.

The present meeting of the Military Commission has raised the 10 combat tasks of the whole armed forces, and nine decisions and regulations are to be passed as well. The number of problems that have been solved, their scope, and the depth of their content is such as not occurred for many years in the past. This meeting has formulated regulations for virtually every sphere, and every aspect of our armed forces. Some of these regulations had existed in the past, but had been destroyed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and now they have been revived. Some have been newly formulated, and some of these regulations are necessary for consolidation of the armed forces and war preparedness. Some of these regulations provide us rules to follow and can unify understanding and actions.

This meeting is an extremely important meeting. The spirit and decisions of the meeting should be transmitted and implemented well. In making decisions, it is easy for everybody to raise his hand in approval; however, implementation is not that simple. Some matters that have been approved in principle become another matter when concrete problems are encountered. The key to implementation lies in high level cadres making a personal example of themselves. When high level cadres have accomplished something, it becomes easy for the whole armed forces to accomplish it. When high level cadres do not accomplish something, then once the wind has blown, everything returns to its former condition.

Below, I will discuss five points.

1. The matter of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," and rectification of leading bodies.

The overall situation in the armed forces campaign of exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" is fine. The campaign is gradually penetrating into numerous units, and its development is healthy. However, in some units, the campaign has not penetrated, and some units are just getting underway with exposure. In some, problems are numerous and they drag on without solution. Some units are still covering up the truth. In short, development is uneven. Units that have not begun the campaign need leadership, first of all, and all out efforts to arouse the masses that should not be shackled by convention. Since the masses have not been aroused, do you know what problems there are? In units in which the campaign has been fairly thoroughgoing, leaders must maintain a clear head and be particularly sure they understand policies. They have to maintain a cautious attitude in handling people, and strictly discriminate between two different kinds of contradictions. They must increase the amount of education and decrease the amount of attacks. Persons and matters implicated with the "gang of four" in the usurpation of the party and the plot to seize power must be thoroughly investigated. The armed forces are the main implement of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the armed forces do not do a good job and military cadres are not clean, the calamity will be very great. Therefore, this point is extremely important for the armed forces. Those who have committed errors, particularly those who have committed serious errors, must have their errors exposed and criticized, and conditions must be created for the correction of errors. They should be helped conduct the necessary self-criticism, relate their errors to the masses, and gain the forgiveness of the masses. Then they should be handled as appropriate. Exposure and criticism must be done in the case of contradictions among the people as well; they may not be allowed to slip away. If such actions leave a residue for future trouble, it will be necessary to cause an "earthquake" in the future. Furthermore, this is not genuinely showing love for cadres, but hurting cadres inasmuch as they themselves get no lessons to learn. We have seen such people who slip here and there committing errors time and time again without ever being given a lesson to learn. Unquestionably, diehard followers of the "gang of four" must be resolutely attacked. Some "gang of four" diehards and people of their factionalist set-up may want to repent, fully expose the crimes of the "gang of four" and their factionalist set-up, and speak the truth as testimony against them. For such people, policies providing for leniency should be applied. In the case of those who made serious errors, who have a bad attitude, and who cannot be used again, former rank and pay should not be maintained.

In assigning leading bodies, naturally those who engaged in the "gang of four" plot to usurp the party and seize power may not be allowed to take part. Nor may those who were part of the wind faction, the slippery faction, or those who caused "earthquakes," committed serious errors, have a very bad attitude, or those about whom uninvestigated questions exist. Still others may not be a part of leading bodies or be used any further, for example, those who perpetrated fascist dictatorship or who acted like overlords; those who beat, smashed, and looted (Naturally not all of them were important cadres. The "gang of four" used some "small crabs" for the sole purpose of beating, smashing, and looting, and they planted "informers" to carry out espionage); those

who secured private gain through opportunism, swindled and bluffed; those who exchanged flattery and favors, toadied, and enjoyed engaging in factionalist activities; those who played politics and purposely harmed people; those who played petty tricks, engaged in petty actions and were dishonest; and those whose revolutionary zeal has seriously flagged, who eat three square meals a day and do no work, and who give no serious thought to anything etc. That is to say that when forming leading bodies at all levels, and particularly when assigning leading hands and assistants, it is not enough simply to watch the problem of implication with the plots of the "gang of four." There is another kind of person who was not implicated with the "gang of four," or else was not greatly implicated, but whose political quality is poor and whose ideology is anti-Marxist. Many such people have done very many bad deeds for which the people hate them, and they are actually bad elements. Not only may such persons not be members of leading bodies, but they may also not remain in the armed forces. Currently some leading comrades lack sufficient understanding of this category of person, and they should beware. This applies not only to the selection of old cadres, but particular watchfulness is required in the selection of young people to make sure that the selection is correct, because they will be the ones in charge in future. If bad selections are made, there will be numerous lessons to be learned.

We must look at cadres in an all-around and historical way. Those comrades who have made a very good showing in the revolutionary struggle over a long period of time, but who have made some mistakes or have said something wrong only during a short period of time, should go through proper criticism and self-criticism, and we should help them correct their errors. Looking at cadres in a so-called historical way entails not only looking at their past histories, but also looking at the showing they made in the struggle with Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some people went along with Lin Biao first, and later went along with the "gang of four" to do bad deeds and commit errors. This is also history! Our armed forces have very many old comrades who, generally speaking, share a common characteristic, namely extraordinary guilelessness and uprightness. Certainly, nowadays a small number of people have changed somewhat. As a result, judging people is no easy matter! One must make observations in the course of struggle, distinguish among cadres, and make correct choices.

When we form leading units in future, whom should be choose? We must choose those who diligently studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and who stood the test in struggle. We must select those with a strong party spirit who are able to unite people, and who do not believe in heresies. We must select those who are hard working and plain living, who seek truth in facts, who speak honestly, do honest deeds, behave as honest people, and who are honest and upright in their ways. We must select those who put effort into their work, who link with the masses, who are concerned for the sufferings of the masses, who have daring and resolution, who have practical experience, and who can run things. Right now our leading cadres are fairly old. Five years from now, those below 50 years of age who have fought in wars will be very few. Therefore, we old comrades must conscientiously select successors, and devote serious attention to doing a good job in passing along experiences.

In 1975, I proposed the rectification of weakness, indolence, and disorganization among leading bodies. After 2 years practice, and particularly judging from the struggle against the "gang of four," weakness was caused by fear; principles were lost; no resistance was offered; and people went along with others. Indolence is a flagging of will, no reading of books, no reading of newspapers, no using one's brains, not going down into the ranks, and fondness for eating but aversion to work. Disorganization is scrambling for power and profit, causing disunity, and not sticking together. Some people always suppose themselves to be completely correct, yet they practice a new mountain stronghold mentality, appoint people through favoritism, and judge cadres in terms of their own standards of good. They choose those they like and push aside those they do not like; they are always thinking in terms of forming their own clique and always suppose that without forming their own clique nothing can be accomplished. In recent years, some people have learned such stuff from Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Leading bodies must take firm hold on rectification and rapidly change the situation of weakness, indolence, and disorganization.

Here I would like to talk about overstaffing. Remember that I formerly talked about overstaffing, disorganization, arrogance, luxury, and indolence. The first word is overstaffing. We have not very well solved this overstaffing. Our new reorganization has not solved it very well; and even in carrying out the agreed upon organization, we did not require everyone to pay attention to cutting back and not exceeding the table of organization.

Despite the large size of our armed forces, company size units are not fully staffed while organizations at all levels are extremely huge. Overstaffing is very serious. Nowadays as soon as anyone proposes solving a problem, the number of organizations and personnel are increased. This will not do. In other cases, people are drawn from below to run this or that office. Why are not existing organizations used? Certainly existing organizations cannot be used in some cases, so they should be firmly readjusted. If cutbacks are made now in accordance with organizational quotas decided on, will there be a future need for cutbacks? There still will be. Future reductions will be mainly reductions in leading bodies and leading organizations at all levels beginning with the headquarters [General Logistics Department, General Staff Department, and General Political Department] and service arms, major military region and provincial military region organizations. Naturally, following this reduction, and following establishment of numbers quotas, a settling down period will be necessary.

Leading cadres of major military regions and service arms have already conducted the required readjustments and exchanges. Except for individual cases, a settling down period will also be necessary. Following this meeting, readjustment of army and division level cadres is to begin. Under leadership of the General Political Department, each major military region and service arm must do a good job on this matter. The army and division level cadres of whom I am speaking here means not only army and level cadres in combat units, but also army and division level cadres in the headquarters, in serve arms, and in each major military region. When readjusting groups at these two levels, special attention should be given to the cadre sector in political organizations,

and some fine comrades selected. People of moral integrity who do not believe in heresies, and who dare to think about and discuss problems should be chosen. When readjusting, attention should also be given the selection and staffing of leading mainstay cadres in these sectors to make the most of the role of functional organizations.

2. Problems in the Situation

The situation in the country is genuinely good. Nevertheless, we should not be careless; we must be alert to adversity, watch for problems, and realize shortcomings in our work. Some places have piles of problems. Correct principles exist; it is vigorous action and effective policies that are needed to continue to solve existing problems. This is true of the armed forces as well. Of course, we are confident that with proper handling a good job can be done. In small group discussions, some comrades said that if everything is done well, consolidation of the armed forces can be advanced a little. I believe this too. The armed forces have an advantage in being a very centralized organization that can act quickly.

The international situation is also good. We have the possibility of gaining more time without fighting. Because we possess Comrade Mao Zedong's strategy and diplomatic line on the division into three worlds, we are able to perform in the struggle internationally against hegemony. In another vein, the USSR's global strategic deployments have yet to be completely prepared. In the wake of America's defeat in Southeast Asia, global strategy is currently defensive, and preparations for a world war have not been made. Therefore, it is possible to gain a delay in the outbreak of war.

I would like to emphasize, nevertheless, that we must race against time. The outbreak of war may be delayed, but we cannot look only at this aspect of matters; we must guard against others fighting prematurely and on a large scale. This is because the hegemonists are mad; one does not know what small incident that they manufacture some place might provoke war. Major war may be delayed, it is true; nevertheless, unexpected and partial circumstances are difficult to predict completely. We must think about what we would do were the enemy to attack now? It should be said that we too can fight now. First, it is necessary to take firmly in hand an inspection of our defense works. It is necessary to prepare ammunition. Without ammunition, there is no way at all in which to fight. Formerly our ammunition was turned over to us by the enemy, but if fighting starts now, where will it come from. So, we must do our own logistical work. No matter whether to fight now or in the future, we have to have fortifications and ammunition. We must also take firm grip on unit training, improve combat strength, and raise morale. Some people in the world today say that everything is decided by technology, but do not be completely misled by this. Of course, we too should give attention to technology, not to be concerned with technology will invite disaster. However, to suppose that an electronic computer can take the place of all command functions is impossible. Were that the case, people would no longer be capable of dynamic action. Experience has shown that so long as we adhere to people's war, even were the enemy to come right now, we would still be able to fight with existing weapons, and finally would be able to achieve victory. We have such a large population and the armed forces and people are united as one, so

it is impossible for an enemy to wipe out our people. Nevertheless, we must win more time, improve our equipment, and educate and train units well, and in this way be able to reduce unnecessary sacrifices. If we can gain a fairly long time without fighting, that would be advantageous for the modernization of our armed forces, for improving our armed forces' combat strength, and for our war preparedness work. I would like to say here that even if we are able to gain 10 or 20 years time for the modernization of our armed forces' equipment, our military equipment at that time will still be inferior to that of the enemy. While we have been moving ahead, the enemy will not have been sleeping! Therefore, should war break out at that time, we will still be in a position of the weak vanquishing the strong. This fundamental state of affairs cannot be completely changed. It has been our long experience to use inferior arms and equipment to defeat a more powerful enemy. That is because it is righteous wars and peoples wars that we fight. We should have full confidence in this.

In short, it may be necessary to fight a war at any time. We positively should not waste time, but should hasten war preparedness, and should particularly train cadres in the direction of modern warfare. We should be able to do this with our own knowledge. With the modernization of our equipments and our cadres, including the old comrades in attendance here, sufficiently capable of directing modern warfare? Do not suppose that because we have won brilliant victories in the past and have greatly distinguished ourselves in action that we should feel we are in good shape. With the advent of new weapons and equipment, are we still in good shape? Do you understand? Does our ability to command suffice? Even if we ourselves are in good shape, are subordinates in good shape too? Unless you train, you are not in good shape. So, it is necessary to strive to improve cadre capabilities in the direction of modern warfare. This is one point. Another point is speeding up improvement of the armed forces' equipment. But there is a catch in this, and everyone should note this, and that is it depends on capabilities. The country can only spend so much money, and the amount spent on the military can only be so much. There has to be an overall balance. The modernization of national defense can be founded only on the development of all industry and agriculture throughout the country. Nevertheless, in any case, we are doing better, and we can accelerate improvements in the armed forces' equipment on the basis of existing national resources.

3. On the Question of Making the Armed Forces a Large School

Two decisions have been made about armed forces education and training. One pertains to schools; the other pertains to military units. I will not go into details here. The problem today is that the armed forces themselves must bolster education and cadre training. Another problem is that when many of the cadre from our armed forces return to civilian life, they are not greatly welcome; they truly are not as useful as they had been in the past. This problem should be studied and solved. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed a long time ago that the armed forces should operate as a large school. Under new circumstances, we reemphasize the implementation of this instruction from Comrade Mao Zedong; it is clearly of special importance. Right now several hundred thousand cadres are about to return to civilian life. As a result of the disturbance and destruction of the "gang of four," this task has been interrupted for 2 years. In every future year, as well, large numbers of cadres will leave the armed forces to return to work in civilian life; they will be

transferred from the military front to all the fronts where socialism is being built. How can they be fitted for new tasks as quickly as possible? The way is to create for them the conditions for work in civilian life. This content of their education and training should be increased. We say that it is necessary to raise education and training to a strategic position, including making the armed forces into a large school, cadres thereby acquiring both knowledge of modern warfare and of modern science and production, plus learning political and management work. In this way, our military cadres will be able to play a role in building the armed forces, to play a role in civilian life, and be able to play a role in warfare as well when fighting occurs, becoming cadres that can render service both to the armed forces and to civilian life.

The education and training of cadres should consist of study of the works of Marx and Lenin and the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, understanding of modern warfare, a good ideological workstyle, and strong capabilities in direction and management. They should also be taught something about work in agriculture and industry and necessary knowledge about modern science, and they should learn a little history, geography, and foreign languages. Where circumstances permit, they should also be taught special skills such as how to drive motor vehicles and tractors, and they should understand something about the principles of their operation. Later on, the number of people in our armed forces who have various kinds of knowledge and specific specialized skills will increase gradually. Departments in charge of education and training should do some planning on these problems and propose specific actions to be taken. Comrade Mao Zedong advocated cadre study of diverse kinds of knowledge. In recent years, as a result of the disturbance and destruction caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some cadres' knowledge has been very rudimentary, and some have even learned wrong things; when they go to civilian life, they are not welcome. If we create conditions for doing civilian work in the education and training of our cadres, this will be beneficial to national construction, and be beneficial as well in both the building of the armed forces and war preparedness.

Right now large groups of cadres are transferring to civilian life. These cadres should have training courses set up for them, and visits organized; comrades from civilian life should be invited to give briefings on experiences so that they come in contact with information about industry, finance and trade, government and law, culture and education. All cadres who want to transfer to civilian life should do this.

Every year as many as 1 million soldiers are demobilized, and how to have them play a better work role in civilian life is a problem that merits serious attention. The education and training of soldiers should aim for versatility. Soldiers should study politics, military affairs, and technology, and they should also learn a little mathematics, physics, and chemistry, learn something about agriculture, and learn something about foreign languages. What I am saying is not a requirement that each soldier study these things. If assignments are made properly and organization done well, acquisition of just a little knowledge will be very valuable. Comrade Mao Zedong had soldiers of the 8341 unit study culture and carry out social surveys. Today the proportion of soldiers with a middle school education is very large. If during the period of their military service, training raises their level of education and their

workstyle is good as well, they will be able to play a very great role in civilian life, and civilian life will welcome them more readily.

We must make our armed forces dynamic and lively. It is not enough to focus only on the building of the armed forces per se; it is also necessary to focus on the needs of cadres and soldiers when they are demobilized and return to civilian life. Is it possible nowadays for a regimental cadre to go to an industrial plant, not a large industrial plant but a medium size or small industrial plant, and become a leader in the plant. I think some might not be able to. In terms of qualifications and service, those who are able to direct a regiment should, after acquiring a little knowledge, learning some skills, and going through tempering, be able to become leaders in medium size or small industrial plants, or leaders of workshops in large industrial plants. Such learning conditions should be created. Naturally, once in civilian life learning can also take place, and people can do political work or management work. But not everybody can do political or management work. There are not enough positions. There is always a need for those who can do technical work, so one should learn various kinds of knowledge. As a result of training, our cadres and soldiers should be able both to fight and to engage in the building of socialism. Right now we have a considerable number of cadres who are unable to manage military units. Company cadres cannot manage companies. Many accidents result from inability to manage, inability to work, inability to handle people, and inability to do ideological work, as a result of which contradictions intensify and occur. We have discussed this problem many times. How do matters stand among regimental cadres and division cadres? There too quite a few people are not very able to manage military units. If armed forces are to be well managed, it is necessary to improve management capabilities. So-called good management is mostly handling others properly. Right after Liberation of the whole country, many northern cadres went south, and we had some company cadres who acted as county CPC committee secretaries and did a fairly good job of it. There were requirements at that time, namely arduous struggle, linking with the masses, a good workstyle, no boasting, obedience to commands, and ability to carry out instructions and orders from above, so that even though their educational level was not high, they were able to do a competent job. Nowadays things are different. Some armed forces cadres are fairly old and they feel very proud. In 1975 I spoke of "Uncle Lei Feng is dead," and the "gang of four" launched an unbridled attack and vilification against me. Actually, these were not my words, but the words of ordinary people. Political work has been the armed forces' longest point, but nowadays some people who go into civilian life are unable to do political work. Therefore, education and training in the armed forces should set the stage for cadres to work in civilian life. If you do not set the stage in civilian life, they will not be welcome in civilian life. Certainly not everything has been properly set up in civilian life either; civilian cadres will also have to give attention to this problem.

4. On the Discipline Problem

Specific decision was made on this problem, but I would like to re-emphasize it.

In the armed forces, discipline is essential. Laxity about discipline will not do. In his final years, Comrade Mao Zedong especially emphasized this problem, and he personally led the signing of "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention." A great many comrades know about this. The first of the three main rules of discipline is obedience to commands in all actions. When the commanders of the eight military regions were transferred, it took 10 days before they reached their posts. Comrade Mao Zedong was quite well aware of the state of affairs in the armed forces in recent years. The discipline problem was raised in 1975, but no decisions were made, and it was put aside again. It is necessary to reiterate this problem; it is one of the main ingredients in passing on experience. Our armed forces have always emphasized obedience to commands in all actions, and it has emphasized conscious obedience to revolutionary discipline. Were it otherwise, would we have been able to to have been victorious over enemies more powerful then ourselves? Would we have been able to guarantee the absolute leadership of the party over the armed forces and carry out the party's lines and policies? Would it be possible to speed up the process of making our armed forces more revolutionary and modernized? Nowadays some cadres do not carry out instructions from above, and do not obey commands. This is failure to observe discipline! For a long time some units and individuals have engaged in factionalism secure in the knowledge of strong backing, like a tiger whose backside no one dares to touch. Why does no one dare touch it? When some cadres are transferred to another post, they will not obey the orders if they do not fit in with their own desires. In 1975 one unit wanted to transfer out a group of people, but they simply would not leave, and they had a reason: If you want us to go, straighten out our grievances first. They did not obey orders, yet they were "bold and assured," and acted as though they were very much "in the right. "Such people should follow orders first, regardless the ins and outs; they should go first and talk later. If they have any complaints, they can raise them and retain them. As for those who do not carry orders and will not go, out! Some were stricken from the military roles and others were demoted to enforce discipline. If the army cannot handle a rule such as this, what kind of an army is it! Naturally, leaders should use prudence and pay attention when deciding any matter; that is another matter. However, orders are to be carried out, and commands are to be obeyed. Formerly numerous factions practiced factionalism, and one had to move cautiously. Henceforth, this problem cannot be used as a pretext; military discipline must be strictly enforced. There are also some cadres who live in large cities, particularly in Beijing, whose families simply will not move despite repeated injunctions when transferred to another post. How can this be allowed? Generally speaking, families must move to wherever one is transferred to work.

In consolidating the armed forces, discipline must be strictly consolidated. The spirit of this meeting, and each of the decisions made at this meeting must be resolutely carried out. Concern for overall interests is to be encouraged. Some things that seem workable when looked at in terms of partial interests are not workable in terms of the overall interest, and some things that seem unworkable in terms of partial interests are workable in terms of overall interests. In the final analysis, there must be concern for overall interests. Military cadres must obey orders and commands. First, a beginning should be made with old cadres taking the lead in observing discipline.

Earlier I spoke of one being obedient to commands in all actions, and the other as being conscious obedience to discipline. Education in this regard should be strengthened.

Certainly, there should also be democracy in our armed forces; without democracy conscious discipline is impossible. Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated the three major democracies of political democracy, economic democracy, and military democracy in our armed forces. We are leaders of the CPC Central Committee, and CPC committees are both centralized and democratic; they are committees, not organization in which a single person makes decisions; CPC committees should discuss major matters. Criticism and self-criticism should be carried out within CPC committees. There should be such an atmosphere. We high ranking cadres should participate in party branch life. Even though CPC committees have a party life of their own, they can play a mutually supervisory and mutually encouraging role. However, party committees should pay close attention to high ranking cadre participation in party branch life. In company size units, party branches should play a very good role and support the three major democracies. Political democracy certainly must be done well. In military democracy, in the realm of education and training officers should teach soldiers; soldiers should teach officers; and soldiers should teach soldiers. In the study of modern scientific knowledge, truly numerous soldiers can teach officers. Some soldiers have more scientific knowledge than company commanders or political instructors, and they should be asked to act as instructors, particularly those in the technical sector. Economic democracy is very deserving of attention. Nowadays some cadres trample over soldiers rights. This is not to be allowed. Military units have economic committees, and this organization should be improved to play a role. Political work should control this matter. It should organize checks of ledgers and publicly post accounts monthly. Practice of the three major democracies has to begin at the company level, and be practiced by CPC committees at all levels.

5. On the Question of Unity

Comrade Mao Zedong said that the majority of people should be united, including those who had opposed what oneself had mistakenly opposed in the past. We should not bear grudges against those who wronged us in the past. One should not bear grudges against comrades or dwell on old wrongs. It is not that we are without faults, andwhere faults exist, people should be permitted to criticize them. We old cadres should act as good examples in this regard. Naturally, this refers to criticism and not to creating rumors and vilification, or attacking and hurling invective. That is not permissible. We must unite to confront the enemy together and to expose the "gang of four" in common. Only in this way is it possible to carry into effect the line for cadres of appointing people on their merits and to unite the good cadres who committed mistakes. We must oppose those involved in cliques and sectarianism, and oppose appointments of people on the basis of favoritism. Today there are really some people who are fond of forming small circles who very much bear watching. Following their transfers elsewhere, some people continue to interfere in the work of their former unit. They still meddle. Why do they do this? What is the need for it? What advantage is there in it?

In our concern for unity, we must carry into effect the principles of the party's system of democratic centralism. Some people pay lip service to unity, but leak views with which they disagree from within CPC committees, distort them, spread rumors and gossip, and recruit some people to support them. Still others are fond of sowing dissension within. This is conduct damaging to unity that cannot be allowed.

Comrade Mao Zedong always emphasized that unity is the assurance for victory. In order to implement the party line, and realize the magnificent goal of the four modernizations, and in order to put into practice the spirit of this meeting, we must unite under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and unite around the Party Central Committee. This is the overall interest, and we must have this conception of the overall interest.

This meeting has bestowed very heavy responsibilities upon us. Time is pressing; leadership needs strengthening; plans must be made; and implementation must be taken firmly in hand. First of all, firm hold must be taken on the readjustment and staffing of leading bodies at all levels. Only in this way is it possible to assure victorious completion of all tasks throughout the armed forces.

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SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE (18 March 1978)

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[Text] Comrades! The successful convocation of the National Science Conference is a matter of great joy for us and for the people throughout the country. The very fact that today we are holding this grand gathering unparalleled in the history of science in China clearly indicates that the days are gone forever when the gang of Wang Hung-wen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan willfully sabotage the cause of science and persecute the intellectuals. Never before has work in science and technology received such attention and concern from the whole party and the whole people. Vast numbers of scientists and technicians, the workers, the peasants and the armymen are actively participating in the movement for scientific experiment. Enthusiasm for science and its study is becoming popular among the young people. The entire nation is embarking with tremendous enthusiasm on the march towards the modernization of science and technology. Splendid prospects lie before us.

Among those attending the present conference are outstanding scientists and technicians from various fronts, first-rate technical innovators, model laborers who excel in scientific farming and cadres devoted to the party's scientific undertakings.

You have worked diligently for the progress of science and technology in our socialist motherland and made outstanding contributions. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I thank you and pay you tribute.

Comrades, our people face the great historic mission of comprehensively modernizing agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology this century, making our country a modern, powerful socialist state. We have waged a sharp and bitter struggle against the "gang of four" on whether or not to accomplish the four modernizations. The "gang of four" made the absurd claim that "if the four modernizations are carried through, capitalist restoration will happen on the same day." Their wild sabotage brought our national

economy for a time to the brink of collapse and was increasingly widening our distance from advanced world scientific and technological standards. Were they really opposed to the restoration of capitalism? Not at all. On the contrary, wherever their influence was most rampant, signs of capitalist restoration were most widespread. What they did as a negative example, making us appreciate more deeply that under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, if we do not modernize our country, raise our scientific and technological level, develop the social productive forces, strengthen our country and improve the material and cultural life of the people, our socialist political and economic system cannot be fully consolidated and there will be no sure guarantee for our country's security. The more up-to-date our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, the greater our strength in the struggle against capitalism and all forces of restoration, and the more our people will support the socialist system. Only by making our country a modern, powerful socialist state can we more effectively prevent capitalist restoration, cope with aggression and subversion by social-imperialism and imperialism and be more certain of gradually creating the material conditions for the advance to the great ideal of communism.

The crux of the four modernizations is the mastery of modern science and technology. Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to build modern agriculture, modern industry or modern national defense. Without a high-speed development of science and technology, it is impossible to develop the national economy at high speed. On the proposal of Chairman Hua, the Central Committee of the party has decided to call this National Science Conference to bring home to the whole party and the whole country the importance of science, map out a programme, commend the advanced units and individuals and discuss measures for speeding up the development of science and technology. Today, I am going to give some opinions on pertinent questions.

The first question--the question of understanding that science is part of the productive forces. On this point, the "gang of four" raised a hue and cry confounding right and wrong and causing much confusion. Marxism has consistently held that science and technology are part of the productive forces. More than a century ago, Marx said: Wider use of machines in production calls for a conscious application of natural science. He also pointed out: "Science too (is) among these productive forces." The development of modern science and technology has bound science and production ever more tightly together. Science and technology as productive forces are manifesting their tremendous role ever more obviously.

Modern science and technology are undergoing a great revolution. The last three decades have not just seen advances in some aspects of scientific theory and production techniques, nor has this period been merely the general run of progress and reform. No, there have been profound changes and new leaps in almost all areas of science and technology. A whole series of new, rising sciences and technologies have emerged and are still doing so. Modern science has opened the way for the progress of production techniques and determined the direction of their development. Many new instruments of production and technological processes have come into being first in the laboratory. A

A series of new-born industries, including high polymer synthesis, atomic energy, electronic computers, semi-conductors, astronautics and laser, have been founded on the basis of newly-emerged science and technology. Of course there are now and there will be many theoretical research topics with no practical application in plain sight for the time being. But a host of historical facts have proved that once a major breakthrough is scored in theoretical research, it means tremendous progress for production and technology sooner or later. Contemporary natural science is being applied to production on an unprecedented scale and at a higher speed than ever before. This has given all fields of material production an entirely new look. In particular, the development of electronic computers, cybernetics and automation technology is rapidly raising the degree of automation in production. With the same amount of manpower and in the same number of work hours, people can turn out scores or hundreds of times more products than before. How have the social productive forces made such tremendous advances and how has labour productivity increased by such a big margin? Mainly through the power of science, the power of technology.

Everyone knows that the basic factors in the productive forces are the means of production and manpower. What is the relationship of science and technology to the means of production and to manpower? Throughout history, the means of production have always been linked with science and technology of one kind or another, and likewise, manpower has always meant manpower armed with a certain knowledge of science and technology. We often say that man is the most active factor among the productive forces. "Man" here refers to people who possess a certain scientific knowledge, experience in production and skills in the use of tools to produce material wealth. There were great differences in the instruments of production man used, his mastery of scientific knowledge, and his productive experiences and skills in the stone, bronze and iron ages and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Today, the rapid progress of modern science and technology is accelerating the renewal of production equipment and the changes in technological processes. Many products are superseded by a new generation of products in a matter of a few years. Only by acquiring a higher level of scientific and general knowledge, rich experience in production and advanced skills, can a worker play a bigger role in modern production. In our society, the laborers, who have a high degree of political awareness, study consciously and assiduously to raise their scientific and cultural level and thus will surely be able to achieve a higher rate of productivity than that attained under capitalism.

The recognition that science and technology are productive forces brings the following question in its train: How should we regard the mental labor involved in scientific pursuits? Since science is becoming an increasingly important part of the productive forces, are people engaged in scientific and technological work to be considered workers or not?

There are various kinds of brain workers in societies under the rule of exploiting classes. Some are entirely in the service of the reactionary ruling classes and have thus set themselves against workers engaged in manual

labor. But even in those cases, as Lenin said, there are many intellectuals engaged in scientific and technical work who themselves are not capitalists but scholars, although they are permeated with bourgeois prejudice. The fruits of their work are used by the exploiters, but, generally speaking, this is determined by the social system, and not by their own free choice. They are entirely different from politicians who rack their brains to advise the reactionary ruling classes directly. Marx pointed out that ordinary engineers and technicians join in the creation of surplus value. That is to say, they, too, are exploited by the capitalists.

In a socialist society, brain workers trained by the proletariat itself differ from intellectuals in any exploiting society in history. In the course of socialist transformation in China, Chairman Mao pointed out that intellectuals from the old society faced the question of what kind of "skin" they attached themselves to. As long as class contradictions and class struggle exist throughout the historical period of socialism, the intellectuals face the need to solve the question of whether to keep to the working class stand. But, generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of them are intellectuals of the working class and manual labourers. Therefore they are already part of the working class. The differences between them and the manual workers lies only in a different role in the social division of labour. Those who labour, whether by hand or by brain, are all working people in a socialist society. With the advancement of modern science and technology and progress towards the four modernizations, a great deal of heavy manual work will gradually be replaced by machines. Manual labour will steadily decrease for workers directly engaged in production and mental work will increase. Moreover, there will be an increasing demand for more people in scientific research and for a larger force of scientists and technicians. The "gang of four" distorted the division of labour between mental and manual work in our socialist society today, calling it class antagonism. Their aim was to attack and persecute the intellectuals, undermine the alliance of the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, disrupt the social productive forces and sabotage our socialist revolution and construction.

Correctly understanding that science and technology belong to the productive forces and that brain workers who serve socialism are a part of the working people has a close bearing on the rapid development of our scientific undertakings. Since we accept these two premises, we must naturally put great effort into developing scientific research and science education and give full play to the revolutionary initiative of the scientific and technical workers and the educational workers, in order to accomplish the four modernizations in the short space of twenty-odd years and bring about a tremendous growth of our productive forces.

Our science and technology have progressed enormously since the founding of new China and played an important role in economic construction and national defense construction. In old China, this would have been unthinkable. There is no way for anyone to deny this great achievement.

But we must see, with a clear head, that there is still a very big gap between our science and technology and [words indistinct] levels and that our scientific and technical forces are still very weak, far from meeting the needs of modernization. We have lost a lot of time, in particular, as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

How do things stand with the technical level of our production? Several hundred million people are busy producing food. We still have not really solved the grain problem. Labour productivity in our iron and steel industry, too, is only a small percentage of advanced levels abroad. The gap in the newly-emerged industries is still wider. A lag in this field of only eight to ten years, or even three to five years, makes a big gap, let alone a lag of ten to twenty years.

Chairman Mao often reminded us: "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity." In ancient times, China had brilliant achievements in science and technology: Its four great inventions played a significant role in the advance of world culture. But our ancestors' achievements can serve only to confirm our confidence in overtaking and surpassing advanced world levels and not to console us on our backwardness today. Our contributions in science and technology at present are highly incommensurate with the position of a socialist country like ours.

Will factually pointing out this backwardness make people lose heart? There might be such people. They do not have a whiff of Marxism about them. As for us proletarian revolutionaries, by stating the facts and making a serious analysis of the historical and the present causes of this situation, we can accurately draft our strategic plan, deploy our forces and strive for a rapid change in the situation. Only in this way, moreover, can we activate people to study modestly and speedily master the world's latest science and technology.

Backwardness must be perceived before it can be changed. A person must learn from the advanced before he can catch up and surpass them. Of course, to raise China's scientific and technological level we must rely on our own efforts, develop our own inventions, and adhere to the policy of independence and self-reliance. But independence does not mean shutting the door on the world, nor does self-reliance mean blind opposition to everything foreign. Science and technology are a kind of wealth created in common by all mankind. Any nation or country must learn from the strong points of other nations and countries, from their advanced science and technology. It is not just today, when we are scientifically and technically backward, that we need to learn from other countries; after we catch up with the advanced world levels in science and technology, we will still have to learn from the strong points of others.

China's revolution has attracted all the world's revolutionary people who live and breathe with it. Our socialist modernization has won their interest and support and will do so on a widening scale. We must actively develop international academic exchanges and step up our friendly contacts with scientific circles of other countries. We express heartfelt thanks to all our friends abroad who have helped us in science and technology.

That is the first question on which I want to speak.

The second question concerns the building of a mammoth force of scientific and technical personnel who are both Red and expert.

For the modernization of science and technology, we must have a mighty scientific and technical force of the working class which is both Red and expert, and a large number of scientists and experts in engineering and technology who are first rate by world standards. We have a heavy task before us to build such a force.

An important question here is that we must have a correct understanding of being both Red and expert, and set reasonable standards for it.

The "gang of four" made the absurd statement, "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." They said they "preferred labourers with no culture" and they boosted as a "model of being Red and expert" an ignorant counter-revolutionary clown who handed in a blank examination paper. On the other hand, they vilified as being "White and expert" good comrades who studied diligently and contributed to the motherland's cause of science and technology. This reversal of right and wrong and of ourselves and the enemy seriously muddled people's minds for a time.

Chairman Mao advocated intellectuals becoming both Red and expert, encouraging everyone to remould the bourgeois world outlook and acquire the proletarian world outlook. The important manifestation about the world outlook is whom to serve. If a person loves our socialist motherland and is serving socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers of his own free will and accord, it should be said that he has initially acquired a proletarian world outlook and, in terms of political standards, cannot be considered White but should be called Red. Our scientific undertakings are an important part of our socialist cause. To devote oneself to our socialist science and contribute to it is a manifestation of being Red, and in a sense it is also a manifestation of being expert.

Imbued with Mao Zedong Thought, our scientists and technicians have made truly rapid progress in the last twenty-eight years. The overwhelming majority of them love the party and love socialism, strive to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, work wholeheartedly and fruitfully at their posts. Their faith in the party and in socialism never wavered, no matter how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" persecuted and tormented intellectuals; they kept working on science and technology under extremely difficult conditions. Many showed a high level of political awareness in the eleventh struggle between the two lines. The smashing of the gang unleashed in them great revolutionary enthusiasm. They wholeheartedly support the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and work still harder for the four modernizations. How invaluable are these scientists and technicians: They are worthy of the title "Red and expert," fit to be called our working class ' own scientific and technical force.

This appraisal naturally does not mean that these scientists and technicians all have a very high level of political and ideological consciousness or that there are no shortcomings and mistakes of one kind or another in their ideology, their work style or their specific work.

It means that judged by the basic criterion of political stand, the overwhelming majority of them take the stand of the working class, and these revolutionary intellectuals constitute a force our party can rely on. They should not be complacent or come to a halt, but should continue the effort, constantly seeking new progress both politically and in their specific fields. Their shortcomings

and mistakes are a matter for education and assistance, something to be overcome through criticism and self-criticism. No one is free from shortcomings and mistakes. Take people like us, our cadres doing political work and our veteran cadres who have been in the party for decades: Do we not also have shortcomings or errors of this kind or that? Why be especially exacting towards vocational cadres and technical experts! As for scientists and technicians with undesirable family backgrounds or who committed mistakes in the past or whose families and social contacts present problems, we should judge them mainly by their own basic political attitude, by the way they acquit themselves and by their contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

There is a section of scientists and technicians whose bourgeois world outlook has not fundamentally changed, or who are rather deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology. They often waver in the midst of sharp, fierce, and complicated class struggle. As long as they are not against the party and against socialism, we should, in line with the party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals, bring out their specialized abilities, respect their labour and take an interest in their progress, giving them a warm helping hand. Chairman Mao consistently held that the more people in our revolutionary ranks the better, that we should respect those who have knowledge and specialized skills or have made contributions, and that our attitude towards any person who has made mistakes should be first to observe and second to give help and not to look down on him. We must earnestly implement these teachings of Chairman Mao's.

In our socialist society, everyone should remould himself. Not only those who have not changed their basic stand should remould, but everybody should study and constantly remould himself, study new problems, absorb what is new and consciously guard against corrosion by bourgeois ideology, so as better to shoulder the glorious and arduous task of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

Scientists and technicians should concentrate their energy on scientific and technical work. When we say that at least five-sixths of their work time should be left free for their scientific and technical work, this is meant to be the minimum demand. It is still better if even more time is available for this purpose. If some persons work seven days and seven evenings on end to meet the needs of science or production, that shows their lofty spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of socialism. We should learn from them, commend them and encourage them. Innumerable facts prove that only he can mount the pinnacles of science who devotes himself heart and soul, constantly strives for perfection, fears neither hardship nor disappointment. We cannot demand that scientists and technicians, or at any rate, the overwhelming majority of them, study a lot of political and theoretical books, participate in numerous social activities and attend many meetings not related to their work. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frequently attacked scientists and technicians, accusing them of "being divorced from politics" and labeling people "White and expert" when they studied diligently to improve their knowledge and skills.

"White" is a political concept. Only political reactionaries who are against the party and against socialism can be called "White." How can you label as "White" a man who studies hard to improve his knowledge and skills? Scientists and technicians who have flaws of one kind or another in their ideology or their

style of work should not be called "White," if they are not against the party and against socialism. How can our scientists and technicians be accused of being divorced from politics when they work diligently for socialist science? The cause of socialism calls for a division of labour. On condition that they keep to the socialist stand, comrades of different trades and professions are not divorced from politics when they do their best at their posts, this is a concrete manifestation of their socialist consciousness. A few years ago, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made it quite difficult for the workers to do their jobs, for the peasants to till the land, for the armymen to do their military training, and for the students to study or scientists and technicians to do research in their work. What heavy losses this meant for our socialist cause! Was that not a profound lesson?

While striving to raise the level of our present scientific and technical force, and making full use of their abilities, we must also exert ourselves to train new personnel. Owing to sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there is an age-gap in this force which makes the training of a younger generation of scientific and technical personnel all the more pressing.

We have a vast supply and a great potential in matters of selecting and training talented personnel. With the recent reform of the university enrollment system, we have discovered fine young people who are diligent, hard-working and talented. We are pleased to see their outstanding accomplishments. Though the "gang of four" ran wild for a time, they failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the youngsters for study, nor could they stifle the revolutionary zeal of the teachers to educate the next generation assiduously for the party and the people. Today the Central Committee of the party headed by Chairman Hua is paying close attention to science and education and laying strong emphasis on training and selecting talented people. We can foresee the dawn of a new era, with a multitude of outstanding people like the stars in the sky. The future of science lies with the youth. The growth of the younger generation is the hope of our flourishing cause.

Education is basic for training scientific and technical personnel. We must comprehensively and correctly carry out the party's policy on education, straighten out the orientation and make a good job to the educational revolution, to ensure a tremendous expansion and improvement. Education concerns not only the educational departments; party committees at all levels must attend to it earnestly as a major issue. People of all trades are gardeners tending the successors to the revolution. Their creative labour should be held in respect by the party and the people. Their teaching time must be guaranteed and care and attention must be given to their political life, working conditions and professional studies. Teachers with outstanding contributions in pedagogy should be commended and awarded.

On the question of talented people, we must particularly stress the need to break with convention in the discovery, selection and training of those with outstanding talent. This was one of the basic issues muddled by the "gang of four."

They vilified scientists, professors and engineers distinguished for their contributions as bourgeois academic authorities and, all outstanding young and middle-aged scientists and technicians trained by our party and state as revisionist sprouts. We must thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the gang and take up the important task of training in the shortest possible time a group of experts in science and technology who are first rate by world standards. In the early period of the war of resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao said that our party's fighting capacity would be much greater and our task of defeating Japanese imperialism would be more quickly accomplished if there were one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which was systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow. The revolutionary cause needs outstanding revolutionaries, and so does the scientific cause need outstanding scientists. Working-class persons with outstanding talent come from the people and serve the people. Only an extensive mass base can provide a continuous flow of talent, and outstanding talents will, in turn, help raise China's scientific and cultural standards as a whole.

The discovery or training of talented people by our scientists and teachers is in itself an achievement and a contribution to the state. The history of science shows what great results can be produced in the field of science from the discovery of a genuinely talented person! Some of the world's scientists have looked upon their discovery and training of new talent as the greatest achievement of a lifetime. There is much to be said for this view. A number of outstanding mathematicians in China today were discovered in their youth by older generation mathematicians who helped them mature. Some of the newcomers may have surpassed their teachers in scientific achievement, but the teachers' contributions are indelible, nonetheless.

The third question I want to discuss is how to make the system of division of responsibilities under the leadership of party committees work in scientific and technical departments.

Rapid development of science and technology hinges on good party leadership in these fields.

To meet the requirements of the new situation and the new task, there must be corresponding changes in the centre of gravity for party work and in the party's work style. During the unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our party concentrated maximum efforts on the political revolution.

Today, after victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," while continuing to eliminate their pernicious influence and deepen the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts, the whole party must take firm hold of the work of modernization and carry out the great political and economic revolution and the great scientific and technical revolution, tasks which history has conferred on us.

The party committees at various levels should learn from Taching and Tachai and make an earnest effort to grasp simultaneously the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Following the examples of Taching and Tachai, they should unfold mass movements for scientific experiment, with new technical progress and new production records every year. There are several hundred thousand enterprises and several hundred thousand production brigades in our country. Extensive application of advanced science and technology to industry and agriculture and a greater, faster, better and more economical growth of production can come about only through large-scale technical transformation and scientific experiments in every enterprise and every production brigade. At the same time, we must work energetically for the success of specialized scientific research institutions. Professional scientists and technicians form the mainstay of the revolutionary movement for scientific experiment. Without a strong contingent of professional scientific researchers of high calibre, we could hardly scale the heights of modern science and technology and it would be difficult for the scientific experiment movement of the masses to advance wave upon wave in a sustained way. We must get the specialists integrated with the masses.

The Central Committee has stipulated that a system of individual responsibility for technical work be established in scientific research institutes and that the system of division of responsibilities among institute directors under the leadership of party, committees be set up. These are important organizational measures which help strengthen the leading role of the party committees while bringing into full play the role of the specialists.

The basic task of scientific research institutes is to produce scientific results and train competent people. They must show more scientific and technical achievements of high quality and train scientific and technical personnel who are both Red and expert. The main criterion for judging the work of the party committee of a scientific research institute should be the successful fulfillment of this basic task. Only when this is well done has the party committee really done its duty to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.

A lot of work has to be done to fulfill this basic task. It is impossible for party committees to handle and solve all these matters. We must honestly admit that in scientific and technical work, there are many things we do no know. Even should we know them, it would still be impossible for party committees to do everything. There must be a division of responsibilities and a system of individual responsibility at each post from top to bottom. This is the only way to make our work orderly and efficient; and this is the only way to define the duties incumbent on each post and to mete out the proper awards and penalties, at the same time obviating procrastination or evasions of responsibility and avoiding getting in each other's way.

The leadership given by party committees is primarily political leadership, that is, to ensure the correct political orientation and the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and to bring out the initiative of all concerned.

At the same time, leadership is exercised through the plan. Good plans must be drawn up for scientific research, personnel must be carefully appraised and placed where they can do the best work, and all forces must be well organized. In order to follow out the plans and push forward our scientific research, it is also necessary to guarantee the supporting services and supplies and to provide the necessary working conditions for scientific and technical personnel. This is also part of the work of the party committees. I am willing to be the director of the Logistics Department at your service and to do this work well together with the leading comrades of party committees at various levels.

We should give the director and the deputy directors of research institutes a free hand in the work of science and technology according to their division of labour. Party committees should back up the work of all party and non-party experts in administrative positions and try to bring out all their capacities so that they really have powers and responsibilities commensurate with their positions. These experts are also cadres of the party and the state. We must never look askance at them. Party committees should not attempt to supplant them.

We must give full scope to democracy and follow the mass line, heeding opinions from scientific and technical personnel in such things as evaluating scientific papers, examining the competency of scientific and technical personnel, working out plans for scientific research and appraising research findings. As to divergent views on academic questions, we must follow the principle of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and encourage free discussion. We must listen closely to experts' opinions and enable them to play their full role so that we can do better at scientific and technical work and reduce our errors as much as possible. This is an important aspect of the mass line for party committees of scientific research institutes.

Do we mean to lighten the load of our political work or to lower its standards when we stress that scientific and technical personnel must concentrate on their specific work? No, we do not. This means a demand to raise the level of our political work, improve the method, do away with everything that smacks of formalism, eliminate the poisonous influence of the "gang of four" and conscientiously learn the fine traditions of Liberation Army political work. We must support whatever is conducive to the development of socialist science, and criticize and educate those who seek personal gain, hide their findings, refuse to work in coordination or even resort to monopoly and plagiarism and those who display other erroneous ideas and styles of work which are detrimental to the development of socialist science. As we are engaged in socialist modernization and are advancing towards the mastery of modern science and technology, the important task for our political work today is to make every scientist and technician understand how his work relates to the grand goal of the four modernizations, encourage and mobilize them to work together with one heart and coordinate their efforts in the spirit of revolution, so as to storm the citadels of science.

Although our party has accumulated some experience in leading scientific and technological work over the past twenty-odd years, we must admit that we confront a very large realm of necessity, an area we still do not know, with regard to how to effectively organize, manage and lead socialist science and technology. Until there is a change in this state of affairs, we can hardly have major achievements and the initiative will not be in our hands. Chairman Mao taught us time and again that persons in the dark cannot light the way for others. Leading party cadres at various levels must not be content to remain laymen. They must study their work and gradually learn the ropes.

We must apply ourselves to the study of Marxism and raise our political level and we must also strive to acquire scientific knowledge, sum up experience, both positive and negative, study and grasp the objective laws governing scientific and technological work and implement the party's principles and policies correctly and comprehensively. Our party was able to lead the people to the overthrow of the system of exploitation and to the transformation of society, and it will certainly be able to grasp the laws governing scientific and technological work and lead our people to the heights of world science.

The rights and wrongs in regard to political line have been basically clarified; we have mapped out a programme with the measures for its execution; the masses are already on the move. The task now confronting our party organizations at all levels is to inspire real drive in the masses, to find down-to-earth solutions to problems and to do good, solid work. In a word, we must put everything on a solid footing. We must stop all the manifestations of formalism, which go in for ostentation but disregard practical results, real efficiency, actual speed, quality or cost. Bad habits like empty talk, boasting and lying must be stamped out.

Comrades, the 11th party congress, the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fifth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, coming one after the other, fully demonstrated the great unity of our whole party and the great unity of the people throughout the country. This National Science Conference is likewise a gathering of unity. The unity of the party and the unity of the people--these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, march forward unswerving and victorious, moving valiantly towards the grand goal of a modern, powerful socialist country!

May science in China flourish and grow! I wish the conference complete success!

CSO: 4005/21

ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK (28 March 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 98-99

[Part of a talk to leading members of the Political Research Office of the State Council. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 13 Jul 83.]

[Text] I have read the article entitled "Implement the Socialist Principle of Distribution According to Work" which was drafted by the Political Research Office under the State Council. It is well written. The article shows that distribution according to work is socialist, not capitalist, in nature. As far as this article is concerned, some corrections should be made in the light of the actual problems existing in the present distribution according to work.

We must uphold the socialist principle of distribution according to work. Distribution according to work means distribution based on the quantity and quality of the labor contributed. In accordance with this principle, in evaluating the wage scales of staff and workers, main consideration should be given to the quality of their contributions. Consideration should be also given to their political attitude, but it must be clearly stated that a good political attitude must be manifested chiefly in the fact that they should work in a good manner and make more and better contributions for socialism. If we deal with the question of distribution mainly in accordance with politics rather than work done, this means distribution according to politics instead of distribution according to work. In sum, distribution can only be conducted according to work rather than being conducted according to politics or seniority.

We are carrying out a low-wage policy. This is a policy which will be implemented for a considerably long period of time. At present, the wage ceiling of a grade-8 worker is a little more than 100 yuan. With the development of production, wages will be raised step by step in the future so that there will be increases in the amounts of wages at various grades. Now, the wages of primary school teachers are too low. The labor contributed by a good primary school teacher is quite strenuous. Efforts should be made to raise their wages. The wages of some primary school teachers who have taught well will be allowed to be graded as special class in the future. A special class wage scale should be set up in all trades and professions so as to encourage the people to engage in their own occupations all their lives.

It is imperative to practice the system of evaluation. Evaluation must be carried out in a serious, comprehensive, and regular way. All trades and professions must act in this way. From now on, the upgrading of the wages of staff and workers must be carried out in accordance with the results of evaluation. Those who pass an examination should have their wages upgraded; moreover, they are entitled to skip a grade on the wage scale. The wages of those who fail to pass an examination should remain unchanged.

There must be rewards as well as penalties and they must be strict and fair. Through strict evaluation, different payments should be given to those who do a good job and those who do a poor job. We are carrying out the principle of the leading role of spiritual encouragement and the supplementary role of material encouragement. Awarding medals and certificates of merit falls into the category of spiritual encouragement and is a political honor. This is necessary. However, material encouragement is also indispensable. All our previous effective measures in this respect must be restored. The system of bonuses must also be reinstated. Money awards must be given to those who make innovations and to those who make special contributions. Those who achieve important findings in scientific research are still allowed to have their wages upgraded, in addition to receiving awards for their innovations. Those who have failed to achieve successes through years of efforts must be encouraged to change their professions. Romania has recently decided that the factories which are well operated and the cadres and workers who do a good job are entitled to receive a little more pay, and the factories which are poorly operated and the cadres and workers who do a poor job must receive a little less pay. Also, they have their rewards and penalties clearly demarcated. The system of remuneration for authors must also be restored and revised in the light of new conditions.

Much remains to be done in implementing the principle of distribution according to work. Some problems must be solved step by step through investigation and study. Some systems must be revived and instituted. The objective all our endeavors is to encourage everybody to make progress.

CSO: 4005/995

SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL WORK CONFERENCE (22 April 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 100-107

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[Text] Comrades: There is much that is new on the educational front since the overthrow of the "gang of four" and particularly since the reform of the college enrollment system and the criticism of the "two estimates." The achievements should be fully affirmed. Both in educational circles and in society at large; however, people are hoping for even faster progress in education.

Today, I should like to offer some opinions on this question.

First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better. Our schools are places for training competent personnel for the proletariat. Are there any criteria for judging the quality of this training? Yes, there are. As Chairman Mao put it, we must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

The "gang of four" were opposed to making strict demands on students in their study of science and culture and making such studies their main pursuit, insisting nonsensically that this would "put intellectual education first" and be "divorced from proletarian politics." They declared that one should "prefer labourers with no culture," saying "the more knowledgeable, the more reactionary." They slandered workers and workers' children who had become knowledgeable as bourgeoisie intellectuals. Great efforts are still needed at present to eliminate the pernicious influence of these absurdities spread by the gang.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that workers could not for a minute forget their need for knowledge; that without knowledge the workers are defenseless, while with knowledge they are a force. The importance of this truth has become even clearer today. We must train workers with high attainments in science and culture and create a mammoth contingent of Red-and-expert working class intellectuals if we are to master and advance modern science and culture and the new techniques and technologies of all trades and professions, if we are to create higher labour productivity than that under capitalism, and transform China into a powerful, modern socialist country and, what is more, ultimately defeat the bourgeoisie in the spheres of the superstructure. These demands themselves are in the interest of proletarian politics.

There is no doubt that schools should always attach primary importance to a firm and correct political orientation. This, however, does not mean devoting many classroom hours to ideological and political education. In his May 7 directive, Chairman Mao said: "Their (the students') main task is to study, and they should also learn other things; that is to say, they should learn not only book knowledge but industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs as well. They also should criticize the bourgeoisie." The criticism of the bouregeoisie undoubtedly comes within the province of ideological and political education, and so, in part, does the learning of industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. Nevertheless, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the main task of students is to study, to learn book knowledge, i.e., science and culture. Students must give first place to a firm and correct political orientation, but this does not exclude the study of science and culture.

On the contrary, the higher their political consciousness, the harder the efforts and the greater the voluntary efforts the students should make to learn science and culture for the revolution. Therefore, the "gang of four" were not only absurd in the extreme, but they were negating and betraying proletarian politics when they opposed what they termed "putting intellectual education first," which was really an effort to improve the quality of education and raise the students' scientific and cultural level on the basis of a firm and correct political orientation.

It is not good to put too great a load on the students. We should continue to take effective measures to prevent and remedy this. But it is equally obvious that we cannot succeed in raising our science and culture to a much higher level unless we abide by the work style of being honest towards the revolutionary cause, honest in words and honest in deeds and of setting strict standards, taking a serious attitude and have a close-knit organization and firm labour discipline and unless demands are exacting and training is rigid.

If we are to catch up and surpass advanced world levels in science and technology, we must improve the quality not only of higher education but, in the first instance, the quality of secondary and elementary education. In other words, we must fill out the courses in primary and secondary schools with advanced scientific information within the capabilities of the students.

Examinations are an important method of checking on studies and on the efficacy of teaching, just as checking the quality of products is a necessary system for ensuring factory standards. Of course, we must not put blind faith in examinations and consider them to be the only method for checking on studies. Moreover, conscientious studies and experiences should be made on how to improve the content and the form of examinations to make them more effective. We must encourage and help students who have not done well in their examinations to continue the effort and not to worry needlessly about it.

Secondly, great efforts must be made in the schools to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline, to raise up a new generation with socialist consciousness and thus help to revolutionize the general mood of society.

The sabotage of education by the "gang of four" not only caused an alarming decline in the quality of scientific and general education but also seriously debased ideological and political education in the schools, undermined school discipline and contaminated the revolutionary atmosphere of socialist society.

The "gang of four" talked glibly about politics, but in fact they went in for counterrevolutionary, antisocialist politics and used the most decadent and reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes to poison the minds of the young people, trying to make them "illiterates plus hooligans." Complete eradication of the vicious influence of the "gang of four" is a very serious political task vital to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revolutionary ideals and communist virtues should be fostered from childhood. There has been a fine tradition in our party's work on education. Members of the Children's Corps and the Communist Youth League performed heroic and stirring deeds during the revolutionary war years. After the liberation of the whole country, this fine tradition was carried forward in our education work and in the work of our Youth League and Young Pioneers. For a long time, children and young people studied well and progressed every day, developed an ardent love for the motherland, the people, physical labor, science and public property, and struggled heroically and ingeniously against enemies and bad elements. The new spirit of a generation was thus fostered. The revolutionization in the spirit of the schools promoted the revolutionization in the spirit of society as a whole. This spirit, unprecedented in the history of China, won admiration from people the world over. We hope that the comrades engaged in educational work, comrades of departments concerned and every family will pay close attention to the ideological and political progress of children and young people, so as to restore and develop the fine, revolutionary traditions undermined by the "gang of four." Chairman Mao said: "All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work.

"This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers." Teachers in primary and secondary schools and kindergartens, in particular, are entrusted with a heavy responsibility for training young revolutionary successors. We should work hard to inculcate in young people the revolutionary style of learning diligently, observing discipline, loving physical labor, taking pleasure in helping others, working hard and daring to fight the enemy so that they will be trained to be fine and competent personnel, loyal to the socialist motherland, to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and, when they take up a post, will become workers with a high sense of political responsibility and collectivism, firm revolutionary ideals, the work style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line, and will be able to observe discipline strictly and work wholeheartedly and actively for the people.

We encourage everyone to strive for progress, but progress depends, after all, on whether the individual makes the effort. A collective effort is the sum of individual efforts. There will be differences in individual efforts even in communist society. Chairman Mao once said that ten thousand years from now there will still be a gap between the advanced and the backward. Therefore, while encouraging and helping everyone to work hard, we have to admit the disparity in the abilities and moral qualities of different people, which will surface in the course of their development. We must treat them accordingly and do everything possible to enable everyone in his particular circumstances to advance towards the general goal of socialism and communism. At the same time, strict measures should be taken in a conscientious effort to correct and reform those who seriously undermine revolutionary order and discipline and refuse to mend their ways after repeated education, and in no case should we let a tiny handful of such persons damage the schools and society as a whole.

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From now on, not only secondary schools and colleges must make an overall examination of the applicants on their moral, intellectual and physical levels and enroll only those who are outstanding, various departments should gradually do likewise and, in increasing their work force, give priority to those who are outstanding. That means carrying to its logical conclusion Chairman Mao's policy of enabling everyone to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture; it means carrying out this policy in all aspects of life in society. This will play a tremendous role in raising the political, scientific and cultural levels of our workers and staff, in meeting the special requirements of different trades and professions and in creating a revolutionary atmosphere among the young people and in society as a whole, an atmosphere in which everyone is eager to make progress, hard-working and loathe to lag behind.

Third, education must keep pace with the requirements of the national economic development.

To train qualified personnel for the proletariat, we must study carefully how to implement the policy of combining education with productive labor more satisfactorily under the new conditions. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao all paid great attention to combining education with productive labor. They held that this is one of the most powerful means for transforming capitalist society.

They considered that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, this becomes the fundamental path to the training of a new generation that integrates theory with practice and study with application and that attains all-round development, and they regarded it as an important measure for gradually abolishing the distinction between mental and manual labor. As far back as 80 years ago, Lenin said: "Neither training and education without productive labor, nor productive labor without parallel training and education could be raised to the degree required by the present level of technology and the state of scientific knowledge." Today's speedy economic and technological development demands rapid improvement in the quality and efficiency of education and constant new developments in the content and the methods of combining education with productive labor.

To this end, schools of all kinds and at all levels must make the proper arrangements as to what kind of labor the students should engage in, how to arrange for their going to the factories and the countryside, how much time they should spend there and how to combine such labor with teaching. What is more important, education as a whole must keep pace with the requirements of the growing national economy. Otherwise, if what the students are learning cannot meet the needs of their future profession, and if their study is completely divorced from their work, wouldn't that fundamentally violate the principle of combining education with productive labor? In that case, how could we arouse the students' enthusiasm for study and labor and how could education meet the gigantic demands raised by the general task for the new period?

Our national economy is developing in a planned and proportionate way. To correspond with this, we must carefully plan the training and bringing up of experts and labor reserves. Not only must we bear in mind the current needs, we must also foresee the needs of the distant future. Not only must we make plans to cope with the needs of growing production and construction, we must also take into full account the trends of development in modern science and technology.

The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education and other departments should work together and incorporate the plan for educational undertakings into the national economic plan as an important component. We should take into consideration the proportionate development of various types of schools at various levels and in the plan should particularly increase the proportion of farm middle schools, various kinds of specialized middle schools and technical schools. We should also tackle the problem of what kinds of schools of higher learning to develop and how to readjust the specialities, arrange the courses on basic theory and improve teaching materials. Measures should be worked out to accelerate the development of modern educational media such as television and radio, which merit full attention as important channels for developing education with greater, faster, better and more economic results. We should make an intensive study of how to organize productive labor, scientific experiments and scientific research in a more planned way in school education so that they meet the needs of the economic plan and the education plan still better. In order to speed the training of qualified personnel and thus raise the level of education as a whole, we must consider the need to concentrate forces and strengthen the key universities and secondary and primary schools so as to raise their level and the quality of teaching as quickly as possible.

Our country will strive to open new channels and add new trades so as to serve the modernization of agriculture and the other three modernizations more effectively. We should combine the education programme with the state labor plan and earnestly consider the needs posed by the growth in employment.

Lastly, the question of respecting the work of the teachers and of raising their level.

Teachers hold the key to a school's success in training qualified personnel for the proletariat, i.e., training workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and who are developed morally, intellectually and physically.

In the past two decades, we have built a contingent of people's teachers. There are nine million teachers throughout the country. The overwhelming majority of the teachers and other school workers love the party and socialism, serve the cause of proletarian education assiduously and have made great contributions to the nation, the country and the proletariat. Educational workers serving the people are lofty, revolutionary laborers. We extend our regards and respects to the vast numbers of educational workers for their diligent efforts. We offer particular regards and respects to the primary school educators who have worked tirelessly under more difficult conditions and helped bring up revolutionary successors.

We must raise the political and social status of people's teachers. They should command the respect not only of the students but also of society as a whole. We urge students to respect their teachers and at the same time call on teachers to love their students. To respect teachers and love students for the benefit of both--this is the comradely, revolutionary relationship between teachers and students. We should commend and reward outstanding educational workers with wide publicity.

It is necessary to study the wage scale of teachers and first of all that of primary and secondary school teachers. Proper steps should be taken to encourage people to dedicate all their lives to education. Particularly outstanding teachers may be designated as teachers of a special grade. Considering the limited economic strength of the country, we cannot bring about a very marked improvement in the material life of teachers and other school workers for the time being, but we must actively create the conditions that can bring this about. Party committees at variously levels and administrative departments in charge of education should, first of all, run collective welfare as well as possible.

Party committees at all levels and party organizations in the schools should show warn concern for the teachers' ideological and political progress and give them assistance, helping them study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought assiduously so that more teachers will have a firm proletarian, communist world outlook. We must take a positive attitude towards admitting outstanding teachers into the party. The tasks in the field of education is becoming increasingly heavy. The departments of education at all levels must strive to raise the ability of existing teachers and improve the quality of teaching. The Ministry of Education and local education departments should adopt effective measures to train teachers and raise their levels. For example, they must make full use of radio and television, run various types of training classes and advanced courses, compile teaching reference material and so forth.

We hope that the broad masses of teachers will work hard to raise their political and professional level steadily and advance along the road of becoming both Red and expert.

Comrades, I hope that this conference will discuss fully some of the major problems in educational work. We advocate the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and to speak. It does not matter if we have different opinions. We can compare various proposals. We must follow the mass line in everything we do. There must be full democracy within the ranks of the people. This is the only way to produce good ideas. Of course, no good idea can turn into reality by itself. Bright prospects may become empty talk if we do not take effective measures and make an effort to realize them. In order to accomplish the general task for the new period and carry out the four modernizations in not too long a period, we must energetically advocate a practical, down-to-earth revolutionary style of work that will help us turn lofty ideals into reality step by step.

I believe that under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, by relying on the efforts of the teachers, students, staff members and workers, and by carrying the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" through to the end and working in a down-to-earth way, more and more people of a new type will come to the fore and good news will pour in from the education front, which will thrive just like all the other fronts of our work.

CSO: 4005/21

SPEECH AT THE ALL-ARMY POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE (2 June 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 108-120

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[Text] Comrades: This all-army political work conference is another important historic meeting held by the army following the last meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The speeches made by Chairman Hua and Vice-Chairman Ye are very incisive, very important, and I fully endorse them. Comrade Wei Guoqing's report is very good and I fully agree.

The conference has discussed and revised three draft documents. They are: The resolution on strengthening political work, the regulations for political work and the regulations for cadres in the service. Once they are examined and approved by the Military Commission, the army's political work will have rules and regulations to follow.

This conference concentrates on studying and solving the problem of how to carry forward the fine traditions in political work and improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. In line with Chairman Mao's Thought and taking into account the realities of the army, the conference is identifying problems, analysing them and solving them. This is very good and highly necessary. It is concentrating on central task, has a clear-cut theme, and focuses attention on the main thing. It is going on better and better every day. The conference is being held in a healthy atmosphere, with full democracy and a free airing of views. At the same time there is no equivocation about questions of principle. Therefore, the conference sets a good example for the lower levels. In short, the conference has been completely successful.

I am going to deal with four points: First, seek truth from facts.

We hold meetings, make reports, pass resolutions and do everything else, all for the purpose of solving problems. Whether what we say and do can solve any problem and whether it can reach a correct solution--the key lies in whether we integrate theory with practice, whether we sum up experience well and whether our approach to objective reality is to seek truth from facts and

proceed from the actual conditions in everything we do. Only if we do all this is it possible for us to solve problems correctly or fairly correctly. But whether the solutions prove correct or entirely correct--this needs to be tested in future practice. If we do not do the above, then it is certainly impossible for us to solve any problem or solve it correctly.

Many comrades in our party persevere in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of revolution. This is very good and we must continue to do so. There are other comrades, however, who talk about Mao Zedong Thought every day, but often forget, abandon or even oppose Chairman Mao's fundamental Marxist view and method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in doing everything and integrating theory with practice.

Furthermore, some people even maintain that whoever persists in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice is guilty of a heinous crime. In essence, their view is that one may only copy straight from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and from Chairman Mao and should rest content with mechanical copying, transmitting and reproduction. They would insist that to do otherwise is to go against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the guidance coming from the party Central Committee. What they raise is no minor issue. It involves the whole approach to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

There is no doubt that we must at no time violate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. But we must integrate them with reality, analyse and study actual conditions and solve practical problems. To decide guidelines for our work in the light of the actual conditions--this is the most fundamental way of thinking and working method every communist must firmly bear in mind. To seek truth from facts is the starting point, the fundamental point, in Chairman Mao's Thought. This is materialism. Otherwise, when we hold meetings, we can only put out empty talk and cannot solve any problems.

Ever since Chairman Mao joined the communist movement and since he first created our party, he always advocated and practised investigation and study of objective social conditions and resolutely combated the erroneous tendency of divorcing theory from practice, of doing everything from wishful thinking or strictly according to books and instructions from above, regardless of concrete conditions. In 1929, in the resolution of the Gutien Meeting, Chairman Mao pointedly opposed subjective guidance of work, pointing out that it would "inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism".

In 1930 he specially wrote the article "Oppose Book Worship", in which he set forth the scientific thesis, "No investigation, no right to speak". He firmly opposed the erroneous mentality of those who kept saying in discussion within the Communist Party, "Show me where it is written in the book", as if whatever was written in a book was right. Chairman Mao said: "To carry out a directive of a higher organ blindly, and seemingly without any disagreement, is not really to carry it out, but is the most artful way of opposing or sabotaging it." He added: "When we say Marxism is correct, it is certainly not because Marx was a 'prophet' but because his theory has been proved correct in our practice and in

our struggle. We need Marxism in our struggle. In our acceptance of his theory no such formalistic of mystical notion as that of 'prophecy' ever enters our minds."

After the victory over Wang Ming's left-deviationist line which had caused a serious defeat to the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the lessons in the struggle and wrote a series of immortal works in 1936 and 1937, such as "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", "On Practice" and "On Contradiction", which laid the ideological and theoretical foundation for our party. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world....

The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice." He said: "Our dogmatists are lazy-bones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulas, and thereby completely deny and reverse the normal sequence by which man comes to know truth."

In dealing with guiding principles for war, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A commander's correct dispositions stem from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgements, and his correct judgements stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from pondering on and piecing together the data of various kinds gathered through reconnaissance." When we were fighting battles in the past, we all understood that failure to study our own situation and that of the enemy, failure to know both ourselves and the enemy, spelt defeat.

Some people in our party who opposed Mao Zedong Thought, however, did not change their stand because of these teachings of Chairman Mao's. Therefore, in 1941 and 1942 Chairman Mao started the great rectification campaign. The main documents guiding that campaign were his works "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys", "Reform Our Study", "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing".

In the campaign, he repeatedly emphasized the fundamental viewpoint, the fundamental attitude, of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. He said: "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary; that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us.

Such an attitude is the manifestation of party spirit, the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice. It is the attitude every Communist Party member should have at the very least. Against this attitude is the subjectivist method which, contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism, is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in party spirit.

Chairman Mao admonished all comrades in the party not to take Marxist theory as lifeless dogma and regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. This would impede the development of theory and harm themselves as well as other comrades. Chairman Mao pointed out that there is only one kind of true theory in the world, theory that is drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality. Basing himself on this fundamental Marxist viewpoint, Chairman Mao in his report to the seventh national congress of the party defined the style of work which integrates theory with practice as the first of the three styles of work of our party.

Afterwards, Chairman Mao repeatedly explained this viewpoint and this style of work. For instance, in 1953 Chairman Mao said: "The central leading organ is a factory which turns out ideas as its products. If it does not know what is going on at the lower levels, gets no raw material or has no semi-processed products to work, how can it turn out any product?"

In 1956 he said: "Integration of theory with practice is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. According to dialectial materialism, thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth; otherwise it cannot."

In 1958 he said that the ideas, opinions, plans and methods of the doughtiest hero can only be a reflection of the objective world. The raw and semi-processed materials that go into them can only come from the practice of the people or from his own scientific experiment. His brain can only play the part of a processing plant turning out finished products, or else it is utterly useless. Whether or not such finished products made by man's brain are useful and correct has to be tested by the masses of the people.

In his essay "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" written in 1963 Chairman Mao pointed out: "They (correct ideas) come from social practice, and from it alone." He added that whether or not one's ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) coming from social practice "do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not." Only if man's knowledge is applied in social practice and goes through the test of practice can its correctness or incorrectness be proved, and "there is no other way of testing truth."

Chairman Mao always insisted on using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to identify, analyse and solve problems. He always discussed problems in the light of different times, places and conditions. Chairman Mao said that in writing articles he himself seldom quoted from Marx and Lenin, and that he felt uneasy that his words were quoted frequently and over and over by the newspapers. People should learn to write in their own words. This, of course, does not mean not to quote from others at all. It means not to quote from others on all occasions.

What was most important was to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyse and solve problems. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living sould of Marxism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought would loose its

vitality if it were not integrated with the actual conditions. It is the duty of us leading cadres to integrate instructions of higher levels up to and including the Central Committee with the actual conditions of our own units in solving our problems. We must not function like a "message centre" and simply transmit instructions.

Comrades, let us think this over: Is not seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Zedong Thought? Is this fundamental viewpoint outdated, and will it ever become outdated? How can we be true to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought if we are against seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice? Where would that lead us? Obviously, that would only lead us to idealism and metaphysics, and to losses in our work and setbacks in our revolution.

For many years no all-army political work conference has been called. Now that such a conference is called, what method should we adopt in its proceedings? Obviously, we can and should only use the method of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice to sum up past experience, analyse the new historical conditions and identify new problems, new tasks and new guidelines. It is only in this way that problems can be tackled and solved correctly at this conference.

Comrade Wei Guoqing has made a good report at our conference. The report is good because it proposes pertinent solutions after studying the problems posed by the new historical conditions. This is a proof that we firmly uphold Mao Zedong Thought in our concrete action. Otherwise, if we just copied past documents word for word, we could not solve any problem, let alone solving it correctly. In that case, even if we paid lavish lip service to Mao Zedong Thought, we would actually be running counter to it. We must eliminate the poisonous influence of Lin Piao and the gang of four, set things to rights and shatter spiritual fetters to effect a great emancipation of our minds. This is indeed a most serious task.

Second, on the new historical conditions. In view of the fact that the eleventh party congress, the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the meeting of the Military Commission had been held, and that the party's and the army's line, guidelines and tasks had all been decided, we asked ourselves while preparing for this conference what problems it would mainly solve. Judging from the problems and conditions actually existing in the armed forces, the most important thing is to study and solve the problem of how to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work and to improve our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions. This is precisely to act on Chairman Mao's teaching about seeking truth from facts in studying, analysing and solving the actual problem.

We are historical materialists and we cannot leave aside the given historical conditions in studying and solving any problem. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, we went through twenty-odd years of war and have passed another twenty-odd years in a peaceful environment. That means a big change.

The switch from an environment of protracted war to a peaceful environment makes the biggest difference to an army. Our political work remains unchanged as regards its fundamental purpose, its essentials and its basic contents, and we have the same store of fine traditions. But times have changed, conditions have changed and the recipients of our work have changed so that the methods of solving problems have to change, too.

In formulating the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention, Chairman Mao varied their specific contents according to different circumstances. He first laid down three rules of discipline and then six points for attention. Later on, there were some changes in the content of the three rules of discipline. The rule "Don't take anything from the workers and peasants" became "Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses"; the rule "Turn in all things taken from local bullies" was changed first to "Turn in all money raised" and then to "Turn in everything captured".

To the six points for attention were added two more: "Don't bathe within sight of women" and "Don't search the pockets of captives". By 1947 when the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention were reissued, again some revisions were made in the contents. "Put back the doors you have taken down for bed-boards" and "Put back the straw you have used for bedding" were replaced by "Don't hit or swear at people" and "Don't damage crops". "Don't bathe within sight of women" was changed to "Don't take liberties with women" and "Don't search the pockets of captives" became "Don't ill-treat captives".

The basic spirit of the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention cannot be changed and it remains unchanged. If we do not study how to implement them in the light of the new conditions, however, we shall not be able to carry them out effectively. Take the rule of turning in everything captured. At present, there is no such a thing as turning in everything captured when we do not fight any battles. We need to study how to act in the spirit of this rule under the new historical conditions.

The principle of unity between the army and the people cannot be changed. But our relations with the people are now different in content. In the countryside, there used to be the individual economy, but now it has been collectivized; our troops used to be in the country, but now many units have entered the cities and are quartered in barracks. These are new conditions. An important problem for a better army-people relationship is to help develop the collective economy. An army should discuss whether it could help one or two communes or study how to help factories if there is any nearby. It is our duty to take account of the new conditions in trying to improve army-people relations in various ways and correctly solving problems in these relations.

There have been many new changes within the army, too. Comrade Wei Guoqing in his report has analysed organizational and ideological problems in the army. Cadres now face many new problems. Soldiers have different characteristics. Since the recipients of our work are different, it is essential that new contents be added to our education work.

The practice of recalling past bitterness and contrasting it with the present happiness should, of course, continue. But it is not enough to do this alone. It is necessary to study how to raise the level of political consciousness of the soldiers under the new historical conditions. As far as the relations between officers and men are concerned, they are different from those during the war years. How to uphold this principle of unity between officers and men--this needs careful study.

The Rear Service Department is also holding a meeting. It should also concentrate on the new conditions and new problems in its field of work, which stem from the new historical conditions. For instance, many new problems have cropped up here as military science and technology develop and our military equipment improves step by step. We used to have millet plus rifles, which were not too heavy a burden on the Rear Service Department. But it is another picture, now. Our army has to rely heavily on supplies from the rear in regard to provisions, arms and ammunition, equipment and appliances.

There are also continuous changes in the way of stocking war materials. All this needs careful and detailed study. Besides, our belongings used to be comparatively few. Now they have multiplied. This presents the new problem of management for all the rear service work. It requires a whole range of regulations and solutions that are suited to the new conditions as well as a constant fight against violations of financial regulations and against waste and extravagance.

What I have said above is all on new circumstnces and new problems resulting from the new historical conditions. By prpposing at this all-army political work conference the topic of carrying forward the fine traditions in political work and improving our army's combat strength under the new historical conditions, we are raising and solving the problem of specific line and policies for political work, after making an analysis of the actual state of affairs in this field. We are doing this precisely for the sake of better performance of the general task in the new period and better implementation of the policy of grasping the key link of class struggle to run the army well and get prepared against war.

This is in full accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction that there should be specific lines and policies for specific fields of work in addition to the general line and general policies. If we did not analyse and solve the problems that have cropped up in the new historical conditions, we would be unable to restore and carry forward the fine traditions in political work or improve the army's combat strength in the absence of war and would therefore be unable to accomplish the general task for the new period.

Our revolutionary teachers Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao always attached importance to historical conditions and paid attention to studying history and present conditions and deriving laws from them by which to guide the revolution. To ignore the new historical conditions is to chop up history, to divorce oneself from reality and to abandon dialectics for metaphysics.

Third, without destruction there is no construction. When we talk about seeking truth from facts, about the new period of development and new historical

Political work is the party's work, and the political organs are working organs of the party. Higher political organs should guide, prod, and supervise the work of lower party committees, political commissars and political organs. This is our tradition.

We must be strict in straightening things out. A driving spirit is essential in readjusting the leading bodies, rectifying the style of work or straightening out the political organs. We must conduct a rigorous check on cadres in the process and make such check-ups a regular, persistent practice.

Four, exemplary role of cadres. This is a matter of great importance. It is very important for leading cadres, senior cadres in particular, to be exemplary. The rank and file always watch how cadres match their words and deeds. Company commanders and political instructors cannot bring up good soldiers if they fail to set good examples. Leading cadres will not be able to foster good ways and habits in their units and make them combat-worthy if they fail to set good examples.

Emphasis must now be placed on cadres playing an exemplary role. For instance, when transferred, one must move house. [as received] How can this be done if senior cadres who are being transferred do not set an example? When an order comes, one must promptly report for duty, and senior cadres must take the lead in doing this. They must also take the lead in plain living and hard work.

Whether the work of a unit is thorough and down-to-earth hinges on whether its leading cadres are examplary in keeping abreast of conditions in the unit through investigation and in proceeding from reality to analyse and solve problems. Recently, leading cadres of many units are very good.

When we demand strictness in military management, we mean first of all strictness with the cadres and the senior cadres in particular. Senior cadres must be exemplary in acting on the fundamental principles--"Practise Marxism, and not evisionism; Unite, and don't split; Be open and aboveboard, and Don't intrigue and conspire"--in hard work and plain living, and seeking truth from facts. In a word, they must be exemplary in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with revolutionary practice.

Political cadres must lay still more emphasis on being exemplary. That is what we did during the war years of the past. At that time, if you were not brave in battle but feared death, if you were not of one heart with the rank and file and did not stay in contact with reality and with the masses, your political work would go unheeded. A political cadre must not say one thing and do another.

It was stipulated in the political work regulations of the Red Army period that "in doing political work, the political instructors rely solely on their direct contact with the masses and their familiarity with the Red Army Fighters"; "both in the performance of their duty and in their personal behaviour, the political instructors must be models for all armymen, and achieve this by their words and deeds." In order to restore and carry forward our fine traditions in political work, we must also rely on the exemplary role of political cadres.

conditions, we must say something about destruction and construction. At present and for some time to come, "destruction" means in-depth exposure and criticism of the gang of four and, collaterally, of Lin Biao too, so as to eliminate their pernicious influence. "Construction" means learning Mao Zedong Thought accurately and as a comprehensive system and restoring and developing the fine traditions and style of work of our party and army in the new historical conditions.

The movement to expose and criticise the gang of four is on the whole going on well in the army. So I won't elaborate. The development is uneven, however. We must make a thorough, deep-going job of it and carry the struggle through to the end. We must never put the lid on.

The explosure and criticism of the gang of four is the key link for all work at present and for some time to come. If this key link is not grasped well, there will be no clarification of what is right and what is wrong, no clear-cut class alignment, the leading teams cannot be soundly constituted, the style of work cannot be improved, there will be no basis for unity and no fruitful work. In short, without destruction there will be no construction.

In order to expose and criticize the gang of four thoroughly, it is imperative to expose and criticize the Lin Biao line at the same time.

Lin Biao and the gang of four were partners, colluding long ago to sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. To expose and criticize the gang of four and, collaterally, Lin Biao, is exactly to settle accounts with their crimes in sabotaging the Cultural Revolution and to protect the great gains of the Cultural Revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and led.

Lin Biao, who did great harm to the army, was scarcely criticized in the past. This problem was covered up by the gang of four, who refused to criticize Lin Biao, went through the motions of criticizing Confucius, but directed their real attack at Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Vice-Chairman Ye. It is logical that Lin Biao should be included among the targets of exposure and criticism along with the gang of four. There is no question of "dwelling on bygones".

In order to strengthen unity, it is imperative to make an in-depth exposure and criticism of the gang of four and to link it with the exposure and criticism of Lin Biao. This is exactly for the purpose of distinguishing right from wrong and strengthening unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only thus can the overwhelming majority be really united. We should place full confidence in those who, having erred in the tenth struggle between the two lines, made a sincere self-criticism, really mended their ways and have since acquitted themselves well politically. Of course, it will be necessary to deal severely with those who persisted in their errors and refused to correct them, and followed the gang of four in doing evil. Otherwise, it would be impossible to clarify rights and wrongs, achieve unity and straighten things out.

In exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the gang of four, it is necessary to get into realities and straighten things out in every aspect. Straightening

out involves both destruction and construction. It means primarily straightening out the leading bodies and rectifying the style of work.

Making a good job of reorganizing or straightening out leading bodies is of key importance at present. The main reason why problems have piled up and remain unsolved in some units is that the leading bodies there have not really been well reorganized. We should firmly enforce the rules adopted at the meeting of the Military Commission as to what kind of people can be placed on leading bodies and what kind of people cannot be placed on leading bodies nor be assigned important work. We should lose no time in making a good selection and rectification of leading bodies at all levels.

We must make a good job of straightening out leading bodies. In 1975 we criticized those leading bodies which were weak, lazy and lacking in unity. But that state of affairs exists today in some leading bodies. We should boldly arouse the masses to uncover the contradictions and clarify the rights and wrongs. The bourgeois factional set-up of the gang of four must be abolished, and bourgeois factionalism must be eliminated and discredited.

The question of training successors must be resolved because it has a bearing on the overall question of army building and a future war against aggression. The young cadres are worthy successors, provided we select the right candidates, do a good job of passing on experience, helping and guiding them, and give them better school education. We veteran comrades should take the long view on this problem, be active mainstays and select and train our successors carefully. Only when we have done this job well, will we be able to go meet Marx, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou with equanimity.

One important aspect in straightening out leading bodies is to rectify the style of work. Leaders at all levels must change their style of work, getting rid of any bureaucratism and going deeper into things. In every undertaking or piece of work, we must make in-depth investigation and study and solve problems in the light of the realities of our own units.

If the army wants to have an exemplary style of work, it must raise efficiency. Army units must work hard and lead simple lives and carry out their tasks with drive and sweep. [as received] Slackness, procrastination, discussion without decision and the shelving of decisions are impermissible. They must continue to stress observance of the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention. Orders must be obeyed in all actions. It is possible to win victory only when we march in step.

Straightening things out also involves the restoration of the functions, role and prestige of the political organs. We have often said that within three years or so the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and raised to the level attained in the days of the Red Army, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. To achieve this, we must discard the ways of Lin Biao and the gang of four and reassert Chairman Mao's theory on political work and our traditional style of work, carrying them forward under the new conditions. Before this conference I said again that the functions, role and prestige of the political organs must be restored and that the conference must at least achieve this.

Comrades attending the rear service work conference are also present here today. I would like to say that the logistics cadres, leading cadres in particular, should be exemplary, too. They must guard against sponging or, as the saying goes, against being "waterfront towers, the first to catch the moon". More important, they must have integrity and public spirit and become good managers, "Red" managers. They must strictly observe financial discipline and combat any violations of this discipline, any act of jobbery and back-door deals.

Here I want to emphasize that the exemplary role of leading cadres is very influential. The unhealthy tendency is very rampant now. Since the masses always have their eyes on the leading cadres, we must, at first, rectify the tendency among the leading cadres. Once they have corrected their behavior, the masses will follow suit.

Our Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai were exemplary by their deeds. Setting strict demands upon themselves, they worked hard and lived simply for decades. They personified our party's fine traditions and working style. What an immense and far-reaching influence their moving deeds have produced in the whole party, the whole army and among the people throughout the country! This influence not only extended over our generation but will extend over generations to come. Our cadres, veteran cadres in particular, should take Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou as their models and, through their deeds, do well at passing on experience and helping and guiding the young.

This all-army political work conference is a conference of unity and victory. All comrades present here have a bounden duty to see to it that the guidelines of this conference are fully arried out. What is more important, party committees and political commissars at all levels must strengthen their leadership and personally and energetically attend to the implementation of the decisions. I believe that with this conference the whole army's political work will surely improve and the fine traditions of our party and our army fostered by Chairman Mao will certainly be carried forward and reach new levels.

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HOLD ALOFT THE BANNER OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AND ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS (16 September 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 121-123

[Part of the Talk While Hearing Reports on Work by Members of the Standing Committee of the Jilin Provincial Party Committee.]

[Text] How to hold aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought is a large question. Today, both inside and outside the party and inside and outside the country, very many people favor holding aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. What does hold aloft mean? How to hold it aloft? Everyone knows of the discussion called "two whatevers." It is very well known, is it not? Whatever documents Comrade Mao Zedong read and approved may not be changed, and whatever Comrade Mao Zedong did or said may not be changed. Isn't this what is termed holding aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? No! If this continues, Mao Zedong Thought will be ruined. The basic point of Mao Zedong Thought is seeking truth from facts; it is an interlinking of universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong made the four letter motto, "Seek Truth From Facts" for the Central Party School in Yanan, and the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought in these four words. The reason for Comrade Mao Zedong's greatness, and his ability to lead the Chinese revolution to victory rested on this, in the final analysis. Neither Marx nor Lenin had spoken of the countryside surrounding the cities. In the world of that time, this principle still did not exist. However, on the basis of China's specific conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed the specific path for the revolution. During the time of separatist warlord regimes, and when enemies controlled weak areas, he led the people in the establishment of revolutionary bases, used the countryside to surround the cities, and finally seized power. Lenin's Bolshevik Party made revolution on a weak link in the imperialist world. We likewise made revolution in areas weakly controlled by the imperialists. In principle this was the same, however, we did not start in the cities but in rural villages, using the countryside to surround the cities. But for this fundamental idea derived from seeking truth from facts, would it have been possible to have posed and solved this problem? Would it have been possible to make the Chinese revolution succeed?

Following founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Zedong used the truth of seeking truth from facts to lead us in continuing to go forward. Of course, at that time, conditions were not ready for proposing many things. Our holding aloft of the banner of Mao Zedong Thought meant sticking to proceeding from realities at all times and when handling all manner of programs and policies. In our realization of the four modernizations today, many conditions exist that did not exist when Comrade Mao Zedong was alive. Were the Central Committee not to consider problems and make decisions on the basis of present conditions, many problems would not be raised or solutions reached. For example, when Comrade Mao Zedong was alive, we also considered expanding economic and technical exchanges between China and foreign countries, including the development of economic and trade relationships with some capitalist countries, or even bringing in foreign investment, joint investment, etc. But conditions did not exist at that time; others blockaded us. Later on the "gang of four" made accusations of "worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreign powers," and of "national betrayal," cutting us off from the world. In his strategic thinking about the division of the world into three parts, Comrade Mao Zedong opened an avenue for us. While maintaining opposition to imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, and racism, support for world peace and the five principles of peaceful coexistence, we actively develop relations and economic and cultural intercourse with the nations of the world. As a result of several years of effort, today's situation exists in which international conditions are much better than formerly, allowing us to be able to absorb advanced international technology and administrative and managerial experiences, and to absorb their funds. Such conditions did not exist when Comrade Mao Zedong was alive. Foreigners could also cheat us or take advantage of our backwardness. For example, they might raise prices on a set of equipment or fob off inferior goods as being first rate. However, overall, we have good conditions such as we did not have in the past. Were we unable to do anything except what Comrade Mao Zedong had said, we would be unable to make this decision now. On such issues, what does holding aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought mean? It means proceeding from present realities and using all advantageous conditions to realize the goal of the four modernizations that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed, and that Comrade Zhou Enlai propagandized. Were we able to do only what Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of, what would we do now? Marxism must develop! Mao Zedong Thought must develop too! Otherwise it will become ossified!

The so-called testing of theories through practice is also just such an issue. In not wanting to debate such issues today, one can see the ossification of thinking. The fundamental question is not the question of which I spoke earlier. Acting contrary to the Mao Zedong Thought of seeking truth from facts, and acting contrary to the principles of dialectic materialism and historical materialism is in fact a reflection of idealism and metaphysics. The world changes every day. New things constantly appear and new problems constantly appear. There is no use in our closing the door, and there is no use in our not using our brains and staying mired in backwardness forever. In today's world we are reckoned a poor country, and even in the Third World, we belong to the relatively undeveloped part. Ours is a socialist country, and the fundamental manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system lies in being able to permit social production to develop at a speed greater

than in the old society, thereby gradually being able to satisfy the constantly increasing needs of the people's material and cultural life. In terms of an historical materialist view, results of correct political leadership will be manifested in the end in the development of social productivity and improvement in the material and cultural life of the people. If during a very long historical period the speed of development of productivity in socialist countries is slower than in capitalist countries, what superiority is there to talk about? We should think about just what have we done for the people? We are determined to hasten development of productivity on the basis of existing favorable conditions so that the people's material living standards will be better, and so that the people's cultural life and spiritual situation will be better.

What does holding aloft mean? This is the question we want to answer. The programs and policies that the Central Committee proposes today are a genuine holding aloft. To have made such a major decision, and genuine acceleration of the forward pace is the best holding aloft. Departure from this is to hold aloft formalism; it is a false holding aloft.

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THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD MAKE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REALIZATION OF FOUR MODERNIZATIONS (11 October 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 124-129

[Speech at the 9th national congress of Chinese trade unions. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China 12 Jul 83.]

[Text] Fellow comrades: The convening of the ninth national congress of Chinese trade unions is of vital significance for the development of our workers' movement as well as the acceleration of the four modernizations. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee and State Council, I express warm congratulations to the congress and extend cordial regards to the representatives and comrades attending the congress and to all the workers and comrades fighting on various fronts.

The line, policies, and tasks of the workers' movement stipulated by the sixth national labor congress (footnote 1) as well as the seventh and eighth national congress (footnote 2) of the trade unions are correct. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions as well as trade union organizations at various levels have carried out many useful works under the leadership of the party and have played an important role in the successful development of socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country. Under the leadership of the party and the help of the trade unions, a number of labor models and revolutionary backbones have emerged among the masses of workers and staff members of various nationalities, localities, and industrial departments throughout the country, and to this day they are still the examples of our emulation and the core of our unity.

However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused trade union work to come to a complete standstill in recent years. They fostered a group of bad people, controlled a part of the workers' organizations, and turned them into their tools for usurping party and state power. They instigated factionalism and armed struggle among the workers; stopped work and production; opposed the revolutionary cadres, labor models, and trade union activists of various factories, mines and enterprises; and also savagely persecuted and ruined them. They created a state of anarchy in various enterprises as well as in the whole of industry and the whole national economy, and opposed socialist planned economy. They opposed the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, opposed all rational rules and regulations, and sabotaged labor discipline. All these counterrevolutionary crimes of theirs had very serious consequences and, at the same time, also evoked great revolutionary indignation among the working class of the whole country. Large numbers of advanced elements throughout the country were not afraid of their reign of white terror and waged a courageous and unyielding struggle against them. The practice of the struggle has proved that our working class is indeed a tried and steadfast revolutionary leading class.

In the 2 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," the situation of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and bringing order out of chaos has become better and better under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. Obviously, a great deal of effort must still be made to eliminate the pernicious influence as well as disastrous results spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" among the contingent of workers, and the work of reorganizing the contingent must still be fully implemented in every enterprise. We must carry through to the end the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." However, it is also very obvious that this struggle has already scored a decisive victory throughout the country, and we are already able to begin a new fighting task on the basis of this victory.

The 11th CPC National Congress (footnote 3) and the 5th NPC have already put forward to the people of the whole country the grand goal of the realization of the four socialist modernizations by the end of this century. At present, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council are calling for accelerating the tempo of achieving the four modernizations and, for this reason, they are putting forward a series of policies as well as organizational measures. The Central Committee has pointed out: This is a great revolution for basically changing the backward economic and technological features of our country and further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. As this revolution must, to a great extent, change the present backwardness of productive forces, it must also inevitably change the relations of production in many sectors, the superstructure, and the management form of industrial and agricultural enterprises as well as the management form of the state over industrial and agriculture enterprises, so that they will correspond with the needs of a modern, large-scale economy. For the sake of increasing the speed of economic development, we must greatly enhance the specialization of enterprises, greatly raise the technical level of all workers and staff members, and conscientiously carry out training and examination, greatly strengthen economic accounting, and greatly improve labor productivity, as well as the profit margin of funds. Therefore, all economic fronts must not only carry out major technological reform, but they must also carry out major system and organizational reforms. The carrying out of these reforms is in the long-term interest of people throughout the country. Otherwise, we will be unable to break away from the backward condition in present production technique and production management. The Central Committee believes that for the sake of socialist interests and the interests of the four modernizations, the working class throughout the country will certainly play a selfless exemplary vanguard role in these reforms and that all trade union organizations will certainly use the propaganda and organizational work of going among the masses, actively help various enterprises to smoothly carry out these reforms, and make new outstanding contributions for the cause of revolution and construction. One of the most important traits of the working class is its close ties with large-scale socialized production; therefore, its consciousness is the highest and its discipline is the strongest, and it can play a leading role in the economic progress as well as the social and political progress of the present era. We hope that the ninth national congress of the trade unions will conduct a thoroughgoing discussion of the present situation so as to unite all the members and, on the basis of the complete victory obtained in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," struggle to usher in this great task.

Trade unions must educate all their members to understand the great significance of achieving the four modernizations, and must strive to raise their own political, management, technological, and cultural level. The working class must give play to the glorious tradition of arduous struggle, selflessness, strict observance of discipline, submitting to transfer, and taking good care of the factory, unite as one, and overcome the vestiges of factionalism and anarchism stirred up by the "gang of four." The working class must make the greatest effort to master the knowledge of modern technology as well as modern management, and must make outstanding contributions for achieving the

four modernizations. Naturally, anyone who makes more contributions to the four modernizations will receive more honors and rewards from the state and society. For the sake of commending the advanced and celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council intend to hold next year a national conference of labor models from the industrial and communications, capital construction, forestry, financial, cultural and educational, and scientific and technological fronts. We hope that workers and staff members throughout the country will usher in with fine achievements this first magnificent conference of outstanding workers in the new Long March.

Our enterprises must carry out a factory director, or manager, responsibility system and set up a strong and effective production command system. Trade unions must educate all their members to uphold the highly centralized administrative leadership practiced by the enterprises, and uphold the high authority of the production command system. Only thus can we effectively overcome the phenomenon of nobody in charge that universally exists at present and can we organize production in a normal and orderly manner. Only thus can we keep on expanding reproduction and increasing profits and, at the same time, keep on improving the living standards of the workers and staff members and thereby really guarantee integrating the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual. Trade unions must educate all their members to actively take part in enterprise management. For the sake of achieving the four modernizations, all our enterprises, without exception, must practice democratic management so that centralized leadership will be integrated with democratic management. Henceforth, workshop directors, section chiefs, and team and group leaders must be elected by the workers of the workshops, shifts, teams, and groups. Major issues of the enterprise must be submitted to the workers' congress or the workers and staff members meeting for discussion. The leading cadres of the enterprise must listen to the views of the workers and staff members at the meeting and accept their criticism and supervision. As for certain leading members and administrative personnel who seriously neglect their duties or whose work style is poor, the meeting has the right to recommend to the higher level that they be punished or dismissed. The trade unions of various enterprises will become the working organ of the workers congress as well as the workers and staff members meeting. Therefore, the trade union will no longer be the kind of unessential organization it is considered to be by some people. The quality of trade union work has a bearing on how the rights of the workers to run their own affairs are exercised and also on the quality of enterprise management and on whether or not centralized leadership can be smoothly carried out. This means that the proper management of an enterprise is not only the achievement of the party and government cadres of the enterprise, but is also the achievement of all the workers and masses of the enterprise and the achievement of trade union work.

Trade unions must strive to protect the welfare of the workers. Our country is still very backward, and we cannot greatly increase the welfare of the workers in a short time. It can only be increased step by step on the basis of production growth, particularly labor productivity growth. Under the present condition, there is still a great deal of work the leading members of enterprises should do in this respect, and there is even more work the trade union organizations should do. Trade union organizations must, if possible, supervise and help enterprise administration and local administration, strive to improve the working, living, dietetic, and sanitary conditions of the workers, and, at the same time, actively develop various forms of mutual aid activity among the workers.

To make a success of any of the above work, trade union organizations must establish close ties with the masses and must make the broad masses of workers feel that the trade union is indeed their own organization, an organization they can trust and which can speak and act for them, and an organization that will not lie to them, take membership dues but act in an overbearing bureaucratic manner, or work for the interests of a

handful of people. Trade unions must fight for the democratic rights of the workers, oppose all forms of bureaucracy, and must themselves be models of democracy. Trade unions must teach the workers arduous struggle, selflessness, strict observance of discipline, submitting to transfer, and taking good care of the factory, and trade union cadres must set themselves up as models in these directions. Only by so doing will they enjoy high prestige among the workers and people and can they make important contributions to the four modernizations. In all localities where the exposing and criticizing movement has been more thoroughly carried out, our party, administration, and CYL have the responsibility to produce outstanding results in their work, and our trade unions also have the responsibility to produce outstanding results in their work.

Two years have passed since the smashing of the "gang of four," and we cannot always attribute the problems in work to the pernicious influence of the "gang of four." If the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is never eliminated, then we outselves are also responsible for this condition. As long as all of us set a strict demand on our work, the cause of our party and state will certainly prosper and flourish and we will certainly be able to quickly realize the lofty ideal of the four modernizations.

Fellow comrades! In the building of our country, our working class must, at the same time, always keep in mind the proletariat, the oppressed people, and the oppressed nations of the whole world. We must further strengthen unity with the working class and the revolutionary people of the whole world, support their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, as well as their struggle to strive for and safeguard national independence and social progress, and make due contributions to the emancipation of the working class of the whole world and to the cause of human progress. Our working class must also modestly learn from the fighting experience of the working class of various countries and learn their advanced science and technology in order to accelerate the four modernizations of our country.

Fellow comrades! Our cause is incomparably magnificent and our future is incomparably bright. Let us hold high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, march forward dauntlessly with one heart and one mind under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, exert ourselves in the struggle to fulfill the great new historical mission of the Chinese working class, and build China into a great modern and strong socialist country within this century!

Footnotes:

1. The sixth national labor congress was held in Harbin from 1 to 22 August 1948. The congress called on the working class of the whole country to closely unite with the people of the whole country, actively support the PLA, and quickly accomplish the historical task of overthrowing the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and founding New China. The congress approved the "Resolution on the Present Tasks of the Chinese Workers' Movement" and also decided to restore the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the unified national organization of the Chinese working class. The five previous national labor congresses were held successively in 1922, 1925, 1927, and 1929. On 30 April 1953, the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions decided to change the name of the "Seventh National Labor Congress of China" to be the "Seventh National Trade Union Congress of China."

2. The seventh national trade union congress was held in Beijing from 2 to 11 May 1953. This congress summed up the experiences of trade union work of the whole country since the sixth national labor congress and the period of national economic recovery since the founding of the PRC in particular, and determined that the tasks for the trade unions in the period of planned economic construction are uniting with the people of the whole country, actively fulfilling the plan of national economic construction, and struggling to achieve step by step the industrialization of the country and the transition to socialist society. The eighth national trade union congress was held in Beijing from 2 to 12 December 1957. In accordance with the spirit of the Eighth CPC National Congress, this congress summed up the experiences and lessons since the seventh national trade union congress and determined that the tasks of the Chinese working class and trade unions are uniting with the people of the whole country, practicing industry and thrift, and working hard to achieve the Second 5-Year Plan for developing the national economy and to build China into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.

3. The 11th CPC National Congress was held in Beijing from 12 to 18 August 1977. This congress played a positive role in exposing and criticizing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and arousing the whole party to build a strong and modern socialist country. Because of the limitation of historical conditions at that time and the influence of Hua Goufeng's mistakes, the political report of this congress still affirmed the erroneous principles, policies, and slogans of the "Great Cultural Revolution," therefore also playing a passive obstructive role in bringing order out of chaos.

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EMANCIPATE THE MIND, SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS, UNITE AS ONE AND LOOK AHEAD
(13 December 1978)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
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[Text] Comrades: This meeting has lasted for more than 1 month and is going to close. In putting forth the fundamental guideline of shifting the focal point of the party's work to the four modernizations, the CPC central authorities have solved a series of important issues left over from the past, and thus have raised the morale and the confidence of and strengthened the unity between the whole party, the whole Army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Now we can confidently say that, under the correct leadership of the CPC central authorities, the whole party, the whole Army, and the Chinese people of all nationalities are bound to constantly win new victories in the new Long March.

This meeting is very successful and is of great significance to the history of our party. For many years our party has not witnessed such a successful meeting as this, which, as a lively one, has restored and carried forward again the party's democratic tradition. We should popularize such a practice in the whole party, the whole army, and among the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

This meeting has discussed and solved many important problems vital to the destiny of the party and the country. Everybody has emancipated their mind and spoken out freely what he or she thought was true. All participants have actively waged criticism, including criticim on the work of the CPC central authorities, and have frankly expressed their opinions. Some comrades have also made self-criticisms to a different extent. All this is great progress in our inner party life and will give a vigorous push to the cause of the party and the people.

Today, I will mainly concentrate on one problem, that is, how to emancipate the mind, use our brains, seek truth from facts, unite as one, and look ahead.

1. EMANICIPATION OF THE MIND IS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR THE TIME BEING

Emancipation of the mind is put in the first place in the slogan -- "emancipate the mind, use our brains, seek truth from facts, unite as one, and look ahead." Only by emancipating the mind can we correctly solve those issues left over by the past as well as a

series of newly emerging problems under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, correctly reform the production relations and the superstructure which do not conform to the rapidly growing production forces, and, according to the actual situation in our country, define the specific line, principles, methods, and measures for realizing the four modernizations.

The problem of emancipation of the mind has not been completely solved among our cadres, in particular leading cadres. Failing to emancipate their minds, quite a lot of our comrades remain rather stubborn and refuse to use their brains, in other words, they keep their thinking ossified or semiossified. This is not because they are not good comrades. In fact, this is the result of certain historical conditions.

The first reason is, in the last decade, by setting up lots of forbidden zones, imposing many prohibitions, and promoting superstition, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" shackled people's thinking with their bogus Marxism. If anyone dared lodge any objection, they would be labeled and bludgeoned. Under such circumstances, some people were forced to let their brains become idle and ignored the problems with which they were faced.

Second, as democratic centralism was destroyed, bureaucratic practice, which was characterized by the overcentralization of power, really existed in the party. This bureaucraticism always showed itself in the form of "the party's leadership," "the party's directives," "the party's interests," and "the party's discipline." These were exactly real control, restriction, and suppression. A couple of people usually monopolized the power to make the decision on many issues of great importance, and the others had to follow their orders. Consequently, everybody did not have to think about the issues.

Third, there was no clear definition of right and wrong, merits and faults, and no definite criteria for meting out rewards and punishments. Those who worked hard and those who remained idle were treated equally. Furthermore, some people who had made contributions were even criticized, while those who had done nothing and always tried to evade issues managed to keep their positions like a "roly-poly" [a toy that returns to an erect position when touched]. Under such an unwritten law, people naturally did not want to use their brains.

Fourth, the force of habit of small-scale production still had an influence on the people. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of this habit is that those under its influence always stick to old ways, are content with things as they are, never seek development and progress, and always deny new things.

As people kept their thinking ossified and failed to emancipate their mands, a lot of abnormal phenomena emerged.

Many restrictions and conventions were laid down as a result of the ossification of thinking. For example, under the name of strengthening the party's leadership, the party monopolized and intervened in everything; as a result of the unified leadership, the division of labor between the party and the government was just ignored, and the party superseded the government; and, under the pretext of upholding the unified leadership of the central authorities, "all people were required to take the same approach in handling things." To be sure, those "local policies" which go against the basic principle laid down by the central authorities must be opposed. However, some "local policies" were indeed formulated based on the actual situation and were supported by the masses. Nowadays, these correct policies are always criticized because they "do not conform to the unified approach."

More and more people drifted with the tide as a result of the ossification of thinking. Ignoring the party character and principles, they spoke and acted according to their speculation about the "current" and the trend as they thought that they would not make a mistake by handling things in this way. In fact, the act of drifting with the tide is in itself a serious mistake going against the party character which a Communist Party member should adhere to. In thinking independently, speaking freely, and taking actions courageously, one may of course sometimes make mistakes. Anyway, these mistakes can easily be discovered and corrected.

The practice of book worship, which deviates from the actual reality, became more and more serious as a result of the ossification of thinking. People dared not speak and do what was not prescribed in the books, in documents, and in the speeches of leaders. Everything was duplicated and carried out accordingly. So, they opposed their responsibility to the superior with their responsibility to the people.

The four modernizations will be hopeless if we refuse to break with this ossification of thinking and fail to thoroughly emancipate the minds of our cadres and the masses.

The current discussion on the concept of practice being the sole criterion for justifying truth is in fact a debate on the necessity of emanicipation of the mind. All of us realize that this debate is very necessary and significant. In light of the progress of the debate, its importance seems more and more obvious. A party, a state, or a nation can never make progress and will terminate its own life if it considers everything on the basis of books, keeps its thinking ossified, and promotes superstition. A party will even vanish and a state will come to an end. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized this in the rectification movement. Only by emancipating our minds, upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, considering everything from actual conditions, and applying theory to practice, can we smoothly carry out the socialist modernization. In this sense, the debate on the concept of criterion for truth is indeed a problem concerning the ideological line, a political problem, and a problem having an important bearing on the future and the destiny of the party and the state.

Seeking truth from facts is the basis of the proletariat's world outlood as well as the ideological basis of Marxism. It is because we adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts that we won all victories in the revolution in the past. Similarly, in striving for the four modernizations today, we still have to adhere to this principle. The party's central authorities, a provincial CPC committee, a prefectural CPC committee, a county CPC committee, or a commune CPC committee, and even a plant, an organization, a school, a shop, or a production brigade, must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, emancipate the mind, and use their brains to ponder problems and handle things.

The more people there are in our party and among the masses who can use their brains to ponder problems, the more advantageous it will be to our cause. Both revolution and construction need some pioneers who are courageous to ponder and probe into things and to make new paths. Without these pathmakers, we will not be able to get rid of poverty and backwardness, and we will not be able to catch up with and still less to surpass the international advanced level. We hope that party committees at all levels and all party branches will encourage our party members and the masses to be courageous in pondering problems, probing into things, and making new paths, and will push the masses to emancipate their minds and use their brains in their work.

2. DEMOCRACY IS AN IMPORTANT CONDITION FOR EMANICIPATION OF THE MIND

One of the essential conditions for enabling the people to emancipate their minds and to use their brains is the real implementation of proletarian democratic centralism. We need a centralized and unified leadership. However, the correct centralism can only be achieved by providing a full democracy.

In the present period, democracy should be particularly emphasized. This is because democratic centralism has not been implemented in earnest for a rather long period in the past. Emphasizing centralism without promoting democracy led to a lack of democracy. At present, only a small number of progressives dare come out to speak their minds. We have quite a few progressives participating in this meeting. But, considering the scope of the whole party and the whole country, we find that many people still dare not speak so freely as those progressives do. People dare not frankly express their valuable opinions and boldly oppose those evil people and evil things. As long as this situation remains unchanged, how can we ask people to emancipate their minds and use their brains? And how can we realize the four modernizations?

In order to create the conditions for democracy, we must reiterate the principle of "three nots:" not to capitalize on another's vulnerable point, not to put labels on others, and not to bludgeon others. In the political life within the party and among the people, we can only handle things by democratic means and not repressive and attacking measures. Citizen's rights, party members' rights, and the authorities of party committees, which are stipulated in the state Constitution and the party Constitution, must be absolutely guaranteed. Nobody is allowed to violate these rights.

A few days ago, the case of the Tiananmen incident was redressed. (In 1975, supported by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping took over the work of the party's central authorities, and began to rectify the work in various fields. As a result of his efforts, the domestic situation was greatly improved. However, Mao Zedong could not tolerate Deng Xiaoping's operation of systematically rectifying the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." At the end of that year, Mao Zedong launched the so-called movement of "criticizing Deng and striking back at the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts." Zhou Enlai passed away in January 1976. Around the Qingming festival (4 April), in Beijing and in many other cities there broke out the mass movement in memory of the late Zhou Enlai, opposing the "gang of four," and disagreeing with the criticism against Deng Xiaoping. The "gang of four" made every effort to suppress the revolutionary activities of the masses. On 5 April, the broad masses of people took actions to protest against the suppression at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. At that time, the Political Bureau and Mao Zedong made a wrong judgment on the incident happening in Tiananmen Square, stating that the incident was a counterrevolutionary event, and dismissing Deng Xiaoping from all his posts both inside and outside the party. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the broad masses of people inside and outside the party strongly called for the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the Tiananmen incident.) The people of all nationalities throughout the country are elated. This decision has vigorously provoked the initiative of the broad masses of people in building socialism. We should allow the masses to express their opinions. Although some individuals who feel discontented try to make use of democracy to make trouble, there is nothing to be afraid of. We must handle things properly and we must trust in the ability of the majority of the masses in judging between right and wrong. The most dreadful thing for a revolutionary political party is not to hear even the least voice of the people. Now, there are a lot of rumors circulating inside and outside the party, some of them are true and some untrue. This is a punishment for the long-standing lack of political democracy. By creating a lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unified will and ease of mind of the individual, it will be possible to reduce rumors and it will be relatively easier to overcome anarchism. We believe that our people will have the cardinal principles in mind, take the overall situation into account, and will observe discipline. Our leading cadres at all levels, especially high-ranking cadres, must also strictly observe the party's discipline, keep secrets for the party, and must not engage in those activities of fabricating rumors, handwritten copies, and so on.

Of course, of those opinions of the masses of people, some are correct and some are wrong. And all of these opinions have to undergo analysis. The party's leadership must be adept at soliciting the correct opinions of the masses of people and give a proper response to the incorrect ones. With regard to ideological problems, we should never use suppressive methods but really implement the "double hundred" policy. Some people always insist on ferreting out the so-called "political background," finding out the source of the so-called "political background," finding out the source of the "political rumors," keeping a record of and retaliating against the persons concerned, as soon as they hear any criticism among the masses, in particular some relatively acute criticism. Such abominable behavior must resolutely be curbed.

Comrade Mao Zedong always said: Such behavior is in fact an expression of weakness and neurasthenia. Anyway, our leading cadres at all levels must not create confrontation between them and the masses. This is a principle which must be upheld. By the way, there are still a small bunch of counterrevolutionaries in our country, and, of course, we cannot lower our guard against them.

I want to shift my focal point to the problem concerning bringing economic democracy into full play. At present, as the power of the economic administrative system of our country is overcentralized, bold and planned actions should be taken to have the power transferred to lower levels. Otherwise, the situation will be unfavorable to giving full play to the initiative of the state, the locality, the enterprise, and the individual laborer, to the adoption of a modern economic administration, and to the improvement of labor productivity. A higher degree of decisionmaking power in business management should be granted to localities, enterprises, and production teams. Our country has many provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, of which a medium-sized province is equivalent to a large European country. It is necessary to grant a higher degree of decisionmaking power to them in the fields of planned economy, finance, foreign trade, and so on, on the premise of unified understanding, unified policy, unified planning, unified command, and unified action.

At present, the most urgent task is to expand the decisionmaking power of industrial and mining enterprises and production teams and enable every plant and every production team to bring their initiative and creativity into full play by every means. With decisionmaking power granted to a production team, commune members and cadres will take good care of production by themesleves, use their brains, and take every measure to see that every small plot of land is used to grow crops and every small area of water is used for fish farming. If hundreds of thousands of enterprises and millions of production teams throughout the country can use their brains, just imagine how much we will increase our wealth! As the wealth of the state is increased, the income of the individual should also increase, and collective welfare should improve as well. It is all right for a small number of progressives to forget about the principle of more remuneration for more work and to ignore material benefits. However, this will not work for the broad masses of people. This may work temporarily, but this will not be effective from a long-term point of view. Revolutionary spirit is very valuable. Without revolutionary spirit there will be no revolutionary action. However, the occurrence of revolution is based on material interests. If we only stress the spirit of sacrifice and ignore material interests, we will become idealists.

For the same reason, we must conscientiously guarantee the democratic rights of individual workers and peasants, including the right for democratic election, democratic administration, and democratic supervision. We should not only make every workshop head and every production team leader, but also every worker and every peasant, take the responsibility for production and use their brains to find out methods to promote production.

In order to ensure the democratic rights of the people, we must strengthen the legal system. We must turn the democratic system into an institution and fix it by law, ensuring that this institution and law will not change because the leaders change or because their viewpoints and focal points change. The present problem is that our laws are very incomplete and many laws still have not yet been formulated. As a usual practice we take the words of the leaders as "law." Those who disagree with what the leaders say are regarded as "violating the law." And the "law" will change as soon as the leaders change their minds. Therefore, we should concentrate our efforts on formulating criminal law, civil law, procedural law, and other necessary laws, such as factory law, people's commune law, forest law, grassland law, environmental protection law, labor law, law concerning foreign investment, and so on.

These laws should be adopted through democratic procedure after discussion. Moreover, we must strengthen our procuratorial organs and judicial organs so as to make sure that everything is done according to the law, all laws are strictly observed and executed, and all who violate the law are subject to prosecution. The relations between the state and the enterprise, between enterprises, between the enterprise and the individual, and so on must also be fixed in the form of a law. And quite a lot of the contradictions between them should also be settled according to the law. Now the work load on the legislative front is considerable, and our manpower reserve is quite limited. Therefore, in the very beginning, relatively rough articles of laws are acceptable, and they can be perfected step by step. Some ordinances and acts can be formulated on a trial basis in some places. And the laws which are to be applied throughout the nation can be formulated later based on a summary of local experiences. Laws are subject to modification and supplement. We should amend in good time any single article as soon as the conditions for amendment are ripe, and should not delay the amendment of single articles until the revision of the "whole set of laws." By and large, with laws the situation will be better than without laws. And also, the situation will be better if we can formulate laws soon. Besides, we must also strengthen our study of international law.

A state must have its constitution, and a party must have its rules and regulations. The party constitution is the most fundamental rules and regulations of the party. Without the rules and regulations of the party, it is hard to ensure the implementation of the state constitution. The task of the discipline inspection commissions and organizational departments at all levels is not only to handle different cases but also to safeguard the rules and regulations of the party, and to conscientiously improve our party style. All those who violate party discipline, no matter who they are, are subject to disciplinary action. We must be strict and fair in meting our rewards and punishments so as to promote healthy tendencies and combat unhealthy ones.

3. WE SHOULD ADOPT A FORWARD-LOOKING ATTITUDE TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS LEFT OVER FROM THE PAST

At this meeting, we have solved some problems left over from the past and distinguished some people's contribution and mistakes, and redressed a number of important false charges, wrong sentences, and frame-ups. It is necessary to do so in order to emancipate minds and further promote stability and unity. Our purpose in so doing is to look forward and smoothly shift the work focus of the entire party.

Our principle is that "we should correct mistakes wherever there are any." The mistakes we committed in the past should all be corrected. Some problems cannot be solved all at once and we will continue to solve them after the meeting. But we should do our best to solve them expeditiously and in a practical way. We should avoid doing things

sloppily. We should do well in solving problems left over from the past. It is no good if we fail to solve these problems. It is no good for those comrades who committed mistakes if they fail to make self-criticism. It is no good if we fail to solve their problems properly. However, it is impossible to solve these problems completely and satisfactorily. We should keep the general goal in sight and we should be allowed to neglect some unimportant points. It is impossible and unnecessary for us to clarify all details.

Stability and unity are extremely important. To strengthen the unity of the people of various nationalities throughout the country, we should first strengthen the unity of the entire party, the leading core of the party in particular. The unity of our party is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We should thrash out the rights or wrongs of the theories and line within the party, carry out criticism and self-criticism, help and supervise one another, and overcome various erroneous ideology.

With regard to those comrades who committed mistakes, we should help them so that they will be able to sum up experience and realize and correct their mistakes. We should give them time so that they can review things they did in the past. As long as they have a clear understanding of the rights and wrongs of the matters and are willing to make self-criticism, we should welcome them. We should be very careful to handle the matters of individuals. With regard to the past mistakes which can be solved in both lenient and severe ways, we should adopt the lenient manner. We should severely handle matters which will happen in the future. We should handle the mistakes of rank-and-file party members more leniently. However, we should severely handle the mistakes committed by leading cadres and senior leading cadres in particular.

In the fruture, we should strictly select and promote cadres. We should not put those people in important positions who indulged in beating, smashing, and looting, were severely influenced by factionalism, and disregarded the vital interests of the party. We should not trust those who trimmed their sails, sought supporters in high places, and disregarded the party's principle. We should be on guard against them, educate them, and urge them to reform their world outlook.

At present, the whole world is paying very close attention to our assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong and the "Great Cultural Revolution." During the protracted revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong a made great contribution. His meritorious deeds should never be obliterated. Reviewing the history following the failure of the 1927 revolution, we realize that without Comrade Mao Zedong's wise and outstanding leadership, it might have been impossible for to us win victory in our revolution. People of various nationalities in China might still be under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and our party still fighting in the dark. It is no exaggeration to say that without Chairman Mao, there would not be a New China. Mao Zedong Thought has nourished people of the entire generation. Our comrades present at this meeting were taught by Mao Zedong Thought. Without Mao Zedong Thought, there would be no CPC today. It is no exaggeration to say so. Mao Zedong Thought is always the most precious spiritual wealth of the entire party, Army, and people of various nationalities of the whole country. We should completely and accurately understand and master the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought and develop it under the new historical conditions. Of course, this does not mean that Comrade Mao Zedong was immune from any shortcomings and mistakes. If we make an excessive demand that a revolutionary leader should be immune fom any shortcomings and mistakes, we are not Marxists. We should lead and educate all party members, officers, and men of the entire Army and people of various nationalities throughout the country to scientifically and historically understand the great meritorious deeds of Comrade Mao Zedong.

With regard to the "Great Cultural Revolution" we should assess it from a scientific and historical point of view. Comrade Mao Zedong's purpose in launching such a revolution was to oppose and prevent revisionism. It is necessary to sum up as a lesson at an appropriate time the shortcomings and mistakes which occurred in the actual process of the revolution. It is beneficial to unifying the understanding of the whole party. The "Great Cultural Revolution" has become a stage in the historical development of our country's socialism. The experience of the revolution should be summed up, but it is unnecessary for us to do so in haste. To make a scientific assessment of such a historical stage, we should conscientiously do some research work. In order to fully understand and assess some matters, we need more time. We will be able to do better in assessing such a historical period in days to come than if we do it now.

4. STUDY NEW SITUATION AND SOLVE NEW PROBLEMS

To adopt a forward-looking attitude, we should study the new situation and solve new problems. Otherwise, we will not be able to advance smoothly. New situations in all fields should be studied and new problems in all aspects should be solved. In particular, we should pay attention to studying and solving the three problems occurring in management methods and management system of economic policy.

With regard to management methods, at present we should pay special attention to overcoming bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is a product of petty producers and is incompatible with socialized mass production. To carry out the four modernizations, we should shift social economy to the technical basis of mass production. To do so, we should eradicate the disaster of bureaucracy. At present, our economic management work is characterized by overstaffing administration, overlapping administrative structure, complicated formalities, and low efficiency. Empty political talk is now prevalent. We should not blame any comrades for this. The problem lies in the fact that we did not carry our expeditious reforms in the past. If we do not begin the reforms now, our modernization and socialist cause will be ruined.

We should learn to use economic methods to administer our economy. If we know nothing about it, we should learn from our experts and learn advanced management methods from foreign countries. We should adopt advanced methods to run those newly imported enterprises and reform the old enterprises. When a comprehensive plan suitable for the whole nation has not been formulated, a locality, an area and a trade can start the work of adopting new management methods and their experience should be gradually popularized. Various central departments should allow and encourage them to carry out such experiments at selected points. Various contradictions might occur in the process of experiments, and we should promptly discover and solve these contradictions. Only thus can we make faster progress.

In the future, when the problem of the political line has been solved, whether a CPC committee of an economic department is good and effective in exercising its leadership should be determined by the success of the application of the advanced management methods, technical reforms, labor productivity, and profits of the economic department concerned and the increase of the personal incomes and improvement of the collective well-being of the laborers. CPC committees on all fronts should use such criterion to assess their work. This is the main politics in the future. If they separate themselves from these main contents, their politics will become mere empty talk. This means they depart from the greatest interests of the party and the people.

With regard to the management system, at present we should pay special attention to the responsibility system.

Now, in enterprises and organizations of various localities, as well as various organizations of the party and state, nobody is bearing the main responsibility even for matters of primary importance. The so-called collective responsibility actually means that nobody is holding the main responsibility. After certain work has been assigned to a certian unit, nobody cares whether the work has been done and effectively completed. Therefore, we urgently need the establishment of a strict responsibility system. Lenin said: "Irresponsibility on the pretext of collective responsibility is the most dangerous disaster." He added: "We should do our best to expeditiously eradicate such disaster at whatever cost." (Lenin: "Let us Fight Against (Tennegin)!" in "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 24, 1972, published by the People's Publishing House).

To assign a task and fulfill a construction project, we should fix the quotas, number of workers, quantity, quality, period of completion, and other subjects. For example, when we intend to import certain technical facilities, we should formulate specific plans covering the items concerned, country of origin, the locations for installing the facilities, and persons involved in the projects. While deciding a project, we should fix certain specific items. The enterprises concerned should also make certain fixed quotas. At present, it is only the planning commission and the CPC committee concerned which hold the responsibility. But the present methods cannot completely solve our problem. Specific persons should also have responsibility. The specific collective and individuals should also be awarded. While implementing the responsibility system of factory directors under the leadership of the CPC committee, we should truly define the duties incumbent on each person or post.

To truly bring the role of the responsibility system into play, it is necessary for us to adopt the following measures:

1. We should expand the power of management personnel. Placing the responsibility on a certain person means confering power on him. Factory directors, engineers, technicians, and accountants have their own respective responsibility and power which should not be encroached upon by some other people. If we only place responsibility on them without conferring power on them, our responsibility system will come to nothing.

2. We should be good at selecting and using personnel. Their duties and power should be based on their ability. We should also be good at discovering and training experts and assigning them to important positions. We should enhance political status and improve pay and remuneration for various kinds of experts. What is our political criterion for using persons? Working for the benefits of the people and making active contributions to the socialist cause is our main political criterion.

3. We should adopt strict measures to check and assess the proficiency of the units and individuals concerned. We should be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishment. All enterprises, schools, research units, and organs should check and assess their work. They should confer titles of academic and technical posts and other honorable titles. Rewards and punishments should be meted out in accordance with the results of work and efficiency. This principle is also applicable to the promotion and demotion of the persons concerned. In addition, awards and punishments as well as promotion and demotion should be linked with material interests.

In a word, through strengthening the responsibility system and severely and fairly meting out awards and punishments, we will form an atmosphere on all fronts where people vie with one another to strive to be advanced members and arouse themselves to make progress.

According to our economic policy, we should allow some areas, enterprises, and workers and peasants to increase their incomes and improve their livelihood earlier than others through their hard work and their greater success. The fact that some people improve their livelihood first will play a good exemplary role and influence other people

around them. They will bring along other areas and units so that they learn from the advanced. In so doing, the entire national economy will progress in a series of waves and people of various nationalities throughout the country will get rich faster.

Of course, in the northwest, southwest, and some other regions, the masses still have difficulties in their production and are leading a hard life. The state should help them in various respects. In particular, the state should give them powerful material help.

This is a great policy, a policy which will affect and bring along the entire national economy. I suggest that comrades concerned conscientiously consider and study it.

In the process of realizing the four modernizations, we will encounter a number of new situations and problems with which we are not familiar and never expect to occur. In particular, while carrying out reform in production relations and the realm of the superstructure, we cannot expect that everything will go smoothly. The reforms will involve many things and affect the immediate interests of a number of people. Various complicated situations and problems will inevitably occur and we will encounter one obstruction after another. For example, the reorganization of enterprises will involve the appointment and removal of some persons. When the state organs are carrying out their structural reform, a fairly great number of persons will be asked to do other work. Some people might have complaints about this. All these problems will occur soon. We should have sufficient ideological preparations to deal with this. We should educate our party members and the masses so that they take the interests of the whole and the interests of the party and state into consideration. We should be fully confident in our work. As long as we trust the masses, take the mass line, and explain the situation and problems to the masses, all problems can be solved and all obstructions can be removed. With the development of our economy, we will advance in bigger strides and each person will have his role to play. There is no doubt about this.

To realize the four modernizations is a profound and great revolution. In this great revolution we will continuously advance in the process of overcoming one new contradiction after another. Therefore, comrades of the whole party should be good at study and restudy

On the eve of the nationwide victory, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to restudy. At that time, we studied fairly well. After entering cities, we promptly revived the economy and successfully completed socialist transformation. In these few years, we should admit that we did not study well. We exerted our main efforts in a political movement. We have not mastered skills for construction well, our construction lagged behind, and we suffered severe political setbacks. Now we do not know much about modernization. Therefore, the whole party should restudy.

What should we study? Basically, we should study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We should make efforts to integrate the general truth of Marxism with the specific practice of the four modernizations in our country. At present most cadres should mainly study three subjects: economics, sciences and technology, and management. Only by studying well can we lead the high-speed and high-level socialist modernization. We should learn in practice and from the books. We should also learn from the experiences of ourselves and other people. We should overcome conservatism and book worship. Several hundred members of the CPC Central Committee and several thousand senior cadres in the central and local departments should take the lead in assiduously studying knowledge for modernization and economic construction.

As long as we unite as one, work with one heart and mind, emancipate our minds, and use our brain to learn things which we did not know in the past, we will certainly be able to speed up the new Long March. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, let us forge ahead courageously to change the backwardness of our country and build our country into a modernized socialist power!

ADHERE TO THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES (30 March 1979)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 144-170

[Speech at a Conference on the Party's Theoretical Work]

[Text] Comrades:

The party conference for discussion of ideological guidelines for theoretical work has been underway for some time. As the conference is about to come to a close, I have been asked by the Party Central Committee to speak about several ideas to everyone.

1. The Situation and Tasks

This conference was held following decision by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Both the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Central Work Conference before the plenary session affirmed the huge amount of work that the Party Central Committee has done since smashing the "gang of four." They acknowledged that the mass movement for exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has been victoriously concluded throughout the country as a whole, and they decided that the emphasis of the work of the whole party from today forward should shift to the building of socialist modernization. The Third Plenary Session solved a series of major problems left over by history for the purpose of unifying the whole party, the whole armed forces and all races of people throughout the whole country to advance toward magnificent objective of the four modernizations. These two conferences are of major significance for the party historically. At this conference for discussion of ideological guidelines for theoretical work, which follows in the wake of the Third Plenary Session, everyone spoke what was on his mind and aired views, putting forward numerous problems meriting attention and requiring study. It was very successful overall. I said at the Central Work Conference that we should emancipate thinking, use our brains, seek truth through facts, and unite as one to look ahead. Today it is still necessary to carry this program unswervingly into effect. It is important to proceed from realities, to link closely the present situation and tasks, and to further publicize and implement this program.

A full and comprehensive assessment must be made of the situation since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenary Session. In the 2½ years since smashing of the "gang of four," we have substantially eradicated the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political power, and readjusted and strengthened leading bodies; leadership of the party, government, and armed forces is substantially held in the hands of cadres in whom the people can have trust. Party, government, and armed forces work has likewise substantially returned to normal. This is an extraordinarily important and not easily obtained achievement. We have already freed ourselves from the 10 years of turmoil created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and obtained a stable and unified political situation. This is an indispensable requirement and assurance for our building of socialist modernization. Each one of us in attendance here, members of our whole party, and particularly party members with leadership responsibilities, should make extremely sure to cherish and support this political situation. Stability and unity are based on principles, of course. As a result of the exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and particularly as a result of last winter's discussions by the Central Work Conference and the Third Plenary Session of questions of ideological theory, one can say that we have substantially returned to the correct path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and we will forever follow this path to move ahead. The state of the national economy has taken a turn for the better, and production in all sectors has revived rapidly. The foregoing political and economic situations make it possible for the whole party to shift the work emphasis to the building of socialist modernization this year. This is historically a great turn for our country. Though we have carried out the building of socialism for many years in the past, we still have sufficient reason to say that this is the beginning of a new stage of historical development. Development of the situation for more than 3 months fully attests to the correctness of the programs of the Third Plenary Session, and they have been resolutely supported by the whole party and all nationalities throughout the whole country.

Throughout the country as a whole, the situation of stability and unity is continuing to be consolidated, and both inside and outside the party, a dynamic and lively democratic life is continuing to develop. The party's superior traditions have revived very greatly; thinking inside and outside the party has been very much emancipated; and the workstyle of seeking truth through facts is daily becoming more deeply ingrained in people's minds. Implementation of the party's various policies has stirred the enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people inside and outside the party. The Third Plenary Session's two documents on agriculture have been enthusiastically welcomed by the broad masses of peasants and rural cadres. China's victory in its counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam has greatly increased China's prestige in the international struggle against hegemony, and it has greatly increased the prestige of the People's Liberation Army among the people of the whole country. This counterattack in self-defense has demonstrated that our armed forces deserve to be called a people's liberation army that is brave and skilled in battle, and deserves to be called a mighty Great Wall for the protection of the building of our socialist modernization.

It must also be emphasized that during the past more than 2 years we have conducted a large amount of diplomatic work, which has won a very good

international environment for realization of the four modernizations. A look at the international reaction to our counterattack in self-defense shows an overwhelming majority of people to have been in sympathy with us. It is now possible to see more clearly that the strategy Comrade Mao Zedong formulated in his late years on the division into three worlds and enlisting the countries of the Second World in joint opposition to hegemony, as well as the decision to establish normal diplomatic relations with the United States and Japan was so brilliant and so farsighted. This international strategic principle played an inestimable role in unifying the world's people to oppose hegemony, to change the ratio of world political power, and in smashing the wildly arrogant plan of Soviet hegemony to try to isolate us internationally for an improvement in our international position.

In short, the situation in China has undergone fundamental change in every aspect as compared with the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild. Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, the whole party, the whole armed forces, and all nationalities throughout the whole country have renewed hope and confidence in the future of our great socialist motherland. Whoever does not fully take all this into account commits an extremely great error.

We have difficulties in other regards; moreover, some difficulties are fairly severe. If this point is not realized, it is also possible to commit a great error. First of all, we must make a clear headed appraisal and have a unified view of the economic state of our country, which was damaged for so long by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." During the past 10 years, we have not ridded ourselves of the serious proportional economic imbalance, and without proportional development it has not been possible to have steady and dependable high speed growth. It seems that our economy, our agriculture, industry, capital construction, communications, internal and foreign trade, and finance and banking will require a period of readjustment in the course of making progress. Only in this way will a certain amount of imbalance move toward comparative balance. This readjustment differs from the readjustment of the early 1960's. This readjustment is a readjustment carried out in the course of making progress and is for the purpose of laying a solid foundation for realization of the four modernizations. However, some retrenchment is necessary; some unrealistic and high criteria that damage the overall economy greatly and provide few benefits must be resolutely lowered; some management is inept and enterprises with serious losses will require reorganization within a limited period of time or may even have to shut down for reorganization. This is one step backward in order to take two steps forward. At the same time, in order to effectively realize the four modernizations, solution to various problems in the economic system is necessary, and this too is a very large scale and very complex readjustment. This year we can do a good job of the first year's readjustment, and this is a huge advance. It is to create a fine beginning for a shift in work emphasis.

In a situation of proportional economic imbalance, the decision to carry out a needed correction is a prerequisite for our economy to move toward regular and stable development. This has been fully demonstrated by the historical experience of the two nationwide readjustments carried out in the period immediately following Liberation and in the early 1960's. Consequently, we should tell

the people of the whole country that this must be done in order to move ahead better, and that in the process of readjustment they should steadfastly believe in and subordinate themselves to party and government actions. We should realize that as compared with the readjustment of the early 1960's, this readjustment contains numerous advantageous conditions and also some difficulties. During that readjustment, both leadership forces at all levels and organizational discipline inside and outside the party were better than they are today. It was not like now when there exist certain unsettled political and ideological factors. Today the burdens are very heavy everywhere as a result of the debts owing from and the pernicious legacy of the 10 years of turmoil of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A trend of thought linked to some doubts about socialism, doubts about the dictatorship of the proletariat, doubts about the leadership of the party, and doubts about Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought has begun to spread among a small number of people. We have some cadres who, when faced with brand new historical tasks, have an insufficiently emancipated mentality and who are not adept at studying new circumstances and solving new problems. In addition, the force of habit of small scale production and the force of habit of bureaucratism still stubbornly fetter us. Very clearly, in conducting a readjustment of work covering a wide range under these circumstances, without a powerful, centralized leadership and strict organizational discipline, without power work and education to strengthen and stabilize the social and political order, and without the building of a resolute party workstyle with further revival of the party's seeking truth from facts and the fine tradition of the mass line and arduous struggle, some sizeable disturbances that might otherwise have been avoided may occur. As a result, the building of modernization will encounter serious obstacles just when it is taking its first step. Now the Central Committee has decided to establish a financial and economic commission to be headed by comrades Chen Yun and Li Xiannian for centralized management of national financial and economic work and current readjustment work. The Central Committee and State Council, as well as leading organizations in all jurisdictions have taken and will continue to take a series of actions. While resolutely carrying forward democracy, they will vigorously stabilize the social order, strengthen the socialist legal system, and assure stability and unity. The Central Committee and parties in all local jurisdictions have already been successively established discipline inspection committees whose main task is to help the Central Committee and CPC committees in all jurisdictions do a good job with party workstyle. We have complete faith in being able to overcome temporary difficulties while moving ahead, and in leading the whole party and the people of the whole country to victory in the building of modernization.

What is our major task for the present and for a fairly long historical period to come? In a word, it is modernization. Ability to realize the four modernizations will determine our country's fate and the fate of the race. Under China's existing conditions, a good job of socialist four modernizations means adherence to Marxism and means holding aloft the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Unless you firmly grasp the four modernizations, and unless you proceed from realities, you are divorced from Marxism and just prattle about Marxism. Socialist modernization is our greatest politics at the present time because it represents the people's greatest interests, and most fundamental interests. Now, every party member and youth league member, as well as every patriotic citizen must overcome all difficulties under leadership of the party

and government, and use every available means to contribute all forces to realization of the four modernizations.

2. Realization of the Four Modernizations Requires Adherence to Four Basic Principles.

To be able to bring about the four modernizations and build China into a socialist power before the end of this century is an extraordinarily arduous task.

The democratic revolution of the past required acting in keeping with China's circumstances and taking the path that Comrade Mao Zedong blazed of the country-side surrounding the cities. Today, construction will also have to be in keeping with China's circumstances, and a Chinese style path of modernization will have to be taken.

In order for China to realize the four modernizations, at least two major features will have to be taken into account.

One is the poor foundation to start with. The destruction caused over a long period of time by imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism turned China into a poor and backward country. Following founding of the People's Republic, mighty achievements have been made in economic construction. A fairly complete industrial system has been built, and a group of skilled technicians has been trained. The average annual speed of growth of China's industry and agriculture from the time of Liberation until last year has been fairly high in world terms. However, because of the poor foundation to start with, China today remains one of the very poor countries of the world. China's scientific and technical forces are very inadequate, and overall its level of science and technology lags between 20 and 30 years behind that of the advanced countries of the world. During the past 30 years our economy has gone through two rises and two falls, and the great destruction of the national economy by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" from 1966 to 1976, in particular, had extremely serious consequences. Now we must readjust in order to eliminate further these serious consequences.

The second feature is a large population relative to cultivated land. China's population is currently more than 900 million, 80 percent of which are peasants. A large population has both a good side and an unfavorable side. In a situation of insufficiently developed production, food, education, and employment become serious problems. We must vigorously intensify planned birth work; however, even if population no longer increases at some future year, the problem of a large population will continue to exist for some time. Our vast territory and abundant resources is our favorable condition. However, numerous resources have not been completely surveyed, developed, and used; thus they are not yet means of production in being. The land area is vast, but cultivated land is very small. A small amount of cultivated land with a large population, and particularly a large peasant population, is a situation that cannot be readily changed. This becomes a feature that China's modernization must take into consideration. Chinese style modernization must proceed from China's characteristics. For example, modern production requires only a relatively small number

of people, so with such a large population, how can both development of production and the people's livelihood be considered at the same time? Without unified planning that takes all factors into account, we will face social problems of no full employment for a long time. This poses a great many problems that require study in common by comrades engaged in practical work and theoretical work throughout the party. We can certainly find appropriate methods for satisfactory solution. Today I will not discuss problems in this regard.

Today I want to talk about ideological and political problems.

The Central Committee believes that if we are to realize the four modernizations, it will be necessary to adhere to four ideological and political principles. This is a fundamental prerequisite for realization of the four modernizations. The four principles are as follows:

First, the need to adhere to the path of socialism.

Second, the need to adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third, the need to adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party.

Fourth, the need to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Everyone knows that these four principles are by no means new things; they have been consistently adhered to by our party for a long time. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and the Third Plenary Session, the Central Committee has consistently adhered to these four basic principles in carrying out a series of programs and policies.

We criticized the "gang of four" from the standpoint of both practice and theory for their advocacy out of extreme leftism of a universally poor false socialism. We have adhered to the principles of socialist public ownership and distribution according to work. We have adhered to self-reliance primarily, supplemented with outside assistance, and we have studied and introduced advanced foreign technology for development of a program for the building of China's socialist economy. We have striven to act in accordance with objective economic laws. This is to say that we have adhered to scientific socialism.

We have smashed the feudal fascism of the "gang of four," have redressed large numbers of cases of injustice, have solved a series of problems inherited from history, have consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, have revived and carried forward socialist democracy, and since the Third Plenary Session, in particular, a dynamic and lively political situation has come about such as had been desired for many years while Comrade Mao Zedong was still alive.

We have revived the party's three major workstyles that had been destroyed, have improved the party's democratic centralism, and have strengthened the unity of the whole party and the unity of the party and people, thereby greatly uplifting the party's prestige, and strengthening the party's leadership of the country and of social life.

We have gotten rid of the spiritual yoke created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and have insisted that leaders are people not gods. We have adhered to full and accurate understanding of the scientific system of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought; and we have persevered in proceeding from realities and seeking truth from facts. This has revived the original meaning of Mao Zedong Thought, and has maintained the revered position that Comrade Mao Zedong should enjoy as a great revolutionary in the history of the Chinese revolution and in the revolutionary history of the world.

Despite all this, the Central Committee believes that today a very great need still exists to propagandize intensively these four basic principles. This is because, on the one hand, some comrades within the party have been deeply poisoned by the ultraleftist ideological trend of Lin Biao and the "gang of four", and an extremely small number of people have even disseminated lies and rumors. They have attacked the series of programs and policies of the Central Committee since smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenary Session as contrary to Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. On the other hand, an extremely small number of people in society are spreading suspicions about or opposition to the ideological trend of these four basic principles. Furthermore, within the party individual comrades not only do not recognize the danger of this trend of thought but even directly or indirectly support it to a certain extent. Though the number of these people inside and outside the party is extremely small, one cannot overlook their role because they are extremely small in number. Facts have shown they can cause and have already caused very great harm to our endeavors. Consequently, on the one hand we must continue firm in purging the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," and help some comrades who have been poisoned regain consciousness, while at the same time roundly attacking the extremely small number of people who spread reactionary views that villify the Party Central Committee. On the other hand, tremendous efforts must be devoted to resolute struggle with those who doubt the ideological trend of the four basic principles spoken about in the foregoing. These two trends of thought contravene Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, and they impede progress in our endeavors to build socialist modernization. We have already conducted a large amount of criticism of the ultraleftist ideological trend spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" (and doubtlessly, this ideological trend also opposes the four basic principles, but opposing them only in "leftist" terms), and we should continue such criticisms without relaxation in future. Now I would like to focus on a criticism of suspicions and opposition from the right to the ideological trend of the four basic principles.

First, we must adhere to the path of socialism. Nowadays some people are spreading the view that so-called socialism is not as good as capitalism. This must be thoroughly refuted. First of all, only socialist is able to save China. This is an unshakeable historical conclusion that the Chinese people have derived through personal experience in the 60 years since the May 4th Movement [of 1919] to the present time. If China departs from socialism, it will inevitably regress to semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. An overwhelming majority of Chinese will positively not permit historical regression. Secondly, it is a fact that economically, technologically, and culturally, socialist China is currently not the equal of the developed capitalist countries. However, this is not the fault of the socialist system; basically it

was caused by history before Liberation. It was caused by imperialism and feudalism. The socialist revolution has already greatly shortened the gap between China and development capitalist countries in economic development. Even though we have made mistakes; nevertheless, over a period of 30 years we have made progress such as old China did not make in a period of several hundred or several thousand years. Our economic construction has developed quite rapidly. Once we have summarized experiences and corrected mistakes, without any doubt whatsoever, we will be able to develop so rapidly as any capitalist country, and more stably and lastingly as well. As for the per capita gross output value of national production catching up with and surpassing that of advanced capitalist countries, that will naturally require a considerable length of time. Now again, which is better, the socialist system or the capitalist system? Naturally the socialist system is better. Granted that there have been subjective reasons why socialist countries have committed serious errors under certain circumstances or why even serious complications such as the destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have taken place, fundamentally it has been the effect of the long historical heritage of the old society that has caused them. This effect cannot be swept away with a broom in one morning. Development of capitalist countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and Italy has also gone through major contortions and repetitions. (The United Kingdom and France went through counterrevolutionary restorations, and in Germany, Japan, and Italy fascist systems emerged). However, China relied on its own socialist system and used its own resources for a fairly smooth victory over Lin Biao and the "gang of four," with the result that the country very quickly took the path of stability, unity, and healthy development. The socialist economy is founded on the system of public ownership. Production is for maximum satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs, and not for exploitation. Thanks to this characteristic of the socialist system, China's people are able to have a common political, economic, and social ideal, and a common standard of morality. Capitalist societies can never have these things. No matter what, capitalist countries are unable to free themselves from millionaires' excessive profits; they are unable to free themselves from exploitation and plunder; and they are unable to free themselves from economic crises. They cannot form a common ideal and morality, and they cannot escape all manner of extremely serious crimes, degeneracy and despair. Capitalism has a several hundred year history. All the science and technology and all the beneficial knowledge and experience that the people of all countries have developed under the capitalist system, we must continue and emulate. We need a plan for selective introduction from capitalist countries of advanced technology and other things of benefit to us. But we positively will not emulate or introduce the capitalist system, and we positively will not emulate or introduce repulsive and decadent things. Were developed capitalist countries to get rid of the capitalist system, their economy and culture would certainly show greater progress. Consequently, in capitalist countries, political forces that want social progress are trying to study and propagandize socialism, and are trying to eradicate from capitalist society all injustice and unfairness. They are carrying on a revolutionary struggle to realize socialism. We should introduce to the people, and particularly to youth, progressive and beneficial things from capitalist countries, and criticize the reactionary and decadent things in capitalist countries.

Second, we must adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have already done much propaganda explaining that the dictatorship of the proletariat is socialist democracy for the people, and that it is a democracy that workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other workers enjoy in common. It is the most widespread democracy in history. We have not done sufficient in the past about the practice of democracy, and we have made mistakes. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" propagandized "comprehensive dictatorship," and practiced a feudal fascist dictatorship toward the people. We have already thoroughly smashed this dictatorship. This has no points in common at all with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is completely the reverse. Now we have resolutely corrected the mistakes of the past, and have taken actions of various kinds to continue to try to expand democracy within the party and people's democracy. Without democracy, there can be no socialism and no socialist modernization. Of course, democracy like modernization must advance step by step. The more socialism develops, the more democracy develops. This is certain beyond any shadow of a doubt. But development of socialist democracy positively cannot fail to carry out a dictatorship of the proletariat against forces that are hostile to socialism. We oppose an expansion of class struggle, and we do not believe that there is a bourgeoisie within the party, nor do we believe that under the socialist system that once we have genuinely eliminated the exploiting class and conditions for exploitation that a bourgeoisie or some other exploitive class can come about. However, we must realize that counterrevolutionaries continue to exist within a socialist society, and that there are enemy agents and criminal elements bent on the destruction of the socialist order, and other scoundrels. There are new corrupt, larcenous, speculative, and profiteering exploitive elements, and this phenomenon cannot be completely eradicated for a long period of time. The struggle against them differs from the historical struggle between one class and another (they cannot form an overt, intact class); however, it is still a distinct form of class struggle, or one might say that it is a legacy in special form of the historical class struggle under socialist conditions. Dictatorship must still be exercised against all anti-socialist elements. Without a dictatorship against them, socialist democracy is impossible. This dictatorship is a domestic struggle, and sometimes it is simultaneously an international struggle. The two cannot, in fact, be separated. Therefore, under conditions in which class struggle exists, and under conditions in which imperialism and hegemony exist, one cannot envisage the withering away of the dictatorship function of the state, and one cannot envision the withering away of a standing army, public security institutions, law courts, jails, etc. There is no contradiction between their existence and the democratization of a socialist country. Their real effectiveness lies not in blocking but rather in assuring the democratization of socialist countries. In fact, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, we would be unable to protect, and thus unable to build socialism.

Third, we must adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party.

Ever since the existence of an international communist movement, it has been demonstrated that without a party of the proletariat it is impossible to have an international communist movement. Since the October Revolution, it has been demonstrated even more that without a communist party's leadership, there can be no socialist revolution; there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat;

and there can be no building of socialism. Lenin said, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a tenacious struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society. It is a struggle that is both bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative. ...a party that has not been tempered like iron through struggle, a party that does not have the trust of the whole body of faithful people of the class, and a party that is not adept at observing the mass moods and what affects the mass mood cannot carry out such a struggle smoothly." This truth that Lenin spoke is still valid today. During the 60 years since the May 4th Movement, except for the Communist Party of China there has existed no other party like the one of which Lenin spoke that could unite the broad masses of workers. Without the Communist Party of China, there could be no socialist New China. The reason that the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" aroused the whole party and aroused the resolute resistance of the people of the whole country was because they kicked out the leader that had long stood the test and that had forged flesh and blood links with the masses of people, the Communist Party of China. Moreover, following the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly following the Third Plenary Session, the reason for the universal rise in the party's prestige among the people of the whole country was that the people of the whole country pinned all their hopes for the future on the leadership of the party. The mass movement of mourning for Premier Zhou Enlai at Tiananmen Square in 1976, though a movement that was not under the organizational leadership of the party, nevertheless was a movement that resolutely supported the party leadership and opposed the "gang of four." The revolutionary consciousness of the masses who participated in this movement was part and parcel of many years of party education, and the principal activists among them were party members. Therefore, one positively cannot regard the mass movement at Tiananmen Square in the same way as the purely spontaneous May 4th Movement, which had no relationship to party leadership. In fact, were there a forsaking of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, who would organize the socialist economy, politics, military affairs, and culture? Who would organize China's four modernizations. In the China of today, one positively must not forsake the party's leadership and sing the praises of the spontaneity of the masses. Certainly party leadership cannot be faultless, but how the party can unite closely with the masses, and practice correct and effective leadership is also a problem that must be diligently considered and efforts made to solve. However, this positively cannot become a reason for demanding a weakening and cancellation of the party's leadership. Our party has gone through mistakes on many occasions; however, each time we relied on the party and did not forsake the party in correcting its own mistakes. The Party Central Committee is resolutely carrying forward the party's democracy and people's democracy today, and it has decisively corrected past errors that have been committed. Under these circumstances, to go so far as to demand the weakening or even the elimination of the party's leadership is something that the broad masses will not countenance. In reality, this could only lead to anarchy, and bring about the crumbling and complete collapse of socialist endeavors. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" kicked out CPC committees for fomenting revolution and carried out some kind of "revolution," everybody knew what they were doing. If today CPC committees were to be kicked out for fomenting democracy and some kind of "democracy" was carried out, wouldn't people likewise know what was going on? The year 1966 had been the year in which the Chinese economy was rapidly developing after several years

of readjustment. However, as soon as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" started trouble, the economy suffered serious damage. Today, under leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the Chinese economy has again taken the path of healthy development. If we allow some people to go around everywhere again kicking out CPC committees and causing trouble, the four modernizations would only be snuffed out. This is not alarmist talk; it is an objective truth borne out by a large amount of practice.

The fourth point is that we must adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. One of the core points of our struggle with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was opposition to their falsification, revision, and fragmentation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We smashed the "gang of four" and revived the scientificness of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to make it our guide for action. This was a mighty victory of the whole party and the people of the whole country. However, an extremely small number of people think otherwise. They either openly oppose the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism or give lip service to Marxism-Leninism while opposing the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and its interlinking with the practice of the Chinese revolution that gave rise to Mao Zedong Thought. We must oppose all such erroneous ideological trends. Some comrades say we only support "correct Mao Zedong Thought," but do not support "erroneous Mao Zedong Thought." Such statements are erroneous. What we support and what we want to use as a guide for action are the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The basic principles of Mao Zedong Thought may be said to be a scientific system constructed from these basic principles. As for individual postulations, Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong all made this or that mistake. However, these are not a part of the scientific system constructed from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Right now I am emphasizing Mao Zedong Thought. China's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution went through countless tragic defeats. Is it not true that it was Mao Zedong Thought that was able to cause the about one-fourth of mankind that the Chinese people are find the correct revolutionary path, to liberate the entire country in 1949, and to virtually complete socialist reform in 1956? This series of mighty victories not only basically changed China's destiny, but also changed the world situation. Mao Zedong Thought is inseparable throughout the world from the struggle against hegemony. It has most markedly indicated that flying the flag of socialism to carry out hegemony by a Marxist-Leninist party that has achieved political power is a betrayal of the principles of socialism. We said earlier that in his declining years Comrade Mao Zedong put forward strategic thinking on the division into three worlds, and that he personally opened a new stage in Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations, thereby creating new conditions for development of world struggle against hegemony and for world political prospects. In undertaking the building of the four modernizations in today's international environment, we must always remember Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions. Like other people, Comrade Mao Zedong also had shortcomings and made mistakes. However, how can these errors in his great life be compared with his immortal deeds for the people. In analyzing his shortcomings and errors, we naturally have to recognize individual responsibility; however, more important is analysis of the complex historical background. Only in this way can we be fair-minded and

scientific in dealing with history and with an historical personality in a Marxist way. If anyone strays from Marxism in treating this serious issue, he will incur the reproach of the party and the masses. And why shouldn't he.

Mao Zedong Thought has been the banner of the Chinese revolution in the past, and henceforth it will forever be the banner of China's socialist cause and anti-hegemonist cause. We shall forever hold aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and go forward.

Comrade Mao Zedong's cause and ideology was not only his individual cause and ideology, but also the cause and ideology of his comrades in arms, the party and the people. They were the crystallization of more than half a century of the experiences of the Chinese people in revolutionary struggle. This was identical with Marx's situation. In evaluating Marx, Engels said that for the first time the proletariat has now come to recognize its own position and demands and come to realize its own terms for emancipation through dependence on Marx. Does this mean that individuals create history? History is created by the people, but this does not at all exclude the people's honoring of an outstanding individual, and honoring is not superstition, of course, nor is it making him a god.

In short, in order to realize the four modernizations, we must adhere to the path of socialism, adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party, and adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The Central Committee believes that it is necessary today to reiterate these basic principles inasmuch as certain people (though only an extremely small number) are trying to shake these basic principles. This is positively impermissible. Every member of the Communist Party, to say nothing of every worker on ideological theory in the party, positively cannot permit the slightest wavering on this basic position. If any one of these four basic principles is shaken, the entire socialist cause and the entire four modernizations cause will be shaken.

Isn't the Central Committee's raising of this issue making a mountain out of a mole hill? No, it is not. Development of the situation has made it necessary for the party to raise this issue.

For some time recently, a small number of people have caused trouble in some places. Some scoundrels will not only not accept the leadership, the advice, and the explanations of responsible persons in the party and government, but pose all sorts of demands that either cannot be realized at the present time or that are basically unreasonable. They incite and trick some of the masses into attacks on party and government institutions, forcibly occupy offices, carry out sitdown strikes and hunger strikes, obstruct transportation, and seriously damage work programs, production programs, and social programs.

Not only this, but they also sensationally put forth slogans such as "against hunger" and "need for human rights," and use these slogans to incite some people to demonstrate. They have premeditatedly allowed foreigners to publicize their words and actions widely throughout the world. A so-called "Chinese Human Rights Group," went so far as to put up big character posters calling

upon the president of the United States to "show concern" for human rights in China. Can we permit such public calls for foreign intervention in China's internal affairs? A so-called "Thaw Society" issued a manifesto publicly opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, saying that it divided mankind. Can we permit such "freedom of speech" that goes against constitutional principles?

In Shanghai, some members of a so-called "Democratic Discussion Society" villified Comrade Mao Zedong, and put up large counterrevolutionary posters preaching that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is the source of myriad miseries," and calling for "resolute and thorough criticism of the Communist Party of China." They believe capitalism to be better than socialism; thus, the problem for China now is not carrying out the four modernizations but rather instituting their so-called "social reforms," which is synonymous with practicing capitalist bunk. They have publicly declared that their task is to dispose of the "capitalist-roaders" that the "gang of four" did not dispose of. Some among them have demanded to go abroad for "political asylum," and some have secretly entered into liaison with Chiang Kai-shek espionage organizations to plan sabotage activities.

Very clearly, these people want to use every available means to destroy the shift in our work emphasis. If we condone these serious matters, every level of the party and government will only be puzzled by them and unable to carry out their work, and what possibility will there be for thinking about the four modernizations?

Such incidents are truly extremely small in number and are opposed by an overwhelming majority of people; however, they merit serious attention. First of all, these people generally operate under a facade of democracy, and very easily befuddle people's minds. Second, these people use some social problems inherited from the time of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and can very easily hoodwink some of the masses who currently have difficulties that the government has temporarily been unable to solve completely. Third, these people have begun to form various kind of secret or semi-overt organizations, both linking them together on a national scale domestically and colluding with Taiwan as well as foreign political forces. Fourth, some of these people collude with some hoodlum organizations in society and with some adherents to the "gang of four" in order to expand the sphere of their destructive activities. Fifth, these people try to use this or that ill-considered remark of some of our comrades as their pretext or protective talisman. The foregoing circumstances show that struggle with these people is not very simple, and that they pose a problem difficult to solve in a short period of time. We must strive to do a good job in separating the masses they have hoodwinked (many of whom are naive youths) from these counterrevolutionaries and scoundrels. We must deal strictly with these counterrevolutionaries and scoundrels in accordance with law. Simultaneously we must also educate comrades throughout the whole party in the need to increase vigilance, show concern for the overall interest, and to unite under leadership of the Central Committee. They should both continue to emancipate their thinking, resolutely carry forward democracy, and arouse all active elements, and also strive to overcome the confused thinking of a small number of the masses, particularly of a small number of youths.

We certainly must emphasize to the people and to youths plain talk about the democracy issue. The socialist path, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Communist Party leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are all related to the democracy issue. What is the democracy that the Chinese people need today? The democracy that the Chinese people need today can only be socialist democracy, which is alternatively termed people's democracy, and not the individualistic democracy of the bourgeoisie. People's democracy is inseparable from dictatorship over enemies, and is also inseparable from centralization on a democratic foundation. We practice a system of democratic centralism. This is a combination of centralism founded on democracy, and democracy under centralized direction. Democratic centralism is an inseparable integral part of the socialist system. Under the socialist system, individual interests must be subordinated to collective interests, and partial and local interests must be subordinated to the interests of the whole. Temporary interests must be subordinated to long-term interests, which is alternatively termed small interests being subordinated to large interests, and small principles subordinated to large principles. Our advocacy and practice of these principles positively is not to say that there can be no heeding of individual interests, no heeding of partial and local interests, and no heeding of temporary interests, because under a socialist system, in the final analysis individual interests and collective interests are one, partial and local interests and the interests of the whole are one, and temporary interests and long-term interests are one. We must regulate the interrelationship among diverse interests on the principle of unified planning with due consideration to the interests of all concerned. Were the reverse to be done with actions contrary to the collective interest in pursuit of individual interests, actions contrary to the interest of the whole in pursuit of partial or local interests, and actions contrary to long-term interests in pursuit of temporary interests; the inevitable result would be damage to both in each case. In the final analysis, the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the relationship between rights and and obligations are manifested politically and legally in the interrelationship of the diverse interests mentioned in the foregoing. It was precisely for this reason that Comrade Mao Zedong said that our goal is to try to create a political situation that is both centralized and democratic, both disciplined and free, and in which there is both unity of will and individual peace of mind, and that is dynamic and lively. This is the socialist democratic political situation, and this is the political situation that we want to try to realize today and in the future.

We have not sufficiently propagandized or instituted democracy in the past. The system contains many imperfections; consequently, continued efforts to carry forward democracy will be an unswerving objective of our party for a long time to come. However, when we are propagandizing democracy, we must strictly differentiate socialist democracy from bourgeois democracy and individual democracy. We must be sure to link democracy toward the people and dictatorship toward enemies, and to link democracy and centralism, democracy and the legal system, democracy and discipline, and democracy and party leadership. When we face a series of difficulties in economic life today, it is also necessary to carry out a series of readjustments, and when reorganizing and restructuring, particular stress syould be given to propagandizing the principle of subordination of individual interests to collective interests, partial and local interests to the interests of the whole, and temporary interests to

long term interests. Only when everyone from top to bottom inside and outside the party makes sure to look after overall interests will we be able to smoothly overcome difficulties and achieve the bright future of the four modernizations. Conversely, if we depart from the four principles, and speak abstractly and emptily about democracy, inevitably that would cause ultra-democracy and anarchy to run rampant, would cause the total destruction of the stable and unified political situation, and would cause complete defeat of the four modernizations. Thus, our 10 year struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" would have been in vain, and China would sink into renewed chaos, fractionalization, regression and darkness, and the Chinese people would lose all hope. This is not only a problem about which all nationalities throughout the country are extremely concerned; it is also a problem about which everybody in the world who desires a strong China and even those who only desire to expand trade with China are extremely concerned.

I also want to raise an issue of the social atmosphere here. For more than 10 years following our founding of the People's Republic, as a result of the party's and government's correct leadership, the social atmosphere was healthy. An overwhelming majority of the young people who grew up educated in the party's cherished lofty ideals, ardently loved their socialist motherland, actively responded to calls from the party and government, guarded the people's interests, upheld the social order, and everywhere manifested a fine spirit of devotion and a spirit of observing discipline. This atmosphere in which young people and the entire social atmosphere interacted with each other was mutually promoting, and was praised by people throughout the country, and by people in all lands. However, during the past more than 10 years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have thrown the party and government into turmoil. They have made a mess of our society and have poisoned youth. Socialist morality and mores have been seriously damaged. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," circumstances took a very great turn for the better; however, their perniciousness cannot be underestimated to a certain extent. These circumstances are extremely unsuited to the need for a shift in emphasis of the work of the whole party. Our advocacy of the development of normal intercourse between China and foreign countries is necessary for the strengthening of understanding and friendship between the people of China and other countries, and is also necessary for the introduction of foreign technology and foreign capital. This intercourse can continue to grow in future. However, inasmuch as a small number of youths have not been sufficiently educated and controlled, some unhealthy phenomena have taken place. Some young males and females blindly admire capitalist countries. In their relations with foreigners, some people even show no regard for their national integrity or personal integrity. This situation must arouse our diligent attention. We definitely must educate our next generation well, take effective measures of all kinds to make our social atmosphere good, and attack disgusting behavior that seriously damages the social atmosphere.

In order to promote progress in the social atmosphere, it is necessary, first of all, to have a good party workstyle. It is particularly necessary that leading comrades at all levels in the party act as personal models. The party is a model for all of society, and leading comrades at all levels in the party are models of the whole party. If the party organization brushes aside the complaints and the interests of the masses, and does not bother to ask questions

or listen to what is said, how can the masses be expected to believe in, love and esteem the leaders of such a party organization? If leading party cadres do not place strict demands on themselves, do not obey party discipline and the country's laws, act against party principles, engage in factionalism, enjoy privileges, secure advantages through pull and influence, are extravagant and wasteful, seek private gain at public expense, do not share in the joys and sorrows of the masses, do not place hardships first and enjoyments second, do not obey the organization's decisions, do not accept supervision by the masses, or even retaliate against those who criticize them, how can one expect them to improve the social atmosphere! During this time of historical transformation, problems have piled up and numerous tasks remain to be undertaken. Strengthening of party leadership, and correcting party workstyle are of decisive significance. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "So long as our party workstyle is completely honest and upright the people of the whole country will learn from us. If only the poor atmosphere of those outside the party were good, they could learn from us and correct their errors, and thus influence the entire race." Only a good party workstyle can transform the social atmosphere and make possible adherence to the four principles.

Is the foregoing synonymous with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session? No. All that has been said here is for the purpose of carrying out the actions required by the programs and policies of the Third Plenary Session. To repeat, unless these actions are taken, nothing will come of the programs and policies of the Third Plenary Session. The shift in work emphasis will come to nothing; building of the four modernizations will come to nothing; and development of democratic life inside and outside the party will come to nothing. Consequently, some of the people have described the party's programs as "washed up." They say that the Central Committee's program for carrying forward democracy has changed. This is completely wrong. Only by adherence to the four principles to which our party has always adhered and resolutely overcoming bad tendencies that impede realization of the programs and policies of the Third Plenary Session can we steadfastly advance victoriously toward our magnificant goals.

3. Tasks in Ideological Theory Work

The Conference for Discussion of Ideological Guidelines for Theoretical Work of the Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions has raised very many problems that we cannot answer one by one at this time. Today I plan to talk about two problems in ideological theory work tasks. I do not understand circumstances too well, and I know even less about circumstances in local areas. Comrades should consider whether what I say is entirely appropriate.

Work on Marxist ideological theory cannot be divorced from real politics. The politics of which I am speaking is the overall situation in class inside and outside of China. It is the fundamental advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese people and the world's people in the present struggle. One should not suppose that it is possible to become a Marxist thinker or theoretician if one is divorced from the overall political situation, does not study the overall political situation, and does not evaluate real developments in revolutionary struggle. If this were the case, what significance would there have been in our having devoted more than the better part of last year to the issue of

practice being the standard for testing truth? Scientific socialism develops through actual struggle, and Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought develop through actual struggle. Certainly we cannot retreat from scientific socialism to utopian socialism, nor can we allow Marxism to halt at the level of individual theses of several decades or more than 100 years ago. Therefore, we have repeatedly said that emancipation of thinking is the fundamental principal for the application of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, for the study of new situations, and for solving new problems.

What is the most important new situation and the most important new problem in China today? Of course it is realization of the four modernizations or, as I said earlier, realization of a Chinese style modernization. We have already said that deep study of the new circumstances and new problems to be met in realizing China's four modernizations, and providing replies that are of major significance and giving guidance will be a major contribution that those who work on ideological theory can make to Marxism, and toward truly holding aloft Mao Zedong Thought. Of course, this certainly is not to say that any problems of ideological theory not directly related to the four modernizations cannot be conscientiously and deeply studied. Philosophy, the social sciences, and the natural sciences alike positively cannot ignore research on basic theories. Such research is indispensable to any great progress in theoretical work.

In the second part of my talk where I raised the four basic principles that must be adhered to for realization of the four modernizations, even though I said there are no new problems here, these principles do take on new significance in new circumstances, and they all require new and fully convincing testimony on the basis of new abundant facts. This is the only way in which to educate the people of the whole country, the youth of the whole country, the workers of the whole country, and the whole body of commanders of the Liberation Army. It is also the only way to be able to convince those who turn to China in a seeking after truth today. This is an extremely important task. It is both an important political task and an important theoretical task. This positively is not a task that can be completed by plagiarize materials from old books and dishing it up in new form; instead it is a lofty creative scientific work that will require expenditure of all the energies of revolutionary ideologues. As a result of the 10 years of turmoil caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," for a long time the ideological front has been filled with a lot of nonsense to the point where people lost confidence in numerous cadres and teachers engaged in political education work. This was not the fault of political educators. Today, these comrades are extremely vexed, and numerous heads of families, old workers, and old soldiers are also extremely vexed. This is also an important reason why an extremely small number of hostile elements are able to make trouble. Our comrades on the ideological theory front must organize forces rapidly, work out good plans, and write and print in the shortest possible time some well considered papers, books, readers, and textbooks that have a new content, new ideas, and new wording to fill this gap. I propose that the Central Propaganda Ministry undertake responsibility for leading this work, and I recommend that following appraisal and approval the party and state issue awards for works that have been genuinely well written in order that seemingly ordinary yet very arduous work receives the credit it deserves.

Implementation of the four modernizations is a multi-faceted, complex and arduous task. The work of ideological theory workers naturally cannot be limited to discussion of some basic principles. We face a large number of theoretical questions about economics, including basic theoretical questions, industrial theory questions, agricultural theory questions, commercial theory questions, management theory questions, etc. Lenin called for more talk about economics and less talk about politics. I believe that proportionately speaking these words are still appropriate today for these two aspects of theoretical work. Nevertheless, I by no means acknowledge that politics no longer has problems requiring study. For many years in the past we neglected the study of political science, jurisprudence, sociology, and of world politics. We overlooked them for many years in the past, and now it is necessary to make up missed lessons quickly. An overwhelming majority of our ideological theoretical workers should engross themselves in the study of one or several specialties. All who have a talent for the study of foreign languages should study foreign languages. They should learn to read without any difficulty at all major foreign social science works. We have already acknowledged our natural science to be behind that of foreign countries, and now we should also admit that research work in the social sciences (insofar as comparisons can be made) is behind that of foreign countries. Our level is very low, statistics even being missing for a great many years. Such a situation naturally confronts serious study of the social sciences with extremely great difficulties. For this reason, our ideological theory workers must make a firm decision, rouse themselves to catch up, and definitely immerse themselves in specialties and realities, investigate and study, know others and know themselves, and guard against empty talk. The four modernizations cannot be brought forth through reliance on empty talk. The arrogance and self-satisfaction, complacency and conservatism, and parochial arrogance that Comrade Mao Zedong noted are things that our ideological theoretical workers likewise should strive to avoid. One must acknowledge backwardness to be able to overcome backwardness. It should be pointed out that this backward state of affairs must be borne, first of all, by the Central Committee and CPC committees at all levels. Their leadership methods for ideological theoretical work were not right; there were too many forbidden zones; and there was too little concern and support for them. Today, I make this self-criticism to everybody on behalf of the Central Committee. It is necessary that henceforth CPC committees at all levels, beginning with the Central Committee, definitely place ideological theoretical work on the right track and in an important position. Ours is a large Marxist party. Unless we ourselves devote serious attention to the study of Marxism, and unless we impel Marxism forward as practice develops, will we be able to do our work well? Will not our talk about upholding Marxism and the banner of Mao Zedong Thought become empty talk?

Second is views on several theoretical questions.

During the past several months, theoretical workers have posed very many questions in the course of their discussions. Numerous problems also required continuing study. Right now I will speak only a few views about several fairly urgent problems.

(1) Socialist society's basic contradictions and major contradictions at the current time. As regards basic contradictions, I believe that Comrade Mao Zedong's article titled, "On the Problem of Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" is a rather good approach. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "In a socialist society, basic contradictions are still contradictions between production relationships and productivity, and contradictions between the superstructure and the economic foundation." He spoke at great length about this, and I will not repeat it here. Of course, pointing out these basic contradictions is by no means to solve the problem completely; it is still necessary to study them deeply and concretely. However, in terms of practice during the past more than 20 years, this approach is more satisfactory than any other approach. As regards what is the major contradiction at the present time, this is a major question or a key task that the whole party and the people of the whole country must solve at the present time. As a result of the Third Plenary Session's decision to shift the work focus to socialist modernization, it has actually been solved. Our level of development of productivity is very low and very far from being able to satisfy the needs of the people and the country. This is our major contradiction at the present time, and solution to this major contradiction is our key task.

(2) Class struggle in a socialist society. I said something about this issue earlier in discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Class struggle has an objective existence in socialist society that should be neither minimized nor exaggerated. Practice has shown that either to minimize it or exaggerate it is to commit a grave error. As to whether a certain amount of class struggle exists throughout the historical period of a socialist society is a complex and difficult problem that involves much theory and practice, and one that cannot be solved by citing evidence from the books of predecessors. Everyone can continue to study it. In short, current and future class struggle in socialist society clearly differs from class struggle in the class societies of history in the past. This is also an objective fact that we cannot deny. To deny it is also to commit a grave error.

(3) Continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This formulation, if carried out as interpreted at the time when proposed, i.e., the so-called capitalist-roaders seizure of power, would be bypassing CPC committees to conduct revolution and overthrowing everything, which practice has demonstrated to be wrong. As for working out a new interpretation, research can be continued within the party.

(4) May questions about some of the formulations bearing on the line of the 11th Party Congress be discussed? The party's line, like all party decisions, is always examined through practice. This is a principle about which Comrade Mao Zedong often spoke. One cannot say that once a formulation has been passed by a party congress that any correct discussion of it cannot be done. If this were the case, how could the next congress propose new formulations? In advance of the next congress, the Central Committee could not fail to work out needed revisions of decisions of all previous party congresses on the basis of changes in actual circumstances as a common practice. The line formulated by the 11th Party Congress was also readjusted by successive Central Committee plenary sessions, and particularly the Third Plenary Session on the basis of

changes in actual circumstances and changed perceptions of actual circumstances, and it is possible that certain needed readjustments will also be made in future. This is completely normal. However, party discipline requires that apart from Central Committee decisions that have been formally made, any discussions of formulations that bear on the 11th Party Congress line are to be limited to appropriate party conferences, and are not to exceed this scope.

No matter what, in the study of ideological theory questions, the principle of let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend must be resolutely pursued, the the "three noism" principle of no seizing on others' shortcomings, no putting on labels, and no bludgeoning must be resolutely carried out. The principles of emancipation of thinking, destruction of superstition, and proceeding from reality in everything must be decisively carried out. These matters have been decided by the Third Plenary Session. They are reiterated now, and not the slightest wavering will be permitted.

Comrades! The present time is historically a major turning point in events for our party and our country. Our party has already led the people of the whole country in a victorious passage from the multiple difficulties that the "gang of four" visited upon us. It has turned a chaotic country into an orderly country that has made very rapid progress. Realization of the great prospect of the four modernizations excites, inspires, and leads our whole party, whole armed forces, and people of all nationalities in the whole country. The broad masses of cadres and people are contributing forces to achieve this brilliant prospect. At this time, tasks on the ideological theory work front are particularly heavy. Our party's ideological theory corps has already made huge achievements following the smashing of the "gang of four," and following the Third Plenary Session they have also made important achievements. Any underestimation of these achievements is wrong. However, events are developing rapidly, and our work must also develop rapidly. I hope that this important meeting will improve understanding of ideological theory workers toward events and tasks, the party's programs and policies, and their own work, and that they will more closely unite around the Party Central Committee, and that your highly effective work will more closely unite all nationalities in the whole country around the Communist Party of China. Let us with one heart and one mind overcome all difficulties in order to carry out unswervingly the programs of the Third Plenary Session, bring about a shift in the party's work emphasis, and fight to achieve a mighty victory in realizing the four modernizations.

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THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT AND THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE IN THE NEW PERIOD (15 June 1979)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 171-174

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[Text] Committee members and comrades: The second session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is now open.

We are holding this session following the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to shift the focus of the work of the party and state to socialist modernization. The aim of this session is to further mobilize and unite with people of nationalities throughout the country and all patriotic forces to push the development of socialist modernization forward.

This year, 1979, marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China and also the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Our country has entered a new historic period centered on the realization of the four modernizations, and our revolutionary united work front has also entered a new historic stage of development.

Fundamental changes have taken place in the circumstances of the social classes in our country. The social position of our nation's working class has been strengthened greatly and the peasants of China have been collectivized workers for more than 20 years. The worker-peasant alliance will be further consolidated and developed on the new basis of socialist construction. The intellectuals in China, including the overwhelming majority of those elderly ones who experienced the old society, have become a sector of the working class and are consciously working hard for the cause of socialism.

Through democratic reform and socialist transformation, the various fraternal nationalities in our country long ago took the socialist road one after another and have developed a new type of socialist national relationship marked by unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and cooperation. Patriots of different nationalities and religious beliefs have made considerable progress. The socialist uniformity of all nationalities will be further developed and the great unity among all nationalities will be further consolidated in the course of achieving the four modernizations.

The means of production formerly owned by the capitalist class in our country were turned over to the state long ago and the payment of fixed interest ended a full 13 years ago. Most of the able-bodied capitalists have been transformed into working people earning their own living in a socialist society. China's successful completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is one of the most brilliant victories in the history of socialism in China and in the world as a whole. It has won because the Communist Party of China led the entire working class in implementing the Marxist policies formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the light of China's particular circumstances and because the progressive elements of the capitalist class and the majority of people played a beneficial, cooperative role in accepting the transformation. As working people, they are now contributing their share to the socialist modernization program.

China's democratic parties have a glorious history in the democratic revolution and have made important contributions during the period of socialist transformation. These are things which the Chinese people will never forget. They have now become the political alliance in touch with a part of the socialist workers and a part of the patriots supporting socialism. All of them are political forces serving socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The hearts of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and of Overseas Chinese are turned to the motherland and their patriotic consciousness has been constantly raised. They are playing an increasingly important, positive role in realizing the great cause of the reunification of our motherland, in supporting the country's modernization, and in strengthening the international struggle against hegemonism.

The above-mentioned changes in all fields indicate that China's united front has become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots supporting socialism, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The task of the united front and the people's consultative conference during the new period is to bring into full play all positive factors, strive to turn negative factors into positive ones, unite with all the forces that can be united, work with one heart and one mind, pool 11 efforts, safeguard and develop the political situation of stability and unity, and work hard to build China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

To realize the four modernizations, it is imperative to promote socialist democracy and strengthen socialist legality. The people's political consultative conference is an important organization for promoting people's democracy and for maintaining links with people of various walks of live. The cause of socialist modernizing construction continues to require the CPPCC's consultations and discussion on the nation's guiding principles, on the political life of the country, and on the various social and economic questions related to the four modernizations; it requires the CPPCC to exercise mutual supervision and to play a supervisory role in the enforcement of the constitution and the laws. We must encourage the free airing of views, open broad avenues to able

people and persistently refuse to seize on other's faults, slap labels on people and wield the big stick. We must encourage unreserved raising of opinions, demands, criticisms and suggestions from all quarters so as to help the government in concentrating correct ideas and in promptly discovering and correcting shortcomings and mistakes in its work.

To achieve the four modernizations, it is essential to strengthen ideological and political education among the people on a broad scale, while persisting in carrying out proletarian dictatorship over the few antisocialist elements. The CPPCC will undoubtedly play an important role in this work. The united front and the people's political consultative conference should carry forward the tradition of self-education and self-transformation, carry on ideological transformation in accord with the formula unity-criticism-unity, and help the masses and personages in various fields to continuously strengthen unity and make new progress on the common basis of serving socialism.

The current international and domestic situations are very favorable to the great cause of reunification of the motherland. The Chinese Government has clearly proclaimed the general principles concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland. The people's political consultative conference should work actively to promote the patriotic united front for Taiwan's early return to the motherland and for the accomplishment of the great cause of reunifying the motherland. At the same time, it should actively carry out activities of people's diplomacy, strengthen friendly exchanges with foreign friends and exert its efforts to develop the international united front against hegemonism.

During the new historic period, the tasks of the people's political consultative conference as an organization of the united front are extremely glorious. There is plenty of room for development in our work. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, let us unite and march forward along the socialist road to achieve our magnificent goal of realizing the four modernizations!

I wish this session every success.

CSO: 4005/21

THE ORGANIZATIONAL LINE IS THE GUARANTEE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINES (29 July 1979)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN /SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING/ in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 175-178

/Talk to People Attending An Enlarged Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Navy's Party Committee./

/Text/ In terms of the country as a whole, and in terms of major aspects, as a result of the debate over practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, and the "two whatevers," the problems in our ideological line have already been fairly clearly resolved, and the ideological line that Comrade Mao Zedong advocated of seeking truth in facts, relating theory to practice, and proceeding from reality in everything has been revived anew and developed. This is very important. GUANGMING RIBAO published an article on the issue of the criterion of truth, which aroused such a great reaction all of a sudden. It was termed "cutting down a banner," and this has further aroused our interest and attention. It was Lin Biao who first threw our party's ideological line into turmoil, and he was responsible for the book of quotations that debased Mao Zedong Thought and broke it into fragments rather than let people study and apply Mao Zedong Thought in an accurate and overall way to the pondering of problems, to the posing of questions, and to the solution of problems. I do not approve of the "two whatevers." The "two whatevers" is not Marxism or Mao Zedong Thought. Subsequently an explanation will be provided on how to study and apply Mao Zedong Thought accurately and as a whole. As for the thesis that practice is the sole standard for testing truth, quite a few people offered opposition at first; however, an overwhelming majority of cadres and the masses throughout the country have gradually come to accept it. This debate is not finished; it is very important today in the Navy's consideration of make-up courses. Discussion of the issue of the standards of truth is capital construction. Unless the issue of the ideological line is solved and thinking emancipated, a correct political line cannot be formulated, and if one is formulated, it will also not be possible to put it into effect. Our political line is the building of socialist modernization. The "gang of four" promoted "better poor and socialist than rich and capitalist," but if socialism is always poor, it will be unable to endure. In the international class struggle, we must hold fast to Marxism and to socialism, and demonstrate the superiority of Marxist ideology over all other ideologies, and the superiority of the socialist system to the capitalist system. Without an

emancipation of thinking, a seeking of truth in facts, proceeding from realities, and combining theory and practice, the present set of programs and policies will be impossible and the enthusiasm of the people cannot be aroused; thus a good job of modernization and demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system will be impossible. Yesterday a Shandong comrade told me of a formerly backward county that had been able to change from having long-standing, big and difficult problems to being advanced as a result of having emancipated thinking and adapting general methods to local situations. The ideological line is no small problem; it constitutes the foundation for determining the political line. The key to whether a correct political line can be carried out lies in the correctness of the ideological line. So, do not deprecate the contention that practice is the sole standard for testing truth. The significance of this contention is very great; its essence lies in whether or not there is to be adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Even though some people have not gotten it through their heads, the party's ideological line and political line have been set. What are the problems that we have not yet solved? They are problems in organization of the line. This is a very important problem. Once the political line has been set, it takes people to carry it out in concrete ways. Depending on the kind of people that carry it out, whether those who approve the party's political line, those who disapprove it, or those who maintain an in-between attitude, produces different results. This raises an issue of what kinds of people should be successors.

Following the smashing of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and particularly during the past year or more, we have redressed many cases of injustice, falsification, and wrong. Numerous old comrades have returned to their former work positions or have taken up functions similar to the ones they formerly performed. This was necessary during the early stage. However, at every level the age of leading bodies is too high, and energy insufficient. This problem also existed in the armed forces. The task that now stares old comrades in the face is conscious selection of young people, and selection of some young comrades in good physical condition as successors. They are solving this problem while we are still alive, because once we are dead, it will be very difficult to solve it. We now have a pretty good understanding of people's ideology and politics, and we are able to see which persons support the party's line, and which persons do not engage in factionalism and care about party spirit. Party spirit also includes linking up with the masses, hard work and plain living, seeking truth in facts, etc. Standards are numerous for selection of cadres, and two of them are most important. One is support for the political line and the ideological line of the Third Plenary Session, and the other is concern for party spirit and no engaging in factionalism.

We must pay attention. A large number of people still oppose the party's political line and ideological line. They are basically of the same ideological ilk at Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They suppose that the Central Committee is now engaged in retrogression, and is rightist opportunist. They raise the banner of support for Comrade Mao Zedong and are a part of the "two whatevers," but actually they have changed their stance to carry on the

Lin Biao and "gang of four" set of policies. Most of these people came to the fore during the Great Cultural Revolution from which they benefited. They feel that the present set of policies offer few advantages for them; consequently, they hanker after the past. With work, some of these people can be turned around; however, they cannot necessarily be turned around. Were those who have not turned around be allowed to hold power, would they obey the party? At the first opportunity, they would come forward and turn things upside down. In 1975 when I presided over the work of the Central Committee, Wang Yongwen said we would see where matters stood 10 years hence. Today too, there are matters about which we will see where we stand 10 years hence. We cannot underestimate the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and we cannot be too naive in our thinking. We must think ahead a little. We definitely must select successors while we are alive, use those comrades who show promise, bring them along for several years, and personally watch their growth. Where wrong selection has been done, it can still be changed. In solving the problem of the organizational line, the largest problem is also the toughest one and the most pressing one, and that is selection of successors. Of course, within the problem of the organizational line are other problems as well, such as how to solve the overstaffing of official organizations, how to solve problems in the retirement system, etc. The temple is only so big, and the Buddhas can only be so many; unless the old retire, the new cannot enter. This is simple logic. Therefore, old comrades should consciously retire. They should look at the overall interest; small principles should be subordinated to large principles. There should be no obstreperousness as soon as things bear on one's own specific matters. We will have to set up a retirement system; however, most important is the selection and nurture of successors. In the selection of young people for leading bodies, some places are still classifying by seniority and status, and are unable to make the most of their roles. We have talented people; the key lies in emancipation of thinking, and destruction of old conventions. So long as we dare to advance them and allow them to move into positions and make decisions, in a year or two they will be able to function. I have frequently remarked that when the army marched into the southwest, local cadres were few. Some platoon leaders acted as county CPC committee secretaries; some company commanders acted as county CPC committee secretaries, and some battalion and regimental commanders also acted as county CPC committee secretaries. After several years of tempering, those company and platoon cadres (naturally all had been hand picked), mastered their duties as well as battalion and regimental cadres, and all were very good county CPC committee secretaries.

The organizational line assures implementation of the political line. Solving the problem of the organizational line has been placed on our daily agendas of important things to do. If this problem cannot be solved, we cannot go to see Marx. While old comrades are alive, the problem can be solved fairly easily; but if the problem still has not been solved by the time we are no longer among the living, a great upheaval will take place throughout the land. You should not suppose that an upheaval cannot occur in China. People of the Lin Biao and "gang of four" ilk will not obey party directives and fear only that no upheaval will occur throughout the land. China's stability and

realization of the four modernizations both require a correct organizational line as their assurance. Only when those who genuinely adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and who have strong party spirit become successors can this be assured.

9432
CSO: 4005/999

GREETINGS TO THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHINESE WRITERS AND ARTISTS
(30 October 1979)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 179-186

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[Text] Fellow deputies and comrades:

It is an event of historic importance that the representatives of our writers, dramatists, artists, musicians, art performers, film workers and other literary and art workers of various nationalities are gathering in this hall to sum up together their basic experience of literary and art work in the past 30 years in order to enhance achievements, overcome shortcomings and discuss how to promote literature and art in the new historical period. On behalf of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, I would like to extend my warm greetings to the congress.

Present at this meeting are writers and artists of the older generation who have joined the new culture movement since the "May 4th Movement" period; writers and artists who have contributed to the cause of the people's liberation in various stages of our revolution after the "May 4th Movement"; writers and artists who grew up after the founding of the PRC; writers and artists who emerged during the struggle against Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; and also writers and artists from among our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. This meeting marks an unprecedented unity of the literary and art workers throughout our country.

Our line of literature and art was correct and our achievements in literature and art were remarkable during the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. The so-called "dictatorship of a sinister line in literature and art" was a complete slander fabricated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." During the 10 years that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant, a host of good literary and art works were banned and the broad masses of literary and art workers were framed and persecuted. During that period, many of our comrades and friends in the literary and art circle uprightly resisted and struggled against Lin Biao and the gang. During the struggle in which our party and people defeated Lin Biao and the gang, the literary and art workers made admirable and indelible contributions. I would like to express my cordial regards to you.

Since the overthrow of the "gang of four," the literary and art circle, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, has been implementing the party's policy concerning intellectuals. A number of literary and art works welcomed by the people have reappeared. With ease of mind, the literary and art workers have displayed increasing enthusiasm for creative work. In a short period of only several years, many good novels, poems, songs, dramas, films, quyi (ballads and cross talk), reportages, musical works, dances and photographic and art works have appeared in the course of settling accounts with the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These works play an active role in smashing the mental shackles imposed on people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," eliminating their pernicious influence, liberating the mind, heightening our fighting spirit and inspiring the people to dedicate themselves heart and soul to the four modernizations. In the last 3 years, the literary and art circle, I think, is one of the fields in which very good achievements have been made. The literary and art workers deserve the trust, love and respect of the party and the people. Rigorous testing by the storm of struggle has shown that our contingent of literary and art workers in general is good. The party and the people are very pleased to have such a contingent of literary and art workers.

Fellow deputies and comrades,

Our country has entered a new period of socialist modernization. While striving to enhance the productive forces by a big margin, we should improve and perfect the socialist economic and political systems, practice ample socialist democracy and develop an adequate socialist legal system. While striving to build a high material civilization, we should also raise the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation, develop a noble, rich and colorful cultural life and create a highly socialist spiritual civilization.

The dedication of heart and soul to the accomplishment of the four modernizations is the overriding central task of people throughout China for a considerably long time to come. It is a great and long-term undertaking which decides the destiny of our motherland.

The masses and the cadres on all fronts should be activists in emancipating the mind, promoting stability and unity, defending the motherland's unification and accomplishing the four modernizations. Whether a thing is advantageous or detrimental to the accomplishment of the four modernizations should be the most fundamental criterion for determining the right or wrong of all work. The literary and art workers should cooperate with educational workers, theoretical workers, journalist workers, political workers and other related comrades in waging a protracted and effective ideological struggle against ideas and habits that impede the four modernizations. It is imperative to criticize the ideas of the exploiting classes, the influences of the conservative and narrow-minded small producer mentality and anarchism and extreme individualism and to overcome bureaucracy. It is necessary to restore and carry forward the revolutionary traditions of our party and the people, to foster fine morality and social practices and make positive contributions to a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization.

In beginning this undertaking, there is plenty of room for us to develop literature and art. The literary and art department has an important responsibility, which cannot be shifted to other departments, to satisfy the people's varying demands in spiritual life, foster new socialist people and raise the ideological, cultural and moral levels of the whole society.

Our literature and art belong to the people. Our people are industrious, brave, firm and indomitable. They have wisdom and ideals, love the motherland and socialism, consider the interests of the whole and observe discipline. In the past several thousand years, particularly in the half century and more after the May 4th movement, they have had full confidence, worked hard, overcome all resistance and written one brilliant chapter after another of Chinese history. No powerful enemies have ever been able to overpower them. No difficulties, no matter how serious, have been able to block their advance. Literary and artistic creation must fully show the fine quality of our people and praise the great victories they have won in revolution and construction as well as in their struggles against various enemies and various difficulties.

Our writers and artists should exert still greater efforts and make still more achievements in depicting and fostering new socialist people. They should portray the pioneers in the four modernizations and depict the pioneers' brand new feature in having revolutionary ideals, noble sentiments, creative ability and a wide field of vision and in assuming a scientific attitude and realistic approach. They should use the image of the new people to fire the enthusiasm for socialism among the broad masses and give impetus to the masses' historic creative activities in the course of undertaking the four modernizations.

Our socialist literature and art should use vivid and touching artistic images to portray people's innate character in various social relations, express the demand of the times for progress and show the trend of historical development. It should strive to educate the people in socialist ideology and imbue them with a spirit of struggle for a better future.

China has a long history, vast land and a large population. People of different nationalities, professions, ages, experience and educational levels have different habits, customs, cultural traditions and artistic inclinations. Any artistic creation that provides education, enlightenment, entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment on a grand scale or small, written in a serious or humorous vein, lyrical or philosophical, all should be given a place in our literary and art field. Feats of heroism or daily labor, the struggle of ordinary people, their joys and sorrows, the life of today's people as well as that of the ancients should all be portrayed by literature and art. We should learn from all progressive and fine pieces of literary and art works and performing arts of China's ancient times and foreign countries and use them for reference.

We should continue to stick to the orientation set by Comrade Mao Zedong for literary and art creation of serving the people, the worker-peasant-soldier masses in the first place, and to keep to his principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Things foreign and ancient should be used to serve modern China, and we must weed through the old to bring forth the new. In artistic creation, we should advocate free

style. In artistic theory, we should advocate free discussion among those with different viewpoints and among different schools of thought. Lenin said: "In literature, it is absolutely necessary to have plenty of room for individual creation and inclination and plenty of room for different ideas, imaginations, forms and contents." In order to attain our common objective of accomplishing the four modernizations, we should open up a broader avenue for our literature and art and have daily increasing varieties of ideas guiding our literary and art creation, themes and techniques. We should dare to create new things. We should prevent and overcome the tendency of monotonous, mechanical formulation and generalization.

Any art workers who recognize their responsibility to the people should consistently gear their work to the needs of the broad masses, endeavor to improve their work constantly and guard against rough and slipshod work. They should seriously weigh the social effect of their work and strive to provide the people with the best food for thought. In the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" corrupted people's souls with the reactionary and decadent ideology of the exploiting class and poisoned the social atmosphere, thus seriously undermining our revolutionary tradition and fine habits. Our writers and artists should provide the people with a broader mental outlook through their creative work and continue to wage a resolute struggle against the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They should be sober-minded toward the pressure from the "left" and from the right to stir up social disorder and disrupt political stability and unity through all forms of activities. These were erroneous tendencies that went contrary to the interests and wishes of the majority of the people. They should join other forces in society and, through their literary and art creation and by closely coordinating with other work in the ideological sphere, alert the people to these dangers and condemn and oppose them.

Writers and artists should exert themselves in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and enhance their ability to comprehend and analyze life as well as the ability to grasp the essence of things through reality. It is our hope that more and more comrades among the writers and artists will become engineers in fact as well as in name to shape the soul of mankind.

Those who educate others must themselves be educated. Those who give the people nourishment must first absorb nourishment themselves. Who, then, should be the ones to give the writers and artists an education and provide them nourishment? The answer provided by Marxism is: the people. The people are the mothers of writers and artists. All progressive writers and artists owe their artistic lives to their flesh-and-blood relations with the people. Artistic life would wither for those who neglected or severed such a relationship. The people need art, and art needs the people even more. The basic way to make our socialist literature and art flourish is for the writers and artists to conscientiously draw raw material, themes, plots, words, poetic sentiment and picturesque meaning from the people's lives and to nurture themselves in the hardworking spirit of making history. We are convinced that our writers and artists will continue to advance unswervingly along this road.

Writers and artists should continue to improve and enhance their ability to express themselves artistically. All writers and artists should study painstakingly and absorb, apply and develop all fine artistic skills, domestic and foreign, and create perfect artistic forms with the national character and the spirit of the times. Only by defying difficulties, studying and practicing diligently and exploring dauntlessly will the writers and artists be able to scale the heights in art. We sincerely hope that the literary and art contingent will unite even closer and grow. All writers and artists, professional or amateur, socialist and patriotic writers and artists and all those who hope for the reunification of the motherland should help one another and learn from each other and devote all their energy to literary and art creation, research and criticism. The people should be the ones to appraise the literary and art creations in the light of ideological and artistic achievements. Writers and artists should heed criticism and accept constructive opinion from all circles that are the impetus to their progress and improvement in their work.

Within the literary and art contingents, there should be comradely and friendly discussion among writers and artists of different categories and schools, between comrades engaging in literary and art creation and criticism and between writers and artists and their readers. They should present facts and reason things out. They should tolerate criticism and countercriticism, uphold truth and correct mistakes as necessary.

Writers and artists are burdened with the heavy responsibility of discovering and training young writers and artists. Young writers and artists in their prime of life have sharp minds. They represent the future of our literary and art undertakings. We should give them enthusiastic help and at the same time set strict demands on them, so that they will not deviate from real life and will make continuous ideological progress in the pursuit of art. Middle-aged writers and artists who form the backbone of our literary and art contingents should be fully utilized.

Great importance should be attached to the training of literary and artistic talents. There are indeed too few outstanding writers and artists in a big country such as ours with a population of over 900 million. This situation is very incompatible with our time. We have to create the essential conditions ideologically and on the strength of our work system to cultivate and bring up outstanding talents.

The party committees at all levels should exercise effective leadership over literary and art work. In leading literary and art work, the party committees should, based on the characteristics of literature and art and the law of development, help writers and artists acquire the conditions for making literary and art undertakings flourish, raise the literary and art level and create fine literary and art creations as well as develop performing skills worthy of our great people and great era. The party committees should not indulge in issuing orders or insist that literature and art be subordinate to a temporary, specific and direct political task.

At present, sustained efforts should be made to help writers and artists continue to emancipate their minds, break loose from the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and uphold the correct political orientation and

to give them support from every field, including material support, to insure that the writers and artists can fully utilize their wisdom and talents. We recommend that leading members exchange views with writers and artists as equals; on the other hand, writers who are party members should play an exemplary role with their own achievements in uniting and drawing the broad masses of writers and artists together to move forward. The bureaucratic way of doing things must be discarded. Administrative orders in the sphere of literary and art creation and criticism must be abolished. Such things will have a counterproduction effect if they are looked upon as upholding party leadership. We should uphold the ideological line of dialectical materialism, analyze both positive and negative experience in the history of literary and art development over the past 30 years, free ourselves from the trammels of all sorts of outmoded ideas, study new situations and solve new problems based on the characteristics of the new period. The absurd way pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" undermined the party leadership over literary and art work and stifled literary and art life. It is very essential for writers and artists to fully utilize the individual creative spirit, since literary and art undertakings involve complicated mental labor. The subject matter and the method of presentation can only be explored and decided step by step by the writers and artists themselves in their artistic work. No outside interference should be permitted.

Fellow delegates and comrades: Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out at the founding of new China: "An upsurge of cultural construction will naturally appear with the approach of the upsurge in economic construction." Through arduous struggle and by surmounting increasing difficulties, we have smashed the "gang of four" and swept away the big stumbling block that stood on our road to progress. We can now say with full confidence that this situation will soon emerge; conditions for putting into practice the Marxist principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" are daily ripening. Only by working hard will the broad masses of writers and artists unfold a new prospect of making our literature and art flourish and bloom.

This congress is the first grand gathering of writers and artists from all parts of the country who are on the new Long March. The comrades attending this congress are those who have made fruitful achievements. It is our conviction that following the closing of this congress, comrades will produce more and better artistic work for the motherland and the people. I wish this congress full success.

CSO: 4005/21

SENIOR CADRES SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN CARRYING FORWARD THE PARTY'S FINE TRADITIONS (2 November 1979)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN /SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING/ in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 187-202

/A Report by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to Cadres Above Deputy Ministry Level in Central Party, Government, and Military Institutions./

/Text/ Today I would like to talk about several problems with our high ranking cadres.

The First Problem. High Ranking Cadres' Livelihood and Entitlements

The Central Committee and the State Council are preparing to issue a document titled, "Various Regulations About High Ranking Cadres' Livehihood and Entitlements," which was drafted primarily by the Central Discipline Inspection Committee with the help of other organizations concerned. They are also preparing to make required revisions on the basis of views discussed by comrades in attendance here. I read with great happiness the views that everyone discussed, because everyone approved the making of such regulations and wanted the regulations to be somewhat stricter and more concrete. This shows that an overwhelming majority of our high ranking cadres are concerned about the overall interests of our party and country, and have an understanding of the situation pertaining to overall interests. After this document has been discussed and passed by the Politburo, plans call for it to be handed down for trial use internally after which it will be formally published. This regulation is basically a reiteration of some regulations prior to the Great Cultural Revolution. It contains not very many new rules, and some have been somewhat liberalized as compared with that time. On the housing problem, for example, rules are slightly more liberal than at that time. The document stipulates that each person can have only one dwelling; however, this dwelling may be large or small. Today an extremely small number of people have two or three houses! This is not only the case among high ranking cadres, but also for cadres at lower levels! The document provides that no matter how large the area of the house, rent must be paid except for those parts used for public business or the entertainment of guests. This was also the case before the Great Cultural Revolution, and we paid rent. There are numerous other regulations such as requiring payment for the use of motor vehicles for private business. This was also the case before the Great Cultural Revolution. Now,

basically our old rules have been revived, and there are not more new, harsh regulations. So I say that this regulation should be put into effect because it was in effect before the Great Cultural Revolution.

It seems this regulation has been somewhat late in the making, and this has really resulted from negligence. However, we could not justify to the people any further delay in making such a regulation. Everyone knows that most recently one of the major controversies among the mass of people has been opposition to cadres' privileges. In talking about privileges, I fear that they are manifested among high ranking cadres first of all. Of course, I am not saying that all high ranking cadres are this way; many of our high ranking cadres are very hardworking and plain living, however, some of them are really rather terribly privileged. This situation also exists among cadres and the middle and lower levels. For example, some commune CPC committee secretaries, some county CPC committee secretaries, and some comrades in industrial and mining enterprises are rather terribly privileged. It should be realized that this is not a matter of party workstyle; it has turned into a part of the social atmosphere and has become a social problem. Now we must begin with regulations on the livelihood and entitlements of high ranking cadres, and gradually go on to formulate some regulations on the issue of the livelihood and entitlements of cadres at all levels to overcome privileges. If only high ranking cadres will take the lead, this matter can be handled easily. Opposition of the masses of people to special privileges, and opposition of cadres at lower levels to special privileges is directed toward our high ranking cadres first of all. However, it is not only directed at high ranking cadres, but to middle and low level cadres as well. The masses of people are very dissatisfied about cadre privileges.

Right now the broad masses of people are most concerned about three major problems as follows: One is price rises; one is cadre privileges; and one is the housing shortage. The masses of people (including party members and cadres) are universally dissatisfied about privileges (including obtaining advantages through pull and influence), and some people with other axes to grind use this problem to cause trouble. A small number of bad people at "Democracy Wall" and some who mingle among those appealing to higher authorities for help use this. We truly must coolly reflect that some things that happen are outrageous! Some people pursue a life of ease; the longer they live in a house, the more spacious, attractive, and high class it becomes. For their own convenience, some people may do various things that violate rules and regulations. This causes us to become divorced from the masses, and divorced from cadres, and it ruins the atmosphere. People are very sensitive to these happenings.

We must revive and carry forward the party's fine tradition of hard work and plain living, and link closely with the masses. Everyone of us was born in misery and has gone through numerous periods of hardship during the period of the Land Reform, the period of the War of Resistance to Japan, and the period of the War of Liberation. The time of Resist America, Aid Korea was also very bitter! How were we able to go through situations of very great hardship in the past? Basically it was because our cadres and party members shared the suffering of the masses. Think back to 1958 and 1959 when we

committed such "leftist" errors that caused the national economy to encounter very great hardships. We had no choice but to reduce investment in national capital construction from almost 10 billion yuan to somewhat more than 5 billion yuan, to send 20 million staff and workers to the countryside, and to close some enterprises. How were we able to do this at that time? What was the reason that readjustment of the national economy was carried out rather smoothly at that time. It was because relations between the party and the masses were close, and the party's prestige was fairly high. When the difficulties were presented to the people and the reasons explained clearly to the masses, a large amount of work was done. Just the sending to the countryside of 20 million people alone was no easy matter. If the party and government had not enjoyed very high prestige, it would have been unachievable. In addition, at that time the entire atmosphere was different. Our cadres were fairly close to the masses, so they were very quickly able to pass through adversity. It should be said that material conditions today are somewhat better than at that time. Except for housing, the people's livelihood is somewhat better than at that time. This being the case, why is it that the masses have so many complaints with us? This is truly directly related to our being divorced from the masses, and particularly to high ranking cadres being divorced from the masses. Certainly, this is also related to our not having done enough work, particularly propaganda work and educational work. We have not placed problems before the people, gained a common understanding, and discussed solutions to problems together with the masses.

Cadre privileges are a major reason for our being divorced from the masses. If our comrades are overly concerned with their personal welfare and the welfare of their family, they devote neither much thought nor energy to concern for the masses and can, at most, only go through the motions of handling matter that must be handled. Today a small number of people act as lords and masters, and some of the things they do are truly outrageous! They are divorced from the masses and divorced from cadres, and those below follow the bad example of those above, with the result that the social atmosphere has been ruined. Did a CPC secretary such as a county CPC secretary or a commune CPC secretary have so much authority in the past? Not at all! Today an extremely small number of people have used this authority to transgress the welfare of the masses, live a privileged life, and even play the tyrant and perpetrate outrages as though a matter of course. Recently the numbers of people appealing to higher authorities for help are large, and certainly a small number of them are scoundrels, but the problems that some of these people report are reasonable or certainly reasonable. However, as a result of the limitations of present conditions, they are hard to solve for the moment. Numerous problems that yet another substantial number of people report should be and can be solved in accordance with prevailing party and government policies. However, a small number of our comrades adopt a bureaucratic attitude toward these problems that should be and can be solved. They are indifferent and dilly-dally for a long time without deciding, and some individuals even violate the law and discipline, engaging in attacks and retaliation. This is extremely wrong and cannot be permitted. If we high ranking cadres are the first to solve problems that exist in this regard, we can boldly and courageously go on to solve this kind of problem in other fields throughout the country. If the problem is not solved at the top, we have no right to speak,

and people may ask what about yourselves? In short, now is the time for regulations on livelihood and entitlements.

I also want to say that some of our high ranking cadres not only enjoy privileges themselves, but their relatives, sons and daughters have been affected and spoiled. A small number of comrades have reported matters not very good in their own units or elsewhere. In many cases sons and daughters have done bad things for which their parents bear the stigma. For example, up until the time of the Great Cultural Revolution, our party's and country's secrets were kept rather well and rarely divulged. But nowadays, the sons and daughters of some cadres can read secret documents at will, and disseminate them as they please. Individuals have even sold or given intelligence to foreigners. This is one of the main reasons why we cannot maintain secrecy about numerous matters today. While on the subject, some of our present ways of doing things just must be changed. Formerly regulations required that classified documents not leave offices, and when couriers carrying classified documents carried documents on trips, two escorts went along; an individual could not go alone. Nowadays, however, some people simply put classified documents in their briefcases and carry them to any place they please. Documents are in the custody of a single person who puts them wherever he pleases. This will not do! There have to be regulations. Nowadays there are no rules about where one does official work, and some high ranking cadres are accustomed to working at home. I am not saying that a small number of aged and weak comrades cannot work at home; however, generally speaking this should not be the case. Numerous matters may be resolved when worked on collectively, so why should there be a passing of documents back and forth with a lot of underlining? Isn't this bureaucratic? Some matters have been impossible to resolve after 1/2 year of underlining, and just whether they have been approved or disapproved remains unknown.

Rectification of party workstyles and building of a civilian workstyle must begin with rectification of our high ranking cadres. Implementation of "Various Regulations on the Livelihood and Entitlements of High Ranking Cadres" can bring numerous benefits. First of all, bureaucracy will be reduced somewhat by itself. Certainly, our lives may not be as comfortable as in the past, but they will still be heaven knows how much better than that of cadres and the masses of people in general. Sometimes inconveniences may result as, for example, having to pay a little to take a taxi to see a movie. But if you do not want to spend the money, then don't go see the movie. What's so extraordinary about that? Once this regulation has been passed and forwarded by the Central Committee and the State Council, it will have the force of law and must be resolutely carried out whether one agrees with it or not.

Prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, we raised the subject of how to bring the life of high ranking cadres a little closer to that of lower ranking cadres and the masses of people. On three occasions we have lowered the wage standards of high ranking cadres, and have clearly ruled that high ranking cadres' wage standards are not to be raised again. In future, only on the basis of the development of production may the wages of the broad masses of cadres, staff and workers be gradually raised, and the standard of living of the masses

improved. In consideration of certain requirements of high level cadre work, their wage standards are not to be lowered further in future; however, neither may they differ greatly from those of cadres in general and of staff and workers, and their standard of living may not be much different from that of the masses. They are not to enjoy special entitlements; special entitlements are frequently greater than wages. Today the wages of our high ranking cadres are by no means too high, but their other entitlements are too liberal. This means being divorced from the masses and divorced from cadres, and even the corrosion of one's own sons, daughters, and family, and the ruin of the atmosphere. It also means that bureaucratism cannot be overcome. So, in the implementation of this regulation, everybody must be sufficiently mentally prepared beginning with our Politburo comrades. Hardships will have to be endured. Only in this way will all of us have the right to speak.

The Politburo has yet to formally discuss and pass this document; however, the Central Committee has decided to solve this problem. It was not easy to make this decision, and it was known that it would offend people. Possibly there are a small number of people who have not straightened out their ideology, and we will offend this minority first. Generally speaking, everybody approved it in principle, but there may be some mental impediments in carrying it out. As soon as it affects a person's specific situation, possibly there will be some impediments. This problem has to be thought through. Not only must one personally obey this regulation consciously, but it is also necessary to do a good job with families, sons and daughters, and to do a good job with personnel concerned. Everyone should think about the past; things are much better now than previously.

The Second Problem. Diligent Selection of Successors

Solution to problems existing in the livelihood and entitlements of cadres must begin with high ranking cadres, and selection of successors is even more directly related to high ranking cadres.

Our country is facing a serious problem today. It is not whether the line and program for the four modernizations is correct, but rather the lack of a large number of able people to implement this line and program. The reason is very simple. Everything is done by people, and without large numbers of capable people, our endeavors cannot succeed. Therefore, in working on the four modernizations, training and selection of large numbers of qualified people is urgently needed. This is a new problem, and is also one that poses a responsibility for old comrades and high ranking cadres, namely conscientious selection of successors. The bulk of old cadres are now about 60 years old, and I fear most are slightly more than 60. They just do not have enough energy, otherwise why should some of these comrades work at home? Why don't they put in 8 hours in an office? Among those comrades in attendance there are some who really stay in an office for 8 hours, but I doubt that half do. Our old comrades have abundant experience, but when it comes to energy, they should know their own limitations. Take myself, for example. My energy is far less than what it had been. I can still handle two events each day in the morning and the afternoon, but if something has to be done in the evening I do not feel up to it. This is a natural law; nothing can be done about it. Since the smashing

of the "gang of four," we have continuously invited back our old comrades, and we have restored them, by and large, to their former duties or to corresponding duties. In this way the number of our cadres has increased. Inviting old comrades to return is entirely necessary and is extremely correct. The problem we face today is lack of a group of cadres in the prime of life who have specialized knowledge. Without such a group of cadres, the four modernizations cannot be achieved. Our old comrades should realize that selection of successors cannot be delayed. If it is, achievement of the four modernizations will become an empty phrase. I believe that comrades may have heard and seen many facts attesting to this.

The responsibility of us old cadres is the conscientious selection of successors. Not long ago I made a trip on which I spoke of this matter along the way. In his speech at the latest national anniversary, Comrade Ye Jianying also spoke of it. This task must be done personally by old comrades and high ranking cadres. They must investigate and study, seek people out for discussion, listen to the view of the masses, and prepare to hand over positions to successors. Right now any old comrade and high ranking cadre, whether or not he conforms to standards for party members and standards for cadres, should be looked at in terms of whether he is able to do a conscientous job of selecting a successor who meets specifications. We require readjustment and arrangements for those in charge, deputies, and assistants in leading bodies at all levels (including party branches) within the next 3 years or so. Higher ranking institutions can consider solution to the problem of choosing relatively young cadres as deputies and assistants first. Old comrades can continue in command for a period of time and be in charge. Lower ranking institutions that are able to select young people to be in charge should select them directly. If we are unable to solve this problem from top to bottom within 3 years or so, it will be even harder to handle in future. We must analyze young people in specific terms. A small number of youths have been deeply poisoned by the ideological system of the "gang of four," and they have yet to realize their error and show repentance. We positively cannot select these people as successors. Unless we pay attention to this problem now, in future when we are all dead or no longer in charge of matters, a large number of these kinds of people may become successors causing calamity for our party and our country. Are we not now overturning numerous cases that occurred during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild? If those people become successors and hold power, they will want to overturn them again.

We have now proposed a good condition for the selection of successors, namely that people'spolitical stand be clear. In his speech at the national anniversary, Comrade Ye Jianying proposed three criteria. One was staunch support for the party's political line and its ideological line. The second was selflessness in public affairs, strict observance of laws and discipline, adherence to the party spirit, and the stamping out of factionalism. The third was strong dedication to the revolution and a sense of political responsibility, with professional ability to perform work competently. Additionally was the energy to put in 18 hours work. This point should not be overlooked. The pathfinders for the four modernizations must have specialized

knowledge, must have zeal, and must have energy. No matter how brilliant your views may be, without energy it is very difficult to do a good job. We must realize that diligent selection of successors is a strategic issue that relates to the major issue of the party's and the country's long-term interests. Unless we solve this problem in 3 years or so, it is hard to say what might happen 10 years hence. We must be concerned for the country, the people, and the party! We must realize that this is a matter of fundamental nature. We have a correct ideological line and a correct political line, but unless organizational problems are solved, implementation of correct political lines cannot be assured, and we will be unable to hand over the books to the party and the people.

Our high ranking cadres must take personal responsibility in the selection of cadres to be successors who meet the three conditions spoken of by higher authority. First our own thinking has to be clear, and we must take the initiative in acting and not just rely on the Central Committee Organization Department because they do not understand all trades and professions and neither are they familiar with all cadres. The sooner successors are chosen the better. The real mainstay cadres in our work today are people around 40 years old; there are still very few mainstay cadres around 30 years old. We must courageously promote mainstay cadres at this level. When comrades in attendance here assumed major responsibilities, they were not very old. Some became regimental commanders or divisional commanders, and some became army commanders when they were only 20-some years old. Is it possible that the young people of today are more stupid than the youth at that time? No, it is because we have kept a lid on these people; the force of the habit of classifying people by seniority and status has not permitted these young people to rise. It seems that a large number of comrades will not do even before they achieve positions of leadership; actually, by giving them a boost and helping them, they will very quickly be able to manage.

The high ranking institutions in our armed forces, such as the major military regions, must also choose some younger cadres. The armed forces has it own characteristics, and cadres are to be promoted step by step; however, old conventions have to be broken too. Civilian life differs from the armed forces; entreprenurial units differ from the armed forces, and schools and scientific research units differ even more from the armed forces in that they may break the rules in the selection of capable people. Some provincial, municipal, and autonomous region CPC committees have also promoted one or two slightly younger cadres, but so-called younger means over 40 years old or about 50 years old; furthermore, their names are always placed at the end. This shows that the old conventions have not been completely destroyed. Yet another problem is that members of leading bodies are too numerous. A CPC committee standing committee frequently has 15 or 16, or 17 or 18, or even more. Now, we must conscientiously choose fairly young comrades in the prime of life, including heads and deputies in medium and low level leading institutions, and deputies and assistants in high level leading institutions. We must also prepare to have them take over as heads in another 3, 4, or 5 years. If we choose wrongly, there is still time to make changes.

As regards selection of talented people to foster schools and scientific research units, I spoke yesterday at the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Academy of Sciences about the need to establish an academic degree system, and the need for academic and technical position titles. Today there are several young scientists who have earned a reputation both domestically and internationally, so why should they not be promoted to be professors or to be researchers? So long as people have been creative and have made contributions academically, they should be awarded commensurate academic posts without ranking by seniority and status. In industrial plants, people who are professionally qualified and who have fairly high managerial skills should always be promoted to plant manager regardless of their age or their seniority, which are not to be considered. I will tell everyone something. When we instituted that system for selecting workshop managers and plant team and group heads, results were very good in units where it was tried. One important point is to link operation of an enterprise to the workers' personal welfare. All people that the workers have elected democratically are people considered capable of running the enterprise, because the workers receive bonuses when enterprises are run well and the contribution to the country is also great. Today we are only solving the problem of choosing workshop managers and plant team and group heads. How plant managers and directors will be selected in future very much merits study.

In summary, it is necessary to take firm hold of the fostering and selection of talented specialists in order to make a go of the four modernizations. In schools there should be posts for professors (first, second, and third level professors), deputy professors, lecturers, and assistant professors. In entreprenurial units there should be posts for chief engineers, engineers, senior accountants, and accountants. All who meet these standards should be given commensurate titles and enjoy commensurate wages and entitlements. Wages may be set a little lower now, but not too low, and there can be no egalitarianism or eating out of a large common pot. In research institutes, the wages of fine researchers may be higher than those of the director of the institute, and in schools, the wages of good professors may be higher than those of the school director. This is the only way to encourage progress and produce talented people. We are going to establish such a series of systems so that people who have specialized knowledge and are in the prime of life will be chosen for work positions in which they can display their talents. I also want to say here that generally scientists should not be bothered with administrative duties; they should be allowed to concentrate their energies to the maximum extent possible on research tasks and do a good job of research work.

We must particularly pay attention to the selection of middle age cadres. Maybe in another 5 years a group of talented people may come from among college graduates. They will all be below 30 years old, and we must be sure to promote these people. However, in terms of present circumstances, the emphasis should be placed on selection of middle age cadres. From among them must be selected people who meet the three conditions as successors. Old comrades must make way. We should break the rules in selecting talented people and not do things according to the old forms. We should realize that this is

a matter of fundamental importance for generations to come. Never mind a matter of fundamental importance for generations to come; think first about it being a fundamental matter for a decade. Back in 1975 I thought about this issue. At that time Chairman Mao wanted me to take charge of the work of the Central Committee, and Wang Hongwen ran off to Shanghai where he told people to see where matters stood 10 years hence. I discussed this matter with Comrade Li Xiannian at that time, asking what we would have become in 10 years? In terms of age, we would be unable to overwhelm them, and comrades in attendance here would not be able to overwhelm them. Were those who adhered to the ideological system of the "gang of four" to take power, you would not be able to overwhelm them either. How long will you live? Even if you were still alive, your brains would not be working right. This is a natural law.

We say that capitalist society is no good, but it is extraordinarily courageous in discovering talent and using talent. It is characterized by not classifying according to seniority and status; everybody who is qualified is used, and it feels this is only as it should be. Looked at in these terms, our system for selecting cadres is backward. Classifying according to seniority and status has become a force of habit, and it is a backward force of habit.

In the selection of cadres and the selection of talented people, so long as we select well and select correctly, our endeavors will have great prospects for success. The reason is very clear. Setting a correct ideological line and political line alone, and setting the goal of the four modernizations is not enough; it is necessary to have people to do these things. Who will do them? Relying on us sitting in offices underlining will not do in any case; this is hopeless. The ones who are really doing the actual work today are the young people. Since this is so, why not promote them to leadership positions? Some people say they are not carrying their own weight, so help them carry it. Nowadays there are also too many temples. Recently we considered whether it is good that the State Council should be divided up into some many ministries and commissions? Is there any need to have so many offices and bureaus below ministries and commissions? Is it necessary to have that many branches of service in the armed forces? Couldn't they be properly restructured? I believe that such huge growth of our civilian leadership institutions and armed forces command organizations, and such overstaffing is uncalled for! Nowadays one can see the extremely great harm done everywhere by our bureaucratism, bureaucratic organizations, and bureaucratic systems. There are numerous temples nowadays, and a very large number of Buddhas in each temple as well. Old comrades smother every thing, and young people cannot move up. Therefore, we must reform the existing cadre work system and build a system that favors promotions of young cadres.

During the past several years I have proposed setting up an advisor system, but this has not been worked out entirely. Numerous people have no desire to become advisors. Now, it seems that not just an advisor system can be genuinely relied upon to solve problems; what is important is establishment of a retirement system. This problem is closely related to each and every one of us, so comrades should consider it well for a moment. Without the

establishment of this system, the situation of overstaffing of official organizations with people in excess of needs, as well as the problem of young people being unable to rise cannot be solved. With a retirement system in which a cadre retirement age is clearly stipulated for individual departments and jobs at all levels, everybody would know the year in which he or she was due to retire. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, we considered establishing a retirement system, but we felt at the time that it was not urgent. At that time, most comrades in attendance here were 47 or 48 years old. In the 13 years between 1966 and the present, most comrades in attendance here have become about 60 years old. This problem has become urgent, and the time for solution has arrived. Isn't the institution of a retirement system to look down on cadres? It is not a question of looking up to or looking down on people. This is an important issue relating to the flourishing and development, and the vigor and vitality of our party and country. It appears that the advisor system is one way out that should be retained, but more important is establishment of a retirement system. Numerous comrades have proposed this idea, but we have not yet discussed it formally, so today I have put it forward for discussion.

Nowadays old comrades have very many responsibilities. And what is the fisrt responsibility? Conscientious selection of good successors. With the selection of qualified and good people, we can hand over the books, and the work of this generation will be about finished. Other daily work is the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth responsibility. The first matter is conscientious selection of successors.

What I have said today is not happy news for high ranking cadres. You see, old cadres are out of luck now. Regulations have been made about their livelihoods and entitlements, which are to be restricted; there are to be virtually no privileges; and then there is the retirement question, and reference to removing Buddhas from the temple to make room for new Buddhas, etc. Isn't this a case of the spearhead being pointed at the old guys? I feel it should not be regarded in this way. We must be conscious about this problem. The way I feel about it is that if the party permits me to retire today, I will retire at once. This is the truth and no lie. In terms of the overall cause, I cannot retire now, and I feel nobody would approve it. However, my own feelings are that this problem is really too important. We must look ahead. Our endeavors are endeavors that will last throughout the ages! What we are proposing and facing today is an important problem that must or may be confronted in within 10 years. If one thinks a little farther, what problems will be confronted and what situations can occur 20 years hence? How many of the comrades in attendance here will still be alive 20 years hence? Of course I hope that everyone will have a long life; however, natural laws cannot be resisted. If we do not think ahead a little and look ahead a little, and not consider this problem in terms of the fundamental interests of our party and country, we will be unable to come to an accurate conclusion and it will be impossible to decide or handle many problems.

The Third Problem. Genuine Concern for the Masses' Livelihood

Relations between our party and the people used to be very good. Close relations with the masses has been one of the party's fine traditions. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ruined this fine tradition of our party. However, to lay this problem of being divorced from the masses entirely at the doorstep of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" does not conform to realities. We ourselves bear responsibility. Some systems that were divorced from the masses, including special privileges, already existed before the Great Cultural Revolution, but were not as rampant as now. At that time everybody was able to exercise self-restraint, and they were more solicitous of the masses in contrast to the present time. Formerly when a leading comrade visited a unit, he went into the kitchen to look around first, and he also looked at the toilet and bathing facilities. There are still people who do this, but not many of them. Very many comrades just do not maintain contact with the masses. A person in charge of a school does not talk with the students or may even have very little contact with the teachers. Our historical experience has been that the tougher the times, the more concern for the masses. So long as you care about the masses and group together with the masses, not only not going in for privileges, but enduring privations with the masses, any problem can be readily solved and any hardship overcome.

While we are at it, let us talk about propaganda and educational work. Our propaganda and educational work is very important and has achieved very much. Recently, however, some problems in propaganda have truly not been fully considered and some onesidedness exists that has caused difficulties for comrades working at lower levels. To give an example, RENMIN RIBAO published two articles not long, one after another, about appeals to higher authority. The first article appeared on 17 September, and immediately a rush of people making appeals ensued. The second article appeared on 22 October and explained principles clearly. Very quickly the number of people making appeals decreased. What does this tell you? It shows that simple newspaper articles can produce such great effects. Were each of our units to explain clearly to the masses the problems that the country faces, and even to contrast today's difficulties with those of 1962, and to explain to the masses all the actions we are taking to overcome difficulties, the sentiment of the masses and the masses response would be bound to be different. So long as we unite closely with the masses, do a thorough job, and explain reasons clearly to the masses, it is possible to gain the sympathy and understanding of the masses, and even greater hardships can also be overcome.

Some of the problems that are occurring now are the result of our having been pretty well divorced from the masses for a fairly long period of time. We must do painstaking ideological work among the masses, including painstaking ideological work among those who regularly paste up big character posters and make speeches at "Democracy Wall." Certainly the extremely small number of scoundrels are to be struck down too. We must use two tactics against them, not just one. We must use various kinds of education as the main tactic. Our putting forward of the eight character policy of economic readjustment, restructuring, reorganization, and upgrading is entirely correct. Readjustment of the economy has become more and more necessary. However, since our work has

not kept pace, a substantial number of people mistakenly regard the eight character policy as a "disappointment" policy. Then with the increases in prices, they feel that the four modernizations is hopeless. So, our work must keep pace, and our public opinion tools must keep pace too. Whenever a place or a unit encounters any problems, it should take the initiative in propagandizing them and explaining them to the masses, and do a good job of it. They should be sure to listen to the voice of the masses, discuss the handling of matters with the masses, and overcome hardships together. Some schools students have raised problems in their daily lives. They said that no one manages the kitchen, with the result that the spinach is chopped just slightly, and it is thrown into a pot and cooked with the sand still on it. Cutting it a little finer and washing all the sand out of it can certainly be done, and this does not necessitate any increase in costs. But work is not done thoroughly; there is no keeping close to the masses or keeping close to cadres at lower levels, so these problems cannot be solved. Many of the masses have made appeals to higher authority about numerous things that are occurring now. Sometimes they occur because our work does not keep pace, and none of them are the result of doing a good job. Certainly there are some scoundrels who break the laws and discipline among those making appeals, and one cannot say our work is in question.

Today it is necessary for cadres throughout the country, beginning with high ranking cadres, to play a model leadership role in reviving and persevering in our party's traditional workstyle of hard work and plain living, and uniting closely with the masses. In undertaking the four modernizations, we may face difficulties in many areas as a result of insufficient experience. For example, managerial personnel are lacking and technical personnel are lacking; this poses difficulties. In addition, restructuring of an enterprise necessitates reductions in personnel, and how to find places for these personnel is also a difficulty. In another example, our building of a retirement system is very correct; however, many people will oppose it mentally and this is also a very great difficulty. In the final analysis, these problems can be solved only by believing in the masses, relying on the masses, and following the mass line fully. Carrying forward of the party's traditional workstyle of close links with the masses will require that our old cadres play a model leadership role. A group of young cadres will have to be nurtured and selected for leadership positions at every level, and old cadres will have to pass on experience to them and inculcate in them a fine workstyle so that they will be able to continue and carry forward the fine workstyle of hard work and plain living, and of closely uniting with the masses. It is necessary that they understand that not only is it necessary to have young people to solve problems, and not only is professional knowledge required to solve problems, but a fine workstyle is also necessary. Close links to the masses is a most fundamental point. One should not "become lord and master," and the "yamen workstyle" should be opposed. This is a fundamental ideological concept of Comrade Mao Zedong, and we should handle matters now in accordance with these ideological concepts.

Comrades! Our high ranking cadres have been nurtured and trained by the party for a long time. An overwhelming majority of comrades who have been tested through long experience resolutely do what the party says, and act in

accordance with party directives. They are the ones whom Lin Biao and the "gang of four" walled of and struggled against. They are dedicated heart and soul, and strive to work for the party and the people with heart and soul. They are the ones who maintain the fine traditions and workstyle of the party. We believe that under new historical conditions and in the realization of the new Long March of the four modernizations, everyone will actively respond to the party's call, will take the leading in a model way in carrying forward the party's fine tradition of hard work, plain living, and closely uniting with the people, will consciously obey pertinent regulations, will resolutely oppose privileges, will correct all unhealthy tendencies; will definitely do a conscientious job of selecting and nurturing successors, will do a good job in turning work over to successors little by little, and will fulfill their own glorious mission.

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THE PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR TASK (16 January 1980)

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/Speech at a cadres' meeting called by the Party Central Committee/

/Text/ Comrades, on New Year's Day I talked for about a quarter-hour at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Comrade Hu Yaobang and other comrades wanted me to talk at greater length about everyone's expectations for the year's work. Within our party and among the people there are now also some questions which must be answered. Of course, in today's talk I cannot touch on all questions, and some questions also may not necessarily be discussed well. But, since everyone hopes that I will say a few words, I will say a few words.

My talk is in three parts. In the first part, I will discuss the three major tasks which we should carry out in the eighties and the situation as we enter the eighties, mainly the domestic situation. In the second part, I will discuss four questions which must be resolved or rather, four preconditions which must exist, for realizing the four modernizations. In the third part, I will discuss upholding and improving party leadership.

In the first part, I would like to talk about the three major tasks which we should carry out in the eighties and the domestic situation as we enter the eighties.

First I will start with what things mainly it is that we should do in the eighties. In the eighties we should do mainly three things.

The first thing is in the area of international affairs to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace. The whole world believes that the eighties will be a dangerous era. The mission of opposing hegemonism will be on our agenda daily. The beginning of the eighties was not good: there was the Afghan Incident, and the Iranian Question, not to mention the earlier questions of Viet Nam and the Middle East. Such questions may be many in the future. In short, the struggle to oppose hegemonism now is always a serious mission on the agenda of our country and all our people.

The second thing is the return of Taiwan to the ancestral land and the realization of the unity of the ancestral land. We should strive to achieve this goal in the eighties even if in the process there are complications, it is also an important question which will always be on our agenda.

The third thing is to step up economic construction, that is step up four modernizations construction. In a nutshell, the four modernizations is economic construction. National defense construction must have a certain economic foundation. Science and technology are mainly in the service of economic construction.

The nucleus of these three things is modernization construction. This is the most important condition for resolving international and domestic questions. Everything is determined by how well we do our own things. The size of the role we play in international affairs will depend on how great our accomplishments are in our own economic construction. If our nation has developed and grown and flourished even more, then our role in international affairs will be great. The role we play in international affairs now is not a small one, but if our material foundation and material strength becomes greater, then the role we play will become greater. The realization of the return of Taiwan to the ancestral land and the unification of the ancestral land, in the final analysis, also requires that we do our own things well. We are superior to Taiwan in politics and in economic system and we should also be superior to Taiwan to a certain degree in economic development. This is a necessity. If the four modernizations are done well and if the economy is developed, our capacity to realize unification will be different. Therefore, in the final analysis, opposing hegemonism in international affairs, the return of Taiwan to the ancestral land, and the unification of the ancestral land demand that we do a good job of economic construction. Of course, many other things should be done well, but mainly it is economic construction that must be done well.

Today is 16 January 1980, already sixteen days into the eighties. Whether internationally or domestically, the eighties will be a very important period. Internationally it is hard to predict what questions will arise, but it can be said that it will be a period which is unusually turbulent and full of danger. Of course, we are confident that if the struggle to oppose hegemonism goes well, the outbreak of war can be postponed and a longer period of peace secured. This is possible and it is also what we are striving for. Not only the people of the world, but also we ourselves definitely need a peaceful environment. Therefore, in terms of our own country, our foreign policy should seek a peaceful environment to carry out the four modernizations. This is not a lie, this is the truth. This is not only an important matter which conforms to the interests of the Chinese people, it also conforms to the interests of the people of the world.

If we want to realize the four modernizations before the end of this century, then beginning with New Year's Day this year, there are only 20 years, that is, the eighties and the nineties. If decisive achievements in the four modernizations are not made in the eighties, it will be equivalent to a setback. Therefore, in terms of our construction, the eighties are very important

and they are decisive. If a foundation is laid well in this ten years, then there is reliable and true hope that with another ten years, a Chinese style four modernizations can be realized in the next 20 years. Twenty years seems like a long time, but it goes by in a flash. Therefore, beginning with the first year of the eighties, it is necessary that we not delay a single day but carry out four modernizations construction with single-hearted devotion and all our attention. We have decided the general mission of carrying out the four modernizations and we definitely cannot permit our energies to be dissipated.

What is our domestic situation as we enter the eighties? Our goals have been stated and our missions have been stated and it is necessary to survey and assess our situation. Some masses, some party members, and even some comrades, are not very clear on how much was done after the smashing of the "gang of four." They feel that progress is too slow, and they are dissatisfied; because they are dissatisfied they are not very confident that the four modernizations and the political line which we have formulated can be realized. Of course, there are still some people who have a hostile attitude towards our present ideological line, political line, and organizational line, but I am not talking about the problem of those people. I want mainly to express a few opinions about the comrades who are not sufficiently certain and who feel that our future is not sufficiently bright.

It should be said that our situation is very favorable. Here, we should first of all look at the three years and two months since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially the year and more since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in which the situation nationwide developed extremely rapidly and exceeded the expectations of the entire party. In the first two years in the three years after the smashing of the "gang of four," a great deal of work was done, and without the preparations of those two years, the clear establishment of our ideological and political lines by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee would have been impossible. Therefore, the first two years made preparations for the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee not only resolved the question of the Great Cultural Revolution, but to a very great degree also resolved the questions of over 20 years standing.

Everyone can look back and see whether a fundamental shift took place in our party's circumstances, a fundamental shift took place in our leadership team, and a fundamental shift took place in our ideological line through the work of these three years. This is not to say that all questions were entirely resolved, but a fundamental shift did take place and this is the most important fact. Of course, there are still very many questions, but they are now gradually being resolved and will continue to be resolved in the future. In short, there can definitely be no doubt that this fundamental shift. In setting things to right in the past three years, a great deal of work has been done and the achievements are extraordinarily huge and it is a mistake to underestimate them.

Now we will look back at the important work we have done from the perspectives of politics, the economy, and foreign affairs.

We say that a fundamental shift took place in the political situation. What is the evidence? First of all, we uncovered the "gang of four" and launched a movement on a national scale to expose and criticize the "gang of four" faction's setup and their crimes, and fundamentally reorganized the leadership teams of organizations at all levels nationwide. This is political proof of the achievements we have won in the last three years. Next, democratic life within the country and within the party has already begun to return to its normal course. The democratic system is stronger year by year and democratic life is broader year by year. Although many important questions still need to be researched in depth and efforts made to promote what is beneficial and eliminate what is harmful, one should look at the main currents and at the essence. In the 29 years since the founding of the PRC we have not had a single penal code, though in the past we tried repeatedly and produced over 30 drafts, in the end we never succeeded in producing one. Now a penal code and a criminal law have been passed, made public, and gone into effect. The people of the entire country have seen the hope of strictly enforcing the socialist legal system. This is no small matter! Third, in these three years, especially in the last year, the central government and local areas nationwide have redressed a large number of unjust, trumped up, and mistaken cases. According to incomplete figures, 2.9 million people have already been rehabilitated. The number whose cases have not yet been investigated and been rehabilitated is much greater than this. We have redressed the Tiananmen Incident, unjust, trumped up, and mistaken cases involving a large number of comrades including Peng Dehuai, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu, Bo Yibo, Peng Zhen, Xi Zhongxun, Wang Renzhong, Huang Kecheng, Yang Shangkun, Lu Dingyi, and Zhou Yang, and before long the reputation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi will be restored. We have also corrected the cases of a large number who were mistakenly classed as rightists in 1957. Here, I would like to say in passing that the anti-rightist campaign of 1957 was necessary and was not an error. Comrades, think back, what were the questions in the question of 1957? From 1949 to 1957, we spent eight years fundamentally completing the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce and entered socialism. A thought tide emerged during this period and its kernel opposed socialism and the leadership of the party. Some people were out to kill! At the time, we had to counterattack this thought tide. The question was, where? With the development of the movement the question expanded and the attack became broader, and the attack became too heavy. A large number of people were really dealt with inappropriately and too severely; they suffered wrongly for many year and could not use their intelligence and talents to serve the people. This was not only a loss for them as individuals, but also a loss for the entire country. Therefore, completely removing the labels given to rightists, correcting the handling of the majority of them and assigning them appropriate work is a very necessary and important political measure. But one cannot conclude from this that in 1957 there was no thought tide opposed to socialism or that this thought tide should not have been counter-attacked. In short, the anti-rightist campaign of 1957 was in itself not an error, but the problem is that it expanded.

Fourth, we have removed the "stinking old nines" label from intellectuals, and removed the labels from the overwhelming majority of landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists nationwide. Isn't this an important matter in the political life of all the country's people? Fifth, we have fundamentally summarized the lessons of experience of the Great Cultural Revolution and thirty years and restored the tradition and reputation of the party's Eighth Congress. The National Day speech given by Comrade Ye Jianying as representative of the Party Central Committee not only was significant in summarizing the Great Cultural Revolution, but actually summarized, or fundamentally summarized, the lessons of experience in the 30 years since the founding of the PRC. Probably the history of our party should be written in this tone, but probably too much detail would not be appropriate. Didn't we say that in resolving the questions of the past we should be general and not too detailed? From now on we should also use this measure. In evaluating persons and history, a comprehensive scientific viewpoint should be encouraged, and onesidedness and emotionalism should be prevented, in this way it will conform to Marxism and also conform to the wishes and interests of the people of the entire country. Possibly within the year we will also issue a formal resolution concerning certain historical questions. Sixth, during this three-year period, we have given a correct explanation of Mao Zedong Thought, restored the original appearance of Mao Zedong Thought. Everyone knows this. Through discussion of the question of practice being the criterion for examining truth, we have established our party's ideological line, or better, restored the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Because of this, the "Three-Nots-ism," "Double Hundred" policy, and policy of correctly distinguishing and handling the two essentially different contradictions which Comrade Mao Zedong advocated for many years also were conscientiously and correctly carried out. Seventh, our educational, scientific, and cultural work has begun to get on the correct track. Eighth, our public safety, procuratorial and judicial work, national minorities work, united front work, worker, youth, and women's work, and many other kinds of work have all begun to get on the right track. I have not mentioned everything, only these few items. It has really not been easy to resolve so many questions in such a short period of time and it would have been hard to imagine this just three years ago. In resolving these questions our party and nation have changed and the political situation has become stable, unified, and lively. Only in this way could we shift the work emphasis and keep our minds on, and concentrate our energies on, socialist modernization, otherwise it would be fundamentally impossible. Facts show that in the past three years we have actually done a great deal of intense work and secured great achievements in the political area.

In the economic area, in three years there have also been many achivements. We constantly say that our economic work was disrupted and destroyed by the ten years of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and that before this ten year period there was also much disorder. Through three years of effort things have been restored to the present situation, and this is a very big achievement. In the past for 20 and more years the work emphasis never conscientiously shifted to economic construction and very many questions accumulated in economic work. Now some people are discussing and blaming us for past economic work. In the past there were a great many things in which we had no

experience, or the good experience we had gained had not been ordered or systematized, and there were also very many questions which had never been resolved well, especially during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant for ten years and threw everything into chaos. For this reason, in all fairness, first of all, economic departments cannot be blamed for the fact that our past economic work was not done well, for apart from the damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the responsibility first of all rests on the Central Committee. Of course, there were also shortcomings in the work of the economic departments and the lessons of experience should be summarized. Everyone should now concentrate on looking ahead and making positive proposals and should not grumble and reproach. In these three years we should see that on the one hand, from the top to the bottom the comrades in economic departments who have assumed responsibility for leadership work at all levels have done a great deal of work. On the other hand, in the past, many comrades were on the sidelines, and once on the sidelines they were there for many years so their understanding of the situation was interrupted, thus not long after their return to working positions, comrades who had originally been in these posts faced new questions with which for the moment they were unfamiliar and could not feel their way through so, since the situation at home and abroad was not understood well, it was unavoidable for there to be this or that kind of shortcoming in their work. Only if everyone humbly researches the new situations and new questions can the work constantly improve.

After over two years of work we put forth the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization, and upgrading the national economy. This policy did not come about by accident, but was proposed by summarizing the experience of the past, and analyzing the present situation so that future work would develop faster and better. It now appears more and more clear that proposing this policy was completely necessary and completely correct.

In the area of agricultural work, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee produced two resolutions which stipulated a series of policy measures and the decision to raise the prices of food and other agricultural commodities. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, employee wages were raised and a wide variety of employment opportunities were opened on a broad scale, in the last year alone, over 7 million unemployed persons in society were provided with employment and this year this will continue. At the same time, textiles and light industry were strengthened, the capital construction front was reduced and pilot projects in enterprise autonomy were implemented. The financial system is gradually being improved and other systems have also decided on trial methods for gradual transformation. There are still many questions which we must resolve and in the future we should also continue to readjust and restructure. But it should be said that in the economic area in the past three years, and especially in the last year, our achievements have been enormous. Let's look at the rural areas. A characteristic of this country of ours is that 80 percent of the people are still in the rural areas. The overwhelming majority of the rural areas have now taken on a new look and the mood of the peasants is rather happy. Isn't this the result of the policies of our party and state? The situation in the urban areas is more complex,

in particular, in the area of prices there is some confusion, but there has been great progress in the production order of most plants and enterprises and the people's standard of living has begun to improve gradually due to readjustment of wages, increases in employment, and increases in housing. All of the above are the result of the great amount of work we have done.

In the area of developing the economy we are searching for a path which conforms to China's realities and can be faster and more economical, including expanding enterprise autonomy and democratic management, developing specialization and cooperation, bringing into play the secondary function of market regulation under the guidance of a planned economy, combining advanced technology and middle-level technology, using foreign funds and foreign technology rationally, etc. We have paid the tuition and also suffered losses, but the important thing is that we are accumulating skill and have already begun to get results. Now we must summarize experience, and do it faster and better, we must formulate principles of economic system reform, and we must formulate long range plans. All of these are important things and we cannot be impatient nor can we waste time. The Central Committee hopes that the comrades on the economic front who engage in practical work and in theoretical work will work together with one heart, make a concerted effort, learn from strong points to offset weaknesses, investigate and research, discuss thoroughly, talk less nonsense and within a year, together come up with several thoroughly feasible proposals and a long range plan to give to the Central Committee.

As far as the area of foreign relations is concerned, in this three year period, we have realized the establishment of relations between China and the U.S. concluded a Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and carried out state visits to Japan and the U.S.; Comrade Hua Guofeng has visited Korea, Romania, Yugoslavia, and four European countries; Comrade Li Xiannian and I have visited some countries in Asia and Africa; in addition there have been a large number of foreign affairs visits at various levels to tens of countries on five continents. Almost all of our deputy premiers and a great many of our deputy committee chairmen have been abroad. In these three years, and especially last year our foreign affairs visits have been more than before, and almost every month there has been a visit by leaders of foreign countries. This activity has established a new structure in our foreign relations so that there are rather good international conditions for our realization of the four modernizations, and it has also expanded the lineup in the struggle against hegemonism. Our cooperation with Third World Countries continues to be strengthened. The self-defensive counter-attack against Viet Nam was victorious both militarily and politically, and has already played, and will continue to play an important role not only in stabilizing the situation in Southeast Asia, but also in the international struggle against hegemonism.

I have discussed in general terms what work we have done in the political, economic, and foreign affairs areas in these three years, especially in the year after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. We should note our achievements. We should note that we used three years to lay a very good foundation for entering the eighties in various areas, in the area of domestic politics and the economy, and in the area of international affairs.

In short, our situation on entering the eighties is a good one. In all areas we have prepared a position for a victorious advance. We have entered the eighties filled with confidence. An attitude of doubt with regard to the domestic situation and the future of the four modernizations is completely erroneous and without foundation. Of course, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant for ten years, a part of the masses have been poisoned and because the education we have been conducting is insufficient, they do not understand many situations even to the point that some people temporarily had feelings of disappointment in the party and socialism and this is understandable. We should have patience and faith, and gradually transform their spiritual state. But our cadres, especially our upper echelon cadres, must be fully aware and unwavering on fundamental questions. Only in this way can we unite, educate all the party and all the people of the country so that everyone will enter the eighties filled with confidence.

In the second part, I will discuss four questions, or what might be called four preconditions, necessary for realizing the four modernizations.

This approach was brought out at the CPPCC and everyone thought it was alright. The four questions are: first, there should be a firm, thoroughly implemented political line; second, there should be a political situation of stability and unity; third, there should be a pioneering spirit of arduous struggle; fourth, there should be a cadre contingent which has specialized knowledge and capabilities and will firmly walk the socialist road. Of course, these four cannot include everything, but it summarizes generally what it is that we should mainly do and points out the direction in which we should presently strive.

First, there should be a firm, thoroughly implemented political line.

We have already formulated this line. Comrade Ye Jianying's National Day speech expressed our general mission or, what is called the general line, this way: Unite all ethnic groups of the entire country, mobilize all positive factors, wholeheartedly go all out, strive for the best, and in a more, faster, better, cheaper way build a strong, modernized socialist country. This is the first time our present general line has been so completely expressed. This is the greatest politics at present. Isn't the general line the greatest politics? This is a long term mission. If a larger scale war breaks out we should fight, and we will have to stop everything else. Apart from such a situation occurring, we certainly should go on according to this line with single-hearted devotion and persistence. In the past thirty years, through several twists and turns our work emphasis was never shifted to socialist construction, therefore, the superiority of socialism was brought into play too little, the development of socialist productive forces was not fast, not stable, and not coordinated and there was not much great improvement in the people's lives. The ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution even made us suffer greatly and created very great calamities. Now we should resolve in desperation that apart from the outbreak of a large-scale war, we should do this persistently and thoroughly, focus everything around it and not let anything disrupt it. That is, if a large-scale war breaks out, after the fighting we should continue to do it or do it

again. Our entire party and people should firmly cultivate this lofty aspiration, seize it tightly, be "stubborn" and not waver. If there had not been "leftist" disruption in the past there would not have been the twists and turns of 1958, and in particular there would not have been the Great Cultural Revolution, and not to mention the advanced experience of the world such as we are now absorbing, nor the many lofty aspirations, as long as we work hard and in the set order, there will certainly be great developments in our industrial and agricultural production and science and education, and there will certainly be great improvements in people's lives. Take steel, for example. It developed steadily and at the least we can produce 50 to 60 million tons and use it rationally. We now have very good international conditions, and the comrades of the entire party, and the people of the entire nation truly following wholeheartedly and resolutely the political line formulated by the Central Committee it can be said with full confidence, that we have much promise.

To build a strong modern socialist country, there are many tasks and many things which must be done. There are also interdependent relations between the tasks, for example, between the economy and education and science, and between the economy and politics and law, etc., there are interdependent relations and one cannot attend to one thing but lose sight of another. There was one very big shortcoming in our planning in the past and that is that we did not arrange proportional relations well. There was disproportion between agriculture and industry, there was disproportion between agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fisheries on the one hand and light and heavy industry on the other, there was disproportion between coal, electricity, petroleum, and transportation on the one hand and other industries on the other, there was disproportion between the "bones" and the "flesh" (that is, between industrial construction, on the one hand, and residential, communication and municipal, and commercial service construction, on the other) and there was disproportion between accumulation and consumption. This year's plans are a little better, but it will still take considerable effort to turn this situation around fundamentally. In addition to these proportions, there is another important one and that is the disproportion between economic development and the development of education, science, culture, and public health. Outlays for education, science, culture, and public health are too little, and are out of proportion. Even some Third World countries consider these areas much more seriously than we do. India spends more on education than we do. A country such as Egypt with a population of only 40 million spends, on an average per capita, several times more on education than we do. In short, we must vigorously increase our outlays for education, science, culture, and public health. This year, because of financial difficulties we can only consider the key points above all, but beginning next year, or at the latest the year after next, no matter what, we should place more emphasis on this area year after year, otherwise modernization will not take place. The modernization construction mission is multi-faceted: all aspects must be in overall balance and we cannot concentrate on just one thing at a time. However, in the final analysis, we should make economic construction the central focus. If we depart from the central focus of economic construction, then there is the danger of losing the material foundation. All other missions should be subordinated to this central

focus, revolve around this central focus, and definitely cannot interfere with it or attack it. Our lessons in this area over the past 20 or more years are too painful.

Now, especially among young people, there are some who doubt the socialist system, and say that socialism is not as good as capitalism, and this thinking should certainly be vigorously corrected. The socialist system is not the same as the specific method of building socialism. The Soviet Union's building of socialism has been going on for 63 years, if we consider the October Revolution of 1917 as the beginning, but it still cannot brag about knowing how to do socialism. We definitely still lack experience, and perhaps we are only now conscientiously groping for a better road. But no matter what, the superiority of the socialist system has already been proven only it still needs to be proven more, better, and more forecefully. We certainly should, and can, use a great quantity of facts in the future to prove that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system. This should be manifested in the speed and results of economic development. Without this, there is no use boasting any more. To achieve such results it is necessary to implement our political line firmly, unwaveringly, and thoroughly.

Second, there should be a political situation of unity and stability.

Without a political situation of stability and unity we cannot engage in construction with easy minds. The experience of the past 20 and more years has proven this point. The experience of just the last year has proven this point, too. We now have, or fundamentally have, a political situation of stability and unity. This political situation of stability and unity was not come by easily; it is still very unconsolidated and there are still unstable factors coming from different areas. Comrades who are working in various posts should certainly take collective responsibility for defending, safeguarding, and developing this political situation of stability and unity.

There should be stability and unity, but there should also be liveliness. Liveliness also does not come easy, but it develops along with stability and unity. Under our socialist system, these two are integrated and, fundamentally speaking, they are not contradictory, nor should they be contradictory. What should be done if at some time or in some question liveliness and stability and unity become contradictory? Then certainly liveliness should be realized as long as it doesn't obstruct stability and unity. Some of our comrades now are a little confused in their thinking on this question; as if they had forgotten all the suffering we have endured. In the past, after the socialist transformation was completed, we still engaged in this or that movement and each movement delayed some things and harmed some people. Giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system, in the final analysis, should develop society's productive forces to a great degree, and gradually improve and upgrade the material and spiritual lives of the people. If there is not a political situation of stability and unity, then all this is impossible and even liveliness is impossible.

There are some social thought tides now, especially the thought tide among young people which must be watched conscientiously. For example, could one

call the many things that happened during last year's "Xidan Wall" liveliness? If this is left to go on unchecked what might happen? There are world examples and there are also Chinese examples. We should not lower our guard thinking that no disorder will occur if things continue in this way. A few people can destroy our great enterprise. Therefore, if liveliness and stability and unity become contradictory, realizing liveliness only as long as it does not obstruct stability and unity is the only way for everyone to advance in an orderly fashion. The experience of the Great Cultural Revolution has already proven that in disorder we cannot advance, only retreat, and only when there is order can we advance. Under our present circumstances it could be said that without stability and unity there is nothing we can talk of, including democracy, "the double hundreds" policy, etc. In the past we suffered for 10 or more years, and if there is further disorder, the people will not be able to stand it, and the people also will not agree to it. On the contrary, on the foundation of socialist stability and unity we can certainly realize in a planned and measured way everything that can be realized and satisfy the demands of the people to the greatest extent.

We have already said that there are still unstable factors now. "Gang of four" remnants still exist organizationally and ideologically. We cannot underestimate the capabilities of the remnants, otherwise we will commit an error. Factional elements still exist. There are also some newly arisen elements which smash, grab and loot. There are also various gangster groups and criminal elements. There are also some counterrevolutionary elements carrying out underground activity in league with foreign powers and Taiwan spy agencies. There are also the so-called "democratic faction" which openly opposes the socialist system and the leadership of the communist party and those people with ulterior motives. These people cannot be underestimated. Their banner is very clear. Even though they sometimes say that they also support Chairman Mao and the communist party, in essence they want to oppose the leadership of the communist party and oppose socialism. The true ideology of these people is that they think that capitalism is better than socialism and that Taiwan is better than the Mainland. Of course, they do not understand the nature of capitalism, nor what the real situation is on Taiwan, but many people have gone astray and must be educated and saved. However, we should not be naive but should certainly recognize clearly the general trends and true aims of the so-called "democratic faction." There are also some extreme individualistic elements and some anarchistic elements which destroy social order, etc. These are all unstabilizing factors. Although these kinds of people differ in essence, under certain conditions they can band together and become a destructive force and cause no little turmoil and loss. Such a situation occurred last year and could also occur again in the future. Some people say the exploitative class has been elimianted as a class, so how can there still be class struggle? We see now that these two aspects are objective facts. We are currently struggling with counterrevolutionary elements, seriously destructive elements, serious criminal elements, and serious criminal groups, and although not all of this is class struggle, it does include class struggle. Of course, we must resolutely demarcate the two kinds of essentially different contradictions, we should adopt educational methods for the overwhelming majority of people who destroy social order to

educate all who can be educated, but when they cannot be educated or when education is ineffective we should resolutely adopt legal and disciplinary measures towards criminals and we cannot be softhearted. There are now still a few places and a few comrades who are softhearted towards these people. Some places adopt measures towards these people very ineffectively and don't know how to go about it. If we tolerate these people, and tolerate "gang of four" remnants, counterrevolutionary, and other criminal elements, the people will be very dissatisfied with us. We recently adopted some measures and attacked criminal elements, but they have only begun to be effective. We should continue to attack criminal elements resolutely, and strive to safeguard and strengthen healthy and stable social order. We should learn to use, and use well, the weapon of the law. Being softhearted towards criminal elements who break the law can only endanger the interests of the majority of the people, and endanger the overall situation of modernization construction.

Communist Party members and party cadres, especially upper level cadres, must stand firm and have a clearcut stand in this struggle against criminal elements. We absolutely cannot permit propaganda about freedom of speech and publication, assembly and association which includes counterrevolutionary elements; we cannot permit people to turn their backs on the party and associate with these people. What we are referring to here are those associations with them which embrace a sympathetic attitude, even to the point that associations develop when some comrades do their work, of course, is no exception to this. Associations which are sympathetic to them certainly exist. For example, some secret publications are printed very attractively, but where does the paper come from? In which printing plant are they printed? These people do not have printing plants, do they? Are there communist party members in the printing plant where these things are printed? There are some communist party members who support the activity of these people, and there are even some important cadres. It should be made clear to these party members that their standpoint is extremely erroneous and extremely dangerous and if it is not corrected immediately it will be necessary to subject them to party discipline. In short, in the matter of the struggle against counterrevolutionary elements, destructive elements, and various criminals, the attitude of party organizations at all levels right down to each party branch should be the very firm and cannot show any vacillation or ambiguity.

Perhaps some people will say, Isn't this "restraining" again? In such questions, since we have never "relaxed," of course it is impossible to talk about "restraining." When have we ever said that the activity of counterrevolutionary elements and destructive elements would be tolerated? When have we ever said that we wanted to get rid of the dictatorship of the proletariat? To be honest, we should now deal severely, not lightly, with such activity, otherwise the chaos will be terrible. The state must be in control. Legal measures with regard to such elements should be severe and if they are severe then some young people can be educated. We should stress the law and truly make people understand the law so that more and more people not only will not break the law, but also will be able to actively uphold the law. If we deal with such people severely now not only will it be a kind of

education for the majority of criminals, but it will also be a kind of education for the entire party and the people of the entire country. We should resolutely implement such a policy nationwide: there are laws which must be obeyed, breaking the law must be investigated, enforcing the law must be severe, and all people are equal before the law.

We really should strengthen stability and unity, relying mainly, of course, positive and fundamental measures and on developing the economy and education, while at the same time relying on perfecting the legal system. Doing the economy well and education well, and at the same time perfecting the legal system and improving judicial work, may to a large degree ensure the orderly advance of the entire society. However, the legal system should be gradually perfected while being enforced, it cannot wait. If such a large group of criminals are not dealt with severely now, then what legal system is there to speak of? People who destroy stability and unity should be severely dealt with depending on the circumstances.

To realize stability and unity, comrades of propaganda, education, theory, and literature and art departments should work together from all sides. There is no doubt that if work is done well in these areas, it can play an unusually large role in ensuring, upholding, and developing a political situation of stability and unity. However, if there are major deviations, it can also foster the development of destabilizing factors. We hope that the press will carry out more explanations in the ideology and theory of the necessity for stability and unity, that is to say, they should vigorously propagandize the superiority of socialism, propagandize the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, propagandize the power of the party leadership and the party and people united as one, propagandize the enormous achievements and unlimited future of socialist China, and propagandize that struggle for the future of socialist China is the loftiest mission and honor of the present generation of young people. In short, our party press should be turned into the center, ideologically, of the stability and unity of the entire nation. The press, broadcasting, and television should make the promotion of stability and unity and the raising of the socialist consciousness of young people one of their normal and fundamental missions. For the past three years the press, broadcasting, and television have had great achievements, and generally speaking this is good, but they also have their inadequacies. Comrades who work in these departments also must constantly lend an attentive ear to the different views which come from all sides, and analyze and improve their own work. The literature and art world has just convened the Wendaihui /2429 0108 2585/. We stress that we should not interfere wilfully in what to write and how to write. This increased the responsibility of the literature and art workers and the demands on their own work. We uphold the "double hundred" policy and the "Three Nots" and do not continue to raise the slogan that literature and art are subordinate to politics because this slogan can easily become theoretical grounds for wilfull interference in literature and art and long practice has proven that it is of more harm than good to the development of literature and art. However, this of course does not mean that literature and art can depart from politics. Literature and art are inseparable from politics. All advanced and revolutionary literature and

art workers must consider the social impact of a work and must consider the interests of the people, the nation, and the party. Training the new socialist man is politics. Of course, the new socialist man should strive to realize the interests of the people, defend the honor of the socialist ancestral land, and bravely dedicate himself to the future of the socialist ancestral land. Literature and art work has a very big influence on ideological trends, especially among young people, and a very big influence on socialist stability and unity. We sincerely hope that all the comrades of the literature and art world and comrades engaged in education, news, theoretical work and other ideological work will constantly and self-consciously emphasize the overall situation and struggle unremittingly to raise the socialist consciousness of the people and young people.

Can the demand for stability and unity interfere with letting a hundred flowers bloom? No. We will always uphold the policy of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend. However, this does not mean that letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend can be unfavorable to the general situation of stability and unity. If we say that letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend need not consider stability and unity, then this is misunderstanding and misuse of this policy. What we are carrying out is socialist democracy, not capitalist democracy. Therefore, upholding stability and unity and the four fundamental principles is entirely at one with upholding the "double hundred" policy. Some people say that the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was relaxation and the four fundamental principles was restraint. This is completely a distortion. Communist Party members definitely cannot tolerate this kind of distortion, but must resolutely oppose this kind of distortion. The four basic principles, first of all, demand that socialism be upheld, so how could we not uphold socialism? By not upholding socialism what stability and unity is there and what socialist four modernizations? The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee demanded stability and unity and demanded that socialist modernization construction be carried out on the foundation of stability and unity. This is in the best interests of the people of the entire country. Of course the "double hundred" policy should serve this best interest, and definitely cannot oppose it.

We uphold developing democracy and the legal system and this is an unswerving policy of our party. However, realizing democracy and the legal system, just like realizing the four modernizations, cannot use great leap forward methods, and cannot use "great blooming and great contending" methods. That is, it certainly should be measured and have leadership. Otherwise, it can only foster turmoil and only obstruct the four modernizations, and can also only obstruct democracy and the legal system. Historical experience has been summarized and it must be admitted that the method of this "Four Greats" seen in its entirety, has never played a positive role. The masses should be allowed full rights and opportunities to express their criticism of the responsibilities of leadership and make positive proposals, but the "great blooming and great contending" method clearly are not suited to this goal. For this reason, the constitution has an article dealing with the "Four Greats" and on the basis of long practice and, on the basis of the views of most

cadres and the masses, the Party Central Committee is prepared to propose to the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and the National People's Congress that it be deliberated and eliminated.

Third, there should be a pioneering spirit of bitter struggle.

For China to engage in the four modernizations it should go about it conscientiously and painstakingly. We are poor, our foundation is weak and our education, science and culture all are backward. This determines that we also should go through a process of difficult struggle. In the past, because some countries and regions which had low wages were supported by developed countries with capital and technology for their own interests, it was easy for their low-priced goods to take advantage of the international market for a certain time. The capitalists gave a small share of the high profits to the laborers of these areas, and the lives of the laborers improved very quickly. A major socialist country such as China cannot take "shortcuts." We should use foreign funds and technology, and we should also vigorously develop foreign trade, but it is necessary that we should be primarily self-reliant. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated extreme socialism, extreme transition, and extreme revolution, and we oppose that absurd reactionary viewpoint. However, we also oppose the viewpoint that now we should implement the so-called welfare state in China because this is impossible. We can only improve the standard of living gradually on the foundation of developing production. It is incorrect to develop production but not improve the standard of living; similarly, it is incorrect and also impossible not to develop production and improve the standard of living.

We advocate distribution according to work, that the individuals and units who have special contributions be given spiritual and material incentives; and we also advocate that some people and some localities be enriched first because of the principle of more gains for more work. This is firm. However, some trends should also be noted, and that is that some people and some units only consider greater gain and not only do not consider their neighbors, but even do not consider the interests and discipline of the entire country. For example, last year we were careless and there was a tendency to issue bonuses recklessly, issuing about 5 billion in bonuses. The majority of them were issued correctly, but there was a considerable portion which was issued incorrectly and it was not a small amount. Some units which did not complete their production and profit plans were given bonuses. Prices on some goods were recklessly inflated because of the enterprise's pursuit of greater bonuses. The actual wages of workers in a good many areas doubled and redoubled due to excessive bonuses. On the other hand, a great many industries could not get bonuses, especially educational and scientific research agencies and governmental organizations and the military, and this created an irrational maldistribution of joys and sorrows, and a new social question. If 2 billion less in bonuses had been issued last year, this year everyone would be getting along much better, and many capital construction projects need not have been abandoned. The excessive issuance of bonuses "improved" the lives of a few people, but increased the many difficulties of the people of the entire country. In passing, it should be said that, our measures for increasing the purchase price of agricultural goods are unusually correct, and

actually play an enormous role in stimulating agricultural production, but if we further summarize experience perhaps walking on two legs will have a smaller impact on finance and prices. In our work from now on similar questions can appear. For this reason, it is necessary to educate the cadres and masses once again that we are a poor country and a big country and certainly should work hard to establish our enterprise. To improve the people's standard of living gradually and increase the people's income must be done on the foundation of developing production. Getting more for more work should also take into account the entire country and the neighborhood. The pace of resolving such questions certainly should be steady and should lead along the masses very well and by all means must encourage them responsibly. For example, recently there was a report that a television plant in Beijing last year produced 20,000 9-inch black and white television sets, an average daily output of over 50 sets; later a production line for Japanese 12-inch black and white television sets was installed designed to produce 600 television sets a day and they now produce over 400 sets per day. For this reason people argued they should get a bigger bonus. If bonuses were issued on the basis of the increase in productivity, then the bonus could not be issued. Laboring people who are their own masters must create greater profits for the state and increase state revenues for use in other areas, in expanding reproduction, and in capital construction, to further accelerate the speed of developing our economy. More work should get greater gains, but it is necessary to consider society as a whole. The example of this plant shows that a production line should also consider other shops in the same plant. Such real questions are facing us increasingly and everyone must consider them.

We should have a sober understanding that it takes hard work to build an enterprise. China has such a low foundation, large population and so little arable land that labor productivity, revenue and expenditure, and imports and exports cannot be increased greatly in a short time, so the rate of increase in national income cannot be very fast. Therefore, when I speak with foreigners, I say that the four modernizations are Chinese style. Not long ago a foreign visitor was talking with me and asked, what is the real meaning of your four modernizations? I told him that by the end of this century we would consider we were at a well of level if we could raise the gross value of national production to $1,000 per capita. This answer was not precise, of course, but it was also not off the top of my head. It is now only at $200 and some tens, and if it reaches $1,000 it will be more than quadruple. Singapore and Hong Kong are both at over $3,000. It will not be easy for us to reach such a level because our territory is large and we have many people, and the conditions are not the same. However, it should be said that if our gross value of production really reaches an average of $1,000, our lives will be much better than theirs, even better than when they were at $2,000. This is because there is no exploitative class and no exploitative system here: all national revenues are used for the entire society and a very large portion is distributed to the people directly. There, the disparity between rich and poor is very great and most of the wealth is in the hands of the capitalists.

We should constantly remember that our country is large, has a large population, and a poor base and can catch up with the level of the advanced countries only after a long period of struggle. Take coal output, for example. In 1978 U.S. commercial coal /production/ was over 599 million tons, and the Soviet Union's raw coal /production/ was 724 million tons. Our raw coal /production/ last year was over 630 million tons, which is not a small amount. However, in terms of average output per capita, it was much less. Or take steel, for example. In Japan it is almost one ton of steel per capita, and in the Soviet Union and the U.S. it is one ton of steel for every two persons. In many countries in Europe, such as France, England, and West Germany, it is generally also one ton of steel for every two persons. If we are to reach one ton of steel for every two persons by the end of the century then for a population of 1.2 to 1.3 billion people it should be 600 million tons of steel. This is impossible, and it is also unnecessary. If we reach /the level of/ 100 million or 200 million tons of steel, that will be one ton of steel for every 12 or 6 persons. In short, we have the favorable conditions, and certainly can catch up with the advanced countries of the world; but it should also be understood that to reduce or eliminate a gap created by three centuries or at least more than one century requires that a decision be made for a long period of struggle. For a rather long period of time we must advocate and implement hard work.

Our party members and cadres first of all, in particular upper echelon cadres, should take the lead in hard work in our undertaking. Aren't we opposed to special privileges? This is a solemn struggle. Special privileges aren't only enjoyed among some upper level cadres, they are at all levels and in all departments. In short, some of our cadres have become gentry, that's all. Our party members and cadres, in particular upper level cadres, should strive to restore the glorious traditions of Yan'an, strive to learn from the example of Zhou Enlai and other comrades, and act as models in hard work. The Central Committee has formulated rules and from now on stricter rules should be formulated. Cadres and party members who break the Central Committee's rules should certainly undergo conscientious education and if the education is ineffective, then organizational measures or even disciplinary treatment should be carried out.

Opposing special privileges is only a question of hard work in our undertaking. The biggest question is that waste should be eliminated, labor productivity should be increased, products which do not conform to social needs and unnecessary products which do not meet the demands of quality should be reduced, costs should be lowered and the utilization rate of funds should be improved. Everyone should be made to understand that our funds are not easy to come by, and that the things which we produce are not easy to come by, so that any waste is a crime. Production has developed, but we should also consider future development, capital construction, realizing the overall balance of the national economy, and making up for the debts of many years. For example, our cities need construction: sewers, housing, and roads, and schools to be run. In the lives of our teachers and scientific workers there are many difficulties which need to be resolved; intellectuals who have an income of only several tens of dollars, a great many very capable people can, with slight improvements in working conditions and standard of living, resolve a great many questions

and create considerable wealth for the nation and people, etc., etc. Therefore, no matter whether it is before production construction, in the process of production construction, or after production construction has achieved the state of production, there cannot be permitted the slightest extravagance. Last year there were very great achievements in increasing production while economizing, and this is very good, but there is still a lot of waste. This responsibility rests mainly on the cadres, including the excessive bonuses which were just mentioned. Not long ago, concerned departments of the State Council drew up a new rule concerning the question of bonuses, and after formal transmission to lower levels, things should be done strictly according to this rule. For everyone to go his own way as is done now will not do, for to do things this way, there is no hope for the four modernizations.

Fourth, there should be a cadre contingent which has specialized knowledge and capabilities and supports the socialist path.

If we are to realize the four modernizations under the Chinese socialist system, our cadre contingent, of course, should certainly uphold the socialist path, should have the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and should observe party discipline and state discipline. It should be said that within our party and nation there has always been some non-socialist thinking due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" running rampant for ten years and various other factors, and with the addition of diplomatic relations and foreign trade relations between us and capitalist countries and the fact that these relations are still developing, means that the infiltration of bourgeois ideological influences are unavoidable. For this reason, it is necessary to emphasize repeatedly that our cadre contingent must uphold the socialist path. Reemphasizing this point today has particularly important significance. Our study of certain techniques and managerial experience of capitalist societies absolutely cannot be permitted to become worship of capital countries, corruption by capitalism, and loss of socialist China's national pride and self-confidence. Recently a foreign scholar of Chinese origin said that he hoped that no matter what, China would not take Taiwan's path and would not modernize the way Taiwan did, because the economy there was actually an economy controlled by the U.S. In selecting a cadre it is necessary to pay attention to finding out whether or not he upholds the socialist path. Cadres who do not meet this condition should receive additional education and should be transferred when necessary. Within the party and on a nationwide scale we should certainly vigorously, in a planned way, and with leadership, advocate socialist moral practice, passionate love for the socialist ancestral land, improve national self-esteem, and also carry out education in the revolutionary character of upholding the socialist path and opposing capitalist corruption. There are now some young people who have overlooked political trends and the entire party must note the seriousness of this question and should certainly analyze the causes, seek out methods, and conscientiously and effectively resolve it.

However, just relying on upholding the socialist path without real ability and learning it will also be impossible to realize the four modernizations. Whatever the position occupied, /the individual/ should have a certain specialized

knowledge and specialized capability, those without these things should study, those with them should continue to study, and those who really cannot study and do not want to study should be reformed. We should organize the entire leadership team in accordance with the demands of specialization, give full play to specialized talent, and, in addition, leading the broad masses should study and work in accordance with the demands of specialization.

Here we should say something about the relationship between being red and being expert. Being expert is not equivalent to being red, but being red certainly should be expert. No matter what your field, if you are not expert and do not understand, but still issue orders blindly and harm the interests of the people, delay the development of production construction, then it is impossible to say that you are red. If this question is not resolved, it is impossible to realize the four modernizations.

In international countries now it is generally felt that we are overstaffed, are bureaucratic, drag our feet, spend our time holding meetings and going in circles, and that many questions which could be resolved with one phone call take half a day without being resolved. How can the four modernizations be done like this? Therefore, a great many foreigners say that there is no hope if China does the four modernizations in this way. People here at home also have this view. This is true, it is not a lie. What can be done? The situation where cadres lack specialized knowledge and specialized capabilities should be changed. Even if our cadres now are numerous, in absolute numbers, 18 million cadres in all trades and professions, can't be considered a lot in a country as big as ours. The question is that the cadre makeup is irrational, there are too many cadres who lack specialized knowledge and specialized capabilities, and there are too few cadres who have specialized knowledge and specialized capabilities. For example, our cadres now who can take responsibility for judicial work, including judges, lawyers, judicial officers, procurators, specialized police, are barely 1 million in number. And the specialized cadres who can be lawyers and judges, who have studied the law and understand it, and who have the moral qualifications and can administer the law fairly are very few. In addition, if our faculty, qualified faculty of universities, middle schools, and elementary schools, were increased 2 or 3 million nationwide it would not be considered too many. In terms of our students, our middle school and elementary school students are numerous; our university students are very few, not over 1 million in school. If we compare this to the U.S., where they have 10 million university students in school out of a population of 220 million, that's one for every 22 people. If we had 2-3 million students in universities, the specialized talent that we would train would be much more. This demands that we increase the numbers of personnel running schools and increase the numbers of teachers. Our middle and elementary school faculties are insufficient: the burdens on very many teachers is too heavy and this influences the level of instruction. We also need a great number of qualified school administrators, these are also specialized personnel. Should the leadership comrades of the school CCP committees be specialized personnel? Yes. He need not be a teacher, but at least be a specialized person who understands education, has the special skill to manage a school, and can administer a certain category of school. In short,

the important question at present isn't that there are too many cadres, but that they are not satisfying needs, and the people who understand the specializations of various trades and professions are too few. The method is to study. One is to carry out education through running a school or a training class, and one is self-study. Some effort should be devoted to study. Whatever the profession and regardless of how old, it is necessary to strive so that one learns his own field. Those who cannot study or who do not wish to study can only be reassigned, there is no other way otherwise he will interfere with the work. From now on, in cadre selection, in particular, emphasis should be placed on specialized knowledge. For a long period we have not given this serious consideration and if serious attention is not paid in particular again now, then carrying out four modernizations construction will be impossible. Without specialized knowledge, and if you do not study conscientiously, no matter how great your enthusiasm for building socialism, you will not be able to make the appropriate contribution, not play the appropriate role, and even may play a contrary role. Things now are different from the way they were in the past. In the past for a fairly long time we usually called on the military experience of the war years. Actually, we conscientiously studied the military experience of the war years and it also was the unity of red and expert. Of the great many comrades present who participated in revolution during the war years, which of you were not expert at military affairs? You had to understand fighting. Of course, there are many ways to fight, including service in the rear, and service in the rear is also for fighting. At that time, red and expert were united, and it was also very easy to unite them. Now it is different. Engaging in construction there are an unusual number of fields and each one requires specialized knowledge and new knowledge also increases constantly. It is also different for today's army. The army of the past was one of the small-bore rifle and one could go into the field if one understood how to shoot, use a bayonet, and throw a hand grenade. Now to be in the navy one must have specialized naval knowledge and to be in the air force one must have specialized air force knowledge. Staff officer work now is also different from that time: the knowledge is much broader. It will not do for today's army to continue to use the experience of the past and this is a question which we should now strive to resolve. As concerns working in economic construction, education, science, politics and the law, etc., it should be said that we are too lacking in specialized talent. Therefore, we must establish a contingent of cadres who uphold the socialist path and have specialized knowledge and capabilities, and it will be an enormous contingent.

We must have more and more specialized talent, but does this mean that we do not have any talent now? No, it's that our party committees at all levels, especially some old comrades, do not pay enough attention to this and have not consciously discovered, selected, trained, and helped a group of specialized talented people. A few days ago at a conference on nuclear physics theory in Guangzhou there was the delightful news that our level of nuclear physics theory is generally close to international advanced levels. That means that we already have a fairly advanced level and that there is a group of young people we have trained ourselves which has some accomplishment only they are much fewer in number than the advanced countries. This shows that we are not without people. A great deal of talent has not been discovered,

their working conditions are too deficient, and their wages are too low, so full play cannot be given to their initiative. Some of our old comrades should also be aware of this and should not look down on young people and always feel that young people are not as good as we. Actually, how old were we in the past when we started work? We were doing great things when we were only in our twenties. Are people today dumber than we were? I think we should be a little more enlightened and see things from the perspective of the general situation and from the perspective of the future of our undertaking. There are capable people and we should actively discover them and once discovered, conscientiously help them. We should gradually get to the point when all agencies at all levels, including party committees at all levels, should have persons with specialized knowledge assume leadership. Now in particular, attention should be paid to selection from among people who are about 40 years of age. What are the implications of about 40 years of age? Generally, it refers to people who entered university in the fifties. The PRC has been established for 30 years, and if we say they graduated between 1961 and 1966, then at the time they were about 25, and now they are about 40 to 45. Of course, choosing cadres should also include those about 50. These people are an important asset. I'm afraid there are not many of this age group here, and this is very regrettable. If one day among the comrades in attendance listening to a report someone about 40 is in the dominant position that will be a sign that our enterprise is growing and flourishing. We cannot use the past we muddled through to console ourselves. We should look to the future of our enterprise. We do not have much talent to begin with and definitely cannot waste talent, we cannot afford this waste. The first mission among the most important missions of old comrades is to develop cadres who are younger. Other things need not be done as well, but if this is done well, we will be able to face Marx when we see him, otherwise, we will not be able to face him.

In the third part, I would like to talk about upholding party leadership and improving party leadership.

The mission of the three greats and four preconditions for the eighties mentioned above are very complex. However, I think that as long as party leadership is upheld and improved, this will mobilize other work and our mission can be completed. We are upholding the four basic principles, that is upholding socialism, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and upholding the leadership of the party, and the core of upholding these four things is upholding the leadership of the party. This party of ours is the party of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the central strength of leading socialism and leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, and an advanced rank which is proletarian, has socialist and communist consciousness, and has revolutionary discipline. Our party's links with the broad masses for leadership of our country's socialist enterprise took shape in a 60 year history of struggle. The party is inseparable from the people and the people are inseparable from the party, this is something that no force can change. Actually, there is now a great deal of ideological confusion in this question. There are some young people who have blind faith in the so-called democracy of capitalist society. In 1957 there was the "take turns being the dealer" argument and now there are the

so-called "democrats" and the "Xidan wall" groups who have also written this article. Therefore, this question should be cleared up now. Fundamentally speaking, without the leadership of the party there would be none of the present day China. Of course, there also would not be the three greats and four preconditions of which I just spoke. Without the leadership of the party, there would not be a correct political line; without the leadership of the party, there would not be a political situation of stability and unity; without the leadership of the party it would be impossible to advocate a spirit of hard work and dedication; without the leadership of the party it would be impossible to establish a contingent which was truly red and expert and in particular had specialized knowledge and capabilities. In this way, there would not be a leadership strong enough to implement the socialist four modernizations, the unification of the ancestral land, and the struggle against hegemonism. This is an objective fact which no one can deny. Those pure young people who temporarily harbor these doubts need only a little more time until finally they will agree with this point.

We can look back on the road we have taken. Could the Chinese revolution have been successful without the Chinese Communist Party? No. Our party should not be belittled. Recently I saw some materials which indicated that at the time of the Fourth Party Congress, there were only a little more than 900 party members, and that party of only a little more than 900 members realized Guomindang and Communist Party cooperation and carried forward the Northern Expedition. Afterwards, the revolution failed, and only our party could have withstood the ten year bloody terror, the "extermination campaign" of a million man army, and the 2,500 li long march. Because there was the leadership of the party, the Chinese people, through bitter struggle, ultimately established the People's Republic of China. Our party also committed serious errors but the errors have also been corrected by our party itself and not by some other force. That is, the smashing of the "gang of four" was realized by our party representing the interests and demands of the people. China was heretofore referred to as a tray of loose sand, but ever since our party became the party in power it has become the central force which has united the entire country and brought an end to the situation of disunity and regional domination. As long as our party's leadership is correct, not only can it unite the forces of the entire party, but also the forces of the people of the entire country and do spectacular things. What are the advantages of the multi-party system of the capitalist countries? Such multi-party systems are what determine the competitive state of internal strife of the bourgeoisie and none of them represent the interests of the broad laboring people. In capitalist countries, people do not have and cannot have collective ideals, and many people have no ideals. This state of affairs is their weakness and not their strength, for this makes it impossible for the strength of each of their countries to be concentrated completely thus a very large portion of their strength is tied up and offset. Our party is also one of many parties, but while accepting the leadership of the communist party China's other parties serve the socialist enterprise. The people of our entire country have common fundamental interests and lofty ideals, i.e., to build and develop socialism and ultimately realize communism, therefore we can be united under the leadership of the communist party. Our party and the several other parties have for a long time coexisted and supervised each other

and this policy should continue to be upheld. However, the principle of communist party leadership of China, and communist party leadership of China's socialist modernizations cannot waver; if it wavers, the China will retreat to division and confusion, and will be unable to realize the modernizations.

On the other hand, it should be noted that to uphold the leadership of the party, it is necessary to strive to improve party leadership. The damage Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did to our party was extremely great and now it should be said that our party does not have the confidence among the masses that it did in the past. In the past our party overcame difficulties and one party slogan or a work from the Party Central Committee and the entire country did things according to it and this was unusually useful. The severe difficulties of 1959, 1960, and 1961 were very quickly overcome under the unified leadership of the Party. That is very worth recalling. Over 20 million staff members and workers were sent to the countryside to walk the mass line, and clearly explain principles, and no one complained. Now it is not that easy. And why? In the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was running rampant, they kicked over the party committee and made "revolution" and the party was thrown into disorder. What the "gang of four" engaged in was gang leadership and gang rule. The urgent question which is before us now is that we should restore the party's fighting strength. The party should be a fighting rank, the vanguard of the proletariat, and should be a united, highly conscious and disciplined rank. Only by restoring this attitude can the party have fighting strength.

There are several questions here. First of all, some of our party members now are not qualified. Some new party members who entered the party during the time of the Great Cultural Revolution cannot become mass models and are not qualified because they have never received party education. Some of our old party members were very well qualified for a long period of time but now they cannot be models for the masses either and are not as well qualified. We emphasize party spirit and are opposed to factionalism. Some people hold fast to another faction. There are people who place factionalism above party spirit including some of our old party members. How can this be considered qualified? Why was the authority of our party so great in the past? During wartime we always said that if a company was three-quarters party members then this company was certainly great and had strong fighting strength. Why? It was because in fighting party members were always in the van and always the last to retreat, and in their daily lives always the first to suffer and the last to enjoy blessings. In this way they also became models for the masses and nucleus of the masses. It's that simple a principle. At that time it was not easy to become a communist party member. Being a communist party cadre such as a company commander or a platoon leader, meant that when the army was on the march one should carry two or three rifles. Now there are some communist party members who are not like that: they join the party to be the first to enjoy and the last to suffer. Our opposition to special privileges is actually opposition to special privileges of some communist party members and some communist party member cadres. Therefore we now say that this party of ours should restore the excellent traditions and work style and that there is a question that party members should be qualified.

Whether or not the qualifications for party membership are met or whether or not the conditions of party membership are met is a question which is raised not only for new party members, but also for old party members. Therefore, a question of rectification really exists in our party. Our party now has 38 million members. If all of these 38 million are qualified, then what a great force it would be! The problem is that some party members are not qualified and should be rectified on the foundation of education. The Central Committee is considering revising the party constitution. The party constitution written by the 9th and 10th party congresses was not actually much like a party constitution, since what the rights and duties of a party member were, what constituted being a party member and what should be done if one were not qualified were not well stipulated and must be revised. The demands on a party member should certainly be strict. We must educate the entire party through discussion of a draft of the party constitution and then formally approve the party constitution in the 12th Party Congress.

We should improve the leadership of the party, and in addition to improving the organizational situation of the party, should improve the work situation of the leadership of the party, and improve the leadership system of the party. This is a complex question. Everyone knows that when he had just entered the city, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the things we were familiar with would have to be put aside now for what was facing us now were the things with which we were not familiar. Since this was not resolved conscientiously for a long time, this question is now all the more urgent and important. Now the work of leading a region, a department, or leading a factory, school or unit is much more complicated and difficult than in the past. In economic work, for example, of course we still have to do a great deal of good work, but have we really systematically learned how to build a socialist economy in a planned way? Building a socialist economy in a planned way on a national scale is very different from economic work in the liberated areas. In economic work now the questions are much more complex than in the fifties. The conditions are different, the tasks facing us are also different. Now science and technology are developed, international exchange is developed, our economy certainly should be competitive internationally, and should be measured by the yardstick of international levels. In the face of the new questions which constantly appear our party should always study, our communist party members should always study, and our Chinese people should always study. No one can be satisfied with backwardness, and backwardness cannot exist. However, how many people with specialized knowledge are there among our communist party members? In particular, how many are there with specialized knowledge among our leadership cadres? Will it do if the present situation is not changed? Of course, even if party members have specialized knowledge, the party cannot take the place of everything else and do everything, and now in particular it cannot do this. The party should be in a position of leadership, but the questions mentioned above must be conscientiously studied and resolved. I think that the next congress of our party must emphatically research these questions and preparations should be made now and everyone should discuss them to systematically and thoroughly resolve these questions.

There are now a great many questions which must be resolved concerning improving the leadership of the party. For example, we have always said that the factory should implement a plant manager system of responsibility under the leadership of the party committee; military units are senior officer division of labor responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee; schools are a school head system of responsibility under the leadership of the party committee. If this system of responsibility continues to be carried out from now on should the shops of the plant be lead by the party general branch? Should the teams and groups be lead by the party branch or the party group? Similarly, should the university departments be lead by the party general branch? Is this favorable to the work of the plant and the university? Can it manifest the leadership role of the party? If these questions cannot be resolved well, it may harm the leadership of the party and weaken the leadership of the party, rather than strengthen the leadership of the party. What measures should the communist party use to exercise leadership? Should they use this organizational form or use another method, such as the model role of the communist party member, including studying specialized knowledge hard, becoming well acquainted with various specializations, and suffering before others and enjoying after others, and taking on more work than the ordinary person. A plant party committee must always guarantee completion of the plan in terms of product quantity, quality, and cost; guarantee technological advancement, managerial advancement and managerial democracy; guarantee that all managerial personnel have authority and can work effectively and with discipline; guarantee that all staff members and workers enjoy democratic rights and reasonable working conditions, living conditions and study conditions; guarantee that superior talent can be trained, selected and promoted regardless of whether they are party members or not, all capable persons should be allowed to develop their potential fully. If this can be guaranteed then the leadership of the party will be effective and forceful. This is much better than meddling everywhere and the prestige of the party naturally will be increased.

In short, how to improve the leadership of the party is an important question which is before us. If this question is not carefully researched and if it is not resolved, then the leadership of the party cannot be upheld and the prestige of the party cannot be increased.

To uphold and improve the leadership of the party, it is necessary to strengthen party discipline. During the Great Cultural Revolution, party discipline became lax and even today it has not been fully restored. This is another important reason why the party cannot play the role it should. Because discipline is lax, many party members can go their own way and carry out or not carry out the party's line, principles, and policies, the party's decisions, and the mission stipulated by the party as they wish. If a party permits its party members to freely express their opinions and freely act according to their own wishes then this party naturally cannot have a unified will, cannot have a fighting strength, and the party's mission cannot be smoothly realized. Therefore, if we would uphold and improve the leadership of the party, it is necessary to maintain party discipline strictly and strengthen party discipline actively. The individual must obey the organization, the minority must obey the majority, the lower echelons must obey the

upper echelons, the entire party must obey the central committee. These principles must be strictly carried out. Otherwise, a fighting collective cannot take shape and there will not be any qualified vanguard.

I should say here that the most important of these principles is that the entire party should obey the central committee. The central committee has committed errors, but these were long ago corrected by the central committee itself, and no one can be permitted to use this as an excuse to resist the leadership of the central committee. Only if the entire party strictly obeys the central committee can the party lead all party members and the people of the entire country to struggle for the realization of the great mission of modernization. If any person seriously damages this principle, party organizations at all levels and party committees for discipline inspection at all levels must strictly carry out disciplinary action against him because this is in the highest interests of the people and in the highest interests of the people of the entire country. We should uphold and develop party democracy and safeguard party democracy. Party members who have opinions with regard to party decisions can express them through channels, can keep their own opinions, and can present their views to the central committee through channels as well as directly. Party organizations at all levels, beginning with the central committee, should conscientiously consider these views. However, before they are changed, things which have been decided by the central committee and things which have been decided by party organizations must be obeyed and opinions must be expressed in accordance with party decisions; the wilful dissemination of no-confidence, discontented, and opposing views with regard to the lines, principles, and policies of the central committee is not permitted. The party press should certainly propagandize the party's stands unconditionally. Of course, party members have the right to criticize shortcomings and errors in party work, but this criticism should be constructive criticism and should present ideas for positive improvements. Aren't we saying now something to the effect that this or that question can be discussed? It can be discussed, but within what scope and in what form should conform to party principles and observe party decisions. Otherwise, if everyone goes his own way and does not carry out in his actions the principles, policies, and decisions of the central committee, the party will be disorganized and it will be impossible to be unified and to have fighting strength. For this reason, it is necessary to eliminate resolutely the anarchistic thought tide which was brought into the party by the "gang of four" and the bourgeois liberalization thought tides of various types which have newly appeared within the party. As long as we resolutely guarantee the unity and fighting strength of the party, we will be able to complete the missions we have raised here today.

The great things discussed above and the principles which must be carried out, in the final analysis, mean that there should be a good party to lead. I have said all along that the Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious, and correct party. Because of complications historically, some discrepancies have come into being. However, through the struggle of the last three years, these discrepancies have fundamentally been eliminated or efforts are being made to eliminate them. In our work from now on we will strive to do things

more correctly, or rather, strive to commit fewer errors, avoid great complications, and great errors, and if there are errors, correct them as quickly as possible. I fully believe that our party and our party's central committee can certainly take this first step, and we are fully confident. China's modernization needs our party, and China's important place in carrying out the international anti-hegemonist struggle and striving for the progress of mankind needs our party. We should certainly uphold the leadership of the party, improve the leadership of the party, and strengthen the discipline and fighting strength of the party, so that we can victoriously be up to the enormous leadership responsibility towards the entire nation and all the people.

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PERSIST IN THE PARTY LINE, IMPROVE WORK METHODS (29 February 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 238-247

[Speech at the third meeting of the 5th plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 15 Jul 83]

[Text] Today, I would like to deal with three issues: 1) the current session; 2) the party's political, ideological, and organizational lines; and 3) methods of work.

The first issue: This plenary session is important and has been conducted successfully. The 3d, 4th, and the current plenary sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee have all been conducted successfully. Our party's political life has not been so active for many years. At this plenary session, everyone has indeed spoken his mind freely, the collective wisdom has functioned, and the collective leadership has been effected. Thus, the session has initiated a good trend in the party life. This good practice should be carried forward and popularized by leading organs at all levels throughout the party.

This session has settled the matter of strengthening and improving the party's leadership, including the strengthening of the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee, the establishment of a central Secretariat, the production of a revised party constitution draft, and the formulation of some regulations governing the inner-party political life. All this is very important. Our party is the ruling party. However, the party leadership has been injured for a fairly long time. Restoring our party's position and role among the people of all nationalities throughout the country and in international affairs is an important issue that we must properly settle. In my opinion, the several decisions and documents approved by this plenary session are all correct. The session really embodies our party's style of seeking truth from facts. The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi is a matter of great importance and we have properly handled it. Can this matter be settled a bit earlier? I am afraid it is impossible. However, if the matter is not settled now, we might be making a mistake. The plenary session proposed that the NPC amend Article 45 of the Constitution and delete the stipulation about the "four bigs," that is, airing of views and contending in a big way through big-character posters. This is also an important issue concerning the guarantee for the stability of our nation's political life. In short, all issues being dealt with by this session are of great importance and all have been properly settled.

After the news about the session and its documents are published, they will bring about great and favorable repercussions not only in our party and among the people of all nationalities throughout the country, but also in the rest of the world. For a fairly long time, many comments have appeared worldwide, saying that the current line and policies adopted by the CPC and the PRC are correct, but doubting their continuity and stability. The documents issued by this session and the series of political and organ-

izational measures adopted by it have presented a good answer. It is my belief that the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country will be satisfied with the decisions made by this session. In the international field, it is certain that this session will better justify the trust our foreign comrades, friends, and cooperators of various kinds have put in us. This will be extremely favorable to our drive to realize the four modernizations and to the international antihegemonist struggle.

The second issue: adhering to the party's political, ideological, and organizational lines. About this, I would like to say more.

Since the 11th National Party's Congress (footnote 1), especially since the 3d and the 4th plenary sessions of the Central Committee, we have gradually laid down our party's political line at the present stage.

In particular, the third plenary session established, or reiterated, the party's ideological line. After the third plenary session, the party central leadership realized that it was impossible to ensure the political and ideological lines without further settling the matter concerning the party's organizational line. A major task for this session is to settle this matter. Of course, since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party central leadership has embarked on settling the issue of the party's organizational line and has done a lot of things in this field. For example, a group of people, including me, have been allowed to resume their work. But it was only after the third plenary session that this matter was more clearly put into the work agenda. This shows that our work has taken a major step forward.

Our party's political line at the present stage is, in general, to work for the four modernizations wholeheartedly. At any time, this must not be disturbed. We must resolutely and wholeheartedly carry on this cause. Without the four modernizations, we cannot solve many problems. The development of the national economy, the increase in the national income, the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, and the building-up and consolidation of our national defense, all must rely on the realization of the four modernizations. This plenary session has discussed the revised party constitution draft, which ought to explicitly expound the party's position and role in the drive to realize the four modernizations. As comrades said in the discussions, the revised party constitution draft is good and shows new features in dealing with the issues of what kind of a party a ruling party should be, how a member of this ruling party can be considered qualified, and how this party can be regarded competent for the leadership. This does not mean that the draft is already perfect. Perhaps, it can be perfected only after several more revisions.

A new phrase -- a high degree of democracy and civilization -- is added to the expression of the party's political line in the revised draft. This proposition is more accurate than before, but the sentence seems too long. It will be easy to remember if the expression is terser. However, no matter how we express it, the essence is to work for the four modernizations, and the most important is to conduct economic construction, to develop the national economy, and to develop productive forces. We must closely adhere to this principle and cannot delay it even for a single day. Comrades, when you are busy at your routine work of all kinds, you must not neglect economic work for even a single day.

While wholeheartedly working for the four modernizations, we must also wholeheartedly maintain and develop stability and unity and the active and vigorous political situation. This will always be a matter of great importance for us. This is also the purpose of our proposal to repeal the stipulation about the "four bigs" in the current constitution. The abrogation of this stipulation does not mean that it is not necessary to give play to socialist democracy. Practice during many years has proved that the "four bigs" are not a good method. They are harmful to both stability and democracy. The development of socialist democracy is inseparable from the building of a socialist legal system. Democracy can be affected through many channels. For example, the regulations governing the inner-party political life stipulate that people should speak their minds honestly

and place their opinions on the table for discussion. At this plenary session, everyone of us has spoken his mind freely. People can even correct members of the central Standing Committee who did not speak correctly. This is a good phenomenon. How can there be "golden mouth and jade words" and how can every sentence that people utter impromptu be correct? We have initiated a very good practice at this plenary session. Carrying forward such a democratic practice will be favorable to the maintenance and development of a stable, unified, active, and vigorous political situation. However, the "four bigs" can never achieve this.

In order to realize a stable, unified, active, and vigorous political situation, it is necessary to settle issues left over by history and to draw clear distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong. We have settled a large number of issues of this kind, but there are still many remaining to be solved. As the third plenary session pointed out, the purpose of settling these issues is to unite the whole party and to do future work better. So, we should not be too tangled up in matters of the past, but should guide people's thinking and vision to the work for the four modernizations. If we cannot achieve the result of uniting as one in looking forward to the future, there must still be some drawbacks in our work. That is why we always say that major historical problems should be solved in a general rather than an over-elaborate way. Here, I not only mean some specific cases, but also refer to an overall evaluation of historical problems, including the resolution which we will draw up on several historical problems. It should also be dealt with in a general way and should not be excessively elaborated.

The resolution on the rehabilitation of Comrade Shaoqi says that the party committed some mistakes before the Cultural Revolution, so did Comrade Shaoqi and other comrades. I think this is a realistic way to describe things. We should not create a false impression that all were absolutely right but only one person made mistakes. I am eligible to say so, because I myself have committed mistakes. In the antirightist movement in 1957 (footnote 2), we were all activists, and I was responsible for the mistake of making the scope of this struggle far too broad, for I was the party's general secretary. During the Great Leap Forward in 1958 (footnote 3), we were also hotheaded. I am afraid that many old comrades here were hotheaded in those days. The mistakes involved in all these cases should not be imputed to a certain person. We should admit that there is no infallible man. As far as I am concerned, if I can be assessed as 60 percent against 40 percent, that is, of all the things I have done, 60 percent are good things and 40 percent are not so good, then, I will be very glad, because the good things still account for a large part. Since we have admitted that Comrade Mao Zedong could commit mistakes, why did Comrade Shaoqi make no mistakes? Why did other comrades not commit any mistakes? To appraise Comrade Shaoqi in this way in the resolution on his rehabilitation can make people inside and outside the party and people at home and abroad realize that the CPC really seeks truth from facts and dares to face reality and speak the truth. Otherwise, our statement will not be true to facts. There is no infallible man, the difference is just the seriousness of mistakes.

We must continue to solve other problems left over by history. For example, Comrade Qu Qiubai (footnote 4) has been mentioned at this session. There is no sufficient reason to label him as a renegade and this verdict must be reversed. When solving these historical problems, we must guide people to look forward to the future and must not be too tangled up in the matters of the past. A number of cases involving some comrades have in fact been cleared up, it is not necessary to ask the central authorities to issue documents to announce this, because it is not good to issue too many documents.

Then, I would like to say something about the ideological line. The third plenary session has established, or to put it more accurately, has reiterated the party's Marxist ideological line. The ideological line of dialectical and historical materialism

created by Marx and Engels was summarized by Comrade Mao Zedong in the Chinese language into "seeking truth from facts." So, our party's ideological line is to seek truth from facts, to base everything on reality, to link theory with reality, and to persist in using practice as a criterion for testing truth. By "reiterating," we mean that this Marxist ideological line has been restored.

This ideological line was once cast away in a certain period, and this caused great injury to the party's cause and brought a great disaster to the country. The image of our party and state was once blackened for this reason. We should admit that this ideological line of our party was established by Comrade Mao Zedong and he adhered to this ideological line when leading the revolution in most of his lifetime. In order to implement this ideological line, we must oppose dogmatism and revisionism and must adhere to the four basic principles. If the four basic principles are discarded, we will lose our footing and bearings and we will not be able to carry out the party's ideological line. The principle of seeking truth from facts that we are advocating is a major component of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, when advocating the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must never separate it from other basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and must never neglect Comrade Mao Zedong's important contributions to the establishment of this principle. At no time can we injure the brilliant image of Comrade Mao Zedong in the history of the Chinese revolution. We must not hesitate about adhering to the principle of holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. We must be fully aware of this and realize its importance. This has a bearing on the interests of the CPC and the Chinese nation and on the interests of the international communist movement as well.

Now, the importance of the open discussion on the criterion of truth has become clearer and clearer. This discussion was directed at the "two whatevers" (footnote 5) and people have realized from this discussion that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should not be treated as rigid dogma. The third plenary session called for studying the new situation and solving new problems. Last year, we said that localities should link this discussion to their realities so as to help solve concrete problems. That is to say, in upholding the party's ideological line, we should also look forward to the future. No matter what matters we are tackling, we must guide the attention of the whole party and the whole nation to the issues of how to restore and enhance the party's prestige, how to strengthen and improve the party's leadership, and how to deal with new problems at home and in the world.

Without using our brains and emancipating our minds, it is impossible for us to realize the four modernizations. What do we mean by emancipating our minds? We mean that we should smash the trammels of the force of habit and of subjective prejudice under the guidance of Marxism, and should study the new situation and solve new problems. The drive to emancipate our minds must not go against the four basic principles and must not harm the party and nation's stability and unity and the vigorous political situation. The whole party must have a uniform understanding of this point. If one talks about the emancipation of the mind by departing from the four basic principles as those people who are hanging around the "Xidan Wall" (footnote 6) have done, one is in fact placing himself in opposition to the party and the people.

The drive to emancipate our minds must really help us solve some problems. Often, many comrades are lazy in thinking and are keen on repeating stereotyped expressions and idle talk. Now, we must really carefully study new matters and solve new problems and must earnestly work out effective measures to quicken our pace in developing the national economy, increasing national incomes, and improving our leadership. Yet, not many comrades can do so at present. For example, we urgently need more competent personnel now, but why can some outstanding people not be promoted and how should we solve this problem? We must seriously consider this and work out some effective measures to solve it. If our veteran comrades, including me, cannot successfully tackle this matter, then we must be blamed for this failure. There are still some other things, for which some localities can only rigidly apply some ready methods and they dare not take action if the higher authorities do not give instructions. How can this be an emancipated mind?

We have repeatedly stressed that even production teams should emancipate their minds, use their brains, and solve specific problems on their own. As I see it, if the party organization in a production team, a factory, a workshop, or a work group, can work out good methods to solve the specific problems of its own unit by relying on the masses and consulting the masses and can thus play an exemplary role of communists, then this party organization has made its valuable contribution to the four modernizations.

This plenary session has made a series of important decisions to pursue the party's organizational line. However, as far as the whole party is concerned, there are still many important problems remaining to be solved and we must soberly evaluate this situation. For example, our organizational structure is not perfectly suited to the needs of the four modernizations. At present, however, the most important thing is to select good successors. From the central authorities down, our party committees at all levels, especially our veteran comrades, must always keep this problem in mind and take a serious attitude toward it. They must commit themselves to this solemn duty. Now we are pressed for time, things will become irremediable if we fail to promptly and properly solve this problem. In 1975, Wang Hongwen said: Let's wait and see in 10 years from now. At that time, I mentioned this matter when talking with Comrade Xiannian and other comrades. I was already 71 in 1975, so we could not match age against theirs. In those days, we thought that it was indeed necessary to have some younger comrades promoted to key leading posts. This is an urgent and actual problem. When a plenary session of the Central Committee is held 5 years from now, many comrades here will have lost their working ability. It will be too late if the problem of successors is not considered until then.

The present situation should be viewed from two aspects. On the one hand, there are indeed a number of factionalists who stick to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and who have indulged in acts of smashing, beating, and looting. These people are described as "having horns on their heads and spines on their bodies." They constitute an important factor for instability. The implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies is often obstructed by them. We will commit a major mistake if we retain in key leading posts the people who are former followers of the Lin Biao clique and the "gang of four" and who refuse to change their stand. On the other hand, we already have a large number of outstanding young people who have professional knowledge and management skill, working competently in the fields of economic construction, science and technology, and cultural and educational undertakings. There are people with political integrity and strong party spirit and with ability and insight, in all departments and localities. Therefore, on the one hand, we must seriously get rid of those factionalists, and on the other hand, we must pay attention to selecting a group of reliable successors from younger comrades who are physically healthy and who have good work performances. If we settle this major issue within 3 to 5 years, our cause will become more and more promising.

Can we have 50 members below age 50 in the next Central Committee? I hope comrades attending this session will take this question into consideration. Deputies to the party congress should also include a considerable number of people below age 50. If these two points cannot be effected, our party congress cannot be considered a successful one. Deputies to our future congress and members of our future Central Committee should be even younger. That will be an important sign indicating the flourishing and the prosperity of our cause.

At present, our party is also faced with another problem, that is, its organizations must be consolidated. We came up with this task as early as 1975, but it has not so far been fulfilled. A considerable percentage of our 38 million party members cannot be considered qualified members. Beginning from the end of this plenary session, the whole party should carry out a self-education movement in connection with discussing the revised draft party constitution and with implementing the regulations for inner-party political life.

Veteran cadres should also take part in this education movement, which can be handled as a minor rectification movement. What they should do is nothing other than compare their behavior with the standards listed in the documents and see whether they are up to the standards. If 90 percent, or even 70-80 percent, of a person's behavior is in keeping with the requirements, he can be considered a good comrade. Of course, there certainly are people who are 100 percent in keeping with the requirements. As for those unqualified members, they should be criticized and be requested to conduct self-criticism so that they may change themselves.

The third issue: paying attention to the method of work and overcoming bureaucracy. This is an urgent issue with which we are faced. The fundamental way to overcome bureaucracy is to carry out a structural reform, but it is also necessary to improve our method of work. It is not right to think that we can do nothing before the structural reform is fulfilled. Our method of work must conform to the needs of the four modernizations and should become better and be improved faster.

We should develop democracy, but at the same time, centralism is also a necessity. Perhaps, at present and for a fairly long time in the future, we must stress that centralism must be earnestly exercised over things that need to be centralized, so that we may enhance our work efficiency. We emphasize collective leadership, and this time when we discuss succession, we also mean collective succession. We are right in doing so, and this is an important point. However, it is also necessary to establish a responsibility system for sharing out specific duties among members of a leading body. Major issues should be tackled through collective leadership, but responsibility for specific affairs must be borne by special personnel. We should say that our central Secretariat's efficiency is quite high, one of the reasons being that when a special member of the Secretariat is authorized to deal with an affair after a decision on this matter is made, then he indeed has great power to independently handle the matter. However, now, many of our cadres only draw circles and leave many affairs there with no one taking care of them. Some simple things have been been delayed for 6 months or even 1 year, others have simply been set aside forever. The people are greatly dissatisfied with our low efficiency. How can we realize the four modernizations in this manner? I hope that, beginning from the reestablishment of the Secretariat, party central organs and the State Council will take the lead in adopting a collective work system. We should no longer indulge ourselves in drawing circles. As for some affairs, the Secretariat and the State Council need not require all members to meet and discuss solutions; sometimes several members can make decisions after consulting each other. They can first start to handle some affairs and at the same time report to the Political Bureau and the Standing Committee. Things needing to be discussed by higher authorities can be left over temporarily, but things that can be recorded and reported later on should be promptly handled. The system of collective leadership and personal responsibility must be adopted by organizations at all levels. For example, in a factory, there should be a personal responsibility system for the factory director under the leadership of the factory party committee. The party committee should only take care of political affairs and matters of principle. As for production and administrative work, they should be within the competence of the factory director who is responsible for managing affairs in these fields. Party committees should not continue to take charge of everything, major or minor. Special duties should also be shared out between the factory director and his deputies. Some take charge of technology, some take care of research work, some look after financial affairs, and some are responsible for logistics, and so forth. They can also come together to discuss some major affairs. Anyway, all should pay attention to work efficiency. Under such a system, mistakes are unavoidable, but mistakes under these circumstances are better than the practice of buck-passing which makes things drag on for a long time; also, it is easy to correct these minor mistakes.

Our meetings should be small in size and short in time. We should not hold meetings which have not been properly prepared. Speeches at the meetings should also be short, and discussions should not depart from the subject. One should air his views on the subject; he may say yes or no and present the reasons, but his remarks should be as concise as possible. If he has nothing to say, he should shut his mouth. We must not hold meetings that are filled with empty talk and must not stray from the point when making discussions. Even though we hold short meetings and work collectively, if we just keep on discussing a matter without making a prompt actions, our work results will still be very poor. In short, meetings and discussions must help solve problems.

The efficiency of this session is not bad. So many problems have been solved in these few days and have been solved well. With the Central Committee's plenary session taking the lead, I believe that our cause is full of promise.

Footnotes:

(1) The 11th CPC National Congress was held from 12 to 18 August 1977 in Beijing. The congress played an active role in exposing and criticizing the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique and in mobilizing the whole party to build our country into a modern socialist power. However, owing to the limitations imposed by the prevailing historical conditions and the influence of Hua Guofeng's mistakes, the political report at this congress still reaffirmed the erroneous theories, policies, and slogans of the "Cultural Revolution" and thus produced a negative influence which obstructed the work of setting things to rights. When Deng Xiaoping made this speech, the opportunity was not ripe and it was impossible at that time to analyze the role of the 11th Congress from these two aspects.

(2) The counterattacking rightists movement in 1957 refers to the struggle against bourgeois rightists launched throughout the country during that year. In April 1957, the CPC Central Committee decided to carry out a rectification movement to oppose bureaucracy, factionalism, and subjectivism throughout the party. A small number of bourgeois rightists took advantage of this opportunity to launch attacks on the party and the newborn socialist system and tried to replace the leadership of the CPC. In June, the party central leadership issued a directive and decided to launch a counter-attack upon the rightists. In those days, it was necessary to launch this counter-attack, but the party committed the mistake of making the scope of this struggle far too broad. In 1978, the CPC Central Committee decided to reexamine all the people who were labeled as rightists and rehabilitate those who were wrongly labeled.

(3) The setbacks in 1958 refer to the mistakes during the "Great Leap Forward" and the people's commune movements in 1958. In August 1958, the CPC Central Political Bureau held an expanded meeting in Beidaihe and decided that steel output in 1958 should be double that in 1957, and increase to 10.7 million tons; at the same meeting, the bureau also decided to establish people's communes throughout the countryside. After the meeting, an upsurge of a steelmaking campaign in which all the people must take part, and a drive to establish people's communes in the countryside emerged throughout the country. "Leftist" errors, characterized by excessive targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness, and the stirring up of a "communist wind," thus spread unchecked throughout the country. This disturbed the normal order of economic construction, wasted huge quantities of labor force and material resources, and caused serious imbalance in the national economy.

(4) Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), born in Changzhou City, Jiangsu Province, joined the CPC in 1922 and was one of the party's leaders in its early years. At the critical juncture after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, he presided over the "August 7 meeting" of the party, and was appointed member of the Standing Committee of the party's Central Political Bureau, taking charge of the routine work of the central leadership.

He committed a "leftist" putschist mistake in the period between November 1927 and April 1928. In September 1930, he presided over the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee and corrected Li Lisan's "leftist" adventurist mistake. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee in 1931, he was attacked by "leftist" dogmatists and factionalists headed by Wang Ming and was excluded from the central leadership. In February 1935, he was arrested by the KMT when he traveled from Jiangxi to Fujian and was killed on 18 June in Changding County, Fujian Province. During the "Cultural Revolution," he was unjustifiably labelled as a "renegade." In October 1980, the CPC Central Committee decided to rehabilitate Qu Qiubai's reputation.

(5) The "two whatevers" refer to the statement -- "We must resolutely uphold whatever decisions Chairman Mao had made and must consistently follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao had issued" -- which was put forward by a joint editorial of RENMIN RIBAO, HONGQI, and JIEFANGJUN BAO on 7 February 1977, entitled "Studying Well the Documents and Grasping the Key Line."

(6) The "Xidan Wall" refers to the place along Xidan Street in Beijing where people used to put up their big-character posters. Some people with ulterior motives then made use of this wall to carry out lawbreaking activities and to sabotage social order and public security. On 6 December 1979, the Beijing Municipal Revolutionary Committee issued a circular, banning the putting of big-character posters on "Xidan Wall."

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STREAMLINE THE ARMY TO RAISE ITS COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS (12 March 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 248-254

[Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 26 Jul 83]

[Text] Concerning the question of the Army, I have talked it over with some comrades recently, and there are four problems: first, "cutting the fat"; second, the reform of the system; third, training; and fourth, strengthening political and ideological work.

First, on "cutting the fat": This meeting will chiefly deal with the old problem of "cutting the fat" of the Army. Is our Army effective in combat? Should anything happen, would it be effective? I am not speaking of matters like the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam; such matters are not difficult to deal with. Explanatory note 61: The counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam refers to the counterattack in self-defense of the frontier units against the Vietnamese invaders in February and March 1979. But if we should meet stronger opponents, judging by our combat effectiveness, how good is its reliability? Of course, on our part, there are still many disadvantageous factors, for instance many of our cadres have never fought a battle, and lack the experiences in conducting warfare, our equipment is comparatively backward, and so on. However, through fighting against Vietnam, it can be seen that we still have courage. The Army is courageous; this is fine. Once engaged in warfare, there might be some losses in the initial stage, but things will change after a certain period of time. With courage, we will be able to learn warfare. On this point we have confidence. However, we must coolly understand that the biggest problem existing on our part is the overstaffed condition of the Army. When a war is actually going on, it will not be easy to disperse them, not to mention exercising command in battle.

The issue of "cutting the fat" is raised now; this means to solve such problems as the overlapping and overstaffed condition of Army organizations and the resulting inflexibility of command at various levels and so on. This issue was first raised in 1975, and we did some work on it, which proved to be effective; but later, owing to some complications, the whole thing stopped. Over the past few years, the Army organizations at various levels have been expanded; and with the expansion, the phenomenon of bureaucratism has also developed. It is now very difficult to solve the problem, for finding many problems has been delayed too long. Therefore, it is imperative to "cut the fat." Moreover, our country's current military spending is quite great, and this is not advantageous to the construction of our country. In addition, an overstaffed Army will

impede the modernization of the Army's equipment. It would be much better if some money is saved for spending on our economic construction. Judging the international situation coolly, it is still possible to strive for more time in peace. During this period of time, we should do our best to reduce our military spending so as to strengthen our national construction. In short, whether it is the four modernizations, streamlining the Army, or raising combat effectiveness, they all require "cutting the fat."

Our current streamlining is chiefly aimed at reducing unnecessary non-combatant personnel, command organizations, and personnel of command organs. The most important is the reduction of cadres. The measures to be adopted this time are a step forward from those of 1975. For instance, the retained number of commanding personnel at various levels was a bit too large in the past. This time, it is necessary to make it smaller. Many comrades have said that two deputy commanders for each regiment, with one deputy political commissar, would do. This is a good opinion. This will also do in the divisions! At present, the leading bodies are really too large. If this problem is not handled in a decisive manner, in a few years from now, who knows how the problem will turn out! Please make a comparison of the situations of 1975 and 1979. In 1975, the number of cadres the Army had to take care of was already considerably large. Now, after a span of 4 years, the number of people to be supported or to retire will be much larger. If we do not make up our mind to solve the problem now, a few years from now there will be more and bigger problems and they will be more difficult to handle. Therefore, it will not do if we do not make up our minds. It is necessary to see, in particular, this situation: cadres at the military district, army and division levels are generally about the same age and are quite old. After a few years they will all be old, and it will be impossible for them to work in the army or the division nor will it be practicable for them to work in the military districts or the headquarters. This is the law of nature. And what about the comrades present at this meeting after 5 years? I am afraid that most of the people here, if not all, will find it difficult to carry on work. You will all be over 70 7 or 8 years from now. Will you be able to find out about the outcome on the battlefield? If a war should be going on, would it be possible for you to keep wide awake for 3 days and nights at a stretch? Therefore, the current "cutting of fat" will also be advantageous to the renovation of our cadres. This applies not only to the Army, but to the localities as well. Today, the chief posts can only be occupied by old comrades, but will it still be possible in a few years? Therefore, it is necessary to lift a layer of lids during the current streamlining, including the lids on the regiments, the battalions, and the companies, and to create conditions for the promotion of newly emerging forces.

As to the cadres being transferred out, I suggest that various training classes be organized and that these cadres undergo training. In what fields are they going to be trained? Well, they can specialize in the professions which they are ready to go in for. If there are no houses in the localities, Army camps can be made use of, and teachers may also be provided by the localities. As to where these cadres are to be settled, this can be discussed with various departments of the State Council. There are also professions for cadres which the localities are able to use. For instance, there is a great demand for cadres in political and legal work, which is comparatively close to the special skills of Army cadres. At present, there is a shortage of policemen, the more so with police officers; and there is also a shortage of presidents of the courts, judges, lawyers, procurators, and judicial officials. Generally, in capitalist countries the conditions for the examination of judges and policemen are very strict. On our party, we should be even stricter. Apart from a perfect knowledge of various laws, policies, regulations, procedures, cases, and relevant social knowledge, it is demanded, in particular, that they be selfless and honest and upright in their ways. Normally, Army cadres should be eligible in this field. And the Army will be able to provide a large number of cadres. As another example, we are now short of teachers. A number of Army men transferred to civilian work can be assigned to go in for teaching. Of course, those among them, if any, who are eligible to teach at college will be notable exceptions. However, there are still many of them who can be teachers in middle or primary schools. It is necessary to persuade these comrades to become teachers. As to the assignment of teachers of military and physical training in universities and colleges, as is suggested by you all, there will be a limited quota of such positions in this field. There are only several hundred

universities and colleges in the whole nation. Supposing that every institute takes in 10 people on average, their capacity will be several thousand to around 10,000 people at most. In addition, there is a shortage of management personnel in various trades and professions. So long as they are trained and suitable for the conditions, a number of them may be assigned to such posts. Army cadres have been engaged in command in the Army; this is also management. They have knowledge of management anyway. Why is it that various countries of the world are all willing to receive Army personnel? It is because the levels of scientific knowledge and culture, apart from knowledge in administration, among Army personnel are comparatively high. Among the Army cadres to be transferred to civilian work, not many of them are able to run enterprises. However, they do have experience in army administration! The problem lies precisely in the need for training, learning just the profession they are to be transferred to. As to the time for training, some will take half a year, some 1 year, and others 1 and 1/2 years. Let them transfer to the localities after they have been trained, and this will make it easier for the localities to make arrangements for them. In the past, when Army cadres were transferred to civilian work, they became no more than directors of political departments, engaging in political work or work in general. At present, not only are there no vacancies regarding such positions, but there is a surplus of such cadres. Therefore, it is necessary to train cadres by running specialized training classes and accelerated training courses in accordance with civilian needs, so as to solve the problem of arrangements for cadres after "cutting the fat."

Second, on the reform of organizational system: The question of organizational system is actually one of the two sides of the question of "cutting the fat." If "cutting the fat" is to be done, it is imperative to carry out reform in the organizational system. There are many problems in our organizational system at present. For instance, why should the three headquarters of the General Staff, the General Political Department, and the General Logistics Department be so large? In the past, when each new task was put forward, new organs and new personnel were added, but reduction of personnel was unheard of. There are complaints against red tape and slow procedures in having problems solved, which are all connected with the problems of the organizational system.

Among the questions of organizational system and regulations, a very important one is the establishment of the service and demobilization of military officers. A set of regulations regarding the service of military officers was drawn up in the 1950's, but it never came into force and was later put aside. Actually, that set of regulations was fundamentally a good tentative idea and a good measure. If that could have been carried out, the difficulties would not exist today. When this meeting is over, it is necessary to start making a study of this problem. There should be a retirement system. Not only should the Army have one, but the localities and the State Council should also handle this affair. It is necessary to fix the retirement age of Army cadres a bit younger than that of the cadres in the localities because the Army has to fight. Of course, the stipulation must be practical and feasible. If a retirement system is not established in a nation, it will affect the vitality of the whole nation. Likewise, without the establishment of a retirement system, the Army will not preserve its vitality. With a retirement system, when everybody knows what to do when the time comes, things will be handled more easily. Otherwise, if cases are to be handled individually, one by one, we will not be able to carry on handling them. Concerning the retirement of old comrades in the Army, the path is to have their houses built by the Army, then transfer them to the localities. This is the only way to do it now, because it would be very difficult for the localities to promptly take over the matter. In addition, workers in some areas in the Army may be changed into civilian personnel or employed personnel who are not to wear Army uniforms. There are quite a lot of teachers in the military academies, where civilian personnel may be employed; they do not necessarily have to be army men. Why should those people teaching mathematics, physics, and chemistry have to be armymen? Let those who should be professors be professors, and those who should be lecturers be lecturers. Army hospitals can also practice the system of medical personnel and fix titles for technical personnel.

What is the use of so many administrative posts anyway? All these questions should be systematized. After they are systematized, the staff will not be so swollen, and when there should be one man, use one man; when there should be several men, use just that number of people. In short, this complete system should be established, and it is necessary to get some people to make a thorough and special study on it.

We now have an establishment program for the current streamlining. However, it is necessary to make further studies on our establishment and organizational systems. Some very good opinions have been put forward by some comrades which merit our consideration. For instance: Some comrades suggested that certain composite armies or divisions be formed in accordance with the characteristics of various military theaters and along with the continuous improvement of military equipment. This will be convenient for peacetime comprehensive training and for the commanders to get familiar with the command of special technical units, and will combine peacetime training with wartime utilization so as to avoid being unfamiliar with coordination and subordination when something happens. These problems should all be put forward for further studies as problems concerning the setup and the organizational system. It is possible that other problems concerning the organizational system will be touched on.

Third, about training: It was in 1975 that we first raised training to a strategic position, because if no war is going on, the promotion of the military quality of our troops will have to depend on training. During that period of time, a lot of work was done. However, this problem was not satisfactorily solved. Now that the problem has come up again, it will be solved as a question of system.

Nowadays, if a war is going on, it will not do for our military officers to lack knowledge of modern warfare. Being a company commander is nothing like the company commander of the past, and a regiment commander is nothing like the regiment commander of the past. It is necessary to possess knowledge, including communications and liason, in the air, below ground, on land, and under water; all should be acquired. It should be taken into consolidation in the system that from the platoon leaders upward, military officers at all levels must go through training in military academic schools. It is necessary for cadres of the platoon and company to graduate from elementary infantry schools. After their graduation, those with average results will become platoon leaders and those with good results will become company commanders. Cadres of the battalions and regiments should be those who have been to intermediate military academies. Those who are good among platoon leaders and company commanders will be selected and sent to study, and they will become battalion or regiment commanders after spending a certain period of time in studies. Leading cadres of the armies and divisions will also have to be those who have been to advanced military academies. This should be systematized. Now we have the conditions to do so. In the past, we trained in war and learned in war. Such learning was really able to pass the stiffest test. But nowadays, even if there is a war, we cannot get by without going through studies at school, because the equipment is different and because command in modern warfare requires knowledge that covers many areas. What is the use if one does not even know how to read a map! Now it is not simply a question of whether one can read a map or not -- that will be easy to solve. Modern warfare is very complicated, it is not even easy to carry out communications and liaison. A company is in action and you are now equipped with a few tanks and a few guns under your command. How are you to command them? You cannot do without this knowledge if you are the company commander! Therefore, it is imperative to study. The promotion of military officers should also be systematized. Each stage of promotion involves studying and mastering knowledge of modern warfare. This should also be the case with special technical units. Every time he spoke, Comrade Xu Xiangqian would mention the necessity of running more schools. This is a very good opinion and is very correct. We would rather have fewer soldiers and fewer personnel in organizations and run our schools well and have more people at school.

As for peacetime training of the troops, it has still to be grasped, and really it should be taken into firm grasp. Nevertheless, it should not rest always at the level of practicing shooting, bayonet fighting, and throwing hand grenades. It is now not enough to train simply in those areas. How to deal with tanks, airplanes, and so on -- every fighter should learn about that. And how to have coordinated actions with the air and below ground -- it is necessary for us to learn that, too. I have mentioned just now that we will form composite armies, that is, gradually synthesize the units and, through peacetime training, enable everyone to become familiar with the knowledge in this field and learn the skills in this field.

Lastly, a few words about strengthening political and ideological work: Comrades have touched upon this question in their speeches. Some people reflected that it is difficult to lead the troops nowadays, in particular those soldiers from the cities. Some cities have squeezed into the Army some youths who are not well behaved. It is necessary to attach attention to this problem in enlisting new soldiers hereafter. However, whatever the situation, it is necessary to strengthen political and ideological work in the Army. At present, work in this area has been considerably weakened; political workers do not know how to do political and ideological work. Actually, it is necessary for all military personnel and political personnel to participate in the political and ideological work in the army.

I went through a report from Qinghua University this morning. Qinghua University has put forward a very important topic, namely, from the very first day students enter the university, it is necessary to carry on political and ideological work among them. The party and CYL organizations and all the teachers of the university should do political and ideological work among the students. They have been doing this, and it has been proved to be effective. Now there is a very good atmosphere on the campus. The experience of Qinghua University should rouse the attention of the whole nation. Be both Red and expert; Red should by no means be given up. If this is the case with a university, the more should our Army strengthen political and ideological work. It is necessary to pay attention to this question from the very first day the fighters are enlisted into the Army.

CSO: 4005

OPINIONS OF DRAFTING THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA' (March 1980-June 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 255-274

[Excerpts from nine talks during this period on the drafting and revision of the resolution]

[Foot note: Drafting of the RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA was directed by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang under the leadership of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and Secretariat. The Drafting Group was primarily the responsibility of Comrade Hu Qiaomu. From March 1980 to the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in June 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave his opinions on the drafting and revision of the Historical Resolution many times. These are excerpts from 9 of these talks.]

[Text] I

When I read the outline of the drafting group, I felt that it was too broad. The narrative method should be avoided and it should be a little more focused. There should be a thesis for the important questions, and the thesis wording should be more extensive, and, of course, it should be precise. There should be three central ideas.

First, establish the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong, and uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the most central thing. Not only today, but also in the future, we should hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. After the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee's decision to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi was handed down, the thinking of some people was rather confused. Some opposed rehabilitating Comrade Liu Zhaoqi, thinking that this ran counter to Mao Zedong Thought; some thought that rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi meant that Mao Zedong Thought was wrong. Both these views are incorrect. It is necessary to clarify this confused thinking. There is great interest in the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, and not only all the comrades in the Party, but also friends in all areas are watching what we say.

A history of Mao Zedong Thought and of the process by which Mao Zedong Thought took shape should be written. It might be said that the Yen'an period was the period during which Mao Zedong Thought began to take shape rather completely. The theory of New Democratic Revolution, including the theory of party building and the principles of handling relationships inside the party within Mao Zedong Thought, took shape rather completely about the time of the Yen'an rectification. The RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN HISTORICAL QUESTIONS passed by the Seventh Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee was mainly critical of the three "leftist" lines, and did not have any special overall content relating to Mao Zedong Thought with reference to correct lines as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. This time, to evaluate Mao Zedong Thought correctly, and scientifically establish the leading position of Mao Zedong Thought, the important content of Mao Zedong Thought, in particular the content which we should continue to implement from now on, should be set down in rather generalized language. In the ten years of the "Cultural Revolution" Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes. When speaking of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, the mistakes of this period should be analyzed in a seeking truth from facts fashion.

Second, there should be a public evaluation of what is correct and what is wrong in the 30 year history since the founding of People's Republic of China analyzed in a seeking truth from facts fashion, including the merits and faults, rights and wrongs of some responsible comrades.

Third, a basic summary of the events of the past should be made through this RESOLUTION. As for what was said in the past, this summary should be general and not detailed. Summarizing the past is to guide everyone to look ahead united as one. After winning approval of the RESOLUTION, thinking within the party and among the people will be clarified, understanding will be unified and discussion of the important questions in history will hence be basically concluded. Of course, it will be difficult to avoid completely discussing the past in the future, but when discussing current work, relevant things from the past are brought into the discussion. Now we should engage in the four modernizations wholeheartedly, and look ahead in unity. It is not so easy to do this. Every effort should be made to do the resolution well and be able to unify everyone's understanding so that division will not occur again. In this way, even if history is discussed, everyone will feel that there are no longer different opinions to speak of and what is said will be comprehension of the content of the resolution and of the lessons of past experience.

The overall demand, or what might be called the overall principle or overall guiding thinking, is these three items. And the most important, the most fundamental, and the most crucial is the first.

How should we now view the oft-mentioned 10 line struggles of the past?

The Comrade Peng Dehuai one cannot be considered. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's also cannot be considered. This reduces it by two. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were a counterrevolutionary clique. Chen Duxiu, as well as Comrade Qu Qiubai and Comrade Li Lisan were not engaged in conspiracy. Lo Zhanglun started another Central Committee and split the party. Zhang Guotao was a conspirator. Gao Gang was a conspirator. Not to mention Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

Exposing the Gao-Rao [7559 7437] problem was not a mistake. Whether or not it should be called a line struggle requires more study. I know about this event very clearly. At the end of 1953, after Comrade Mao Zedong proposed splitting the Central Committee into yixian, erxian [0001 4848 0059 4848], Gao Gang was very active. He first of all received the support of Lin Biao, then dared to go all out to do this. At that time, North China was his, the South Central was Lin Biao's and East China was Rao Shushi's [7437 3359 4258]. With regard to the Southwest, he used devious methods, negotiating with me formally, saying that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was immature and wanted the two of us to get together to overthrow Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I clearly expressed the attitude that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's position within the party had taken shape historically and in terms of the general situation Comrade Liu Shaoqi was good and that it was not appropriate to change a position which had taken shape historically this way. Gao Gang also sought out Comrade Chen Yun for talks. He said: We can set up several deputy chairmen, you can be one and I can be one. When this happened, Comrade Chen Yun and I felt that the problem was serious and immediately reported to Comrade Mao Zedong and brought it to his attention. Gao Gang wanted to overthrow Comrade Liu Shaoqi and adopted the methods of dealing and conspiracy and this was very irregular. Therefore the struggle to oppose Gao Gang also should be affirmed. The handling of the Gao-Rao question was very tolerant. At that time no one was hurt and some cadres were even consciously protected. In short, it was necessary for the Gao-Rao problem to be exposed and dealt with. Looked at today, the handling was also correct. However, what line did Gao Gang really represent? I think that there really wasn't a line. Therefore it is hard to say whether or not it should be called a line struggle. You should discuss this a little more.

The anti-rightist struggle of 1957 should also be affirmed. After the Three Great Transformations were completed, there was actually a force, a thought tide, which was anti-socialist, and bourgeois in nature. Counterattacking this thought tide is necessary. I said many times that some people at that time were really out to kill and wanted to deny the leadership of the Communist Party and change the direction of socialism and if they were not counterattacked we could not advance. The mistake was in magnifying it. The United Front Work Department wrote a report to the Central Committee proposing that all mistaken plans be corrected, and that plans which were not mistaken could not be amended. However, with regard to those plans which were not mistaken, the several famous people who had been members of the Democratic Party faction in their conclusion it also should be said: before the anti-rightist struggle, especially in the period of the democratic revolution, they had done some good things. Their families should be treated without discrimination, and should be properly cared for in their daily lives, work, and politics.

The final several experiences in your outline are described incorrectly, and one or two more should be considered for addition.

To sum up, with regard to the historical question, it should be a little broader and more vague, and not too detailed. The mistaken views of some comrades on some questions, should be resisted firmly. The important questions should be further demonstrated. A draft should be completed as quickly as possible.

(Chat with Responsible Comrades of the Central Committee, 19 March 1980)

II

To sum up, before 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership was correct, but after the anti-rightist struggle of 1957 the mistakes became increasingly more numerous. ON THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS was good. ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE was also good. In THE GENERAL SITUATION IN SPRING 1957 he also said that it is necessary to build a modernized industrial foundation and a modernized agricultural foundation in China and in this way our socialist economic system and political system could acquire its own rather complete material foundation; to build socialism, the working class must have its own technical cadre contingent, must have its own contingents of professors, teachers, scientists, news reporters, writers, artists, and Marxist theoreticians. This is an enormous contingent, so there must be a lot of people; a political situation should be created which is both centralized and democratic, both disciplined and free, and in which there is both united will and the ease of mind and vitality of individuals. The two Zhengzhou Conferences were both timely. The first half of 1959 was correcting "rightist" errors. In the period before the Lushan Conference economic work was also discussed. Once Comrade Peng Dehuai's letter was sent, the direction changed. Comrade Peng Dehua's views were correct and as a member of the Political Bureau it was also normal for him to write to the Chairman of the Political Bureau. While Comrade Peng Dehuai had some shortcomings, the handling of Comrade Peng Dehuai was completely erroneous. Then there was a difficult period. In 1961 the Secretariat presided over the drafting of the 70 industrial articles and also decided an industrial issue. At the time Comrade Mao Zedong was very satisfied with the 70 industrial articles and greatly admired them. He said, we finally have some order. Before this, the 12 agricultural articles and the 60 commune articles had been made. When you look at it, at this time Comrade Mao Zedong also conscientiously corrected "leftist" errors. His speech at the 7,000 member Congress was also good. But by the Beidaihe Conference of July-August 1962, things had shifted back again, the class struggle was raised again and raised even higher. Of course, in his speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong did not want disturb economic readjustment by bringing up class struggle. This played a very good role. However, after the Tenth Plenary Session, he himself stressed the class struggle again, and got involved in the "Four Clarifications". After that the two literature and art instructions and the Jiang Qing business came one after the other. By the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 discussing the "Four Clarifications" not only brought up the faction in power which was taking the capitalist road, but also that there were two independent kingdoms in Beijing. From the development of the situation from 1961 to 1966 it can be seen that readjustment work secured very good results, the economic and political situation was very good, and that social order was very good. In short, in the 17 years since the founding of the PRC there had been complications and errors, but basically it was still correct. The socialist revolution was carried out well, and after shifting to socialist construction, Comrade Mao Zedong also had some good articles and some good ideas. When speaking of errors, we should not speak only of Comrade Mao Zedong, for many responsible comrades in the Central Committee also had errors. In the "Great Leap Forward" was it only Comrade Mao Zedong's brain that was fevered, and not ours too? Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai, and I didn't oppose it, and Comrade Chen Yun didn't speak out.

In these questions there should be fairness and the impression should not be created that other people were correct and only one person committed errors. This does not conform to the facts. The errors committed by the Central Committee are not one person's responsibility, but a collective responsibility. Here Marxism-Leninism should be applied in combination with our actual circumstances to analyze them to determine what was contributed and what was developed.

The ideas and the several experiences in the outline are good depending on where they are being discussed.

If the overall design can be considered, first, a foreword looking back on the stage of the New Democratic Revolution before the founding the PRC, but it shouldn't be too long. Then, the stage of the 17 years since the founding of the PRC, the stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution", the stage of Mao Zedong Thought, and finally a conclusion. The conclusion should say that our party is still great and that we dare to face our own errors and dare to correct our own errors. The most central and most fundamental issue in the resolution is to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. Inside and outside the party, and at home and abroad demands that we demonstrate, elaborate, and summarize this issue.

(Chat with Responsible Comrades of the Central Committee, 1 April 1980)

III

I have read the resolution once. It will not do and should be redone. When we first started I said that we should establish Mao Zedong's historical position, uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought, but the present draft does not very well embody this original conception. The several sections before 1957 are pretty much in line with the facts, but the narrative method, sequencing, and especially the tone, should be reconsidered and revised. It should state clearly what were Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to socialist revolution and socialist construction. His thought is still developing. We should restore Mao Zedong Thought, uphold Mao Zedong Thought, and even develop Mao Zedong Thought, and here, he has provided the foundation. This idea should be fully expressed. His important articles of this period, such as ON THE TEN GREAT RELATIONSHIPS, ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE, and THE GENERAL SITUATION IN SPRING, 1957 all should be described. This is something that we today should continue to uphold and develop. People should be given a very clear idea of what it means for us to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and to uphold Mao Zedong Thought.

The entire document is written much too depressingly and isn't like a resolution. I think it should be revised and the project is rather major. Place the emphasis on what Mao Zedong Thought is, and what areas are Comrade Mao Zedong's correct things. The erroneous things should be criticized but it should be very suitable. Just discussing the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong himself cannot resolve the issue, for the most important thing is a question of system.

Comrade Mao Zedong said a great many good things, but because in the past some systems were bad it has put him in a negative light. Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in theory and practice in his later years should be discussed, but it should be in general terms, and appropriately. The important part is to focus the discussion on the correct things because this conforms to history. Does the conclusion say that we should still continue to develop Mao Zedong Thought. Here, the viewpoint of "two whatevers" should also be criticized. Comrade Mao Zedong's errors are in going against his own correct things. The viewpoint of the "two whatevers" was in wanting to continue to uphold intact the erroneous thinking of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. The so-called doing things according to existing policies refers to doing things according to the erroneous policies of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years. The question of the influence of feudal remnants should be discussed, and also appropriately. Many times Comrade Mao Zedong did not approve of singing someone's praises and said that a place or enterprise should not be named after an individual, nor should he be congratulated on his birthday or be given gifts. What our present Central Committee is upholding is Mao Zedong Thought and, of course, we also have concretized its content.

(Chat with Responsible Comrades of the Central Committee, 27 June 1980)

IV

This discussion within the party in which 4,000 persons are participating is still going on. I have read some brief reports, everyone is speaking their minds freely, opinions vary, and some ideas are very good. The resolution discussion draft is still too long and it should be shortened. If what need not be said is dropped, what should be said will stand out all the more. Many groups demand that a section devoted to after the smashing of the "gang of four" be added. I think that this section must be written.

Whether or not evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults and Mao Zedong Thought should be written, and how it should be written is actually an extremely important issue. I sought out comrades of the Security Guard Bureau and talked with them and they said that my talk of a few days ago with the Italian reporter Fallacci was read to the soldiers, and discussions were organized and the cadres and soldiers all felt that it was well-said and could be accepted. If Mao Zedong Thought is not mentioned and if the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults is not appropriate, it will not get through to the old workers, it will not get through the poor lower and middle peasants of the time of land reform, and it will not get through to the large group of cadres who link up with them. The banner of Mao Zedong Thought cannot be dropped. Dropping this banner actually denies our party's glorious history. In sum, our party's history is still a glorious history. Although in the history of our party, including in the 30 years since the founding of the PRC, some major errors have been committed, even the major error of the "Great Cultural Revolution", but in the end we made the revolution succeed. China's position in the world did not improve greatly until after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Only with the establishment of the People's Republic of China could this large country whose population is nearly

one-quarter of the world's population, stand up in the world, and stand firm. Or as Comrade Mao Zedong said: The Chinese people from this point have stood up. Both the people at home and the overseas Chinese abroad have all been personally affected by this. Also, only after the establishment of the People's Republic of China was unity of the entire nation (except for Taiwan) truly realized. Needless to say, in the period of civil war among warlords in old China, that is the period of Guomindang control, the nation never had true unity, even in Shanxi, Guangdong and Guangxi, and Sichuan it could not be considered true unity. Without the Chinese Communist Party, the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution cuold not have been carried out, the socialist system not established, and today our China would still look like the old China. That we were able to obtain these present results is inseparable from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. It is precisely about this matter that many of our young people lack an understanding.

Evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong, and expounding Mao Zedong Thought does not just involve the problem of Comrade Mao Zedong as an individual, but is inseparable from the entire history of our party and nation. This entire situation should be viewed. This is something we have emphasized repeatedly from the time that drafting of the resolution began. The section expounding Mao Zedong Thought must be in the resolution draft. This is not just a theoretical question, especially a political question, but a very major political question of an international country. If this section is not written or not written well, it would be better that the resolution not be written at all. Of course, what the best writing method is still requires conscientious research of everyone's views.

It is correct not to say that Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively developed Marxism-Leninism and not to say that it is a new stage of Marxism. But it should be acknowledged that Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. In the process of applying Marxism-Leninism to solve some of China's actual problems, our party actually had many developments. This is objective existence and historical fact. However it is written, Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults, the content of Mao Zedong Thought, and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought in our work heretofore and hereafter should be written clearly. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have restored those correct things of Comrade Mao Zedong, that is, studying and applying Mao Zedong Thought precisely and completely. That is still the fundamental point. From many perspectives we have also begun to do the things which Comrade Mao Zedong had already mentioned, but had never done, corrected the errors he opposed, and done well the things he had not. For a long time in the future we will still be doing these things. Of course, we have also had developments and will still continue to develop.

The Seventh Party Congress tipulated that Mao Zedong Thought was the guiding thought of the entire party. Our party has used Mao to educate an entire generation of people so that we won the victory of the revolutionary war, and established the People's Republic of China. "The Great Cultural Revolution" was actually a major error. But our party smashed the two counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and "the gang of four", concluded the "Great Cultural

Revolution" and has developed right up to today. Weren't these things done by the generation which was educated by Mao Zedong Thought? We talk now about setting things to rights, that is, setting to rights the damage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four", criticizing the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and returning to the correct track of Mao Zedong Thought. In short, if we do not include in the resolution Mao Zedong Thought, that is, the thing which has been proven correct through the test of practice and should be the compass for our work from now on, then the historical significance of the weight of our past and future revolutions and construction will be weak. By not describing or not upholding Mao Zedong Thought, we will commit a major historical error.

Some comrades now attribute many problems to the personal character of Comrade Mao Zedong. In fact, many problems cannot be explained by personal character. Even a person with very good character cannot avoid errors under some circumstances. During the Red Army period, the Central Committee's revolutionary base attacked the AB tuan, was the character of the people who attacked the AB tuan bad? When the attack on the AB tuan began Comrade Mao Zedong also participated, but he became aware earlier than the others and very quickly discovered the problem, summarized the lessons of experience, and when he got to Yan'an said "not one killed and the great majority not to be detained". In such unusually tense wartime situations when a bad person is discovered within it is necessary to raise the alarm. However, when the brain is fevered one hears a confession and believes it without clear analysis, thus it is hard to avoid committing an error. Objectively speaking, the environment was truly tense. Subjectively speaking, of course, there is also the problem of lack of experience.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution" Comrade Mao Zedong did not intend to punish and overthrow all the old cadres. Comrade He Long, for example. From the very outset, Lin Biao wanted to punish him, but Comrade Mao Zedong actually wanted to protect him. Although no one heard him say this, he wanted to punish him but he had not yet considered to what degree. When it comes to the fact that the punishment became more and more severe, one cannot say that he has not responsibility, only that he alone cannot be made responsible. Some of it was a fait accompli carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four", some of it was done behind his back. No matter what, a large group of cadres were overthrown, and it must be said that this was the greatest tragedy of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years.

When Comrade Mao Zedong was in his later years, his thought actually was no longer so consistent, and some of what he said was mutually contradictory. For example, in evaluating the "Great Cultural Revolution" what he said was three parts erroneous and seven parts right, the three parts erroneous was overthrow everything and comprehensive civil war. How can these phrases be linked up with the seven parts that is right?

Absolutely clear-headed criticism of the errors, including Comrade Mao Zedong's errors, should certainly be carried out, but it should certainly be done in seeking truth from facts, and analyzing different situations, and cannot attribute all the problems to the character of an individual. Comrade Mao Zedong was not an isolated individual and, up until the time he passed

away, he was our party's leader. We cannot exaggerate the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong. If we do, it will discredit Comrade Mao Zedong and it will also discredit our party and nation. This will run counter to the historical facts.

(Chat with Responsible Comrades of the Central Committee, 25 Oct 1980)

V

A rough sketch of the resolution draft can be set down.

The achievements of the first seven years after the founding of the PRC are generally acknowledged unanimously by everyone. Our socialist transformation was successful, and very extraordinary. This is an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxism-Leninism. Today we must again elaborate on this in terms of theory. Of course there are also shortcomings. In terms of work, sometimes there is more urgency in some questions.

The ten years before the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be affirmed as generally being good, and fundamentally developed along a healthy path. Here there were complications and errors were committed, but the achievements are important ones. At that time, the party and the masses were linked heart to heart, the party's prestige among the masses was high, social trends were still good, and the spirit of the broad cadres and masses was aroused. Therefore, though difficulties were encountered, it was still possible to get through them rather smoothly. Problems arose in the economy, but generally speaking there was still growth. Fully affirm the achievements, and at the same time the errors of the anti-rightist struggle, the "Great Leap Forward" and the Lushan Conference should be mentioned. In sum, our experience was inadequate, so naturally, we were not cautious after the victory. Comrade Mao Zedong should bear the main responsibility. In this regard, he wrote a self-criticism and accepted responsibility. These things are written out clearly, and the development of "leftist" thought has been described, and even the explosion of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which was brought about.

The part about the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be more general. I agree with Comrade Hu Qiaomu's views. "Great Cultural Revolution" was a more serious and overall error than the errors of the preceding seventy years. Its consequences were extremely serious and still have an impact even now. It is said that the "Great Cultural Revolution" held up a generation, but actually it did not stop with one generation. It caused anarchism and extreme individualism to spread unchecked and seriously undermined the social atmosphere. However, in this ten years, there were also some healthy aspects. The so-called "February adverse-current" was not an adverse current, but a regular current, it was repeated struggle with Lin Biao and the "gang of four".

Comrade Hu Yaobang has suggested that after the resolution draft is written more views be heard from old cadres and statesmen, including Comrades Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134] and Le Weihan [2621 4850 3352] and this is very correct, and I agree with it.

(Chat with Responsible Comrades of the HISTORICAL RESOLUTION drafting group, 18 March, 1981)

VI

The day before yesterday I went to see Comrade Chen Yun. Comrade Chen Yun expressed two opinions concerning the revision of the resolution draft. One was to add a special section discussing the history of the party before liberation and describe the party's sixty years. Once the sixty years are described, the achievements and contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong can more comprehensively be summarized, and there will also be comprehensive basis for establishing Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position and upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought. This is a very good idea. Please relay it to the drafting group. The second proposal was that the Central Committee advocate study, mainly study of Marxist philosophy, with the emphasis on studying the philosophical writings of Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Chen Yun said that he profited greatly from studying Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical writings. Comrade Mao Zedong personally told him three times that he should study philosophy. When he was at Yen'an, he conscientiously read Comrade Mao Zedong's works and this had a very great relationship to his later work. Now many of our cadres do not understand philosophy, and need very much to improve in ideological method and work method. Selections should be made from ON PRACTICE, ON CONTRADICTION, ON PROTRACTED WAR, ON QUESTIONS OF WAR AND STRATEGY, and ON COALITION GOVERNMENT. Some selections should also be made from the works of Marx and Engels. In short it is very necessary that Marxist philosophy be studied. Some history should also be studied. Young people do not know our history, especially the history of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. Please report these views to Comrade Hu Yaobang. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to Marxist philosophy should be more abundantly and fully described in the historical resolution. The conclusion also should advocate the idea of study.

(Chat with responsible comrades of the HISTORICAL RESOLUTION drafting group, 26 March 1981)

VII

The resolution draft has already been through several discussions. In the discussions there have been many good views which should be accepted. There have also been some views which cannot be accepted, for example, that the Twelfth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress were illegal. If the legality of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress are denied, then we cannot claim that the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" still existed and that the State Council and PLA could still carry out much necessary work. At the time of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai explained that ten members of the Central Committee had passed away, and ten members were added from among the alternate members of the Central Committee and thus those attending Central Committee members numbered 50, more than half. This referred to the legality. But whether it's the Twelfth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee or the Ninth Party Congress, according to the decision made by Comrade Mao Zedong during the Yen'an period with regard to the provisional Central Committee in Shanghai

in 1931 and the Fifth Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee subsequently convened by the Provisional Central Committee as to whether or not it was legal (and that was a brilliant decision) he said that their method of determining right and wrong was bad. Some comrades say that the Party didn't exist during the "Great Cultural Revolution". This cannot be said. The party's organizational life stopped for a period of time, but the party actually still existed. Otherwise, how would it be possible to smash the "gang of four" without firing one shot or shedding one drop of blood? During the "Great Cultural Revolution" we still had a party in existence. If we now deny the legality of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee and the Ninth Party Congress, it is the same as saying that for a certain period of time the party disappeared. This does not conform to actuality.

In the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution" great achievements were made in external affairs work. Though there was chaos at home, China was accepted internationally as a major country. China's international position improved. Kissinger visited China in July, 1971. In October of the same year, over two-thirds of the countries in the United Nations voted to restore the lawful seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, causing great embarrassment to the United States. Nixon visited China in 1974 and signed the Shanghai Communique. In October, Sino-Japanese relations were restored. In April 1974, I attended the Sixth Session of the U.N. General Assembly and spoke as a representative of our government, and received an enthusiastic welcome. After the speech the representatives of many nations came forward to shake my hand. These are facts.

(Chat with responsible comrades of the HISTORICAL RESOLUTION draft group, 7 April 1981)

VIII

This document has been in the drafting process for over a year and it has been through I don't know how many drafts. In October, 1980, 4,000 people discussed it and put forward a great many good and important ideas; on the basis of the discussion of the 4,000 people and the recent discussion of 40 comrades, there have been repeated further revisions. The 20 odd comrades who are doing the drafting have worked very hard and have now presented a draft.

In the past some comrades asked is there a rush to do this resolution? No, we're all waiting. Here at home, inside and outside the party everyone is waiting and if you do not come up with something there will be no unified viewpoint on important questions. Internationally, they are also waiting. People look at China and doubt our situation of unity and stability, including whether or not this document can be produced or when it will be produced. Therefore there cannot be any more delay, for delay is not advantageous. Of course, a good draft is necessary. The present draft, in my view, at least has a good foundation. This draft was written on the basis of the three fundamental demands which were presented at the start. The present draft conforms to the three fundamental demands.

If we want to bring it out earlier, it will not do to have 4,000 people discuss it again, nor is that necessary, because the views of the 4,000 people have already been fully expressed, and the present revised draft has also fully incorporated their views. The present method is to hold an expanded conference of the Political Bureau, all 79 persons, and spend some time and energy weighing the language more deliberately, to improve it a little and fix it; and after it is fixed present it to the Sixth Plenary Session. Publication for the party's 60th anniversary is envisaged. Commemorating the 60th anniversary of the party will require no additional essays. It will also be necessary to have some celebratory thing, but the important thing is to make this document public.

To speak of the shortcomings would take some time. We wanted to reduce it to less than 20,000 characters, the last demand was 25,000 characters, but now it is 28,000 characters. In the present view, it wouldn't matter if it were over 35,000 characters, and efforts to condense it are not necessary. Of course, if everyone agrees that the central part can be condensed a little in some places, that would be better.

This document was revised on the basis of the discussions of 4,000 people and on the basis of the recent discussions of over 40 comrades and a great many good ideas have been incorporated in it. For example, Comrade Chen Yun proposed that at the beginning should cover the 28 years before the founding of the PRC. This is a very important idea, and now we have a foreword. There were also many other important ideas, and once everyone looks at it they will know which parts were revised on the basis of the ideas everyone put forward. Of course, there are also some ideas which were not accepted.

In short, at the center are two questions: one is, is it the merits of Comrade Mao Zedong that are in first place or is it the errors? Second, in our 32 years, in particular the ten years before the "Great Cultural Revolution", is it the achievements that are important or the errors that are important? Is it the pitch-dark or the light that is important? There is also a third question, and that is are these errors Mao Zedong's alone, or do other people also have a share? Many places in this resolution draft mention that our party Central Committee should bear responsibility, and other comrades also should bear some responsibility, and probably this conforms pretty much to actuality. Fourth, Comrade Mao Zedong committed errors, and these are the errors committed by a great revolutionary, and the errors committed by a great Marxist.

(Lecture to Expanded Conference of
Central Committee Political Bureau,
19 May 1981)

IX

In sum, this resolution is a good resolution, and the draft now is a good draft. We originally envisaged that this resolution should hold up the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought, evaluate the "Great Cultural Revolution" in a seeking truth from facts and appropriate manner, and evaluate the merits and faults, right and wrongs of Comrade Mao Zedong, so that this resolution would play a role

similar to that of the historical resolution of 1945, that is, summarize experience, unify thinking, and look ahead united as one. I think that now this resolution can realize these demands.

This resolution has taken over a year to write. In the middle of that period, it was discussed by 4,000 people, and after that by several tens of people, by the Expanded Political Bureau, and the discussion by the preparatory committee of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was the fourth in turn. I think it has been rather conscientious, seriously and rather detailed.

The central question is the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong, and the propriety of the draft has been well controlled. For example, whether or not to mention that Comrade Mao Zedong's errors were line errors is a matter of propriety. That we didn't mention line errors was in consideration of the fact that the formulation of line struggle and line errors in the past has not been used accurately, and has been used very much and very chaotically. In the past we talked about the line struggles in the party's history, but looking at it now, clearly they cannot be established and should be fundamentally repudiated: there have been only two: the Liu Shaoqi, Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang one and the Peng, Huang, Zhang and Zhou one. The basic conclusion of the Gao-Rao incident wsa maintained, but it cannot very well be said to be a line struggle. It is said that Lo Zhanglong was a line error, but truthfully speaking there's no evidence. Lo Zhanglong was involved in a factional struggle, it split the party, and set up a separate central committee. The Gao-Rao incident was of a similar nature, though of course it didn't set up a separate central committee. Qu Qiubai's error was of only three months duration, and Li Lisan's was less than six months. Evaluating line struggles in the past was not precise, and this is one reason why we do not advocate raising the issue of line struggles. There is another reason: things were like this in the party for a long time in the past and once different views are mentioned it intensifies the line and criticizes line errors. Therefore, we should treat this question very seriously for this is a question of changing our party style. Line errors should not be mentioned in connection with the 11th Party Congress. And we should not speak of the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a line error, but analyze it according to its essence and let it be what it was. In actuality, the present resolution's analysis of the nature of the "Great Cultural Revolution" error exceeded the concept of what was called line error in the past. Of course, not mentioning line struggle does not mean that the term "line" cannot be used. For example, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee established the correct ideological, political, and organizational lines, and this way of formulating things can also be used in the future. But line and general line also can be used, and now talking about realizing the four modernizations is the general line for the new period. This resolution also used the word "line" and didn't not use it. On some occasions, it is rather smooth and natural to use the term "line" in expressions and it is readily understood. However, struggles within the party are referred to by their nature, and their errors, and discussing their content in principle can no longer be described as line struggles. This resolution set a precedent and things should be done this way in the future. This is the first point.

Second, why are we emphasizing appropriateness this time? That is, in the earlier period, there was too much commentary on some questions with regard to Comrade Mao Zedong, and this should be changed. This way is more in line with actuality, and is also more beneficial to the image of our entire nation and entire party. In the past, responsibility for some questions was borne by the collective, and of course, Comrade Mao Zedong should bear the major responsibility. We say that the system is the deciding factor and the system at that time was such. At the time everyone attributed it to one person. Some problems we actually didn't oppose, and thus also should accept some of the responsibility. Of course, under those conditions, it was difficult to oppose the actual situation. However, the "we" cannot be avoided. There are no disadvantages to accepting some responsibility, but there are advantages, and that is we learn some lessons. This is said from the perspective of the Central Committee leadership, and the local areas have no responsibility. At the time Comrade Chen Yun and I were members of the Political Bureau, and at least we two bear some responsibility. The other Central Committee leadership comrades also should bear some responsibility. Doesn't this conform to realities? Yes, it does. In this way we stand firm and there are large benefits. As concerns the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong, originally we said it should be seeking truth from facts, and later added the condition that it should be appropriate, and this is the idea.

Third, in the middle of the discussion, the question was rasied by some comrades: Should the name of Comrade Hua Guofeng be mentioned in the first two years after the smashing of the "gang of four"? Later everyone discussed it and felt that it would not do not to mention his name. This resolution should be integrated with the communique of the Political Bureau conference of November of last year. Much of the wording in the present resolution should be much more moderate and milder than the communique, and the weight should be reduced a little, I think this would be better. Why? Because this is called a resolution concerning certain historical questions and it is the resolution of the Political Bureau Conference. Resolution concerning certain historical questions is a document which will go into history. Of course, the Political Bureau's documents also should go into history, but this historical resolution is a solemn document, and I think that there is no harm in the weight being a little more appropriate. However, the name of Comrade Hua Guofeng should be here because it is in line with realities. If his name is not listed, then there is no reason to change the work of Comrade Hua Guofeng. First of all, this is the question: Is the Political Bureau's resolution correct or not and should the work of Comrade Hua Guofeng be changed? This question should be answered. At the same time, in terms of the present political trends, it is also necessary. Everyone knows whose banner the remnants of the "gang of four" and some other persons with ulterior motives are waving now. In the past it was the banner of the "gang of four" that they waved, and whose banner are they waving now? They are waving Hua Guofeng's banner and supporting Hua Guofeng. Therefore, this trend is very worth attention. Of course, we should say, as I have said to a great many comrades, that Comrade Hua Guofeng himself has no responsibility for these things. Therefore, for this resolution of ours to contain the name of Comrade Hua Guofeng and point out his error is advantageous for the entire party and for the interests of the people, and extremely advantageous for Comrade Hua Guofeng himself.

There are some other questions it would do no harm to touch on in the resolution, such as whether to point out the petit bourgeois ideological influences in the causes for the "Great Cultural Revolution". If it is necessary to oppose petit bourgeois ideological influences, in the future other documents will say so and there will be time for that. Here we will not touch on such questions. What should be criticized here is another question, and that is the misunderstanding and dogmaticization of Lenin's statement concerning the bourgeoisie and capitalism which is produced in large numbers daily and hourly by small scale production, which was misapplied. Discussing the causes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" this time does not touch on the petit bourgeoisie, and must not use the formulations of the past as a model, but say that there are definitely three origins of each error, certainly there are social origins, ideological origins, and historical origins. We have a new way of talking now, and that is good too. (Talk during the Preparatory Meeting for the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, 22 June 1981.)

8226
CSO: 4005/986

ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING RURAL POLICIES (31 May 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 275-277

[Part of a talk with senior personnel working in the Party Central Committee. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 8 Jul 83]

[Text] Following the relaxation of rural policies, a number of places suited to fixing farm output quotas for each household have now instituted this system, with very good results. The changes have been very fast. The great majority of production teams in Feixi County, Anhui, have instituted this system and increased output by a wide margin. The great majority of production teams in Fengyang County -- the place named in the Fengyang flower drum song -- have transformed themselves in 1 year as a result of implementing the all-round contract system.

Some comrades worry whether doing things in this way will affect the collective economy. I think such worries are unnecessary. Our general orientation is to develop the collective economy. [passage indistinct] The key lies in developing the production force. We must create conditions for further development of collectivization in this respect. Specifically speaking, we should achieve the following four conditions:

1. An improved level of mechanization. This means mechanization in a broad sense, not just limited to sowing, cultivation, and harvesting; it means achieving a certain degree of mechanization suited to local natural and economic conditions, that is welcomed by the masses.

2. An improved level of management, with accumulated experience and a number of cadres with quite good management standards.

3. Developed diversification, with the subsequent establishment of various kinds of specialized household and teams, thus greatly developing the rural commodity economy.

4. Increased collective income, and an increase in its proportion of total income.

Where these four conditions are achieved, the situation in places currently practicing the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household will develop and change. This change is not carried out from top to bottom or achieved through administrative orders; it is the demand that is bound to be advanced by production development itself.

Some people say that in the past we acted too fast in carrying out socialist transformation. I think it cannot be said that there is no truth at all in this view. For instance, in the agricultural cooperativization movement, there was a high tide for 1 or 2 years. An organizational form was quickly changed before there was time to consolidate it. This was the case with the period from the establishment of elementary cooperatives to the universal organization of advanced cooperatives. If we had advanced at a steady pace and continued development after a period of consolidation, we might have done things a bit better. The advanced cooperatives were not yet consolidated at the time of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, when people's communes were set up everywhere. As a result, there was no choice but to retreat in the early 1960's to taking the production team as the basic accounting unit. During the socialist education campaign in the rural areas, some places divided some production teams whose size was relatively appropriate into very small teams, while certain other places amalgamated the teams and made them too big again. Practice has proven that this was not good at all.

Generally speaking, the chief current problem in rural work is that minds have not been sufficiently emancipated. Apart from its expression in the organizational form of collectivization, there is also the problem of developing production in light of local conditions. So-called in light of local conditions means developing whatever is suited to local conditions and avoiding forcible development where the conditions are not right. For instance, many places in the northwest should summon up resolve to regard planting herbage as their main business and develop animal husbandry. At present, certain cadres still do not take much account of how to organize more ventures with big economic results and tangible benefits for the masses, suited to local conditions. They continue to act according to old conventions. Their minds are far from being emancipated.

Therefore, following the relaxation of policies, there is still a lot of work to do. It is very important to base our efforts on the local concrete conditions and the masses' aspirations. In our propaganda, we should not just stress one method and demand that all places follow that. When publicizing good typical examples, we must clearly explain under what conditions they succeeded in accordance with their own situation. We cannot say that such examples are good in all respects and have solved every problem, and still less can we demand that other places mechanically copy them in disregard of their own conditions.

CSO: 4005

AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE FOR HANDLING RELATIONS BETWEEN FRATERNAL PARTIES
(31 May 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 278-279

[Part of a talk with senior personnel working in the Party Central Committee]

[Text] Frequently a party's criticism of a fraternal party in a foreign country is based on an existing formula or on certain set programs, when facts have demonstrated this to be unworkable. Circumstances in individual countries differ in myriad ways. The level of the people's consciousness differs, and both relations among classes within a country and comparative strength of classes are very different. How can fixed formulas be used to lump them all together? Even when your formula is Marxism linked to realities in different individual countries, it is difficult to avoid making mistakes. The Chinese revolution was now patterned after the Russian October revolution, but rather it proceeded from China's realities of rural villages encircling cities and armed seizure of power. Even though the victory of the Chinese revolution relied on universal Marxist-Leninist principles linked to actual practice in the country, we should not require that other developing countries model their revolutions on China's; much less should we require that developed capitalist countries adopt the Chinese model. Of course, one likewise cannot require that these countries adopt the Russian model.

The rightness or wrongness of the internal programs and lines of the parties of individual countries must be judged by the party and people of the country. When all is said and done, the ones who best understand the country's circumstances are the comrades in each particular country. However, if the foreign policy of a party or of the country it leads interferes with another country's internal affairs, or causes aggression against or subversion of another country, then any party may make known its views and make protests. We have always opposed the paternal stance and the great nation chauvinism of the Communist Party of the USSR. It pursues an hegemonist line and policy in its foreign relations.

Whether European communism is right or wrong should also not be decided by others. Others should not write articles approving or condemning it, but rather, in the final analysis, the answer should be provided through the practice of the parties and the people on the scene. One cannot censure others

for exploring on the basis of their own circumstances. Even when wrong, it is they themselves who should summarize experiences and explore anew!

In the handling of relations between parties, we have been clear headed overall. However, a look backward shows that we were not always right either. Not long ago, when I spoke with the Italian Communist Party general secretary, Comrade Berlinguer, I said that we had issued some incorrect views on the Italian Communist Party in the past. He also said that right was also not entirely on their side. I said that the past disputes between our two parties had completely dissipated.

In short, it is necessary to respect the party and the people in each country on matters in each country. They themselves must find the way, explore, and solve problems. Other parties may not set themselves up as a paternal party and issue orders. This should be a major principle.

9432
CSO: 4005/989

THE REFORM OF PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP SYSTEMS (18 August 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 280-302

[Speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee which discussed and approved it on 31 August 1980. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 6 Jul 83]

[Text] Comrades: The main topic to be discussed in this enlarged meeting is the reform of the party and state leadership system and some problems relating to this reform.

The reshuffle of the leading members of the State Council will be one of the chief items on the agenda of the coming Third Session of the Fifth NPC. This reshuffle will result in Comrade Hua Guofeng being dismissed from his concurrent post of premier, which will be taken up by Comrade Zhao Ziyang; Comrades Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Xu Xiangqian, Wang Zhen, and myself being dismissed from our concurrent posts of vice premiers, which will be taken over by comrades with more energy; and Comrade Wang Renzhong also being dismissed from his concurrent post as vice premier because he has been appointed to an important post in the party. The Central Committee has decided to approve Comrade Chen Yonggui's application for resignation from his post as a vice premier. We will also propose, after consulting with relevant people, some reshuffles related to the posts of NPC vice chairmen and CPPCC National Committee vice chairmen. The Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau has discussed this matter time and again. Now the committee will put forward a formal proposal in the name of the CPC Central Committee for the NPC and CPPCC sessions to discuss this matter and make their decisions.

Why does the Central Committee decide the reshuffle of responsible persons of the State Council?

The first reason for this decision is that our power should not be overcentralized. Overcentralization of power impedes the implementation of our socialist democracy and the party's democratic centralism. It also hinders the development of our socialist construction and blocks the way for collective wisdom to play its role. This will lead to the malpractice of people acting arbitrarily as individuals and make it impossible for collective leadership to work. Thus it constitutes one of the major causes that give rise to bureaucracy in the new conditions.

Our second reason is that a person should not undertake too many posts concurrently. A man has but limited knowledge, experience, and energy; therefore, if he holds too many jobs concurrently, it will be very hard for him to carry out his work in depth. Furthermore, this blocks the way for appointing a greater number of more appropriate people to be responsible for the leadership work.

A third reason is that we are tackling the problems of confusing the party with the government and substituting the party for the government. When some of the major leading comrades of the Central Committee are freed from their concurrent posts in the government, they will be able to concentrate their energy on dealing with matters related to the party, the line, the principles, and policies. This will facilitate the strengthening and improvement of the unified leadership of the Central Committee and the establishment of a powerful work system of our government which can exercise its management from above level by level, in order to satisfactorily discharge the responsibility within the scope of the government.

The fourth reason is that we want to solve the problem related to handing over the leadership power to our successors in view of our long-term interests. Our old comrades are a valuable treasure for our party and state and they are shouldered with heavy responsibilities. However, the task of first priority for them is to help our party organizations correctly select successors. This is a solemn task. Letting young comrades take up posts at the first line and appointing old comrades to satisfactorily act as their advisers and support their work is a major strategic measure to maintain the continuity and stability of the correct leadership of our party and government.

These decisions of the Central Committee are aimed at carrying out necessary reform in the leadership system of our party and state. The Central Committee has taken a first step toward this by deciding to set up a Secretariat in its fifth plenary session. This Secretariat has done its work effectively since its establishment. The reshuffle of the leading members of the State Council will be a first step toward improving the leadership system of our government. In order to meet the demand of the socialist modernization, in order to meet the needs resulting from the democratization of the political life of the party and state, and in order to develop favorable factors and remove unfavorable factors, it is still necessary for us to carry out reform in many aspects of the leadership and other systems of our party and state. We should continuously sum up our historical experience, carry out deep-going investigation and study, solicit and collect correct opinions, and vigorously and systematically continue to carry out reform in both our central and local organizations.

The reform in the leadership and other systems of our party and state is aimed at giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system and speeding up the development of our socialist modernization.

In order to give full play to the superiority of our socialist system, at present and in a time to come, we should strive to satisfy the following three requirements: 1) in the economic field, we should quickly develop the productive force of the society and gradually improve our people's material and cultural standard of living; 2) in the political field, we should fully develop our people's democracy and ensure that all our people really enjoy the power to manage our country through various effective means, particularly, to manage the basic-level local government and the various enterprises and institutions and that they enjoy all their rights as citizens. At the same time, we should perfect our revolutionary legal system, correctly handle the contradictions among the people, deal blows at all antagonistic forces and criminal activities, give play to the initiative of the masses of people, and consolidate and develop the lively political situation of stability and unity; 3) in order to achieve the above-mentioned two requirements, in the area related to our organizations, there is an urgent need to train, discover, promote, and employ for our socialist modernization a large number of people of ability who adhere to the four basic principles and are relatively young and professionally competent.

In carrying out our socialist modernization program, our aim is to economically catch up with developed capitalist countries, to politically create a democracy that is superior to and more realistic than that of the capitalist countries, and to train a larger number of more brilliant people of ability than that of those countries.

Some aspects of the above-mentioned three requirements can be satisfied in a short time, but others take a longer time to meet. However, since ours is a great socialist country, we can and must meet all these requirements. Therefore, we must judge whether or not the various systems of our party and state are satisfactory and perfect by the criterion of whether or not these systems facilitate meeting these three requirements.

Here, I should like to emphatically expound on the problem of giving play to the superiority of the socialist system in the aspect of organization, consciously renewing the leading organs of the party and government at all levels, and gradually achieving the aim of making our leaders younger and professionally competent.

For many years we failed to boldly promote and employ, under the prerequisite of adhering to the four basic principles, people of abilities who are younger, professionally competent, and practically experienced. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," a large number of our cadres were persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our work related to cadres was seriously undermined. This has given rise to the current situation whereby our leading cadres in all levels are universally aged. Our personnel problem is mainly a problem concerned with our organizational line. It is necessary to train a large number of new personnel. However, the chief task at present is to be good at discovering, promoting, and bravely breaking a rule to promote fine middle-aged and young cadres. This is an urgent objectively existing demand of the state modernization program. It is not a question put forward by some elderly comrades in a whimsical mood.

Some comrades worry that in promoting middle-aged and young cadres, we will perhaps promote some factionists and even some elements who have engaged in beating, smashing, and looting. This is a reasonable worry. For even by now we have not yet satisfactorily reorganized the leading groups in some areas and departments. Therefore, it is possible that some factionalists will use the excuse of promoting middle-aged and young cadres to promote members of their factions. In a speech that I gave on 16 January this year, I said that we must not underestimate the remnant force of the "gang of four" in our organizations and ideology. In this area, we must be sober-minded. We must never promote anyone who began his career by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques to rebel, who has a serious factionalist idea, or who is an element engaging in beating, smashing, and looting. We should resolutely dismiss all such people who have already been in leading posts. If we fail to be on our guard and allow these people to occupy our leading posts, play again their double-dealing tricks, strike their roots, build up their connections, and stay hidden in our ranks, they may cause inestimably great evils to us even though their number is small.

Some comrades say that it is better to promote cadres step by step. In 1975, I made such remarks aimed at the erroneous method practiced during the "Great Cultural Revolution." We must no longer promote our cadres like launching a rocket or helicopter. Our cadres should be promoted step by step. In a general sense, it would mean that our cadres should undergo a course of immersing themselves among the masses, have an intimate knowledge of their profession, accumulate experience, and withstand all trials and tribulations. However, we cannot stick to the old idea of promoting cadres by steps. The promotion of cadres must not be restricted to the steps of district, county, prefecture, and province, in which our party and government cadres are promoted at present. All trades and professions should have different kinds of grades, posts, and titles. Along with the development of our construction, we must also stipulate new requirements and methods for promoting cadres and utilizing people in different trades. Most of the posts and titles in the future should be provided and conferred on those who can pass the qualifying examinations. Only when we have smashed the out-dated idea of promoting by grades and formulated new ideas that suit the new situation and task can we boldly break the rule in making promotions. Furthermore, we cannot go on further than just talking about either the new or old steps. It is imperative to earnestly promote to leading posts those outstanding middle-aged and young cadres as soon as possible. We cannot be hasty in promoting cadres. However, if we are too slow, we may delay the major work of the building of modernization. We have already delayed too much! We must provide a light and convenient ladder to those outstanding comrades so that they can be

promoted by skipping the regular grades. We have proposed to transform the phenomenon of holding too many concurrent posts and overcentralization in power.

Our aim was to release more posts for the middle-aged and young comrades. How can they be promoted if the posts are all fully occupied? How can they be promoted if the vacant posts are not transferred to them?

Some comrades fear that the young people lack experience and are not competent. I think such worries are unnecessary. Experience, sufficient or not, is a relative matter. To be frank, did not our veteran cadres lack experience in the new problems of building modernization and also committed some mistakes? Generally speaking, young people lack experience; this is true. However, I hope that you comrades will think it over. Were many of us, who are now senior cadres and handling major work, not 20-30 years old when we started? We should admit that the middle-aged and young comrades at present possess more knowledge than we did in those years. Although they lack experience in leadership work and undergoing the test of struggle, it is a result of objective conditions. It is because they did not have practical experience in specific work. If they are placed in a specific post, their work can be gradually improved. After liberation, there were 7-8 million students graduating form the institutions of higher learning and special secondary schools. Most of them were from workers' and peasants' families and were tempered for over 10 years. Those middle-aged and young cadres who did not receive education in institutions of higher learning and special secondary shcools had practical experience although their educational level was a bit low. Provided we train them in a planned way, many of them can certainly become both Red and expert cadres. Moreover, there are large numbers of outstanding middle-aged and young talented people who have assiduously studied on their own. There are also many people of ability among the educated urban youth working in the countryside and mountain areas who went deep into the masses and studied hard. As a matter of fact, there are large numbers of middle-aged and young cadres who have become backbones working at various fronts. Compared with those cadres who stand high above the masses and who are unwilling to go to the grassroots levels, they are more acquainted with the masses and reality. We rely mainly on them in most of our work. It is because they were not promoted and did not have the right in making decisions that many of the problems had to be reported time and again to the higher levels for instructions. This became one of the main sources of our bureaucratic practices. In a word, we must never underestimate this contingent of middle-aged and young cadres. Since the political quality of many of the middle-aged and young cadres is good, they are not factionalists, they have the correct way of thinking and possess certain professional knowledge, why should we not select, promote and use them? Many of the enterprises and units have achieved quick results in letting the masses elect their cadres and letting cadres recommend themselves and voluntarily take on the responsibility of the work. This was much better than appointing cadres. Should we not wake up to the truth of these facts? There are fine middle-aged and young cadres everywhere. There are middle-aged and young cadres in all trades, professions, localities, and units, who were discontented, and positively or negatively resisted the practices of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their followers, who politically behaved well and had professional knowledge, and were willing to work hard. The problem is we did not make any attempts to discover and promote them. We must also not desert those people who have genuine talent, and who were once deceived by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their followers, and commited mistakes, but later became aware of their mistakes and corrected them. There are some comrades who only look upon and deal with the people around them, but are not willing to go deep into the masses to select talented people. This is also one of the bureaucratic practices.

We must draw lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution," and at the same time we must be soberly aware that our country confronts the enormous task and situation of building modernization, and that large numbers of cadres cannot meet the actual demands of building modernization. Therefore, we must resolutely rectify the outlook of not judging problems from the long-term point of view.

We have the correct ideological, political, and organizational line. Provided we work with great courage and meticulous care, carry out thorough investigation and studies, and heed the wide range of opinions from the masses, we will certainly be able to promote large numbers of middle-aged and young cadres, ensure that our cause lacks no successors, and let the latecomers surpass the old-timers.

Comrade Chen Yun said that we must pay attention to both political integrity and ability in selecting cadres. With regard to political integrity, the most important thing is to adhere to the socialist road and party leadership. On this premise, the cadres' ranks should be more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent. We must also institutionalize such a system in promoting and utilizing cadres. These opinions are very good. There are some comrades who did not pay attention to the younger cadre ranks, and did not attach importance to better education and the professional competence of cadre ranks. This is the evil results of the "leftist" ideology which existed in the intellectual problem for a long time in the past.

At present, the problem is that the organizational system in force and the method of thinking of a number of cadres are not advantageous to the promotion and utilization of talented people, which is urgently needed for the building of the four modernizations. I hope that the party committees and organizational departments at all levels will shift their ground on this matter, resolutely emancipate their minds, remove all sorts of obstacles, break with old conventions, have courage to reform the inappropriate organizational and personnel system, energetically train, discover, and utilize outstanding talented people, and resolutely fight against all practices that suppress and ruin talented people. After more than a decade's trial, the leading comrades and masses are quite clear of the political feature of the middle-aged and young comrades. Our elderly comrades are still alive, so by adopting the method of judging cadres from the top and lower levels, we will certainly be able to select the proper people. To be sure, this work should be carried out step-by-step, but we must not be too slow. If we miss the opportunity and start dealing with the problem when the elderly comrades pass away, it will be too late and the work will become more difficult than at present. It will then be a grave mistake committed by our elderly comrades.

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There still exist many defects and shortcomings in the concrete regulations of our party and state which seriously hindered the superiority of socialism. If they are not reformed in earnest, it will be impossible to meet the urgent needs of building modernization and we will be seriously divorced from the masses.

The main defects in the leadership and cadre system of the party and state are the practices of bureaucratism, overcentralization of power, paternalism, leading comrades holding lifelong posts, and privileges of every description.

The practice of bureaucratism is a major problem that exists in a wide range in the political life of the party and state. Its principal manifestation and harm are as follows: standing high above the masses, abusing power, divorcing from the actual conditions and the masses, being fond of keeping up appearances and empty talk, rigid thinking, sticking to conventions, organizations being overstaffed, having more hands than needed, being dilatory in doing things, paying no attention to efficiency, not keeping promises, passing documents from one department to the other, shifting responsibility onto each other which leads to having bureaucratic airs, blaming people at every turn, retaliating, oppressing democracy, deceiving the superiors and deluding the subordinates, being imperious and despotic, practicing favoritism and resorting to bribery, corrupting and perverting the law, and so on. All these practices, whether in our internal affairs or international contacts, have reached an intolerable state.

Bureaucracy is a long-standing and complicated historical phenomenon. While bearing features common to bureaucracy in history, the bureaucratic phenomena existing in our country today also have their own characteristics, which differ from the bureaucracy of old China, as well as from the bureaucracy of capitalist countries. They are closely realted to our long-standing adherence to the concept that the socialist system and planned administrative system must impose highly centralized control on the economic, political, cultural, and social fields. Our leading organizations at all levels must be engaged in too many matters, which they in fact should not have their hands in, or cannot handle properly, or simply cannot manage. All these things can in fact be handled smoothly by the lower levels, by enterprises, non-productive institutions, and social service units themselves, strictly according to the procedure of democratic centralism and under the guidance laid down by certain rules and regulations. However, when all these things are covered by party and governmental leading organs, and the department directly under the central authorities, all of them become knotty problems. Nobody is so versatile as to handle all alone all these arduous and unfamiliar tasks. And all the current phenomena derived from our peculiar bureaucracy can be attributed to this general origin. Another origin of our bureaucracy lies in the fact that for a long time we have lacked some strict administrative regulations and personal responsibility system which stipulate the work procedure from the higher levels to the grassroots, and strict rules to clearly define the duties and the authorities of every organ and every individual. As a result, when faced with problems, minor or major, most people have no rules and regulations to follow. Usually they cannot independently handle what they are expected to handle and exhaust themselves in writing reports, asking for instructions, reading over, and conveying documents. Some people who are seriously influenced by selfish departmentalism even shift responsibilities onto others, scramble for power and interests, and always argue over trifles. Furthermore, there is no system stipulating the regular recruitment, reward and punishment, retirement, resignation, and discharge of cadres. All cadres, whether they are or are not doing a good job, can keep their iron rice bowls, and will never be dismissed or downgraded once they are employed. Such circumstances will naturally lead to the overstaffing of organizations, create redundant levels, and bring about many positions of deputies, and lots of unoccupied staffers. An overstaffed organization will inevitably aggravate the bureaucracy. Therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly change these systems. Of course, bureaucracy also shows itself in the aspect of ideological styles. However, as long as the problem concerning systems remains unsolved, the problem concerning ideological style cannot be solved. That is why our efforts in opposing bureaucracy repeatedly failed to score results in the past. Solving the above-mentioned problem concerning systems needs a great deal of work, including strengthening education and waging ideological struggle, which are indispensable. Without completing these tasks, it is impossible to effectively push ahead our economic undertaking and other works.

Overcentralization of power is manifested in the following practice: Under the pretext of strengthening the unified leadership of the party, all authorities are inappropriately and indiscriminately centralized under party committees, and the power of party committees is in turn held in the hands of several secretaries, in particular in the hands of first secretaries. The first secretaries make decisions for everything. Consequently, the unified leadership of the party always becomes leadership by individuals. All levels throughout the country are faced with this problem to a different extent. As the authorities are overcentralized to individuals or a small number of people, the majority of people who are actually in charge of the affairs do not have the decisionmaking power, and a small number of people with power are overloaded with duties. This will inevitably lead to bureaucracy, bring about various mistakes, jeopardize the normal practice of democracy of party organizations and governments at all levels, the collective leadership system, democratic centralism, the responsibility system of division of labor for the individual, and so forth.

These phenomena are related to the influence of feudal autocracy in the history of our country, as well as the tradition of a high degree of centralization of power to individual leaders in the party work of various countries which prevailed during the period of the Communist International. In the history of our party, undue emphasis was repeatedly placed on the centralized leadership of the party, and on the opposition to decentralism and to the assertion of one's independence. Meanwhile, we seldom emphasized the necessary decentralization of authority and decisionmaking power of the individual. In the past, several times we tried to divide power between the central authorities and the locality. However, we never touched the division of responsibilities between the party and the government, economic organizations, mass organizations, and so on. I do not oppose the emphasis on the centralized leadership of the party, nor negate centralized leadership for all cases and the necessity of opposition to decentralism and assertion of the individual's independence. After the party became the ruling party of our country, and particularly after the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically completed, the party had to undertake a central task different from that in the past. As the task of building socialism is extremely arduous and complicated, over-centralization of power is more and more unadaptable to the development of the socialist cause. Our overlooking of this problem for a long period of time was one of the important causes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," which brought us enormous losses. Now we can no longer ignore this problem.

While giving rise to a high degree of centralization of power to the individual, paternalism within the revolutionary ranks helped the individual to dominate the organization, and turned the organization into the tool of the individual. Paternalism is an outmoded social phenomenon with a very long history whose influence caused tremendous damages in our party's history. Chen Duxiu, (Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) was a native of Huaining in Anhui Province. He became the chief editor of YOUTH journal, later renamed NEW YOUTH, in September 1915. In 1918, he and Li Dazhao founded the journal MEIZHOU PINGLUN, [WEEKLY COMMENTARY] by which he publicized a new culture and became one of the principal leaders of the May 4th new cultural movement. After the May 4th movement, Chen Duxiu accepted and began to publicize Marxism and became one of the principal founders of the CPC. He remained the principal leader of the party during the first 6 years after the founding of the party. In the later period of the first revolutionary civil war, he committed serious rightist capitulationist mistakes. After that, being pessimistic and disappointed in the prospect of the revolution, he embraced the Trotskyite viewpoint, organized small groups within the party, and enegaged in antiparty activities. In November 1929, he was expelled from the party, and publicly participated lated in the activities of Trotskyite organizations. Chen was arrested by the Kuomintang in October 1932 and released in August 1937. He died of illness in Jiangjin, Sichuan Province, in 1942), Wang Ming (Wang Ming, alias Chen Shaoyu (1904-1974), was a native of Jinzhai in Anhui Province. Joining the CPC in 1924, he was appointed member of the CPC Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the Changjiang River bureau of the CPC. He was the major representative of the erroneous line of "leftist" adventurism within the CPC during the period from January 1931 to January 1935 before the Zunyi meeting. In the initial period of the anti-Japanese war, Wang Ming again committed the rightist capitulationist mistake. Denying criticism and help by the party for a long time, Wang Ming degenerated into a traitor to the Chinese revolution in the 1960's), Zhang Guotao (Zhang Guotao (1897-1979) was a native of Pingxiang in Jiangxi Province. In 1921, he participated in the first CPC National Congress. He was then elected a member of the CPC Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

(In 1931, he was appointed secretary of the central subbureau of the CPC in Hubei, Henan, and Anhui Provinces, vice chairman of the provisional central government of the soviet republic of China, and to other posts. He was appointed general political commissar of the Red Army after the 1st and the 4th Front Armies of the Red Army joined forces with each other in the Maogong area of Sichuan Province in June 1935. Taking objection to the central authorities' decision concerning the northward operation of the Red Army, Zhang Guotao engaged in activities to split the party as well as the Red Army and plotted to set up a new Central Committee of the party. He was forced to abolish the second Central Committee of the party in June 1936. And then he moved northward together with the 2d and 4th Front Armies of the Red Army and arrived in northern Shaanxi in December. He held the posts of vice chairman and acting chairman of the government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region since September 1937. In April 1938, taking advantage of the occasion of the memorial ceremony for Huangdi at his tomb, Zhang Guotao fled the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region, and went to Wuhan via Xian. He joined the secret service of the Kuomintang and thus became traitor to the Chinese revolution, and was expelled from the CPC immediately. He died in Canada in 1979.) and some others had promoted paternalism. From the Zunyi meeting to the socialist transformation period, the CPC Central Authorities and Comrade Mao Zedong did a relatively good job in upholding collective leadership and democratic centralism, and thus managed to maintain a relatively normal practice of democracy with the party. However, these fine traditions were not carried forward later and were never shaped into a strict and complete system. For example, when discussing important issues within the party, we often failed to thoroughly adhere to democratic procedure and have a full exchange of views, and decisions were usually made hastily by an individual or a small number of people. We seldom put issues to the vote according to the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority. This showed that the democratic centralist practice had not yet been shaped into a strict system. Beginning with the criticism of opposition to adventurous advance in 1958 (based on the opinion of then Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, RENMIN RIBAO published an editorial entitled "It is Necessary To Oppose Conservatism and Also Impetuosity" on 20 June 1956, pointing out that certain phenomena of impetuous and rash advance, going beyond the bounds of practical possibility, had appeared in the process of the vigorous development of the cause of socialist construction. In accordance with this spirit, stress was laid on correcting problems in this respect. At the enlarged third plenary session of the eighth central committee in the autumn of 1957, Mao Zedong in his speech started to criticize the 1956 drive against adventurous advance. At the Nanning conference in January 1958 and the Chengdu conference in March 1958, Mao Zedong went further in severely criticizing the 1956 opposition to adventurous advance. The 1958 criticism of opposition to adventurous advance brought about a rapid development of "leftist" ideology in the party), and the "antirightist" drive of 1959 (this refers to the struggle launched in 1959 against the so-called rightist opportunist line of Peng Dehaui. See item 17 of "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on a Number of Problems in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC"), democratic life in the party and state gradually became abnormal, and there was a continuous growth in phenomena of the patriarchal system such as one person alone having the say and deciding on major issues, personality cult, and the individual overriding the organization. Lin Biao preached the theory of "the peak," saying that Chairman Mao's words were supreme instructions; such an expression became extremely common in the whole party, the whole Army, and the whole country. After the "gang of four" were smashed, the personality cult was still practiced for a time. Commemorations of the other leaders were also sometimes tinged with personality cult.

The Central Committee recently issued instructions on some issues in practicing "less publicity for the individual," pointing out that these inappropriate ways of commemorating people not only caused extravagance and waste and were divorced from the masses, but were also tinged with the idea that history is created by the individual; they do not help to carry out education in Marxism inside and outside the party or to sweep away the influences of feudal and bourgeois ideology. This instruction has also made some stipulations on correcting shortcomings of this type. This is a very important document. It should also be mentioned that after 1958 houses were built everywhere for Comrade Mao Zedong and other central comrades, and after the downfall of the "gang of four," surface construction work was undertaken at Zhongnanhai, which had a very bad effect and caused very great waste. Apart from that, certain high-ranking cadres, everywhere they go, either attend welcome or farewell banquets, or block traffic, or are given great publicity. These things are very improper. These serious instances of being divorced from the masses cannot be permitted to occur again, from the Central Committee right down to all levels.

In many places and units there are patriarchal-type figures; there is no limit to their power, and others have to show them absolute obedience and even form personal attachments with them. One of our organizational principles is that the lower levels must obey the upper, which means that the lower levels must carry out the decisions and instructions of the upper, but we cannot negate the relations of equality between party comrades on that account. Party members engaged in leadership work and ordinary party members must all treat each other as equals, and enjoy all their proper rights and carry out all their duties as equals. The upper levels cannot be insufferably arrogant toward the lower levels, and in particular cannot allow the lower levels to do things that violate the party Constitution and state laws; while the lower levels should not toady to and flatter the upper levels, obey them in an unprincipled way, and show "utmost loyalty." Relations between upper and lower levels should not turn into the cat-and-mouse relations criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong on many occasions, or into the relations between monarch and minister and father and son as in the old society, or into factional relations. The serious mistakes made by certain comrades are linked to this patriarchal-type work style surviving in the party. In short, unless we totally eliminate this patriarchal-type work style, there can be no question whatever of democracy in the party or socialist democracy.

The formation of the lifelong tenure system for leading cadres is related to a certain degree to feudalist influences and also to the fact that our party has never had a proper method for retirement and relieving people of their duty. During the years of revolutionary war everyone was relatively young, and in the 1950's everyone was in the prime of life, and there was no retirement problem; however it was a mistake that the issue has never been solved in good time. It should be acknowledged that under the specific historical conditions at the time, this problem could not be solved, or not completely solved. The draft of the party Constitution discussed by the fifth plenary session proposes abolishing the lifelong tensure system for cadres; as I see it now, this should be further revised and supplemented. The key lies in putting on a sound basis the systems of electing, examining, appointing and dismissing, impeaching, and rotating the cadres. Appropriate and specific regulations should be laid down according to the circumstances governing the length of office of leading cadres of all categories and at all levels (including those elected, those assigned, and those recruited), together with their retirement. No leading cadres should have an indefinite term of office.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went in for special powers in a big way, bringing great calamity on the masses. At present there are also some cadres who, instead of regarding themselves as servants of the people, see themselves as their masters and pursue special powers and privileges; this causes strong discontent among the masses and ruins the party's prestige.

Unless these practices are resolutely corrected, they are bound to cause corruption of our cadre force. The special powers we oppose today mean political and economic powers not covered by the law and the system. Pursuing special powers is a sign that the remnant influences of feudalism have not yet been eliminated. From old China, we inherited many traditions of feudal autocracy and few traditions of democracy and the legal system. Since liberation, we have not conscientiously and systematically set up systems guaranteeing the people's democratic rights; the legal system is far from complete and is given little attention, and phenomena of special powers are sometimes restricted, criticized, and hit, and sometimes grow anew. To overcome the phenomena of special powers, it is necessary to solve the ideological questions of equal rights and duties stipulated by the law, and nobody is allowed to gain an advantage or break the law. No matter who breaks the law, he must be investigated by the public security organs according to the law, and handled by the judical organs according to the law; nobody is allowed to interfere in the execution of the law, and nobody who has broken the law may remain at large. Nobody is allowed to violate the party Constitution and discipline, and anyone who does must be subjected to disciplinary punishment; nobody is allowed to interfere in the execution of party discipline, and nobody who had violated party discipline may remain at large without being subject to legal sanctions. Only by genuinely and resolutely succeeding in these respects can we completely solve the problems of pursuing special powers and violating law and discipline. There must be a system of mass supervision, and the masses and party members must be allowed to supervise the cadres, especially the leading cadres. In the case of those who pursue special powers and privileges and do not mend their ways after being criticized and educated, the people have the right to expose, accuse, impeach, replace, and dismiss them, demand that they make economic restitution, and also subject them to punishment by the law and discipline. It is necessary to lay down regulations governing the scope of powers of cadres of all levels and their political and daily life treatment. The most important thing is that there should be special organs exercising utterly impartial supervision and inspection.

The mistakes of all kinds that we made in the past were of course connected with the thinking and work style of certian leaders, but the problems in organizational and work systems were even more serious. If these systems are good, we can ensure that bad people are unable to act as tyrants at will; and if the systems are bad, it is impossible for good people to do nothing but good things, and they may even take the wrong direction. Even such a great figure as Comrade Mao Zedong was seriously affected by certain bad systems, and the result was great calamity for the party, the state, and himself. If we today go on failing to put the socialist system on a sound basis, people will say, why is the socialist system unable to solve certain problems that the capitalist system has been able to solve? Although such a comparison is incomplete, we cannot fail to pay attention to it on that account. Stalin seriously damaged the socialist system; Comrade Mao Zedong said that such a thing could not have happened in Western countries such as Britain, France, and America. Although he understood this point, yet the 10-year catastrophe of the "Great Cultural Revolution" followed because the problems in the leadership system were not actually solved, and also on account of certain other reasons. This is an extremely profound lesson. I am not saying that the individual had no responsibility for what happened, but that the problems in leadership and organizational system are even more fundamental, all-round, unchanging, and protracted. These problems in the system are related to whether the party and state will change color; the whole party must attach a high degree of importance to them.

If we fail to resolutely reform the defects in our current systems, certain serious problems that occurred in the past may appear anew in the future. Only by carrying out resolute and total reform of these defects in a planned and measured way will the people have faith in our leadership and in the party and socialism, and will our cause enjoy boundless prospects.

When talking of the defects in our party and state leadership system, we cannot but touch on the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his last years. The resolution on a number of problems in the history of the party since the founding of the state, which is now being drafted, will make a systematic exposition on Mao Zedong Thought and also a relatively all-round appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults, including a criticism of his mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution." We communists are thoroughgoing materialists; we can only affirm in a truth-seeking way those things that should be affirmed and negate those things that should be negated. During his life Comrade Mao Zedong gained undying merit for our party, state, and people. His achievements are primarily and his mistakes secondary. It is not a materialist approach to conceal his faults on account of his merits. Nor is it a materialist approach to negate his merits on account of his errors. The reason why the "Great Cultural Revolution" was erroneous and was defeated was precisely because it ran counter to the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought. The scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought, which have been proven correct in the course of long testing in practice, not only guided us in winning victory in the past, but will also remain our guiding ideology for a long period of struggle in the future. It is incorrect to show any doubt or wavering over this important party principle; to do so runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people.

4

Now I would like to talk about the problem of eliminating feudal and bourgeois ideological influence.

Various kinds of malpractices which I mentioned above have a more or less feudal coloration. Of course, the scope of the residual influence of feudalism is much wider, which includes the residual patriarchal mentality in social relations and hierarchy; certain unequal relations between the higher and lower levels on the one hand, and between the cadres and masses on the other; weak concepts on citizens' rights and duties; system and work style of certain "bureaucratic industry," "bureaucratic commerce," and "bureaucratic agriculture" in the economic field; undue stress on the administrative division and jurisdiction of areas and departments in economic work, which leads to restricting the activities of some areas and departments to a designated sphere and shifting troubles onto others. Sometimes, two socialist enterprises or two socialist regions might encounter difficulties when they make representations, and these difficulties can be avoided at the start. Some people practice autocracy in the cultural field. Some people do not admit the great importance of science and education concerning socialism and refuse to recognize the truth that without science and education, there will be no socialism. While dealing with foreign countries, some people follow a closed-door policy and adopt an attitude of parochial arrogance. With regard to patriarchal mentality, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when a man became a mighty official, all his friends and relations got to the top. When a person had bad luck, all the members of his nine clans were adversely affected. The situation was very serious. Even now, the abominable practice of appointing people by favoritism and factionalism is still prevalent in some areas, departments, and units. Such a bad practice has not yet been corrected. Some cadres abuse their power in order to allow their relatives and friends to live and work in towns or cities or to promote them to higher positions. It is obvious that we should not neglect the pernicious influence of the patriarchal mentality. We should make great efforts to completely solve the above-mentioned problems.

We completed the new democratic revolution in 28 years. We did a successful and complete job in overthrowing the reactionary rule of feudalism and in eliminating the fedual land ownership system. However, due to the fact that we underestimated the importance of the task of eliminating the residual feudal influence in the ideological and political field, we did not complete this task. Thereafter, we entered the socialist revolution.

Now we should explicitly put forth the task of continuing to eliminate the residual feudal influence in the ideological and political field. In the meantime, we should carry out a series of reforms of the system. Otherwise, our country and people will suffer from losses.

To accomplish this task, we should adopt a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. We should make use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to specifically, accurately, and practically analyze the manifestations of the pernicious influence of feudalism. First of all, we should draw a clear line of demarcation between socialism and feudalism. Nobody is allowed to oppose socialism on the pretext of opposing feudalism; neither is he allowed to pursue feudalism by using the stuff of the fake socialism advocated by the "gang of four." Furthermore, we should draw a clear line of demarcation between the democratic essence of our cultural heritage and the feudal dross. We should also draw a clear line of demarcation between the pernicious influence of feudalism and some of our unscientific methods which we adopted due to a lack of experience. We should avoid doing things like a gust of wind and regarding all things as feudal without making any analyses.

To the broad masses of cadres and people, eliminating the residual feudal influence should be regarded as drive of self-education and self-reform. Our purpose in doing so is to free ourselves from the pernicious influence of feudalism, to emancipate our minds, and to enhance our consciousness so that we will be able to satisfy the demands of the modernization and make contributions to the people, the society, and mankind. To eliminate the residual influence of feudalism, we should place our stress on truly reforming and improving the system of our party and state so as to ensure the democratization of the political life of the party and state, economic management, and the entire social life. To do so, we can promote the smooth progress of our modernization. To accomplish our task, we should conscientiously carry out study and investigation, compare the experiences of other countries with ours, and draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas so that we can formulate effective plans and adopt useful measures. We should not think that destruction comes first and that construction will come in the course of destruction. It should be clearly pointed out that we should not launch any political movement or propogate the movement of so-called opposing feudalism. We should not carry out a political campaign to criticize certain people as we did in the past. We are not allowed to direct the spearhead of attack on cadres and masses. Historical experiences have proved that we never succeed in solving ideological problems of the masses if we adopt the method of mass campaign rather than the methods of reasoning and discussion. We will never succeed in reforming the existing system and establishing the new one if we fail to adopt a down-to-earch manner and take the method of steady progress. In socialist society, the matter of solving ideological problems of the masses and reforming specific organizational and work systems is completely and entirely different from attacking counterrevolutionary elements and sabotaging the reactionary system during the revolutionary period.

While eliminating the residual feudal influence, we should not slacken our efforts or neglect criticism of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and repudiation of extreme individualism and anarchism. Whether the residual feudal influence is more serious than the bourgeois influence is determined by practical conditions in different areas and departments, different issues, and people with different ages, experiences, and education. We should not treat different matters as the same. In addition, our country was a semifeudal and semicolonial society for more than a hundred years. Sometimes, feudal ideology, capitalist ideology, and the colonial slave ideology lump together, with one intermingling with another. In recent years, due to the expansion of international contacts, some people have been influenced by the decadent bourgeois ideology and way of life of foreign countries. The practice of worshipping and having blind faith in things foreign has already occurred, and things will become more serious in the future. This is an important problem which we should solve conscientiously.

China is economically and culturally backward, but it is not backward in everything. Some foreign countries are advanced in science, technology, and management, but they are not advanced in everything. Our party and people fought a bloody battle to establish the socialist system. In spite of the fact that this system is not perfect and that it was sabotaged, it is much better than the capitalist system, in which the weak are the prey of the strong and some people benefit themselves at the expense of others. Our system is getting better and better because it can absorb the advanced factors of various countries in the world. It will become the best system in the world. This is the thing that capitalism can never do. We committed mistakes in the history of our socialist revolution and construction. If we lose faith in socialism and think that socialism is inferior to capitalism because of this, this is completely wrong. It is equally wrong if we think that we should propagate capitalist ideas in order to eliminate the residual influence of feudalism. We should thoroughly repudiate these erroneous ideas and never let them spread unchecked. We should advocate the principle of distribution according to work and admit material interests and strive for the material interests of the entire people. Everybody must have his own material interests. However, this does not mean that we encourage people to strive for their own material interests at the expense of the interests of the state, collective, and other people. We never encourage people to regard "money" as everything. Otherwise, what is the difference between socialism and capitalism? We always maintain that in the socialist society, the interests of the state, the collective, and individuals are basically identical. If there is a conflict, one's personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the state and collective. When necessary, all revolutionary conscious and advanced elements should sacrifice their own interests in order to promote the interests of the state, collectives, and the people. We should do our best to propagate such lofty ethics among the whole people and youths.

In an attempt to go abroad or to make money, some youths, some children of cadres, and even some cadres themselves do not hesitate to sacrifice their personalities, the integrity of the state, and the national sense of self-respect by violating the law and discipline, engaging in smuggling activities, taking bribes, or engaging in speculation and profiteering. This is quite shameful. In the past 1 to 2 years, some obscene, dirty, salacious, and ugly photos, films, books, and magazines have been imported into the country through various channels. They corrupt our social values and some of our youths and cadres. If we allow this pestilence to spread unchecked, many people who do not have a strong will will be corrupted morally or degenerated spiritually. The party organizations at various levels should pay serious attention to this problem and adopt resolute and effective measures to ban and destroy them. Under no circumstances should we allow them to flow into the country continuously. In domestic economic work, the individuals, small cliques, and even enterprises and units distorting current economic policies and engaging in various illegal activities by taking advantage of the loopholes in economic management have also increased to some extent. It is also necessary to be highly vigilant and to struggle resolutely against the criminals who engage in antisocialist illegal activities.

In short, it is necessary to integrate the work of eliminating the remnant influence of feudalism and the criticism of bourgeois ideas characterized by benefiting oneself at the expense of others and putting profit-making first and other corrupt ideas.

Naturally, it is also necessary to adopt a scientific attitude toward capitalist and bourgeois ideology. Some time in the past, in an effort to conduct education in revolutionary ideas, some localities again put forward the slogan of "fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology." I have read the relevant documents but did not notice any problems at that time. It now seems that this old slogan is neither sufficiently comprehensive nor accurate.

Due to their failure to conduct ample investigation and study, some comrades have criticized some reforms beneficial to the development of production and the socialist cause as if they were capitalist ones. This is incorrect. In order to avoid committing previous mistakes, it is quite necessary to continue to study the elements in bourgeois ideology which should be resolutely criticized and prevented from spreading, and the capitalist tendencies in our economic life which should be resolutely overcome, resisted, and correctly criticized, and then make appropriate stipulations about them.

5

The CPC Central Committee has deliberated on many occasions the reform of the leadership system of the party and state. Some of the reforms have been implemented since the fifth plenary session, some will be put forward at the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, and specific measures for some others will be taken one after another when conditions are ripe. In addition to those mentioned above, we are now considering the question of gradually conducting the following major reforms:

1. The CPC Central Committee will propose to the Third Session of the Fifth NPC a revision of the Constitution. Our Constitution should be made more complete, well conceived, and accurate to ensure that the people truly enjoy the right to manage state organizations at various levels, enterprises, and institutions and to ensure the ample rights of citizens. Efforts should be made to ensure that the various nationalities truly practice regional national autonomy, to improve the system of people's congresses at various levels, and so on. The principle of not permitting overconcentration of power will also be reflected in the Constitution.

2. The CPC Central Committee has set up a Discipline Inspection Commission and is considering the setting up of an advisory commission (the name can be further considered), which, together with the Central Committee, are elected by the party's national congress with clear-cut stipulations regarding their respective tasks, functions, and power. Thus, we can fully utilize the experiences of a large number of old comrades who formerly worked in the Central Committee and the State Council, and give scope to their guiding, supervisory, and advisory role. At the same time, we can also make the everyday working bodies of the Central Committee and the State Council more rational and efficient, and gradually make the ranks of the cadres younger in average age.

3. Truly set up a powerful working system from the State Council down to local governments at various levels. In the future, all work which comes within the scope of the functions and power of the government should be discussed and decided upon by the State Council and local governments at various levels, which will issue the relevant documents; the CPC Central Committee and local CPC committees at various levels will no longer issue instructions or make decisions on them. Government work, naturally, should be conducted under the political leadership of the party. When government work is strengthened, party leadership will also be strengthened.

4. All enterprises and institutions should set up extensively the system of workers' congresses or workers' representative conferences. This issue was decided long ago, and the issue now is to popularize and perfect this system. The workers' congress or workers' representative conference has the right to discuss and make decisions on major issues concerning its own unit, to propose to the higher authorities the dismissal of unqualified administrative leading personnel in its own unit, and gradually to elect leaders within the appropriate scope.

5. Party committees at various levels should truly institute the system of integrating collective leadership with the division of labor with individual reponsibility. It is necessary to make clear which issues should be collectively discussed and which should come under individual responsibility.

Major issues must be discussed and decided upon by the collective. When making a decision, it is necessary to abide strictly by the principle that the minority is subordinate to the majority, with each person having one vote. Each secretary only has the right to cast one vote; the first secretary should not decide everything. The work decided upon by the collective should be carried out separately, with each person having his own responsibility; under no circumstances should we shift responsibility among one another. It is necessary to investigate and affix the responsibility of those who neglect their duties. There should be a head even in collective leadership. The first secretaries of party committees at various levels should be responsible primarily for the daily work. It is necessary to emphasize individual responsibility among the other members of the party committees. We should promote the practice of leading cadres being brave in shouldering responsibilities. This is entirely different from changing the system of making arbitrary decisions, and these two questions should not be mixed up.

I ask you to discuss and study the above-mentioned five points, conscientiously and amply airing your views, including differing views. With respect to some questions, after the CPC Central Committee has made a decision on them in principle, it is still necessary to conduct experiments in order to gain experience and to pool collective wisdom. We will solve the questions one by one when the conditions are ripe. Respectively, the CPC Central Committee makes official decisions on them, formulates well-conceived and feasible systems and regulations which will work for a considerably long period of time, and puts them into effect step by step. Before the CPC Central Committee formulates and officially issues new systems and regulations, the work on various aspects should still be carried out according to the existing systems.

In reforming the leadership system of the party and state, we do not aim at weakening party leadership and slackening party discipline, but at abiding by and strengthening party leadership and party discipline. In a great country like China, it would be impossible to unify the ideas and strength of several hundred million people for building socialism without a party which can truly represent and unite the masses of people and which is formed by party members with a high degree of consciousness, discipline, and the spirit of self-sacrifice and without the unified leadership of such a party. It will only result in disunity and nothing will be accomplished. This is a truth which the people of all nationalities throughout the country have profoundly understood through protracted struggle and practice. The unity of our people, the stability of our society, the development of democracy, the reunification of our country rely on the leadership of the party. The kernel of the four basic principles is to abide by the leadership of the party. The issue is that our party should be good at leadership; only by constantly improving leadership is it possible to strengthen leadership.

The extremely arduous and complicated task of socialist modernization lies before us. A lot of old problems constantly need to be solved and, what is more, new problems are emerging one after another. Only by closely relying on the masses, maintaining close contacts with them, listening to their voice at all times, understanding their sentiments, and representing their interests will it be possible for our party to form a powerful force and successfully accomplish all our tasks. There are now numerous ideological problems among the masses which should be solved, and this applies to the ideological problems within the party. It is absolutely necessary for us to place ideological and political work at a very important position and conscientiously do a good job of them, never slackening our efforts. It is necessary for party committees and leading cadres at various levels and for all party members to do this work. They should do the work in accordance with the special characteristics of these problems and in a meticulous and deep-going way so that the masses are happy to receive the education.

What is most important is that if it is necessary to mobilize the masses to do something, all party members, particularly those assuming leading posts, should take the lead in doing so. Therefore, in order to do a good job of ideological and political work, it is also necessary to improve party leadership and the leadership system of the party.

Comrades! Reforming and perfecting various systems of the party and state is an arduous and protracted task; the key to achieving this task lies in reforming and perfecting the leadership system of the party and state. We should have an ample understanding of this point. Comrade Mao Zedong and other revolutionaries of the older generation who passed away have not been able to accomplish this task. This load has now been placed on our shoulders. All party members, particularly elder party members, should put all their energy into this. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have done a lot of work, solved a lot of problems, and attained numerous achievements. We now have a very good forward position. We now set forward the task for reforming and perfecting the leadership system of the party and state in order to meet the needs of modernization. The conditions for this are ripe. It is perhaps impossible for our generation to accomplish this task completely, but we have at least the duty to lay a solid foundation for its accomplishment and establish a correct orientation for it. I believe we can assuredly achieve this.

CSO: 4005

INTERVIEWS WITH ITALIAN JOURNALIST ORIANA FALLACI (21, 23 August 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 301-312

[Text] Q: Is it true that the portrait of Chairman Mao retained at the Tiananmen will be kept there forever?

A: That's right. It will be retained forever. In the past, we put up too many portraits everywhere. That was not done in a serious way, nor could it express our respect for Chairman Mao. Despite the fact that Chairman Mao made mistakes for a certain period in the past, he was still the main founding father of the CCP and PRC throughout. When we look at his meritorious achievements and shortcomings, his mistakes somehow take only second place. What he did for the Chinese people can never be written off. As regards the feelings of the Chinese people, we will remember him forever as the founder of our party and state.

Q: To Westerners, there are lots of things which we do not understand. When the Chinese people mention the "gang of four," they put the blame on the "gang of four" for many mistakes. They said, the "gang of four," and yet they put up five fingers.

A: The mistakes of Chairman Mao and the problems of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are different in nature. Chairman Mao did a lot of very good things for most of the time in his life. He rescued the party and state from many crises. Without Chairman Mao, we the Chinese people would still have to feel our way in the dark for an even longer period of time. Chairman Mao's greatest achievements were that he integrated Marxist-Leninist principles with China's revolutionary practice and pointed out the road for China to win revolutionary victory. We should say that his many thoughts brought us victory before the 1960's or before the late 1950's. Some fundamental principles he put forth are very correct. He creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to all aspects of the Chinese revolution; and he had many creative views in the philosophical, political, military, literary and artistic and other spheres. Unfortunately, however, he made mistakes during the last years of his life and especially during the Great Cultural Revolution. The mistakes were by no means minor ones and they brought many adversities to our party, state and people. As you know, during the Yanan period, our party summarized Chairman Mao's thoughts in all aspects as Mao Zedong Thought and took it as our party's guiding thought. It was precisely because we followed this road that we won great

victory in revolution. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought was not created singly by Comrade Mao Zedong. All revolutionaries of the older generation participated in the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. Nevertheless, it was mainly the thoughts of Comrade Mao Zedong. However, because of the victory, he became insufficiently prudent and some unhealthy factors gradually developed in his later years. Some unhealthy ideas began to develop and they were mainly "leftist." To a considerable extent he violated his original thought and his originally very good and correct views, including his work style. At that time, he also had less contact with the actual situation. While he was still alive, he did not implement very well the past good work style such as democratic centralism and the mass line and he failed to formulate and shape a good system. These were not just the shortcomings of Comrade Mao Zedong himself; our revolutionaries of the older generation, including myself, must be held responsible. The political life of our party and state became somewhat abnormal; and the patriarchal system of patriarchal work style began to develop. There were so many things about eulogizing an individual, and whole political life was not healthy. These subsequently led to the Great Cultural Revolution. The Great Cultural Revolution was a mistake.

Q: You said that Chairman Mao was suffering from poor health during his later years. However, at the time when Liu Shaoqi was arrested and thrown into prison and died there, Chairman Mao's health was quite good. For instance, there were other mistakes. Was the Great Leap Forward not a mistake? Was the mechanical copy of the Soviet model not a mistake? To what point should these mistakes be traced back?

A: The mistakes began during the late 1950's. For instance, the Great Leap Forward was wrong. However, the responsibility for this must not be placed on Chairman Mao alone. We had all become hotheaded. We completely violated objective laws and attempted to boost the economy all at once. As our subjective desires violated objective laws, we were bound to suffer losses. However, the main responsibility for the Great Leap Forward itself must fall on Chairman Mao. At that time, after several months, Chairman Mao was the first to quickly discover those mistakes and put forth the corrective measures. Because of other factors, however, the correction was not implemented throughout. In 1962, Chairman Mao made self-criticisms regarding those problems. However, we somehow failed to make enough efforts to sum up those lessons and they finally led to the outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution. In terms of Chairman Mao's personal desire, the Cultural Revolution was staged with a purpose, and that was to avoid any capitalist restoration. However, a wrong assessment was made regarding China's actual situation. First of all, a mistake was made regarding the targets of revolution, which resulted in a movement to grasp "those in power inside the party who followed the capitalist road." In this way, those former leaders at all levels who had made contributions to the revolution and had practical experience, including Comrade Liu Shaoqi, were attacked. Chairman Mao in fact said 1 or 2 years before he passed away that there were two mistakes in the Great Cultural Revolution. One was "striking down everything" and the other was "launching an all-scale civil war." We cannot possibly say that the Great Cultural Revolution was correct, judging by these two points. What Chairman Mao committed was a political mistake and it was by no means a minor one. On the other hand, his

mistake was made use of by the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their aim was to conspire to usurp power. Therefore we must distinguish between Chairman Mao's mistakes and the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Q: However, we all know that it was Chairman Mao who chose Lin Biao--just like a king in the West choosing an heir.

A: That was what I must said about the incorrect practice. For the leader himself to choose his own successor is a feudalist practice. This point is certainly included in my remark that our system was not put on a sound basis.

Q: When you begin trying the "gang of four," and at the next session of the party congress, to what extent will Chairman Mao be involved?

A: We will certainly make an objective appraisal of Chairman Mao's meritorious achievements and shortcomings all through his life. We shall affirm that Chairman Mao's meritorious achievements come first and his mistakes are only secondary. We must discuss Chairman Mao's mistakes in his later years to seek truth from facts; and we must also continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought was the correct part of Chairman Mao all through his life. It not only guided us in winning victory in revolution, but it should also remain as the precious treasure of China's party and state, now and in the future. Therefore, we will not only keep Chairman Mao's portrait in front of the Tiananmen forever as the emblem of our state, and remember him as the founder of our party and state, but we must also uphold Mao Zedong Thought. We will not treat Chairman Mao the way Khrushchev treated Stalin.

Q: Does that mean that the name of Chairman Mao will inevitably be mentioned during the trial of the "gang of four" and at the next session of the party congress?

A: Yes, he will be mentioned. His name will be mentioned not only at the party congress, but also on other occasions. However, the trial of the "gang of four" will not affect Chairman Mao. Of course, Chairman Mao was responsible for assigning the "gang of four" to various posts. However, the crimes were committed by the "gang of four" themselves and all sentences are to be passed on them.

Q: It was said that Chairman Mao often complained that you did not listen to him and that he did not like you. Was that true?

A: It was indeed true that Chairman Mao said that I did not listen to him. However, the words did not just refer to me alone. The same situation occurred to other leaders. This somehow demonstrated certain of Chairman Mao's unhealthy thoughts during his later years; that is to say, there were things of a feudalist nature such as the patriarchal system. It was not easy for him to listen to dissenting views. We must not say that what Chairman Mao criticized was incorrect. Nevertheless, he failed to listen to many correct views, including those of mine and other comrades. The system of democratic

centralism was destroyed; and collective leadership was destroyed. We must understand this point or else we will not be able to understand the cause of the outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution.

Q: There was a figure in China who was never touched anywhere there, and that was Premier Zhou Enlai. Why was Premier Zhou always up on the political stage and holding power? --Although he too was sometimes caught up in a very difficult situation. However, how could even he not correct those mistakes at that time?

A: Premier Zhou was a man who worked diligently and was willing to bear all the burdens all through his life. He worked over 12 or 16 hours a day every day. We knew each other very early and in fact we lived in the same place while we were in France. To me he was always an elder brother. We followed the revolutionary road at more or less the same time. He was a man much respected by our comrades and the people. During the Great Cultural Revolution, all of us fell down. Luckily, however, he was preserved. Nevertheless, he was in a very difficult position during the Great Cultural Revolution. He said and did many things against his own will. However, the people have forgiven him. This was because if he had not done and said those things, he would not have been able even to preserve himself, and he would not have been able to play his role in neutralizing the situation and reducing the losses. he protected quite a number of people.

Q: How can mistakes similar to the Great Cultural Revolution be avoided?

A: This problem will have to be solved in system. As a matter of fact, some of our past systems incurred feudalist influences which included personality cult, the patriarchal system or the patriarchal workstyle, and even the system of life tenure of our cadres' offices. These problems were all the same. We are now studying how to avoid the recurrence of such phenomenon; and this must be carried out through system. Our country has a history of feudal society over several thousand years and it lacks socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. Now we must seriously establish a socialist democratic system and the socialist legal system. Only by so doing can the problem be solved.

Q: Can you be sure that the future development of events will be even smoother? Will you be able to achieve your aims? I ask such questions because I heard that so-called "Maoist elements" still exist. What I mean by "Maoist elements" here are supporters of the Cultural Revolûtion.

A: We must certainly not underestimate the influence of the "gang of four." However, we must also see that around 97 to 98 percent of the people fell indignant about the crimes of the "gang of four." This feeling was manifested in a mass movement against the "gang of four" in the Tiananmen Square on 5 April 1976--at the time when the "gang of four" ran amuck, when Chairman Mao was seriously ill and when Premier Zhou had passed away. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially in the past 2 years, the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of our CCP Central Committee have expressed the will and desire of the people. We are just considering solving the problems in system and have put forth many questions. We have particularly

emphasized developing the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. This is surely the will of the people. The people need a political situation of stability and unity. They are tired of large-scale movements. Such movements inevitably harmed a number of people, and the number was by no means small. When we frequently engage ourselves in movements, we will actually not be able to set our minds at ease to develop construction. Therefore, we can firmly believe that so long as the road we are now following is correct and is supported by the people, problems like the Great Cultural Revolution will not be repeated.

Q: Quite obviously, it was necessary to await the death of Chairman Mao before the "gang of four" could be arrested. Who actually engineered that arrest and who proposed to arrest the "gang of four?"

A: It was a collective effort. I think it was first because we had the mass foundation of the "5 April movement." The term "gang of four" was in fact put forth by Chairman Mao shortly before his death. In 1974 and 1975, we carried out 2 years of struggle against the "gang of four." People could then see very clearly the true features of the "gang of four." After Chairman Mao passed away, despite the fact that Chairman Mao had appointed a successor, the "gang of four" were unwilling to give in. The "gang of four" made use of the time and went all out to seize power. The situation was pressing. At that time, the "gang of four" were very shrewd and they wanted to strike down the new leadership. In such a situation, most of the comrades in the Political Bureau unanimously agreed to deal with the "gang of four." This nevertheless could not have been achieved just by relying on the strength of one or two persons.

On the question of the building of the Chairman Mao Memorial Building after the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: I should say that the building of the Chairman Mao Memorial Building at that time was against the will of Chairman Mao himself. In the 1950's, Chairman Mao proposed that at their death, all people should be cremated with only their ashes preserved. No graves would be built. The proposal was made in view of the lesson learned from the Soviet Union regarding Stalin. Chairman Mao was the first to sign up in support of the proposal; and we all signed too. Nearly all the high-ranking cadres of the central authorities and those throughout the country signed it. The book that contains all the signatures still exists. All that we have done since the smashing of the "gang of four" has in fact originated from the idea of maintaining relative stability.

Q: But then will the Chairman Mao Memorial Building be demolished soon?

A: I do not agree to changing anything regarding the mausoleum. Now it is there and it is not appropriate to make any change. It was not appropriate to build it. However, if we make any change, there would be a lot of rumors. At present, people throughout the world are speculating that we would demolish the mausoleum; but we don't have any such intention.

Q: Why do you want to resign?

A: Not only I will resign; the people of our older generation too will not be holding any concurrent posts. Chairman Hua Guofeng has also given up his duties as premier of the State Council; and the CCP Central Committee recommended Comrade Zhao Ziyang as the candidate for the post. As a matter of fact, with us old people here, it would not be convenient for them to work. We have a problem that the leadership echelons need to be gradually replaced by younger people. We must take the lead.

There was no such regulation in the past, and yet the lifelong tenure system actually existed. This is detrimental to our regeneration and the promotion of young people to senior posts. This is a defect in our system. We failed to see such a defect in our system during the 1960's because we were still young. It is not the problem of any single individual but the problem of the whole system. In particular, it is the problem of whether or not our principles and the four modernizations will be realized. Therefore I said: The old comrades should be a bit more enlightened and take the lead.

Q: I can see that there are still other portraits in China. In the Tiananmen I can see that there are portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and especially Stalin. Are you still going to retain those portraits?

A: Yes, they will be retained. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, they were put up only at important festivals. It was only during the Great Revolution that the practice was changed and they were put up all the time. Now we have restored out past practice.

Q: With the four modernizations, foreign capital will be allowed to enter China and this will inevitably create the problem of private investments. Will this form into petty capitalism in China?

A: When boiled down, our principle of construction is still that of relying mainly on our own efforts while taking external assistance as a supplement which chairman Mao formulated in the past. No matter how open we are and no matter how much foreign capital comes to China, their share will still be very small and will not affect our socialist public ownership. The employment of foreign capital and technology which include the setting up of plants by foreign countries in China can be a supplement to our development of the socialist productive forces. Of course, they will bring along some other capitalist things. We are aware of the problem and there is nothing to be afraid of.

Q: Does that mean that you think that capitalism is not at all bad?

A: We must distinguish what is capitalism. Capitalism is superior to feudalism. There are some things which cannot be said to be capitalist in all societies, for instance, the question of technology is a science and production management is a science. They are useful to all countries. We are learning advanced technology, science and management to serve socialism and those things themselves have no class nature.

Q: Does communism also recognize individual interests?

A: According to Marx, socialism is the first stage of communism. This is a very long historical stage and we must practice the system of to each according to his work and integrate the interests of the state, the collective and the individual before we can mobilize people's enthusiasm and develop socialist production.

Q: You mentioned that there were others who made contributions to Mao Zedong Thought. Who were they?

A: Revolutionaries of the older generation, such as Premier Zhou Enlai, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhu De, etc., and there were also many others who made contributions. Many old cadres were creative and insightful.

Q: Why didn't you mention yourself?

A: I do not amount to much. Naturally, I did render some service. How can a revolutionary not render service?

Q: You said that the "gang of four" was a minority, and that many people in the country opposed them. How did the few of them get control of China and even persecute the revolutionaries of the older generation? Was it because one of them was the wife of Chairman Mao and they had good connections and you were afraid to touch her?

A: There was that factor. As I said before, Chairman Mao made mistakes, which included promoting them [gang of four]. Nevertheless, one should say that they had their followers. Taking advantage of the ignorance of some young people to form bands and factions, they had a considerable base.

Q: Did Chairman Mao turn a blind eye to Jiang Qing's mistakes? Was Jiang Qing something like the Empress Dowager?

A: Jiang Qing herself hoisted the banner of Chairman Mao to do evil, but Chairman Mao and Jiang Qing had lived apart for many years.

Q: We didn't know that.

A: When Jiang Qing hoisted Chairman Mao's banner, Chairman Mao must be responsible for failing to intervene forcefully. Jiang Qing was rotten to the core. Any conviction of the "gang of four" would not be excessive. They injured tens of thousands of people.

Q: How would you assess Jiang Qing? How would you rate her?

A: Below zero.

Q: How do you assess yourself?

A: If I am 55, it is pretty good. But one thing I can say is that I have a clear conscience all my life. You must record my words: I made many mistakes, including some of Comrade Mao Zedong's, in which I had a share. Except I can

say that they were mistakes of good intent. There is no one who has not made mistakes. The mistakes of the past cannot all be charged to Chairman Mao alone. Therefore, our assessment of Chairman Mao is extremely objective: His merits are primary and his mistakes secondary. We must carry on his many good ideas, but his mistakes must also be clearly acknowledged.

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IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF READJUSTMENT AND ENSURE STABILITY AND UNITY
(25 December 1980)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
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[Speech at a work conference of the party Central Committee. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 1, 4, 6 May 81]

[Text] Part 1

I fully agree with Comrade Chen Yun's speech, which has correctly summed up our experiences in handling a number of questions in economic work over the past 31 years and will remain our guiding principle for a long time to come.

I also fully agree with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech and the arrangements for the 1981 national economic plan approved by the financial and economic affairs group of the Central Committee.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978, Comrade Chen Yun has been put in charge of financial and economic work. He has put forth the policy of readjustment, and a decision to this effect was made at a central work conference held in April last year. However, due to the lack of unanimous and profound understanding in the party this decision had not been efficiently carried out. This state of affairs did not change until recently. The present readjustment is aimed at further implementing this policy.

As Comrade Chen Yun said, our present readjustment is a healthy and sober one. It calls for retreat, and an adequate one at that, in certain fields of work. In other aspects, primarily agriculture, light industry, the production of daily necessities and the construction of power generation and transport facilities, which are of vital importance to the people's livelihood, as well as scientific, educational, public health and cultural undertakings, it is still necessary to strive for continuous development as far as possible. Those in charge of enterprises, establishments and construction projects which are to be further developed must conscientiously carry out readjustment, raise the level of their management and the professional ability of their staff members and workers, increase labor productivity, raise work efficiency, bring into play workers' enthusiasm and creativeness and make every effort to cut down waste.

Why does the question of readjustment or partial retreat arise in the course of achieving the four modernizations. The reason is that if we do not carry out readjustment and make an adequate retreat where necessary, our economy cannot advance steadily. Due to the conditions before liberation and our overanxiousness for quick results after the First 5-Year Plan, our economy has always been troubled by serious disproportions. This, coupled with the damage done during the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and our failure to correctly appraise the situation in the first 2 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," gave rise to imbalances in finance, credits, materials and foreign exchange earnings and payments around the time of the third plenary session.

This situation must be changed. This is completely in accord with the general policy of rectifying leftist mistakes and proceeding from reality in everything put forward by the third plenary session and is essential for achieving the modernization program. Because the policy of readjustment was not efficiently implemented in the past 2 years, large deficits occurred. There was no overissuance of currency and prices continued to soar. If we still do not make an earnest effort to carry out readjustment we will not be able to smoothly proceed with our modernization program. Only by making an adequate retreat in certain aspects can we stabilize the whole situation, take the initiative and bring the whole economy back to the orbit of sound development.

By making an adequate retreat in certain aspects, we chiefly mean that the scale of capital construction must be sufficiently cut back. Enterprises which do not possess the necessary conditions must be closed, suspended, merged or shifted over to other lines of production, or should reduce production. Administrative expenses (including defense spending and the overhead expenses of all enterprises and establishments) must be curtailed; in this way, it is possible to strike a balance between revenues and expenditures and between bank funds and loans. In the work of improving production and administrative facilities and the people's livelihood, it is necessary to work within our capabilities and keep expenditures within the limits of income. This is a realistic approach. Our determination to do this shows that we have truly emancipated our minds and freed ourselves from the shackles of the erroneous leftist guiding principle which had impeded us for many years.

Our party members have found it difficult to unify their thinking over this question during the past 2 years. Obviously a great deal of work has to be done before the people of the whole country can unify their thinking. We must tell the people clearly why it is necessary to make further readjustment, what problems will crop up in the course of readjustment and what results will be produced by this readjustment. In this way the people will see why further readjustment is needed, will believe that the party and the government really think about the basic interests of all the people and want to realize modernization step by step and will support us. This work is very important. In no way should we hope to solve problems by issuing a few orders.

The economic readjustment is a major event. It has changed the planning and budgeting for 1981 adopted by the NPC, and influences the work and lives of the people of the whole country. Therefore, it is hoped that the State Council

will consider making a report to the NPC Standing Committee in the near future. This report may be taken as the basis on which to propagate and explain economic readjustment to the people.

The purpose of making further economic readjustment at this time is to get a firm foothold, to advance steadily, to work for the four modernizations more confidently and to create more favorable conditions for realizing the four modernizations. With regard to the sort of line we should follow and the steps we should take to realize the four modernizations, we should continue to get rid of all old and new conventions and find out about the conditions in our country and the mutual relations among all factors of the economic activities, so as to correctly lay down the principles for our long-term planning and then proceed to draw up a practical Sixth 5-Year Plan.

So long as the whole country is united and works in good order and step by step, we will have greater confidence in making our country attain the level of a "comparatively well-off society" in 20 years and then continue to press ahead to gradually accomplish modernization of a high level.

During the past 31 years since the founding of new China we have really made quite a number of mistakes, including some serious ones, and have met many setbacks, which caused great damage and hindered the progress of socialist construction. However, after working hard for 31 years we have established almost 400,000 industrial and communications enterprises and units, the fixed assets of the state-run enterprises have increased by almost 20 times compared with the early postliberation period, large groups of skilled workers and millions of people specialized in various fields have been brought up, and a comparatively complete industrial system and national economic system have been established. The people of the whole country are leading a much better life than they did before liberation. Compared with some developing countries with vast territories our country has scored better results and has carried out construction at greater speed. Over the past few years and especially at this meeting, we have focused our attention on reviewing our defects and mistakes and correctly summing up experiences and lessons, both positive and negative, thereby laying a good foundation for drawing up plans and making arrangements for the entire national construction. By relying on the above-mentioned material conditions and economic policy, by continuously strengthening and improving the party's leadership, by bringing the superior features of the socialist system into full play, by arousing the enthusiasm and initiative of the people of all nationalities, by making rational use of our rich natural resources, by continuously adapting our work to reality, by regularly summing up new experience, and by actively avoiding and constantly reviewing new defects and mistakes, we can surely advance steadily and attain our goal of realizing socialist modernization, and our prospects will be boundlessly bright. In this sense, the readjustment which we make today does not mean a step back but a step forward.

Part 2

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee demanded that the whole party emancipate their minds, get their brains working, seek truth from facts, unite to look ahead, study the new situations and solve the new problems. In the past 2 years we have followed this guiding ideology in formulating a whole series of policies and carrying out a whole series of reforms. Notable achievements have been scored. In April last year we proposed readjustment, and we also proposed restructuring, rectification and improvement. The masses and cadres sincerely support these correct policy decisions of the party, on the one hand, and also worry that the policies might be changed at any moment, on the other. Their fears of reverses and upheavals are perfectly understandable.

Are we then intending to change the principles and policies of the third plenary session in carrying out the current readjustment? Certainly not. I have already said that this readjustment is the continuation and development of the correct principles and policies laid down since the third plenary session, and constitutes a further implementation of the third plenary session's guiding ideology of seeking truth from facts and rectifying leftist errors. If we say that anything should be changed, then we mean discarding those defects that still exist in our work which do not square with the third plenary session spirit; that means resolving to get rid of imaginings that do not conform to reality, and subjectivist high targets; and that is precisely what the line of the third plenary session requires us to do.

We must unswervingly continue to implement all practical and effective principles, policies and measures stipulated since the third plenary session in order to ensure the smooth progress of this readjustment.

We must uphold the four basic principles of the socialist road; the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat; party leadership; and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We will not allow anyone to shake them, and we must also apply appropriate legal forms to stipulate this.

Upholding party leadership is the core of the four basic principles. We have said many times that such a large country as China would be certain to fall to pieces and be incapable of achieving anything without the leadership of the Communist Party.

We must carry out criticism and education and, if necessary, wage struggle against any attempts inside or outside the party to weaken, remove, do away with, or oppose party leadership. This is the key to whether the four modernizations can be accomplished, and also to the success or failure of the current readjustment.

It is necessary to improve party leadership and work style in order to uphold party leadership. At present the party's work among the masses is a bit weaker than it was before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and there are also a number

of rough places in our work methods. These things all hinder the party's ties with the masses. The many difficulties in economic readjustment can only be easily overcome if we vigorously strengthen the party's ties with the masses and go deep among the masses to conduct ideological and political work. The unhealthy trends among a few party members and cadres are extremely unhelpful for restoring the party's prestige among the masses. I agree with what Comrade Chen Yun said, that the question of party work style is a question of life or death for the ruling party. We must strictly carry out the "guiding principles on inner-party political life," work unceasingly to rectify unhealthy trends of all types, and in particular resolutely oppose the erroneous double-dealing attitude of ostensibly complying with but actually opposing the Central Committee's line, principles and policies.

We must persistently follow the guiding principle of reforming the party and state leadership system, but our methods must be careful and our steps steady. In short, we cannot force all those comrades who are indeed still capable of working for the party to stop working. The reform of the leadership system in basic-level units must first be carried out on a trial basis. Units not functioning as pilot projects in this work must without exception follow the existing systems until perfect rules and regulations are formulated and promulgated. The ideological, political, economic, organizational and other tasks of all basic-level enterprises and other units are very heavy and arduous in carrying out the economic readjustment. In order to gradually readjust the imbalances in the national economy and ensure that the interests of the partial are subordinate to those of the whole, certain construction projects must be halted, and certain enterprises must be closed, suspended, merged, or switched to other production, or suffer a reduction in production tasks. It is necessary to carry out training in a planned way of the personnel in these three categories of units, and also arrange for their livelihood. It is extremely difficult to make a success of this work. I hope that the comrades of the organizations at all levels, especially the comrades working in the basic levels, will carry forward the glorious traditions, willingly bear the burdens of office, work in concert, and share the burdens with the party and state, and with the masses; there must be no feelings of relaxation. To be confronted with difficulties is precisely the time when the party members and cadres, especially the old party members and cadres, in the organizations at all levels work hard and loyally, stay at their posts, spare no effort in the performance of their duty, and undergo yet another test. The Central Committee believes that the cadres and party members of the organizations at all levels will certainly not disappoint the trust of the party and people.

We must continue to develop socialist democracy and put the socialist legal system on a sound basis. This is a basic guiding principle the Central Committee has unswervingly followed since the third plenary session, and we will certainly not permit it to be shaken in the future. There are still imperfections in our system of democracy, and we must formulate a whole series of laws, decrees and rules and regulations to systematize and legalize democracy. Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are inseparable from each other.

Democracy that does not want the socialist legal system, party leadership, and discipline and order is absolutely not socialist democracy. On the contrary, such democracy could only get our country into a state of anarchy again, with the result that it would be even more difficult to democratize the state, develop the national economy, and improve the people's living standards.

We must truly practice democratic centralism and collective leadership in inner-party life and national political life. We must resolutely rectify defects such as one person alone having the say and making the final decisions, the refusal of a few people to implement collective decisions, and so on. In the present circumstances it is particularly necessary to reiterate and emphasize the principle that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower levels are subordinate to the upper, and the whole party is subordinate to the Central Committee. Within the party and army and the government systems, we must resolutely oppose all failures to observe party, army and government discipline.

It is necessary to step up education in discipline and the legal system in the party and government organs, the army, the enterprises, the schools, and among the whole body of the masses. It is necessary to rapidly stipulate rules of discipline and perfect them in cases where such rules have not been stipulated or are imperfect and irrational. Secondary and primary pupils must study and obey the appropriate discipline from their first day in school, and so must workers from the moment they enter the factory, fighters from the day they join the army, and work personnel from the day they take up their posts. We must resolutely oppose and rectify all indiscipline, anarchism, and violations of the legal system. Otherwise, we will certainly not be able to build socialism or accomplish modernization. Far from being set against each other, rational discipline and socialist democracy actually guarantee each other.

We must continue to overcome the defect of overconcentration of power. We must institute in a measured and steady way systems of cadres retirement and abolish the life-long tenure of cadre leadership posts, which does indeed exist. We must gradually make proper arrangements for the political and daily life treatment of retiring cadres.

The Central Committee has stressed many times in the past year that old cadres must regard the selection and promotion of middle-aged and young cadres as their primary solemn responsibility. If they fail to do other work well, they must, of course, conduct self-criticism, but if they fail in this task, they will have made a great historical error. If this task is done well, it is certain that our cause can be carried on, while our old cadres will again be making a tremendous contribution to the party and people. I hope that all old comrades will have a high degree of awareness regarding this issue.

Under the premise of upholding the socialist road, we should reduce the average age of our cadres and make them more knowledgeable and specialized, and we must also gradually formulate a perfect cadre system to guarantee this. So-called

making the average age of the cadres younger and making them more knowledgeable and specialized naturally first requires their revolutionization, which is why we say that this must be done under the premise of upholding the socialist road. Second, this certainly does not mean that comrades with political integrity and ability who are good in study and in good health but who fail to meet these three requirements, or are not up to the mark in one or two of them, have to be transferred to other work; the age condition in particular must not be fixed in a rigid way.

We cannot fulfill any task in isolation from our existing cadre force, and thus will be unable to reduce the average age of the cadres and so on. However, we must realize that this is a strategic problem. Our cadre force must always become a bit younger and a bit more knowledgeable and specialized. Some comrades still lack sufficient understanding of the importance of this problem; there are both historical and practical reasons for this, and it is necessary to carry out patient, meticulous, all-round and accurate propaganda and explanatory work. At the same time we must also adopt proper measures in carrying out this work. Comrades from Shanghai have proposed "in first, out afterwards." This means first absorbing into the leadership groups middle-aged and young cadres with political integrity and ability (including worker and peasant cadres and intellectual cadres), and giving them a free hand in their work, while the old cadres are also seriously doing a good job in passing on their experiences, helping and leading forward the newcomers; in this way they can truly become competent, and the old cadres who cannot go on working can then retire. This is a good opinion. Of course, this method cannot be applied in all cases irrespective of the actual situation; specific steps must be decided in accordance with specific situations.

At present a great many units are overstaffed. The staff members and workers of some enterprises will stop work either completely or partially during the current economic readjustment. Apart from arranging for the cadres and workers of these units to engage in turn in some productive labor, such as planting trees, building roads and water conservancy projects, carrying out urban construction and building public health facilities, the areas and departments concerned must mainly carry out regular training for them in a planned way, enhance the awareness and ability of all cadres and workers who undergo training, and also conduct examinations to identify and promote outstanding talented people among them. Readjustment is a positive measure that must be taken in order to accomplish modernization, and training is an important aspect of this positive measure. People often say that we should increase investment in brains and make use of this opportunity to carry out regular education for large numbers of cadres and workers in a planned way, to improve their political, cultural, technical, and economic management standards; this type of investment in brains can yield very good results. We must ensure that all cadres and workers fully understand the importance of this training, and gradually turn it into a regular system applicable to the whole body of cadres and workers.

We have scored very good achievements in reforming the economic structure and systems. We must consolidate these achievements, sum up the experiences, and analyze and solve the new problems that crop up in these reforms. I fully agree with the views of Comrades Chen Yun and Ziyang, that for a time to come the focus must be on readjustment and reforms must be subordinate to and benefit readjustment and must not hamper it. The pace of reform should be slowed down a bit. However, this does not mean that there should be any change in orientation.

The third plenary session's resolutions on agriculture and the document No 75 of this year have fully proven their effectiveness. We must continue to implement them with vigor, and also pay attention to solving problems that arise in the course of their implementation. We cannot copy the methods of Western countries or the Soviet Union in our agricultural modernization; we must embark on a road under the socialist system that conforms to China's national conditions.

The number of units functioning as pilot projects in the expansion of enterprise decision-making powers has exceeded 6,000 this year. It is estimated that the output value of these enterprises will amount to about 60 percent of total industrial output value. We have started to find the way to better integrate the interests of the state, of the enterprises and of the workers, and to stimulate the initiative of all sectors. The number of these pilot project enterprises will not be increased next year. The stress will be on summing up experiences and carrying out consolidation and improvement.

It is completely necessary to practice a high degree of centralization in carrying out readjustment. However, we must not go back on those reform measures that have already proven effective in all aspects. We must continue to enliven the economy and bring into play the initiative of the localities, the enterprises and the workers. Of course we must guard against blind action, especially against spontaneous trends of a sabotage type which involve harming the interests of the state and the people for the sake of benefitting the interests of a particular unit or individual. We must stipulate relatively detailed decrees in this respect, in order to avoid distorted interpretations and indiscriminate use of decisionmaking powers.

Continuing to develop production opportunities should be mainly done by various forms of collective economy and individual labor; we should arrange as many jobs as possible for people awaiting employment. We must properly guarantee the reasonable interests of the collective and individual laborers, and also strengthen industrial and commercial administrative work, to guard against illegal activities.

We must continue to implement the decision on establishing a number of special zones in Guangdong and Fujian provinces. However, the measures and methods must be subordinate to the readjustment, and the pace can be slowed down a bit.

Under the premise of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, we should carry out the series of policies already laid down for opening up economic dealings with foreign countries, and also sum up experiences and institute improvements. We have indeed paid a tremendous price in this respect, because a closed-door policy was pursued for many years, and we had no experience. The Central Committee should bear the main responsibility. I, too, bear the responsibility.

We must continue to carry out the foreign policy of opposing hegemonism and preserving world peace. If this policy is carried out well, we may be able to gain a relatively long-term environment of peace for our construction.

It is precisely because we have decided on and instituted a series of correct principles and policies since the third plenary session that relatively good conditions have been created for this economic readjustment. So long as we carry on these effective principles and policies, we will certainly be able to reach our predicted aim in this economic readjustment.

Part 3

Comrade Chen Yun has said that how well economic and propaganda work are done is very closely related to whether or not the economic and political situation can develop steadily. The reason he simultaneously mentioned the question of propaganda work was, on the one hand, because he wants us to make a sober assessment of the achievements and shortcomings in propaganda work and, on the other hand, because he wants our propaganda work in the future to be able to meet the demands of the economic and political situation and to assist instead of hampering the smooth progress of readjustment work.

This propaganda work I mentioned actually includes the whole of the party's ideological and political work. Economic readjustment is a very arduous and complex task. We have already seen that many problems exist in it, and we will also encounter many unexpected problems. It is essential to effectively strengthen and improve your party's extensive, deepgoing and meticulous ideological and political work in order to complete this task and ensure the unity of the whole party in ideology and action.

The discussion on the criterion of truth has played an extremely positive role in the series of political, economic and organizational reforms we have carried out in the past few years and in the notable successes we have scored on all fronts. Theory, propaganda, press, education, literature and art workers and the party cadres at all levels have scored abundant achievements and made major contributions in work in recent years, and this should be fully affirmed. Generally speaking, the work in all aspects on the ideological front has been done successfully.

Emancipating the mind means making thought and reality and subjective and objective conform to each other, and seeking truth from facts. To truly continue seeking truth from facts in future work we must continue to emancipate our minds. To hold that emancipation of the mind has gone far enough, or even too far, is obviously wrong.

However, we must also point out that there are also serious shortcomings in our propaganda work. The main one is that we have not positively, actively, justly, forcefully and convincingly publicized the four basic principles, and have failed to wage effective struggle against gravely erroneous ideas opposed to the four basic principles. There is indeed confusion in the thinking of certain comrades. For instance, some hold that upholding the four basic principles will hamper emancipation of the mind, that putting the socialist legal system on a sound basis will hinder socialist democracy, and that criticizing erroneous views means violating the double hundred principle, and so on.

Of course there are certain social and historical causes for this ideological confusion, and we must certainly not deal with it in a simple and rough way. However, this certainly does not mean that this ideological confusion can be allowed to follow its own course and that it is not necessary to correct it properly and effectively. It cannot be denied that this ideological confusion has provided certain favorable conditions for the activities of people who want to see the world in chaos. What is particularly serious is that in the party press and also in party life, very few people have boldly stepped out to wage serious ideological struggle against these incorrect viewpoints and erroneous trends of thought, or even against certain viewpoints brazenly opposed to party leadership and socialism. Certain figures connected with illegal organizations have been particularly active lately, publishing unbridled antiparty and antisocialist utterances under all kinds of pretexts. This danger signal should arouse the full vigilance of the whole party and the people and youth of the whole country!

Strengthening ideological and political work and improving propaganda work already constitute an extremely important task facing the whole party for ensuring the smooth accomplishment of the current readjustment, and consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity. The most important thing in improving party leadership is to strengthen ideological and political work. The Central Committee holds that in principle the party organizations at all levels should, as far as possible, hand over a lot of routine administrative and professional work to the government and the professional departments; apart from keeping a firm hold on the principles and policies and deciding on the employment of important cadres, the leading organs of the party should devote most of their time and energy to ideological and political work, work concerning people, and mass work. If they cannot for the moment succeed in doing all this, they must at least put ideological and political work first, otherwise party leadership can be neither improved nor strengthened.

It is necessary to do well in solving the following problems in carrying out political and ideological work:

In evaluating party work since the founding of the state, we must fully affirm the tremendous achievements of the past 31 years; shortcomings and errors should be criticized, but we should certainly not describe the picture as totally black. Even such a great mistake as the "Great Cultural Revolution" can certainly not be described as "counterrevolutionary." We must unwaveringly uphold this truth-seeking stand.

Similarly, Comrade Mao Zedong's merits were primary and his errors secondary. This is a realistic assessment, which should certainly not be doubted and negated. Comrade Mao Zedong's errors should certainly not be attributed to his individual character. It is taking a non-Marxist and non-historical dialectical approach to fail to see the issue in this way. Very clearly, if people are swayed by emotion and go to excesses in talking about his mistakes, that can only damage the image of our party and state and the prestige of the party and the socialist system, and can only sap the unity of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country.

Correct Mao Zedong Thought that has been proven correct by practice remains our guiding ideology. We must persistently follow it and develop it in connection with reality, and also carry out just and forceful propaganda; people should not go slow in this respect. We can avoid a lot of confusion by distinguishing between Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong's Thinking in his latter years, and applying these two concepts. This, of course, does not mean that Comrade Mao Zedong did not come out with any correct opinions in his latter years.

There are indeed unhealthy trends in the party, and there are indeed a very few leading cadres who pursue special privileges. The Central Committee has resolved to solve this problem and has acted to do so. We should affirm the role of correct press criticism. However, attention should be paid to avoid regarding individual phenomena as universal and exaggerating partial as whole. It is certainly not the case that there are unhealthy trends among all party members or among the majority of them, nor is it true that all leading cadres or the majority of them pursue special privileges. There is absolutely not, nor could there ever be, a "class of bureaucratists." Our propaganda work should guard against creating various images among the masses that do not square with reality.

We should strengthen the whole party's sense of organization and discipline by strengthening ideological and political work. The organizations at all levels and every party member must follow the provisions of the party constitution and obey the decisions of the upper levels in all actions. It is particularly necessary to maintain political unanimity with the Central Committee. This point is especially important at the moment. Anyone who violates this point will be punished by party discipline. The party's discipline inspection work must regard this point as its current work focus. We must teach all the party comrades to carry forward the spirit of serving the public without any thought of self, subordinating themselves to the overall situation, struggling hard amid difficulties, and performing their official duties with honesty, and to uphold communist ideology and morality. The socialist country we want to build should have a high degree of spiritual as well as material civilization. So-called spiritual civilization means not only education, science and culture (these are completely necessary), but also communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, morality and discipline, revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations among people, and so on.

These things do not require such good material conditions or high education standards. Haven't we relied on scientific Marxist theory and the above-mentioned revolutionary spirit in participating in revolution up to now? Apart from correct political orientation, didn't we rely on this precious revolutionary spirit to attract the people of the whole country and friendly foreigners in advancing from Yanan to the new China? How could we have built socialism without this spiritual civilization and communist ideology and morality? The more the party and government institute various economic reforms and the policy of opening up China to the outside world, the more the party members' especially the senior responsible cadres, need to attach importance to and earnestly practice the communist ideology and morality that they advocate. Otherwise, we will be spiritually disarmed; how then could we educate the youth, and how could we lead the state and the people to build socialism!

During the period of the new democratic revolution, we were already applying the communist ideological system to guide all our work; applying communist morality to restrain the words and deeds of party members and progressive elements; and advocating and commending the ideas of serving the people wholeheartedly, "the individual is subordinate to the organization," "serving the public without any thought of self," and "fearing neither hardship nor death." Now that we have entered the socialist period, some people go so far as to "criticize" these solemn revolutionary slogans, and instead of being effectively boycotted, this absurd "criticism" has actually gained the sympathy and support of certain people in our ranks. How can any party member with party and revolutionary spirit allow this state of affairs to go on?

Comrade Mao Zedong said that people must have vigor. In the long period of revolutionary war, guided by the correct political orientation and based on an analysis of actual conditions, we carried forward the spirit of combining revolution with a sense of desperation, the spirit of strictly observing discipline and making self-sacrifices, the spirit of being selfless and putting others' interests above one's own, the spirit of conquering all enemies and overcoming all difficulties, the spirit of adhering to revolutionary optimism and fighting to win against overwhelming odds, and thus achieved a great victory. In carrying out socialist construction and realizing the four modernizations, we must similarly carry forward this spirit under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee. Without this spirit a Communist Party member can never be considered qualified. In addition, we must make a loud appeal and set personal examples promoting this spirit among the whole body of people and the whole body of youths and adolescents, turning it into the mainstay of the spiritual civilization of the PRC and making it an attraction to all people in the world seeking revolution and progress and also the envy of many people in the world who feel spiritually empty and unhappy.

We must energetically strengthen the party organization and the links between party members and the masses. We must constantly honestly tell the people about the conditions of the state and its difficulties and the party's work and its policy. We must resolutely criticize and rectify various mistakes,

such as drawing away from the masses and not giving a damn about the people's suffering. The people are a source of all our strength. The mass line and the mass viewpoint are our precious heritages. The party organization, party members and party cadres must mingle with the masses as one and must in no way be antagonistic to the masses. If a party seriously cuts itself off from the masses and is incapable of correcting itself, then it will forfeit the source of its strength, be doomed to failure and be abandoned by the people. The comrades of the whole party and cadres at all levels, especially leading cadres, must constantly bear this in mind and constantly use this criterion to examine all their speeches and acts. They must strive to help the masses solve all difficulties that can be solved and patiently and earnestly make things clear to the masses where difficulties cannot be immediately solved.

We must continuously criticize and fight the ideological and political influence of various feudalist remnants existing among people inside and outside the party. We must also continuously formulate and improve various systems and laws compatible with socialist principles. Meanwhile we must criticize and fight the tendency toward worshipping capitalism and advocating bourgeois liberalization. We must criticize and fight the decadent bourgeois idea of being selfish and greedy for money and "putting money above everything else." We must criticize and fight anarchism and extreme individualism. We must continuously persist in associating with Western countries that are friendly to us and continuously persist in learning all from the capitalist countries that is useful to us. But in the ideological and political fields, we must carry out the abovementioned struggle to the end. We must carry forward the spirit of patriotism and raise the self-confidence of the people. Otherwise, we cannot build socialism, and our efforts will be corroded and corrupted by various capitalist influences.

We must strengthen political education, education on the situation, ideological education or education on the outlook of life, and moral education in schools at all levels.

We must energetically strengthen the work of trade unions and women's associations and the work of the Communist Youth League, the Young Pioneers and students' unions. We must strive to turn our youths and adolescents into people who cherish ideals and moral principles, who have knowledge and are physically strong, who make it their ambition to make contributions to the people, to the motherland and to mankind and who have cultivated from childhood such good habits as observing discipline, showing courtesy, and upholding public interests.

We must raise the confidence of the comrades of the whole party in building a powerful modern socialist country and, through the exemplary acts of party members in various posts, influence and induce the masses to display vigor, unite as one, concentrate on given tasks with heart and soul, make steady progress and realize our great goals. We must preach, revive and develop the spirit of Yanan, the spirit upheld shortly after liberation, and the spirit of overcoming difficulties displayed in the early 1960's. We must first strengthen our own confidence. Only then can we educate and unite the masses, raising their confidence.

Part 4

Whether or not the political situation of stability and unity is continuously consolidated or sabotaged is a key to the success or failure of the current readjustment. If the political situation of stability and units is upset, the work of readjustment basically cannot be carried out.

Now it has been found in some areas that a small number of people bent on making trouble are using the methods typical of the Cultural Revolution to instigate trouble. Some people are even crying for the launching of what was called a second "Great Cultural Revolution." We can never treat lightly such phenomena as: a small number of young people sent to carry out construction on the border making trouble in individual areas; the active solicitation of support by illegal organizations and illegal magazines manipulated by an extremely small number of recalcitrant gang heads; the open publication of antiparty and antisocialist speeches; the distribution of reactionary handbills; the spreading of political rumors; the activities of the remnants of the "gang of four," such as burning and killing and setting off explosions, robbery and theft; frequent reports about rape, the kidnapping and sale of women and organized prostitution; the growth of such criminal activities as smuggling and tax evasion, speculation and profiteering, bribery, graft and corruption, drug peddling and addiction, and so forth; and the continuous appearance of such serious violations of law and discipline as freely awarding bonuses in disregard of the stipulated rules, freely raising commodity prices and manipulating the market. Of all these phenomena, some represent the activities of counterrevolutionaries, some the counterattack by the remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some the sabotage by those bent on making trouble in the world, some the old practices of the remnants of exploiting classes reasserting themselves, and some the result of the serious corrosive effects of the ideological style represented by feudalism and the bourgeoisie. As far as the nature of these phenomena is concerned, one kind represents the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and another a reflection of class struggle to different degrees among the people. This shows that though no longer the main contradiction in our society, class struggle really does exist and cannot be underestimated. If we fail to resolutely cope with it in a timely and discriminatory manner and instead let problems of various kinds slide, the situation of stability and unity will be seriously threatened. Concerning the seriousness of all these activities, some of our comrades still do not have an adequate understanding. They lack the vigor to fight them and at times even look the other way, letting things take their own course.

We must, therefore, strengthen the state machinery of the people's democratic dictatorship, resolutely trounce and break up various influences disruptive to stability and unity, resolutely trounce and break up the remnants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups, and resolutely strike blows at and guard against various criminal activities.

To consolidate and carry forward the political situation of stability and unity is the common wish of the people of the whole country. This calls for doing ideological and political work well among the people and mobilizing and organizing them to act consciously and actively in waging an effective struggle against various influences disruptive to stability and unity. In waging such a struggle

we cannot adopt methods formerly used in launching political movements. Instead, we must conform to the principles of the socialist legal system. Therefore, apart from the issuance of relevant instructions among party members, it is suggested that the NPC and the State Council promulgate relevant rules and decrees and necessary laws. Given the whole party's ideological and political work, newspaper and magazine publicity and education at schools and colleges, these can gradually become the criteria for the common actions of the whole party, the entire army and all the people of the country. Thus the current chaotic state can surely be gradually removed.

To ensure stability and unity it is suggested that through proper laws and decrees the state organs provide that mediation be sought prior to a strike by workers or students, that a parade or demonstration be first approved with the time and the site designated, that improper contacts between different units and different areas be prohibited, and that the activities of illegal organizations and the printing of illegal magazines be banned.

This struggle is a political struggle, but it must be waged within the bounds of law. It must be marked with fanfare, but it must be adequately prepared for and waged in a steady and proper manner. Concerning certain serious disruptive activities, we must strike not just one blow but several more blows. The comrades of the whole party and the whole body of cadres must act according to the constitution and the relevant laws and decrees and learn to use legal weapons (including the economic weapons, such as imposing fines and levying heavy taxes) in fighting antiparty and antisocialist influences and various criminals. This is a new subject of study that we must master as soon as possible in developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system at present and in the future.

We must vigorously strengthen the construction and work of the political and legal and public security departments, and improve the political and professional qualities of their personnel.

We must select a number of good workers, cadres and fighters from the capital construction force and from ex-armymen; after training, they should be employed to expand and strengthen the political and legal, public security and police forces.

In certain places where there are serious disturbances, if it is really necessary the local government may, after careful consideration and arrangement, proclaim a curfew and mobilize PLA units that have undergone training to restore and maintain normal order in society, production and work. It is necessary to conduct the necessary education in the legal system for the commanders and fighters of the whole army.

Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership and organize the departments concerned to make unified arrangements, adopt effective measures and carry out a general mobilization on all fronts to resolutely and steadily make a success of ensuring the political situation of stability and unity.

Some people say that in acting in this way we are "drawing back" and will not "emancipate" any more, and that the guiding principles of the third plenary session have changed. This is totally incorrect.

The Central Committee said long ago that there has never been any question of "emancipation" for the activities of all kinds of counterrevolutionaries antiparty and antisocialist elements, and criminals and lawbreakers; we have always said that we cannot give these people license to do as they please. Some people may say that now we are only talking about dictatorship, not about democracy. This, too, is totally incorrect. From the establishment of the PRC up to recent years, with the exception of the 10 years of turmoil which do not count, we have always consistently exercised dictatorship over all kinds of hostile forces, counterrevolutionaries and criminals and lawbreakers who seriously endanger social order; we have never dealt with them in a soft-handed way.

This involves the question of how to understand and implement the people's democratic dictatorship. Comrade Mao Zedong said that the people's democratic dictatorship is the integration of democracy for contradictions among the people and dictatorship for reactionaries. This is actually the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the expression people's democratic dictatorship is more appropriate for our national condition. The people's democratic rights were trampled on during the tyranny of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We have consistently endeavored to bring democracy into play since the "gang of four" were smashed, and especially since the third plenary session. At present we have not yet done enough in this respect, and must continue to work hard at it. As I said before, we must continue to carry out in a firm and measured way the various reforms in the political and economic systems. The general orientation of these reforms is aimed at bringing into play and ensuring inner-party democracy and the people's democracy.

At present, while continuing to unswervingly carry out the work of developing socialist democracy, we demand that the comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country be highly vigilant against and deal resolute blows at all kinds of antiparty and antisocialist and criminal activities. This is because not only will economic readjustment be difficult to carry out, but the people's democratic rights and even their rights of existence will be endangered if we fail to hit at these activities. If we give free rein to those people and allow them to run rampant and create confusion everywhere, the democratic rights of the majority of people in some places, departments and units will be trampled on again as in the "Great Cultural Revolution"; the very good political and economic situation which has now formed--one of the best since the founding of the state--will again encounter setbacks; and the improvements gained in the people's living standards will be lost again. The great majority of cadres, party members and the masses have fresh memories of the sufferings of the "Great Cultural Revolution" period. How can we allow those "rebels" who always closely followed Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the few bad chieftains who have carried on their nonsense, to carry out a "Second Cultural Revolution?" Never mind the whole country, we cannot allow them to succeed in a single place, department, or unit. However, they are already frenziedly making trouble in certain units and places, and the masses there are very angry about this situation. Shouldn't we resolutely defend the people's interests in these circumstances?

Marxist theory and international life have repeatedly taught us that only if the great majority of people enjoy a high degree of democracy can effective dictatorship be exercised over the very small number of enemies, and that only by exercising dictatorship over this very small number of enemies can the democratic rights of the great majority of people be ensured. Therefore, in the present circumstances to use the suppressive forces of the state to hit at and break up all kinds of counterrevolutionary saboteurs, antiparty and anti-socialist elements and bad criminals and lawbreakers in order to preserve social stability fully confirm to the demands of the masses and of the socialist modernization drive.

In short, achieving further economic readjustment and political stability is aimed at implementing the guiding principles laid down since the third plenary session. Our cause will certainly triumph if we implement these principles.

CSO: 4005/21

ON OPPOSING ERRONEOUS TENDENCIES (27 March 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 334-337

[Main points of a talk with leaders of the PLA General Political Department]

[Text] First, at present, it is still necessary to take as our central task the implementation of the spirit of the Central Work Conference held in December 1980, and take as the criterion in our work the speeches of four members of the standing committee of the CPC Central Committee (explanatory note 116) at this conference, the decision of the CPC Central Committee on the policies concerning newspapers and periodicals, newscasts, and propaganda, the instructions of the CPC Central Committee on dealing with illegal publications and organizations and other problems, and other documents.

Second, it is necessary to strengthen the propaganda and education on adhering to the foay basic principles, and write more articles on this subject. It is necessary to criticize both the "leftist" and rightest erroneous ideologies.

To emancipate the mind, we must also oppose both the "leftist" and rightest ideologies. When the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee raised the question of emancipating the mind, it was aimed at criticizing the "two whatevers," (explanatory note 13) with stress laid on correcting the "leftist" mistakes. After that, a right deviation trend appeared. Without doubt, this must also be criticized.

At the Central Work Conference, all these points were already clearly explained. The problem at present is that we must conduct more propaganda on adhering to the four basic principles. The erroneous "leftist" ideology cannot be neglected. It is deep-rooted. The emphasis must be laid on the rectification of the "leftist" trend in the guiding ideology. But the problem still cannot be completely solved merely in this way. We must also rectify the right deviation at the same time.

Comrade Huang Kecheng said it is necessary to oppose both the "leftist" and rightist tendencies whenever and wherever they occur. I agree with him. It is necessary to make concrete analysis of both tendencies.

JIEFANGJUN BAO is run comparatively well. Further efforts must be made. It is necessary to write more articles to expound, in ideology and theory, the importance of adhering to the four basic principles. Opposition to the four basic principles and negation of them may come from the "left" or from the right. It is necessary to take note of these two aspects when writing articles.

Third, we have always stressed the necessity of seeking truth from facts, combining theory with practice, and proceeding in all cases from actual conditions.

When we draw up the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC, we must be realistic, and conscientiously sum up our lessons from the "left." During the anti-rightist struggle in 1957 (explanatory note 77), as I have mentioned many times, at that time, there were actually some people who had a murderous look on their faces, but the scope of the struggle was broadened and things were overdone. Of course, we cannot say that all those who were criticized at that time were innocent and had not committed mistakes. In my opinion, the anti-rightist struggle can be summed up in two sentences: 1) It was necessary, and 2) It was overdone. When the great leap forward (explanatory note 80) just began, who had ever said anything against it? Later, some comrades discovered that there were mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong also discovered some mistakes. He then called two conferences in Zhengzhou (explanatory note 92), which were aimed at correcting the "leftist" mistakes during the great leap forward.
What we did in the 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution" was, on the whole, correct. However, there were setbacks and mistakes. Not only Comrade Mao Zedong, but all of us must be held responsible. We must sum up historical experiences and lessons in a realistic way.

The ideological problems in the army must also be solved in a realistic way. We must do the ideological work in light of the different situations in various units and differences between various people.

Fourth, we must not ignore the "leftist" influence in the army. Some comrades at the age of about 30 to 40, who have been influenced by the "leftist" ideology, have had a tendency to look at things from the "leftist" angle. Some army cadres, including some veteran cadres, do not quite understand the policies mapped out since the Third Plenary Session. Some of them think that these policies will lead to capitalism. This is mainly the influence from the "left." But it does not mean that there are no influences of the rotten bourgeois ideology. For example, there are actually some people who like decadent music and bad social habits.

With regard to the question of "three supports and two military's (explanatory note 117)," you have to study it. It is not good to describe it in only one sentence or to put on a tall hat. It is necessary to describe it in two sentences. The first sentence: The interference by the army was correct and the "three supports and two military's" did play a positive role, because without the interference by the army, the situation could not have been controlled at that time. The second sentence: The "three supports and two military's" did great harm to the army, brought to it many bad things, and

seriously weakened its prestige. For example, many phenomena, such as factionalism and other "leftist" practices have resulted from that.

Over the past few years, the army has done a lot of work and has paid attention to the education in the line, policies, and principles. There have been some changes in the cadres' ideological situation. The great majority of our cadres are good. Provided we carry out educational work, changes will certainly take place in the ideological situation of the cadres. For this reason, we must do more work and carry out education more frequently.

Fifth, in rectifying both the "leftist" and rightist tendencies, we must avoid randomly raising everything to the higher plane of principle and letting everyone make a self-criticism so as to pass the test. A mass movement must not be launched. If everyone makes a self-criticism, it will become a mass movement. Of course, not launching a mass movement does not mean that we can do political work without orientation and momentum.

At an appropriate time in the future, we will also launch a rectification movement. Without this, I am afraid we cannot really solve the problems.

Sixth, Comrade Chen Yun suggested that study should be encouraged, chiefly the study of philosophy, especially Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works, such as "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," and "On Protracted War." This is a good suggestion. I think it is necessary to start a study movement so as to conscientiously study the works of Marx, Engels, and Comrade Mao Zedong. The study must be combined with the history of Chinese revolution, so that people can understand how the party has led the revolution, what contributions Comrade Mao Zedong made, and how successes were achieved in the Chinese revolution. After the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is adopted, it is necessary to organize the people to conscientiously study it and then guide them to earnestly read some books.

Comrade Chen Yun said that when he returned to Yanan from Moscow in the early days of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong told him three times that it was necessary to study philosophy, and especially emphasized the importance of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Chen Yun said that he learned a lot from this. At present, when some people give their opinions, they often judge things by their appearance only. The reason is that they do not have sound theoretical and practical knowledges. Only when we have laid a solid foundation in this respect can we really correct the mistakes, including both the "leftist" and rightist mistakes. During the Yanan rectification, subjectivism, departmentalism, and the stereotyped party writing were criticized. This was aimed at solving the problems fundamentally rather than superficially.

Seventh, something has been done quite well recently, that is, to stress spiritual civilization. Initial achievements have been scored in this respect, and we must continue to do a good job of it. The slogan put forth by the General Political Department [of the PLA], "four haves, three stresses, and two fear nots," (explanatory note 118) is very good. The army should be drilled in this way. It is necessary to give wide publicity to it.

Eighth, it is necessary to criticize the scenario "unrequited love." This is a matter concerning the four basic principles. Of course, during the criticism, it is necessary to present the facts, reason things out, and avoid one-sidedness.

Explanatory notes:

(116) The four members of the standing committee of the CPC Central Committee refer to members of the standing committee of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun.

(13) "Two whatevers" refers to "we must resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions were made by Chairman Mao and steadfastly follow whatever instructions he gave," which was put forth on 7 February 1977 in an editorial of RENMIN RIBAO, HONGQI, and JIEFANGJUN BAO entitled "Study the Documents Well and Grasp the Key Link."

(77) The anti-rightist struggle in 1957 refers to the struggle carried out in this year against bourgeois rightists. In April 1957, the CPC Central Committee decided to launch a rectification movement in the whole party to oppose bureaucratism, factionalism, and subjectivism. A small number of bourgeois rightists seized this opportunity to attack the party and the new socialist system, attempting to take over leadership from the Communist Party. In June, the CPC Central Committee issued an instruction, which decided to counterattack the bourgeois rightists. Although at that time, it was entirely necessary to counterattack the bourgeois rightists, a serious mistake of broadening the scope of struggle was committed. In 1978, the CPC Central Committee decided to reexamine the cases of those who were brought into the category of rightists and to correct the wrong ones.

(80) The twists and turns in 1958 refer to the mistakes committed during the great leap forward and the movement to switch over to people's communes in 1958. In August of that year, the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarge meeting in Beidaihe. The meeting decided that the steel output in 1958 should double that of 1957 and reach 10.7 million tons and that the people's communes should be widely set up in the countryside. After the meeting, an upsurge of the all-people steelmaking movement and the movement to switch over to people's communes was set off throughout the country. The "leftist" mistakes, chiefly characterized by high targets, giving arbitrary directions, boasting and exaggeration, and the "Communist wind," then spread unchecked everywhere, which undermined the normal order of the economic construction. As a result, enormous manpower and material resources were wasted and the national economy became seriously disproportionate.

(92) The two Zhengzhou meetings refer to the meeting called by Mao Zedong in Zhengzhou 2-10 November 1958 attended by some central leaders and some local leaders and the enlarged meeting of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee held in Zhengzhou from 27 February to 5 March 1959. The first Zhengzhou meeting discussed some questions concerning the theory of socialism and communism and the question of people's communes. It began to correct some mistakes which had already been discovered. At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized such erroneous views as being overhasty in changing the collective ownership of the people's communes into the ownership by the whole people and

in the transition from socialism to communism, and being overhasty in abolishing commodity production. The main topic for discussion at the second Zhengzhou meeting was to determine the ownership of the people's commune and to solve the problem of the "Communist wind." In accordance with Mao Zedong's opinion, the meeting worked out the following policy for the consolidation and construction of the people's communes: The people's communes should practice the three-level management and accounting system, with the production team (in some places, production brigade, which is analogous to the original advanced agricultural producers' cooperative) as the basic accounting unit. Within the people's communes, the principle of "to each according to his work" and exchanging at equal value must be applied and the differences between production teams and between people must be recognized. The meeting drafted "certain regulations on the management system of the people's commune (draft)."

(117) "Three supports and two military's" refers to the army supporting the masses of the left during the "Great Cultural Revolution," (meaning, supporting those who were regarded as the masses of the left at that time), supporting industry (giving support to industry); supporting agriculture (giving support to agriculture), exercising military control (practicing the system of military control over some localities, departments, and units), and offering military training (offering military training to students).

(118) In February 1981, in accordance with the call issued by the CPC Central Committee on building socialist spiritual civilization, and in light of the characteristics of the army, the PLA General Political Department, in its "Directive on Strengthening Youth Work," put forth the slogan of "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots;" that is, "we should have ideals, morals, knowledge and physical strength; and we should stress required standards for the appearance and bearing of the army, and courtesy and discipline; and we should not be afraid of hardship and sacrifice." In January 1983, in accordance with the views concerning the building of socialist spiritual civilization contained in the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, the slogan of "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots" was changed to "we should have ideals, morals, and culture; we should stress required standards for appearance and bearing of the army, and courtesy and hygiene; and we should not be afraid of hardship and sacrifice."

CSO: 4005/986

SPEECH AT THE CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE 6TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE (29 June 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 p 338

[Text] I am sure that we have solved just perfectly two problems at this plenary session. First, we have adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC, which has fulfilled our predetermined requirements. This resolution will play an essential role in seeking unity of thinking within the party. Of course, as Comrade Hu Yaobang asserted, it will take another year for all of us to reach a common understanding. However, from now on, each one of us as a CPC member must speak based on a common understanding. One must observe organizational discipline even if one does not agree with this common understanding. I believe that this resolution can stand the test of history.

Second, we have made some personnel arrangements. This time, we elected Comrade Hu Yaoband as chairman of the party. He has just delivered a brief speech. I believe that what he has just said proves that we made a correct choice. Of course, I believe the promotion of Comrade Zhao Ziyang to a more important position is another correct choice.

At this plenary session, we have made important strategic decisions and important choices on these two issues of great importance. Therefore, this plenary session is of great significance. The communique has already confirmed this. This plenary session has truly and successfully fulfilled its mission.

Does anyone still want to say something more? If not, we will announce the successful closing of the Sixth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/986

THE PRIMARY TASK OF VETERAN CADRES IS TO SELECT YOUNG AND MIDDLE-AGED CADRES
(2 July 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 339-343

[Speech at a meeting of secretaries of provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 29 Jul 83]

[Text] My original intention was just to listen, but the question of selecting young and middle-aged cadres is a very important matter. Therefore, I want to say some words. We have always said that it is a strategic question which will decide our fate. The time is now pressing to solve this problem. If we do not solve this problem, we will have a disaster in the next 3 to 5 years. Foreigners said that this Sixth Plenary Session has resolved the problem of handing over and taking over peacefully, which is a major matter of the party Central Committee, and they praised us for having solved this question stably and smoothly. But if the replacement of cadres across the country is not resolved in the next 3 to 5 years, there will be chaos in our work. That is to say, by that time, the old will be no longer alive or will be no longer able to work while the new will not have the ability to take the work over or when the new come to their posts, there will be many oppositions. It seems that there is an atmosphere in our party in which a number of veteran cadres hold that those who protect themselves are good cadres. To speak bluntly, the question of whether to employ people according to their ability or according to relationship has not been resolved. Not all of them are affected by this question, but some veteran comrades still have to solve this question. We mentioned Comrade Liu Lanbo today. I suggest that we learn from him. He personally introduced a comrade who is younger than himself to become minister. But why is it that after the meeting you are asked to stay for another 2 days to discuss the two proposals made by Comrade Chen Yun about promoting and training young and middle-aged cadres and about the retirement of old cadres. It is because these two questions are urgent and important. Comrades in the Army may recall that at a meeting on political work in 1964, I suggested that in building the ranks of military cadres, we must see that they are composed of young men. (Explanatory note 119) (In his report to the meeting on Army political work on 11 January 1964, Deng Xiaoping made a "Report on the Current International and Internal Situations." In this report, he put forth the question of building the ranks of military cadres so that they are composed of young men. He pointed out that this question is nationwide and a matter of principle. He said that the cadres must often be injected with new blood and new successors and that the successors must be communists who are young and of higher political and ideological standard.) Seventeen to 18 years have elapsed since then. This problem was not pressing at that time but now it has really become a problem. I said at that meeting that the older ones might be more enlightened. Yet it was the early 1960's. The situation today is very much different from what it was. In short, we found that this problem is becoming more urgent and

pressing. That is why not long ago, the party central committee had the intention of setting up two new committees of the party central committee-- the advisory committee and Discipline Inspection Committee -- to absorb some veteran cadres. For the sake of the future, members of the party Central Committee are relatively younger. In order to solve the major problem of building the ranks of young cadres, it is imperative for veteran cadres to become enlightened and to take the lead in this work. Otherwise, this important work cannot be resolved. If veteran cadres do not take the lead, those who are in a position to select will not be active. And even if there is an order, it is hard to guarantee that they will select the right persons. Some comrades have considered some persons whom they support. We must guard against the backbone elements of the "gang of four" and those who engaged in beating, smashing, and looting who are good at bragging and flattering and who are flexible and good at doing things that are in their interest. Veteran comrades can be easily taken in by such persons. Therefore, it is imperative, first of all, for veteran cadres to take the lead, and they must be enlightened and must proceed from the interest of the whole.

Following the meeting on the work of the party Central Committee last December, Comrade Chen Yun again raised this question even more sharply. His views are very good and I agreed with them. I found that our measures are not bold enough. Comrade Chen Yun said that we must select not several hundred but tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres.

Tens of thousands represents an objective; the real figure should be hundreds of thousands. Some of the selected may not be good enough, but following tests, some may be removed from their posts. For example, we have now decided to select 50,000 cadres. But 3 to 5 or 7 to 8 years later, these 50,000 cadres will work in leading organs to succeed others; that is, they will work in provincial and municipal departments and ministries (or at the same level in big industrial and mining enterprises) and those with outstanding achievements may be appointed to the party Central Committee. They are now about 40 years old; 7 to 8 years from now, they will be 47 to 48 years old and they will no longer be young. If they are around 50 years old now, they will be approaching 60 7 to 8 years from now. I think only a few of all of us here are still relatively young. In general, we are about 60 years old and most are even older. And 7 to 8 years from now, we will be around 70 and more. We will be too old. Therefore, we must conscientiously and seriously discuss this problem.

Are there suitable persons? I think it is not difficult to find a hundred to hundreds of thousands of people. The question is whether we are determined and whether we are ready to carry out the work well of understanding the situation and finding suitable people. Is there any criterion? There are those who graduated from the universities in the 1960's (mainly in the 1960's) and if there were 100,000 graduates each year prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" from 1961 to 1966, the total will be 600,000. And with an addition of polytechnical school graduates, the total will be about 2 million. These graduates have more specialized knowledge. A number of reference materials showed that the majority of those who graduated in the 1960's prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" are quite good. Most of them are now about 40 years of age. When I visited the No 2 vehicle factory, I found that the deputy director of this factory graduated 1 to 2 years earlier than the "Great Cultural Revolution"; he is now 39 years old. Of course, some of the graduates in this period did not behave well during the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, most kept themselves away from this revolution. For example, the comrade I just mentioned disagreed with the "Great Cultural Revolution." He was persecuted in the beginning of the revolution. To be persecuted during the "Great Cultural Revolution" represented a political standard. Is not this man a talent? He is now a deputy director of a big factory. Why cannot we train him again, send him to study in party school or to another post to be tested? As long as we pay attention, it is not difficult for us to find people like him. It is generally felt that people like him are inexperienced or that they may be termed as "arrogant." I have doubts about the word "arrogant." In general, those who have zeal and ability are confident of themselves and have their own judgement. The more the people have their own views and judgement, the more confident they become of themselves. This is not a bad situation. This is because when a man who

is a little bit arrogant, is appointed to a proper post, he will become modest or else he can no longer stay in that post. I said that there are talented persons; they number not 50,000 but 150,000. Just now I mentioned that university and polytechnic graduates have specialized knowledge, but there are also a great number of people who have gained specialized knowledge through self-study. So, we have the targets, but the issue is that we do not try to find and select them. Comrade Chen Yun suggested that the Ministry of Organization set up a department that will be specialized in managing young and middle-aged cadres. It is an important matter.

The most important thing is that after we have put forth the suggestion to promote and select young and middle-aged cadres, this work must be done with a certain goal. I suggested that in this aspect we work out a 5-year plan; it is for you comrades to discuss it. But I think 4 years will be enough. That is to say, this plan will end in 1985. For cadres, I suggested that we work out two plans, a 5-year plan and a 15-year plan. For example, in the first 5 years, we will select 50,000 cadres and assign them to proper positions where they are to be tested.

In this 5-year period, leading members of our departments of the party Central Committee and other departments and the members of provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional departments are to be about 40 to 50 years old, and the proportion of those with their age around 40 will be gradually increased. In the second 5 years, we must also be able to say that the leading members of a certain grade (for example, of provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional and ministerial levels) must not exceed a certain age, with the exception of those with particular conditions. You comrades may study whether it is feasible. It is concrete work. There were once such regulations in the Army, and now it is marching in this direction. That is to say, those in regimental grade are about 30 years old, in divisional grade about 40 years old, and in army level about 50 years old. In the future, the cadre system in localities, such as the retirement system, must also be defined on the basis of age. Various countries in the world have their own retirement systems. For example, army officers in other countries usually retire at 60 but after retirement, they can still work in civilian organizations. Regarding civilian officials, for example, Japanese diplomats retire at 65 or even younger. I think it is also necessary for us to define age ceiling. We could not do so 5 years ago, but can we consider it now as a target for the second 5 years? Not only the ages but the quotas for cadres must also be limited. For example, will three ministers be enough for one ministry? As for professional departments, will it be necessary to have several leading cadres? It is a big reorganization. Our bureaucratism is closely related with this situation and it is because of this situation that a number of works cannot be done. At most, four deputy ministers will be enough for a ministry, let alone other departments. Why should there be so many deputy departmental ministers and deputy bureau directors? I think two will be enough. Our serious bureaucratism is closely related with overstaffed organizations. Of course, there will be a process of replacement in the first 5 years because there will be a transitional period for 5 to 10 years. The key issue is that in the first 5 years, we must select 50,000 cadres with their ages ranging from below 40 to below 50, and there should be certain proportions among cadres of different ages. Then we may consider how to form a rational cadre system and organizations, and this question must be resolved in the second 5 years. But the most important is the first 5 years, and you comrades will be responsible for the work in the first 5 years. How many of you will still be alive in the second 5 years? How many will still be able to work? It is hard to say. Those who are 65 years old now will be 70 in the next 5 years. Times flies so fast. Therefore, I fully agreed with Comrade Chen Yun. Therefore, we must discuss this question now. We cannot but be enlightened. I and Comrade Chen Yun had talks. Either I or Comrade Chen Yun will be very happy if we are asked to retire now. But of course, it is not the time yet. What are the most important things for us? Of course, we will be concerned with state policies and party principles but the most important thing is to select young and middle-aged cadres. The main task of the two of us is to solve this problem. I just hope that you comrades who are more than 60 years of age will also regard this work as your primary task. This matter is very important. That is all.

CSO: 4005/986

ON QUESTIONS ON IDEOLOGICAL FRONT (17 July 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 344-348

[Main points of a talk with leaders of Central Propaganda Department]

[Text] A while ago I mentioned to Comrade Hu Yaobang that I wanted to talk with the Propaganda Department on questions on the ideological front, especially the issue of literature. The obvious achievements of the party's leadership of the ideological and literary fronts must be acknowledged, nor must certain tendencies of oversimplification and arbitrariness found in its work be denied and overlooked. Nevertheless, what requires particular attention today, I feel, is the state of slackness and weakness--the fear to criticize the incorrect tendencies and the accusation of coming down with the big stick when criticizing. Today, it is not easy for us to launch criticisms, and self-criticisms are even harder. One of the party's three great styles is self-criticism, which is one of the main distinctions between us and other political parties. However, in terms of many people today, it is very difficult to accomplish.

Before the Sixth Plenary Session, the General Political Department brought up the issue of criticizing "Unrequited Love." Recently, I was very shocked by some material which I came across. A young poet made a wild statement in the Beijing Teachers University. Some students remarked that all the ideological-political work done by the party organization among the students was wiped out by his words. The school party committee gave attention to the matter but took no measure. It was a woman student who wrote a letter to the school party committee to criticize the weak and helpless phenomenon on our ideological front. There was also a convener of the federation of literature preparatory group in Wulumuqi city who freely aired his views a while back, and many of his words, in the degree of inaccuracy, far surpassed the antisocialist comments of 1957. There were many similar instances. In short, it was the desire to depart from the socialist track, break away from the party's leadership and promote bourgeois liberalism. Let us recall our historical experiences: The 1957 antirightist movement was magnified, and the magnification was wrong, but there was indeed the necessity to combat rightism at the time. We all remember the murderous attitude of some of the rightists, and today some people have that attitude. We will not launch any antirightist movement, but we absolutely must not refrain from solemnly criticizing the various

incorrect tendencies. Not just in the field of literature and art, but similar problems are also found in other fields. Some people follow an incorrect ideological line, sing a different tune from the party and have an unhealthy style, yet there are those who admire them and enthusiastically publish their articles. It is incorrect. Some party members ignore the party spirit and follow factionalism. In regard to those people, we absolutely must not permit them to spread their influence, even less to serve as leaders. Some people today consider themselves heroes. When left alone, they do not amount to much. Once criticized, they become more popular. It is an abnormal phenomenon and must be earnestly corrected. Naturally, the phenomenon has its social historical reasons, mainly the aftereffect of the 10-year turmoil, but also the corruption of the bourgeois ideology coming from the outside. The conditions of the various kinds of people must be concretely analyzed. Nevertheless, the main problem today is not the presence of such phenomena, but our failure to take forceful measures and the state of slackness and weakness. Naturally, in handling the problems emerging today, we must learn the lessons of the past and refrain from launching movements. In regard to the people making mistakes, we must distinguish the nature and degree of their mistakes and understand and handle them appropriately. We must give attention to the method of criticism, criticize properly, and refrain from mass attacks and movements. However, ideological work and criticism and self-criticism are required. The weapon of criticism must not be laid aside. After the young poet made his statement at the Beijing Teachers University, some students said that, if it continued, the nation would perish. He took an opposite standpoint from ours. I saw "The Sun and Man," a film based on the play "Unrequited Love." Regardless of the author's motive, it gives one such an impression: The CPC is not good; the socialist system is not good. Thus the author vilifies the socialist system. Where is his party spirit? Some people say that the artistic level of the film is fairly high, but it is for this very reason that it is even more harmful. There is actually a similarity between this work and the comments of those so-called "democrats."

The core of the four basic principles is the leadership of the CPC. Without the party's leadership, one can be sure of chaos and splits. The historical facts have proved this point. Chiang Kai-shek never did unify China. The core of bourgeois liberalism is resistance to the party's leadership, yet without the party's leadership, there can be no socialist system. In handling these issues, we must not again follow the old path and launch political movements, but we must properly wield the weapon of criticism.

It was proper for JIEFANGJUN BAO to criticize "Unrequited Love." We must first affirm the propriety of criticizing it. The defect was that the reasoning of the critical articles was not satisfactory enough, and some of the methods and formulations were not circumspect enough. WENYI BAO should come up with some high-quality articles criticizing "Unrequited Love" and other related issues. We cannot say that the criticisms were wrong just because the methods were not satisfactory enough.

The dissatisfaction felt by some young people over certain conditions in society is neither surprising nor alarming, but we must render them guidance, for otherwise we will do them harm. The many good works written by young

writers in recent years are a good phenomenon. Nevertheless, we must admit that an undesirable tendency indeed exists among some young and middle aged writers, which influences a group of young readers and audiences. The old writers upholding the socialist standpoint have the responsibility to unite as one and properly lead the new generation, for otherwise the whole generation will go astray. If not properly handled, the contradiction will aggravate and lead to grave consequences. In short, we must uphold the party's leadership and the socialist system. Both the party's leadership and the socialist system need to be improved, but we must not promote bourgeois liberalism and anarchism. Just think: If "The Sun and Man" is shown in public, what kind of influence will it create? Some people say that not loving socialism is equivalent to not loving the country. Is the fatherland something abstract? If we do not love the socialist new China led by the CPC, what do we love? We cannot ask all our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, Taiwan and overseas to support socialism, but at least they should not oppose the socialist new China, for otherwise how can it be called love for the fatherland? As for the citizens, the young people, of the PRC, our standard naturally is higher. In terms of the writers, artists and ideological and theoretical workers among our party members, the first requirement is observance of party discipline, yet many problems today are found in our party. If the party fails to enforce discipline on its members, how can it lead the masses? Our policy of a hundred flowers blooming and a hundred schools of thought contending and our principle of correctly handling the contradictions among the people will not change. The "leftwing" tendency still found in our ideological and cultural guidance work must also be firmly rectified and prevented. Nevertheless, it does not indicate in the slightest that we can do without criticism and self-criticism. Starting from the desire for unity and reaching a new unity by means of criticism and self-criticism constitute the main method in the correct handling of the contradictions among the people. Upholding the "double-hundred" policy is inseparable from criticism and self-criticism. The democratic and reasonable attitude in criticizing is necessary, but criticism must never be regarded as coming down with the big stick. This issue must be clarified, as it concerns the cultivation of the next generation. The works and viewpoints calling for criticism mentioned by me a while back are merely some examples, and there are other similar writings and other bourgeois liberal tendencies in the field of theory which I will not enumerate one by one. Why do some people still support "Unrequited Love" and the statement of the young poet? The issue calls for deep thought by our comrades on the ideological front.

After upholding the four basic principles was proposed. our ideological circles have become a little more sober. With the firm measures to ban illegal organizations and illegal publications on top thereof, the situation has improved. However, we must still maintain vigilance. Today, some people raise the banner in support of Comrade Hua Guofeng and want to knock this and that one down. We must take heed. It indicates the complexity of the current struggle situation and impels us to enhance our vigilance.

In regard to "Unrequited Love," it is not necessary for JIEFANGJUN BAO to continue its criticisms. WENYI BAO must produce high-quality articles to criticize it. You will write the articles and publish them in WENYI BAO, to be printed in RENMIN RIBAO.

In short, our entire party, entire army and all nationalities in the country must, under the firm leadership of the party Central Committee and on the foundation of the "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues Since the Founding of the Nation" passed at the party's Sixth Plenary Session, unite as one, march in step and work assiduously, in order to win new victories on our ideological, literary and other fronts.

6080
CSO: 4005/12

BUILD A POWERFUL, MODERN AND REGULAR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (19 September 1981)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 349-350

[Speech at a review of troops participating in military exercises in North China. This speech was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 22 Jul 83]

[Text] Fellow commanders, fighters and comrades: You have triumphantly accomplished your military exercise tasks. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, I wish to convey my warm congratulations and cordial regards to you.

The present exercise has tested the achievements of modernization and regularization building of our troops and has quite successfully embodied the characteristics of modern warfare. You have gained experience in various armed services fighting in coordination under modern conditions and have enhanced military and political quality, and the level of actual combat of the troops. This will be a vigorous impetus for the building, war preparedness, and training of the whole Army. You have attained the anticipated results in the military exercise and have been successful. This fully shows that the People's Army created by our party and armed with Mao Zedong Thought has good military and political quality, find fighting style and strict organizational discipline, and combat effectiveness. We fully believe that with such a fine Army and the support of the broad masses, we will certainly be able to defeat any aggressor.

Our country is now at an important period in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. Due to the effective implementation of the party's correct line, principles, and policies, there is further political stability and unity in the whole party, army, and nation, and the situation at all fronts is getting more and more favorable. Anti-hegemonism struggles are forging ahead in the international arena and the hegomonists are being further isolated. However, we must be aware that under the sharp contention between the superpowers and the acceleration of the soviet hegemonist in its global strategic plan, world peace and China's security will be seriously menanced. Therefore, we must be highly vigilant.

Our Army is the firm pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship and it shoulders the glorious mission of defending the socialist motherland and the modernization program. Therefore, it is imperative to build our Army into a powerful, modern, and regular revolutionary Army.

We must adhere to the four cardinal principles, strengthen political and ideological building, and strive to enable our troops to become a fine example in carrying out the party's line, principles, and policies.

We must, on the basis of constantly developing the national economy, improve our weaponry, and speed up the modernization of our national defense.

We must establish close ties between the Army and the government and the Army and people, strengthen unity within the Army, step up militia building, and inherit and carry forward the glorious tradition of the People's Army.

We must enhance military and political training, further improve the military and political quality of our troops, and strive to raise the ability of various armed services in fighting in coordination under modern conditions.

We must be modest and prudent, guard ourselves against arrogance and rashness, carry out the activities of "four haves, three stresses, and two fearlessnesses," and enhance the fostering of our style, so that our troops will have strict organizational discipline. (In February 1981, according to a call by the CPC Central Committee on building socialist spiritual civilization and the characteristics of the Army, the PLA General Political Department put forward the slogan of "four haves, three stresses and two fearlessnesses" in the "Directives for Strengthening Youth Work in the Army." The slogan is: "Have ideals, morality, knowledge, and physical health; stress a soldier's appearance and bearing, courtesy, and discipline; and fear neither hardship nor sacrifice." In January 1983, in light of the relative wording in the documents of the 12th CPC Congress on building socialist spiritual civilization, the slogan was changed into "have ideals, morality, better education, and discipline; stress a soldier's appearance and bearing, courtesy, and hygiene; and fear neither hardship nor sacrifice.")

We must, in a down-to-earth manner, be prepared for anti-aggressive wars and make new contributions to the defending of world peace and the security of our territory, to the early return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to realizing the sacred great cause of reunification.

CSO: 4005/986

RESOLUTELY STRIKE AT CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES IN ECONOMIC SPHERE (10 April 1982)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 357-359

[Speech at a Meeting of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau to Discuss the Decision of the Central Committee and State Council on Struggle Against Criminal Activities in Economic Sphere. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 27 Jul 83]

[Text] I see that it is an important document. It is about cracking down on economic criminal activities and therefore in reality we must consider this matter even more profoundly.

What is the situation now? It is only less than 2 years since we implemented the policy of opening to the outside world and activating the domestic economy, and yet quite a number of cadres have already been corrupted. At present it is not a small number of people who are involved in criminal economic activities but a large number. These criminal activities are much more serious than the past movement against the "three evils" (note 121) and the movement against the "five evils." (note 122) At that time, the persons who embezzled more than 1,000 yuan were called "small tigers" and those who embezzled more than 10,000 yuan were called "big tigers." But now what we capture are usually very "big tigers" and it has been reported that a man who was treated leniently embezzled more than 6,000 yuan and another one was jailed for 15 years for embezzling as much as 50,000-60,000 yuan. There are now many big cases with serious consequences. Those who corrupted or infringed upon state interests are involved with as much as more than 10,000 yuan. Some committed crimes on their own and others did so in groups. Reference materials collected by the Discipline Inspection Commission of the party Central Committee showed that in the past 1 to 2 years alone, a great amount of silver and gold was smuggled to Hong Kong, and this case alone has caused enormous losses to state foreign exchange. Much money has been pocketed by individuals and groups. We must understand the seriousness of this situation. The evil wind has been blowing heavily. If our party does not pay attention to this situation or does not take measures to check such activities, then a problem no doubt will occur that may "change the face" of the party and state. This is not an exaggeration.

We must more seriously and profoundly understand the struggle against criminal activities in the economic sphere. Our views are yet to be unified on this problem. Some comrades are soft hearted toward such cases and reluctant to take measures. Why do they not want to deal with such matters? It is because they do not really understand the seriousness of such criminal activities. Consequently they only regard such cases as ordinary problems. Today is not the first time we have mentioned this problem; we have been mentioning it for 2 years, and yet some comrades are still reluctant to deal with such cases. Now we will not only issue this document but will also take resolute measures. In April and May, each province must handle several serious cases. This move is different from the antirightists campaign, in which it was easy to make mistakes and difficult to differentiate between rightists and "leftists." But stealing state property and accepting bribes are clearly dealing in cash and there is no problem in differentiation. Now in order to check such criminal activities, we must take quick measures, strictly handle the cases, and give heavy punishment. Now it can be seen that it will not do to handle such cases too strictly. But the criminals with very serious cases must be seriously punished by law. We cannot check such activities without harsh measures. We must resolutely deal with such activities and measures must be taken soon. Such cases in general must be handled strictly, and can in no way be treated too lightly.

Another point is that the moves taken against criminal activities in the economic sphere cannot be considered a movement. But we must say that it is a protracted and regular struggle. I think this struggle at least will be carried out until the realization of the modernization program. If this struggle goes on until the end of this century, there will still be 18 years to go and there will be struggle every day during this period. I think there are four aspects and four kinds of work and struggles that will follow the whole development of the socialist modernization program. These four minds of work may be called the four necessary guarantees in our effort to follow the socialist road. They are: first, system reform; second, the building of socialist spiritual civilization; third, strike at criminal activities in the economic sphere; and four, rectify the party work style and party organizations, including persistence in and improvement of party leadership. The first three kinds of work have been put on the agenda while the latter has not. But the first three are also related to the party work style. Is it not party rectification when the party members with serious problems are expelled from the party or dismissed from office? Those who engaged in corruption, with large sums of money involved, will also be expelled from the party even if they have confessed and are leniently handled. If such persons are in the army, they must be discharged. No matter how lenient the treatment is, the persons concerned must in no way be permitted to retain their party membership or military status, let alone be promoted. Otherwise it is not fair. They must be expelled from the party, discharged from the army, and dismissed from office. The struggle of striking at criminal activities in the economic sphere represents a guarantee for us in our effort to persist in the socialist road and to realize the modernization program. It is a regular struggle and work. Otherwise, how can we persist in the socialist road? If we do not launch this struggle, our modernization program

and the policy of opening the door to the outside world and activating the domestic economy will no doubt fail. Therefore, we must use our two hands. One hand is to persist in the policy of opening the door to the outside world and activating the domestic economy and the other hand is to resolutely crack down on criminal activities in the economic sphere. If we do not strike at such criminal activities, not only our open-door policy will fail but also our policy of activating the domestic economy. If we have taken measures to strike at economic criminal activities, our open-door policy and the policy of activating the domestic economy will be carried out along a correct direction. Of course, there will be other problems and mistakes in other aspects, but they will not be so serious. Striking at economic criminal activities is not limited to this year alone; it is just the beginning. There must be a momentum in the beginning because in this way we at least will be able to save some persons, including those who surrender on their own. If there is no momentum and if we are slow in this work and hesitate to take measures, more persons, including some veteran cadres, will become degenerate.

Another word about reorganizing the ranks of party members. We must grasp the event that recently happened in Feixiang. (note 123) I hope the party Secretariat will discuss this event and take it as an example for party rectification. The prefectural party committee of the above-mentioned prefecture must be dissolved and reorganized. Other places must also pay attention to this case.

Explanatory notes:

(121) The movement against the three evils was directed against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy with the party, government, army and mass organizations.

(122) The movement against the "five evils" was directed against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information, as practiced by owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises.

(123) In January 1982, some persons with serious factionalist leanings and those with ambitious ideas in Feixiang Prefecture, Hebei Province, collaborated. They took advantage of the move taken by the prefectural party congress in selecting the prefectural party leading group, carried out a series of secret activities, used the methods that were practiced during the "Great Cultural Revolution," forced down the prefectural party committee secretary who followed the line of the party Central Committee, and selected a person with factionalist leanings for a leading position. This event was seriously handled by the Hebei provincial party committee under the instruction of the party Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/21

CHINA'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE IN ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION (6 May 1982)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 360-362

[Talk with Samuel Kanyon Doe, head of state of Liberia]

[Text] China has not rendered much support to its friends of the Third World. It is because, though its land is vast, it is very poor and still has many difficulties. Since the founding of the nation, we made some accomplishments, basically solving the problem of food and clothing and attaining self-sufficiency in grain. It is a great thing; the problem was long left unsolved in the old China. In industry, we have built a fairly good foundation. Though still very backward, it is much better than before. We are now concentrating on construction and striving for a relatively fast economic development. By then, we will be able to render more support to our friends in the Third World. Today, our national income per capita is only between $250 and $260, and yours is not high either. However, China has a large population. If our national income per capita increases by $100, the total national income must increase $100 billion. A large population has its drawbacks. Many problems are not easily solved. A small country has its advantages, and a small population also has its advantages. Your population is small and your resources abundant; therefore, you can handle your affairs more easily than us.

Today, China follows the economic open-door policy and seeks to utilize international capital and advanced technology for our economic development. The policy has begun to show results. Nevertheless, it is not easy to acquire capital and advanced technology from the developed countries. Some people still retain the old colonialist ideas, attempting to grip the throats of the poor countries and block their development. Therefore, while we follow the open-door policy, we uphold the principle of self-reliance consistently advocated by Mao Zedong since the founding of the nation. We must seek external aid on the foundation of self-reliance and rely mainly on our own arduous struggle.

You wish to know China's experience, and the first item of its experience is self-reliance. Many things were accomplished by relying on ourselves. The Soviet Union helped some during the Stalin period. After coming to office, Khrushchev took a hostile attitude toward us, not only giving us no help, but massing a million troops along the Sino-Soviet border to threaten us. For a

long time, the United States was also hostile to us, and it only changed somewhat after 1972. From the mid-fifties to the seventies, about 20 plus years during the 32 years since the founding of our nation, we were completely or basically without external aid, and we mainly relied on ourselves. There was an advantage to be without external aid, for it forced us to exert ourselves and strive. Under this kind of spiritual propulsion, we succeeded in making atom bombs, hydrogen bombs and guided missiles, we launched satellites, etc. Therefore, the foremost experience we wish to tell our friends in the Third World is self-reliance. Naturally, it does not mean that we will not seek external aid; it means that we place self-reliance first. Thus, we can raise the spirit of the whole nation to work hard and make the country strong, unite the people, and overcome relatively easily the various difficulties confronting us.

The next experience is to give serious attention to agriculture. No matter what happens in the world, as long as the people have a full stomach, everything can be easily handled.

In developing industry, the scale should not be too big; medium and small projects are advisable. The conditions of your country are different from ours. As China is vast and its population large, it is impossible for us not to have some large key industries. According to our experience, the pace should not be too fast. We were too hasty in the past and made some mistakes, which we call "leftwing" mistakes. Thus, the rate of our economic development was retarded. To develop economy, we must today still follow the principle of relying on ourselves and acting according to our capabilities. China is in the course of formulating the Sixth 5-Year Plan, and we have a conception of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Our economic development in the next decade will not be very fast, because we have too many problems left down from the past and distortions of all kinds. In the next 5 to 10 years, the rate of growth of our economy will only be 4 percent annually; 5 percent will be amazing. We hope that, in the 10 years thereafter, i.e., the last decade of the century, the rate of growth will be faster.

The above is merely a brief introduction of China's experience in economic construction in the past 30 years.

6080
CSO: 4005/11

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE (4 July 1982)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 363-367

[This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 27 Jul 83]

[Text] The problems of the army have been properly discussed at this meeting. I agree with the handling of these problems. Although the handling of some of the problems is not completely satisfactory, this will just have to do at present.

Comrade Yang Shangkun has already talked about the problems of system reform, and I do not intend to repeat them. I will only talk about one point, and that is, the plane to which system reform must be raised. Recently, I have made two speeches about the four guarantees for adhering to the socialist system and making a success of modernization. First is system reform, and the reform of the organizational structure carried out at present. Second is the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This will enable our people of various nationalities to become discipline-observing people with ideals, ethics, and culture. Of course there are also "fostering five traditional standards and four beauties" (note 125) and what the army called "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots" (note 118). They are both the same spirit, and both correct. The army has its own distinguishing features. I have discussed why we must put the stress on observing discipline with comrades of the theoretical circles. They approve of the making of this demand. It will never do to be without discipline. To dedicate ourselves heart and soul to the same cause with one heart and one mind, it will not do to be without discipline. In the revolution of the past, what we relied on was discipline, and moreover, it was conscious discipline. After the founding of the CPC, the best common practice was precisely this. Third is resolutely cracking down on criminal activities in the economic sphere, or cracking down on economic offenders. Fourth is party building and rectifying the party's organization and style. The so-called four guarantees refer to these four things. As long as we have not accomplished the four modernizations, every step we take must be accompanied by these four guarantees. For instance, why must we call for cracking down on economic criminal activities? Because in carrying out socialist modernization it is necessary to practice the policy of promoting economic exchanges with

foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy. In promoting economic exchanges with foreign countries, the moribund things of capitalism will worm their way in. In enlivening the domestic economy, there is also the question of the extent of this action. We must adhere to this method of promoting economic exchanges with foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy. However, for the sake of ensuring that this policy will, in the course of implementation, be really able to benefit the four modernizations and not become separated from the socialist orientation, it is necessary at the same time to also have another method, and this is cracking down on economic criminal activities. Without this method there will be no restrictions. At present we have already seen quite a few problems. Economic crimes are very serious, and many cases are also not properly dealt with. There are serious criminal activities and offenders not only in the economic sphere but also in the political and cultural spheres. In short, these matters of the four guarantees cannot be completed all at once, and must be persistently carried on. We are not starting a campaign, but, as a result of the process of the four modernizations, we must adhere to the four guarantees and must not put them aside even for a single day. We must transform them into a kind of regular work and struggle. Not all the problems reflected in these matters are class struggle, but there is class struggle.

In the reform of the organizational structure, we have taken the first step and made a start. The party and the government have started off first, and the army is a bit behind. On the whole, this has been carried out rather smoothly. After this meeting of the army, if the thinking and understanding of the comrades present are unified and if everybody agrees, this will be easy to handle.

Judging from the situation at present, probably the army will still be faster when the first objective has been accomplished. For a distinguishing feature of the army is that it will act swiftly once it goes into action. At present, the reform of all organizational structures of the party, government, and army is called the first step. Based on the demands of system reform, this includes having consummate rules and regulations, work methods, and leadership methods. This cannot be accomplished all at once. We have to set up many rules and regulations. Take the responsibility system, for instance. What responsibility should be turned over to which department or which person must be clearly defined. The State Council has merged so many ministries. This would be out of the question if we acted in accordance with the old methods. The number of vice premiers has been reduced to two. This means that as a result of the reform of the organizational structure, we must strengthen the work of ministries and commissions, strengthen the responsibility and ability of the ministries and commissions in dealing with problems, and strengthen the responsibility and working ability of departments and bureaus in the ministries. Correspondingly, we must also strengthen the responsibility of factories, mines, enterprises, and some of the corporations. Without reform, this is out of the question.

The army also has this problem. Evidently it will not do if the Military Commission and various general departments are not simplified in the future. The time is still not ripe at present to say how they are to be simplified. The present system, method of leadership, and institutional system of the army

are not so good, and very elaborate. There are Military Commission, Standing Committee, and office meetings, and after that the several general departments. Genuinely speaking, this means strengthening the work responsibility of the General Staff Department, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department, and it will do to have a small coordinating apparatus on the top. If leadership is too manifold and diverse, not only those below will find work difficult to handle, but we will also find it troublesome underscoring the important points when dealing with problems. When fighting battles in the past, there were only just a few people responsible for leading a field army, an army corps, an army, or a division. In some divisions, the division commander also served concurrently as the political commissar, and the division was quite well run with the help of a handful of deputy commissars. The First Field Army and the Third Field Army both had one person as commanding officer and political commissar, General Peng, and General Chen. All the other field armies had two. It was most convenient! Now we have a big group of people. The reform of the organizational structure can be considered as the first step, and we must still continue to do this in the future. We must carry out the work one by one when the time is ripe, and if the time is not ripe we would rather go more slowly. The army is a step behind in this reform of the organizational structure, but this is necessary. It will become more mature after the exchange of views, the ideas of everybody will be more unified, and problems will be more easily solved.

Comrade Shangkun has talked about the four-point content of the system reform in the army. Today I will emphasize two points. One is improving work efficiency. Improving the combat effectiveness of the army also has the problem of improving work efficiency. Another point is, a very important content of system reform is that it must contribute to the selection of qualified people. The overstaffing of the past basically cannot foster or select qualified people. The army has for many years suggested making the cadres ypunger in average age, and called for selecting the more outstanding and younger cadres, and moving them faster up the ladder. However, we should say that this matter has not been properly carried out in recent years. If this problem is not solved, we will be unable to hand over the accounts to these people.

I see that among all present, is there anyone under 60 years of age? If this problem is put off for a year, the debt we owe will be greater. If we put it off for 5 years, what is to be done? Making the cadres younger in average age should be regarded as a key objective of system reform. This applies to the army and the localities as well as to the party, the government, and the army. Select some politically good and also younger cadres and step-by-step promote them. The discovery of qualified people is not easy. The pattern in the minds of some of our elderly comrades in general is still confined to people of our age group. Whenever the cadre question is brought up, it still falls within this circle. Take our army for example: It is not easy even for the "three-eight style" party members to come up. There is indeed a tradition in the army, and there are still such problems as the "old boss." A large number of elderly Red armymen, myself included, are still sitting on the top. It will not do if this question is not solved. Comrade Nei Rongzhen has suggested that the steps must [be] safe and appropriate, and I agree with him.

He has a good idea, and this is integration. It will not do for the elderly cadres to wash their hands of everything at once. The elderly must integrate with the middle-aged and young. Taking the army, as a whole, the cadres below the regimental level are still relatively young, but those above the division level are not young. This meeting has prepared a "service regulations for officers" for distribution among everybody, and views are solicited. Everybody must carefully study it. This must be carried out, and it will not do if this is not carried out.

There are qualified people, but the problem is, we normally have too little contact with the lower level, and there are still some habitual ideas, therefore it is not easy to find them. The year before last, I went with Comrade Chen Pixian to the No 2 automobile plant, and there was a deputy plant director who conducted our tour. I discovered that this person was not bad. Why do I say that he was not bad? As the technical hardcore of such a big automobile plant, he was competent at his job. This takes ability. He was 38 at that time, and is now 40 years old. The more important point is that he had been attacked during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and had opposed beating, smashing, and looting. His expression since then has all along been good, including the handling of such problems as the so-called "opposing the right deviation wind to reverse the verdict." (note 24) This kind of qualified person is particularly gratifying. There are people like this, and moreover they are easy to distinguish. In selecting people, political condition comes first. Our army has this problem. Comrade Shangkun has talked about it, and that is, we should clearly see that the ideological condition and political concept of some of the regimental cadres and some of the brigade and company cadres are poor. Correspondingly, we should also distinguish those who are good. I had made the suggestion to the leading comrades of the Military Commission and various general departments, and I am now inviting all the "dukes and princes" to each select 10 people and draw up a namelist. Just the more than 60 persons present will be able to produce a namelist of nearly 1,000 people. The criterion of the political condition is that they must not be people who got their start by following the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing cliques in making rebellion, people with serious factional ideas, or the "three kinds of people" of the smash-and-grab elements. We should say that most of the "leisure groups" in the "Great Cultural Revolution" are still comparatively good. These people should be properly trained and brought up. We should move them up faster step-by-step and flight by flight.

In short, apart from opposing bureaucracy and eliminating such defects as overlapping structures, overstaffing, and low work efficiency, the important thing in system reform is selecting qualified people. We must enable the good and younger cadres to move up sooner so that they can take over. We must put this matter on our daily agenda. We have talked about this for several years. Everybody unanimously considers it an important matter, but carrying it out is not so easy. If the question of selecting qualified people is not solved, we will be unable to hand over to the next shift, and history will write about us. We have been rather late in doing many things, and we can now no longer delay. These are my views on the question of system reform.

Explanatory notes:

(125) On 25 February 1981, in response to the call of the CPC Central Committee on strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization, nine units, including the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the CYL Central Committee, and the All-China Women's Federation in a joint statement on "proposals on the development of courtesy and civility activity" called for developing a "fostering five traditional standards and four beauties" activity. The "five traditional standards and four beauties" are: decorum, courtesy, public health, discipline and morals, and beauty of the mind, language, behavior, and environment.

(118) In February 1981, in accordance with the call issued by the CPC Central Committee on building socialist spiritual civilization, and in light of the characteristics of the army, the PLA General Political Department, in its "directive on strengthening youth work," put forth the slogan of "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots"; that is, "we should have ideals, morals, knowledge and physical strength; and we should stress required standards for the appearance and bearing of the army, and courtesy and discipline; and we should not be afraid of hardship and sacrifice." In January 1983, in accordance with the views concerning the building of socialist spiritual civilization contained in the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, the slogan of "four haves, three stresses and two fear nots" was changed to "we should have ideals, morals, and culture; we should stress required standards for appearance and bearing of the army, and courtesy and hygiene; and we should not be afraid of hardship and sacrifice."

(24) This is a criticism aimed at the mistake of the "two whatevers" committed by Hua Guofeng, chairman of the CPC Central Committee at that time, at a working conference of the CPC Central Committee in March 1977. In 1975, supported by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping took over the work of the party's central authorities, and began to rectify work in various fields. As a result of his efforts, the domestic situation was greatly improved. However, Mao Zedong could not tolerate Deng Xiaoping's operation of systematically rectifying the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." At the end of that year, Mao Zedong launched the so-called movement of "criticizing Deng and striking back at the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts." Zhou Enlai passed away in January 1976. Around the Qingming Festival (4 April), in Beijing and in many other cities, the mass movement broke out in memory of the late Zhou Enlai, opposing the "gang of four," and disagreeing with the criticism against Deng Xiaoping. The "gang of four" made every effort to suppress the revolutionary activities of the masses. On 5 April, the broad masses of people protested against the suppression in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. At that time, the Political Bureau and Mao Zedong made a wrong judgment of the incident taking place in Tiananmen Square, stating that the incident was a counterrevolutionary event, and dismissing Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the party. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the broad masses of people inside and outside the party strongly called for the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the Tiananmen incident.

In March 1977, Hua Guofeng, in a speech at the working conference of the CPC Central Committee, upheld the policy of "two whatevers," and held that "criticizing Deng and striking back at the wind of right reversal of verdicts was decided by the great leader Mao Zedong, and the criticism was necessary." He held that "there was indeed a handful of counterrevolutionaries," and they "created the counterrevolutionary incident in Tiananmen Square." However, he had no alternative but to say that "Deng Xiaoping would be allowed to return to work at an appropriate opportunity," and that "the masses in going to Tiananmen Square during the Qingming Festival to mourn for Premier Zhou was quite reasonable." Here, Deng Xiaoping pointed out the contradiction in Hua Guofeng's speech and criticized the mistake of the "two whatevers." In July 1977, the 3d Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee passed a resolution restoring Deng Xiaoping to all his posts inside the party. In December 1978, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee criticized the mistake of the "two whatevers," and passed a resolution revoking the erroneous document issued by the CPC Central Committee regarding the movement of "striking back at the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts" and the Tiananmen Square incident, and solemnly announced the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping and the Tiananmen incident.

CSO: 4005/21

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADVISORY COMMISSIONS IS AN INTERIM MEASURE TOWARD ABOLITION OF LIFELONG TENURE FOR LEADING CADRES (30 July 1982)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 368-369

[Excerpt of a speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 22 Jul 83]

[Text] I have nothing special to say. Now, we are prepared to submit the two documents (referring to the report of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the 12th CPC National Congress and the draft of the revised CPC Constitution--note) to the next plenary session to the Central Committee for deliberation. Great efforts have been made to draw up these two documents, and I think that they are well-considered. Of course, some propositions still need further deliberation.

For example, as Comrade Hu Qiaomu has pointed out, it is impossible to put into effect the stipulation in Article 18 of the party Constitution which requires that major documents of a party national congress be circulated throughout the party for deliberation at least 1 month before the congress; there are still some propositions which are unrealistic and cannot be put into effect, such as that deputies should be notified 3 months before a party national congress is held. In short, those that are unrealistic and irrealizable should not be written down. Things need not be so elaborately prescribed. In general, anyhow, the two documents are already quite well-considered.

Some problems have not been thoroughly solved in this new party Constitution. For example, the issue of lifelong tenure for leading cadres, though touched upon, has not yet been thoroughly solved; nor has the issue of cadres' retirement been thoroughly solved yet. The establishment of advisory commissions is only an interim measure. In our party, cadres are generally getting too old, but elderly comrades are our backbone and they should not be handled in a reckless way. It is inadvisable to handle the retirement of elderly cadres in a reckless way. Moreover, for many years, we have promoted too few young and middle-aged cadres to key leading posts, and our attention has not yet been properly directed to this point. We must admit that there indeed exist numerous obstacles. Some of these obstacles derive from some people's deliberate

resistance, and others are not wittingly set. Therefore, we need to have an advisory commission during the transition. It should be said that the establishment of advisory commissions is an interim measure for changing the lifelong tenure system for our leading cadres to a retirement system. By adopting this expedient measure, we can facilitate this change. Perhaps, after the next three national congresses, there will be no need for the advisory commission. If the abolition of the advisory commission can be realized through two national congresses, that means it will take 10 years to realize this. Then, how many of us here will still be alive? After experiencing two more tenures of the Central Committee, those who are now 60 years old will be 70, those who are now 70 will be 80, and those who are now 80 will be 90. Therefore, the establishment of advisory commissions is a necessary interim measure. This unprecedented form we have chosen conforms to the reality of our party. However, during the transition period, we must earnestly rejuvenate the ranks of our cadres and actively create conditions for establishing a retirement system and for abolishing the lifelong tenure system for leading cadres. There is no lack of young and middle-aged cadres. The problem is that in the past, our elderly comrades did not attach importance to them and did not select successors among them; instead, they were used to turning about in the old circle. That is why this issue could not be solved for a long time. This problem in the army seems more serious and is more difficult to solve there. At present, things in civilian administrations are getting better. The solution to this problem is related to the prospects of the building of the army. The results of the structural reform in both the State Council and the CPC central organs are satisfactory, but those in the army are still quite poor. If we really want to seek qualified personnel, we can eventually find suitable persons. Of course, there needs to be a transition period, and methods should be worked out in this period. If our generation cannot solve this problem, we will owe debts to future generations. A group was set up recently to study the possibility of absorbing into the new Central Committee more young and middle-aged cadres. After repeated studies, we now maintain the same average age as that of the last committee when it had just come to power. In the past, we were young. During the Eighth National Congress, Comrade Chen Yun and I were both 52 years old, and then the average age of the Central Committee is older than that during the 9th, 10th, and 11th National Congresses. Of course, things during the "Cultural Revolution" were abnormal, and people who came to power by means of rebellion were mostly young. Now our interim measure is appropriate, and we must earnestly solve this problem during the transition, say, of 10 years, or 2 tenures of the party Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/21

THE OPENING SPEECH AT THE 12TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (1 September 1982)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese 1 Jul 83 pp 370-373

[This article was previously published in CHINA REPORT: Red Flag, No 18, 16 Sep 82]

[Text] Comrades, I now declare the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China open.

There are three main items on the agenda of our congress: (1) consideration of the report of the 11th Central Committee and decision on the party's program for striving to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization; (2) consideration and adoption of the new constitution of the Communist Party of China; and (3) election of a new Central Committee, a Central Advisory Commission and a new Central Commission for Discipline Inspection in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution.

With the accomplishment of the tasks of this congress, our party will have a more clear-cut guiding ideology for socialist modernization, the party will be strengthened in a way more suited to the needs of the new historical period, and in the highest leading organs of the party there will be cooperation of old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old, thus making these organs a more vigorous command headquarters.

A review of the party's history will show this congress to be a more important meeting since the Seventh National Congress.

The seventh congress held in 1945 under the chairmanship of Comrade Mao Zedong was the most important one in the period of democratic revolution since the founding of our party. It summed up the historical experience gained in the tortuous development of China's democratic revolution in the previous 20 years and more, formulated a correct program and correct tactics and overcame the erroneous ideas within the party so that unity in understanding based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought was attained. As a result the party became more united than ever before. The seventh congress laid the foundation for the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution.

The eighth congress of the party held in 1956 analyzed the situation following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and put forth the task of all-round socialist construction. The line of the eighth congress was correct. However, because the party was not adequately prepared ideologically for all-round socialist construction at that time, in practice that line and many correct opinions put forward at that congress were not adhered to. After the eighth congress, we suffered serious setbacks, though we also achieved many successes in socialist construction.

The present congress is being held in circumstances vastly different from those at the time of the eighth congress. Just as the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our democratic revolution before the seventh congress taught the whole party how to grasp the laws governing that revolution in China, so the 20-odd years of tortuous development of our socialist revolution and construction after the eighth congress taught the whole party profound lessons. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee (held in December 1978), our party has restored its correct policies in the economic, political, cultural and other fields of work and adopted a series of new and correct policies after studying the new situation and new experience. By comparison our party has, since the eighth congress, gained a much deeper understanding of the laws governing China's socialist construction, acquired much more experience and become much more conscious and determined in carrying through our correct principles. We have every reason to believe that the correct program to be formulated at this congress will create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and bring prosperity to our party, our socialist cause, our country and all our nationalities.

In our modernization program, we must proceed from China's realities. Both in our revolution and construction, we should learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience.

China's affairs should be run in our own way and by our own efforts. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand. While we Chinese people value our friendship and cooperation with other countries and people, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests. We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. At the same time, we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country. We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honor to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honor of our socialist motherland.

The 1980's will be an important decade in the historical development of our party and state. To intensify socialist modernization, to strive for reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to combat hegemonism and safeguard world peace--these are the three major tasks of our people in the 1980's. Economic construction is at the core of these tasks as it is the basis for the solution of China's external and domestic problems. In a long period to come, at least in the 18 years or more up to the end of this century, we must diligently do the following four things: to restructure the administration and the economic setup and make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent; to build a socialist spiritual civilization; to strike at criminal activities in the economic and other fields that undermine socialism; and to rectify party style and consolidate the party organization on the basis of a conscientious study of the new party constitution. These will be the most important guarantee for our adherence to the socialist road and the concentration of our efforts on modernization.

Ours is now a big party, with a membership of 39 million, that exercises leadership over the whole state power. However, the members of the Communist Party will always be a minority in the whole population. None of the major tasks set forth by our party can be accomplished without the hard work of the masses of the people. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to pay high tribute to all Chinese workers, peasants and intellectuals who have worked diligently for our socialist modernization, and to the Chinese People's Liberation Army--the Great Wall of steel safeguarding the security and socialist construction of our motherland.

China's democratic parties fought together with our party in the period of the democratic revolution and have advanced and undergone tests together with us in the period of socialism. In the construction work ahead, our party will continue its long-term cooperation with all patriotic democratic parties and all patriotic democrats. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to all democratic parties and all our friends without party affiliations.

The cause of our party has enjoyed the support and assistance of the progressive personages and friendly countries throughout the world. Here, on behalf of our party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to them.

We must do our work well and carefully, strengthen our unity with the people of all nationalities in the country and with the people of the whole world and struggle hard to make China a modern socialist country that is culturally advanced and highly democratic, and to oppose hegemonism, safeguard world peace and promote human progress.

CSO: 4005/21

STREAMLINING GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS IS A REVOLUTION (13 January 1983)

Beijing DENG XIAOPING WENXUAN [SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING] in Chinese
1 Jul 83 pp 351-356

[Speech at a Meeting of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau on Streamlining Central Leading Organs. This article was previously published in DAILY REPORT: China, 29 Jul 83]

[Text] Let me express some opinions.

First, streamlining government institutions is a revolution. It is a big event. If we do not launch this revolution and allow party and government organs to continue in their present situation, which is characterized by overstaffing, duplication of work, unclear responsibilities, many unqualified staff, irresponsibleness, and lack of spirit and knowledge, and inefficiency, the people, including ourselves and cadres at lower levels, will be unable to reach agreement. This situation cannot be allowed to continue nor can it be tolerated by the people or our party. Can we tolerate the continuance of this situation while persisting in the socialist road and modernization program? All veteran cadres must understand that to build the ranks of young cadres who have revolutionary spirit, knowledge, and are specialized is strategically demanded by our revolution and construction and it is also a glorious and sacred task for us, the veteran cadres. This work represents our last historical contribution to the party as well as a serious test of our party discipline. Therefore, this problem must be resolved; it should have been resolved earlier. Yet, the conditions did not exist for resolving this problem earlier. Now, following the downfall of the "gang of four" and since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 6th Plenary Session, we have created the conditions; we can now put this question on the agenda. Can we leave this question to be solved later? If we do so, there will be more difficulties, the question itself will become more serious, and will involve more problems and more people. In addition, this question involves many veteran comrades. Really good conditions exist now because many veteran comrades with higher consciousness are still alive, and they can take the lead and overcome obstacles. As long as we are unanimous, this question can be resolved more easily. Therefore, we cannot postpone this work. In short, it is a revolution. Of course, it is not a revolution against people but one against the system. If we do not launch this revolution and let old and sick men block the road of those who are younger

and who have zeal and capability, not only will there be no hope for the modernization program, but the survival of the party and the state will be in question, and the party and state may perish. If we do not launch this revolution, no matter how correct the whole principle and policy of the party and state are, or how great our achievements in work are, we will eventually and hopelessly see party and government institutions become less vigorous and efficient, correct principles and policies will not be fully implemented, and we will fail to make greater achievements in our work. Under such circumstances, how will the people be able to understand us and how will we be able to set our minds at rest? We cannot rest at just seeing our achievements in work; we must understand that many problems crop up every day.

Second, this question involves millions of people. Streamlining organs involves not one but several million people. The staff of the organs of the party Central Committee will be reduced by one-third. And the figure for those in lower levels, I assume will be more than one-third. If the percentage is one-fourth, it means that it will involve 5 million people. Of course, not all of them are cadres; they must include service staff and working staff. The so-called streamlining means that the various departments and units must define their own plans; some people may work in their positions while others may take part in training and study in turn and, after they are qualified through examination, they may return to their positions to replace others who will then take their turn to train and study. In short, this involves millions of cadres at upper, middle and lower levels. More people will be involved if enterprises and other units are reorganized. Government institutions alone will involve about 4 to 5 million people. It is a very big question. Because this work involves so many people, it must be carried out meticulously.

But most importantly, we must be determined, and secondly, this work must be carried out meticulously. But even if we carry out this work meticulously, it is impossible to give full consideration to all concerned and this situation must be discussed beforehand. In particular, time is very tight; we will complete this revolution in 2 years and the time is, of course, very tight. Therefore, we must be determined. After the decision is made by political bureau, we must persist in this work and it must in no way be interfered with. Some foreigners have said that we are likely to fail in this work, and our cadres at lower levels also have found that there are numerous difficulties. I also believe that there are indeed difficulties, but I believe that as long as we are determined and resolute, we will succeed in this work. Should we not be confident of succeeding in this work? I believe that we must have this attitude, because there is no other choice; we cannot hesitate in this work, nor should we compromise or give up halfway. We must foresee that various problems may emerge, including demonstrations. We cannot agree just in principle and change our attitude once there are questions related to our own interests. Do not be afraid if in the process of the streamlining demonstrations occur or wall posters appear. In carrying out the work of streamlining, factionalism will inevitably emerge among some people and the question will become even more complicated if those who are responsible for the streamlining are involved in the factionalism. No matter what the situation, we must be resolute in launching this revolution. And after we have made our decision, we must be resolute and firm; we must not be afraid if things go wrong.

Third, I suggest that the Political Bureau approve in principle the plan for streamlining the organs of the party Central Committee and the government. The planning for the departments under the party Central Committee is not specific enough and the number of the staff to be cut may not be enough. To put it bluntly, perhaps our revolutionary spirit is not high. The streamlining of the departments under the party Central Committee does not mean that we should dismantle a big temple, rather, there are too many small temples. In addition, there are too many buddhas in each temple; there are many things to be done and it is very beneficial to do them. Plans must be worked out for streamlining mass organizations such as trade unions, CYL organizations, and women's organizations was not big in number because such organizations themselves were not large; but now they are quite big. We cannot say that it is not beneficial for us to streamline enterprises. The staff of the departments under the State Council may be cut by slightly more than 30 percent, but the percentage to be reduced of the staff of the departments of the party Central Committee that are responsible for party-masses relations may be too low. The plan of the departments under the party Central Committee must be approved in principle, but it is necessary to carry out more investigations; in no way should we think that there are no further reductions that need to be made, such planning is not revolutionary enough.

The streamlining of the army is now under consideration; the number of army personnel must be resolutely reduced.

Once the plans for streamlining are approved, the work must be carried out. First of all, we must appoint one or two departments to study such matters as staff size and quotas. For example, how many vice premiers should there be in the State Council? Some comrades have suggested in this meeting that two will be enough. I think this figure can be considered, but I believe this will be too few; but, if two will work, I will agree. But we must add several state councillors to the State Council.

The positions of state councillors are equal to those of vice premiers and they may also visit foreign countries in the future. The tasks of state councillors may be relatively flexible and the premier is in a position to assign to them any work. If we appoint state councillors, the number of vice premiers might be lowered, but this question must be further discussed and considered. The streamlining of ministries and commissions can be started now. It is better to do this work in one or two departments first so as to gain experience, to see the reaction, and to see what problems may crop up. In this way, the departments will be more confident in carrying out their streamlining and the work can be carried out more smoothly. In short, the streamlining of the departments under the party Central Committee must be completed in 6 months. Six months will be enough if we make good arrangements and plans. To handle the question of staff will require more time, but I think 6 months will be enough for each department to work out plans for the size and the number of their staff. If this is not enough time, it can be prolonged to 9 months, but that is the maximum. The streamlining of provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional departments can be started after the departments under the party committee are engaged in their streamlining for a certain period; it is not

necessary for them to wait to carry out their streamlining until after the party Central Committee departments have completed their streamlining. Localities may begin their streamlining after we have worked out plans for several departments and they have gained typical experiences. The departments under the party Central Committee may carry out streamlining work with one of several departments, such as the foreign trade departments, in doing the streamlining first as an experiment. Or can we find other departments to conduct the experiment; for example, we could let the Ministry of Water Conservancy and the Ministry of Electric Power, which could be merged more easily, carry out streamlining first. In this way, we will be able to find problems and reactions from various aspects and raise opinions from different angles. It is difficult to work out a complete plan at the outset, but initial planning can be implemented even if it is not so complete. In particular, streamlining must be carried out strictly, because it is very easy to relax this work. This time, we must carry out the streamlining tightly from the beginning and in no way can we relax it. For example, after determining the number of vice ministers, we can change the personnel, but the number should not be changed. In this way, it will be easy to replace personnel. Otherwise, it will be disastrous, and extremely difficult to promote a person. Only in this way can we create a condition for the promotion of relatively young cadres. After the number of staff has been determined, each comrade should do his part. The situation in which people have their positions in name only, but in fact do not work in their positions must not be permitted. Some comrades say that they still can work; but can they work under pressure? Under this situation they will be tested. I am sure that I could not manage if I were asked to work for 8 hours.

In short, today, in principle, we approve these two plans and they can be implemented. And about 1 month from now, we will grasp one or two typical examples with regard to such aspects as defining the size of organization and the number of staff, and responsibilities of each unit and staff, including personnel arrangement; we must pay attention if there are problems.

Fourth, in this revolution, we must pay attention not only to those who are to be relieved but particularly to those who are to take up posts. Just now I mentioned that several million people will be cut and we must pay attention to solving the problems of these people. But first of all, we must pay attention to those who are to take up posts. It is very important to select persons for ministers and directors and to determine who is to do the selecting. This question is also very important for the Army. Priority must be given to the question of those who are to take up posts and to be cut. We must select people with virtue and knowledge, and this question concerns merit and talent. Virtue means morality and talent means to possess specialized knowledge, political experience, and good health.

We urge surplus and ill comrades to retire or be shifted to other proper positions (by proper positions I mean honorary posts; but who will replace them? These people must be well selected. Here, I would like to repeat my old remarks: we must uphold the several rules and regulations as defined by Comrade Chen Yun on promoting young and middle-aged cadres put forward in his article entitled "Promoting and Training Young and Middle-Aged Cadres Is an Urgent Task" (8 May 1981), and his "Speech at a Discussion Meeting of Provincial, Municipal, and Autonomous Regional Party Committee Secretaries," (2 July 1981).

The main spirit of his opinions is as follows: It is imperative from now on to promote and train tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres; they should be around 40 to 50 years old, with most being 40 years old or younger; they must have good morality and specialized knowledge; no one of backbone elements of factionalism, and one who has engaged in beating, smashing, and looting should be promoted into leading positions). There are several types of people that must be excluded. And yet there are a great many people to be selected. The most important criterion for employment then is that they must be younger. Of course, there may be a transitional period in this work. In the next 1-2 years, the positions of ministers must still be assigned primarily to older comrades, particularly in the departments that have been streamlined. This reason is easy to understand. With the departments of the State Council being decreased, the ministries and commissions will have greater enterprises and other units. This is in fact a move to restore order. Effort must be made to select vice ministers and deputy directors from among young cadres. In the early days of the founding of the PRC, all ministers were young men ranging in age between 30 to 40 years. Now, many of our backbone cadres are university graduates of the 1950's and 1960's and they have acquired more knowledge than our ministers had at that time.

Streamlining is a revolution and selecting those with virtue and specialized knowledge is also a revolution. It is imperative to resolve the questions of those who are to leave their posts, but what is more important is to resolve the questions of those who are to be promoted. This work is very important and it can in no way be resolved later by launching a campaign. This work can be regarded as a small campaign. We have said that we will not launch big campaigns; this time it is a small campaign and in this campaign we are not using the method we used in the past.

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