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# CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 17, 1 September 1982

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

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## COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AND OUR PRACTICE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 82 pp 2-8

[Article by RED FLAG editorial department]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress has successfully opened. This congress will hold higher the banner of communism, analyze and answer major problems cropping up in the new stage of socialist construction with communist ideology and further point the way forward for the communist movement during the period of socialism. This is a congress of great historical and immediate significance. In order to study, propagate and implement all the documents and decisions of the congress in a satisfactory way, it is necessary, first of all, for us communists to study communist theory, enhance communist political consciousness, arouse our communist spirit and educate and unite the people with this theory.

### I

What is communism? Communist theory and practice have told us that communism is a twofold thing: one is the communist social system and the other is the movement to realize communism. As the ultimate goal of our party, communism refers to the communist social system. Furthermore, to attain and realize the communist social system, it is necessary to pass through and depend on the communist movement. Why is our party called the Communist Party? This is because the goal of our struggle is a communist social system and our revolutionary practice is the communist movement. The Communist Party and communism are indivisible. Without the Communist Party, there would be no communist movement and the realization of a communist system would be out of the question; moreover, the Communist Party would not be worthy of its name if it did not struggle for a communist social system and carry out the communist movement. This is a most basic fact and also the most elementary knowledge.

What kind of system is the communist social system? Why does the Communist Party take it as its ultimate goal of struggle? This is because the communist social system is the most progressive, rational and fine social system in human history. In a communist society, classes and class differences will be completely eliminated, all major social distinctions and inequalities will be abolished, the whole people will have highly advanced

communist political consciousness and moral values, the social productive forces will be highly developed, social products will be extremely abundant, the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will be implemented, labor will become a pleasurable undertaking and everybody will really become a person who enjoys freedom and develops in an overall way. It goes without saying that this is the happiest social system which has ever been seen in human history. The oppressed and exploited proletariat and other working people yearn for this social system day and night and warmly cherish the ideal of it. The Communist Party which takes the realization of the communist social system as its ultimate goal entirely reflects and represents the fundamental interests and wishes of the proletariat and other working people. This is an extremely great and lofty historical mission.

Some people say that the communist social system is a "daydream" and a "utopia." There have been people saying so ever since Marx and Engels put forth the scientific communist doctrine. Now there are still people saying so. This is not in the least strange. Among the people who say so are both bad and innocent people. We must strike a resolute counterblow at the enemy who slander and abuse communism; with regard to those who are unaware of the truth or the well-intentioned skeptics, we must conduct painstaking persuasion and explanation work among them. This is also extremely clear, definite and unequivocal.

Communism has appeared in the form of a "daydream" or "utopia" in history. For example, the socialism and communism of Robert Owen, Claude Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier in the early 19th century were in such a category. Owen and others criticized, censured and flung abuse at capitalist society and fancied that a better system would replace it. However, they failed to indicate the real way out. They not only failed to expound the nature of the capitalist system of wage slaves and bring to light the laws governing the development of capitalism but also failed to find out the social force to create a new society. The proletariat was, in their eyes, only a class which was subject to suffering and hardship. Therefore, their socialism and communism could be nothing but a "daydream."

The emergence of utopian socialism and communism not only indicated the protest of the proletariat against capitalist oppression and exploitation but also reflected the immaturity of the proletariat, that is, the proletariat had not entered the historical stage as an independent political force at that time. Engels pointed out: "Immature theory is suited to the situation of immature capitalist production and of an immature class. The solutions to social problems remain in the underdeveloped economic relationships and thus they have to come out of the brains. What the society reflects is only drawbacks, and the elimination of these drawbacks is the task of thought. This necessitates the invention of a new and more perfect social system and its imposition on society from outside through propaganda and typical demonstration if possible. This new social system is doomed from the outset to become a daydream. The more meticulously it is designed, the more it will degenerate into a sheer daydream." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 299)

In order to turn socialism and communism into a science, Marx and Engels put it on the basis of reality. In accordance with historical materialism and the theory of surplus value which they founded, Marx and Engels regarded socialism and communism as the result of the development of the socioeconomic movement of modern capitalist society and as the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie rather than as the fortuitous discovery of some geniuses. The task of scientific socialism and communism is to study the economic course of the history which inevitably gave rise to these two classes and the struggle between the two, and to proceed from the resulting economic and political circumstances to find the means to solve contradictions and conflicts rather than conjuring up a possibly perfect social system. The communist social system emerges as the opposite of the capitalist social system. It is the result of the function of the social force brought about by capitalism. Therefore, the basic characteristics of the communist social system can be logically brought to light from the inherent contradictions of the capitalist social system. Of course, these characteristics can only be the general orientation and a rough sketch and are not, and cannot, possibly be well conceived and detailed concrete stipulations.

Marx and Engels were absolutely loyal to their own scientific communist doctrine. They always determined what could be determined in the light of actual conditions. Just as Lenin said: "There is no trace of an attempt on Marx' part to make up a utopia or to indulge in idle guesswork about what cannot be known. Marx treated the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological species, once he knew that it had originated in such-and-such a way and changed in such-and-such a definite direction." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 243) It can thus be seen that the communist social system put forth by Marx and Engels is based on a host of absolutely true facts. It has nothing whatsoever to do with a "daydream" or an "illusion." If those who regard the communist social system as a "day-dream" or a "utopia" are not muddleheaded, they must have ulterior motives. Those who are muddleheaded will become politically awakened so long as they are willing to earnestly study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

We communists have never concealed our own political propositions. Our ultimate goal is to be determined to make China advance to a communist society. This is already fixed and admits of no doubt whatsoever. The name of our party and our Marxist world outlook already clearly point out this future, boundlessly bright and splendidly supreme ideal. At present, we are unswervingly marching toward this goal. No difficulties and obstructions can deter us.

## II

Communism is an undertaking throughout ages. The realization of a communist social system in any country cannot be accomplished in one move. It will always go through a long process of practice. Without the unswerving disciplined hard work and heroic sacrifices of many generations, it is impossible for communism to make the transition from ideal to reality.

It is precisely in this sense that communism is not only a social system but also a movement and above all a movement. Marx and Engels pointed out long ago: "We call communism the real ["real" in boldface as published] movement which abolishes the present state of affairs." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 40)

The communist movement began the very day the Communist Party was founded. Internationally, the founding of the Communist League and the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" indicated the beginning of the communist movement. The first remark of the "Communist Manifesto" which clarifies the purpose and main theme from the very beginning is that "a specter is haunting Europe--the specter of communism. All the power of old Europe has entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter: pope and czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 250) The "specter" making all reactionary forces in Europe extremely frightened which Marx and Engels stated here means the communist movement. With the spread of communist ideas in the 1870's there emerged the Paris Commune in France; at the beginning of this century, the October Revolution took place in Russia. Neither of them practiced a communist social system but they undoubtedly all constituted the great communist movement which was of far-reaching significance.

The communist movement in China already has more than 60 years of history. From the day the CPC was founded, the CPC led the proletariat and the revolutionary people in embarking on the communist movement in the land of China in an organized and programmatic way. During the 28 years before the founding of the PRC, although the struggle we carried out was the new democratic revolution with the spearhead of struggle being directed at imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, it was an indispensable step in realizing communism in China and an important stage which we had to pass through. Therefore, during this stage, we smashed the warlords, struggled against the landlords and shared out the land, fought a bloody battle against the Japanese imperialists and overthrew the reactionary and decadent Chiang [Kai-shek] dynasty. All this constituted the communist movement. Party members and the broad masses of the revolutionary people carried out a persistent and heroic struggle for the cause of communism and thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs gave their lives for it, shouting the slogan of "Long live communism." The struggle which we party members and party cadres carried out and the work which we did at our own posts constituted, in fact, a part of the great communist movement. Our enemy was also perfectly clear about this matter. At that time, they called our base areas the "communist-controlled areas." It was justifiable for them to say so because our base areas were where we started the communist movement. They called our army the "Communist Army." That was also justifiable because our army was exactly an armed group which was engaged in the communist movement.

However, some of our comrades find it hard to understand this matter. Regarding the new democratic revolution as a communist movement, as they see it, seems not to tally with Marxism. Actually, they precisely forget Marxism. Marx and Engels said: "The communists struggle for the immediate



goal and interests of the working class but concurrently represent the future of the movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 284) They also pointed out: "At the various stages of development traversed by the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the communists represent all along the interests of the whole movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 264) The historical facts are exactly like this. The new democratic revolution led by our party was not only for the sake of the immediate goal and interests of the working class and other working people but more important, was also for the sake of the ultimate realization of communism in China. Concerning this matter, our party's program has made quite clear statements. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Communist Party has an immediate and a future program, a minimum and a maximum program, with regard to the social system it advocates. For the present period, new democracy, and for the future, socialism; they are two parts of an organic whole, guided by one and the same communist ideology." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 647) For this reason, winning victory in the new democratic revolution is only our minimum program and realizing communism is our maximum program. Did we party members not all make a solemn vow to dedicate our whole lives to the realization of communism when we joined the party? Is there not a phrase the "Internationale is bound to be realized" in the "Internationale" which we often sing with spirit? That is to say, our ultimate goal is to realize communism. In the course of the new democratic revolution, our party has educated thousands and tens of thousands of party members and advanced elements with this communist ideology to devote themselves to the noble cause of communism. If it had not been for communist ideology that guided us in our struggle, we would not have been able to win complete victory in the new democratic revolution, let alone to realize the transition from new democracy to socialism.

Since the founding of the PRC, the communist movement has been developing more vigorously in China. Following the complete victory of the new democratic revolution, our party led the people in completing the task of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, putting an end to the history of the exploiting classes and exploitative system which had existed for several thousand years in China and establishing brand-new socialist political and economic systems. Then, our party again led the people in carrying out large-scale socialist construction. Although in the course of construction we traversed a tortuous path, no one can obliterate the achievements scored in construction. We have now entered a new historical stage. The party is leading the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in carrying out the socialist modernization program in all spheres to build our country into a country with highly advanced material and spiritual civilization. This is a grand-scale and far-reaching communist movement that has never been exceeded since the founding of our party. The full-scale development and full maturity of this movement under socialism will bring us nearer and nearer to the ultimate goal of communism. To fulfill this great task, we must hold high the banner of communism, carry forward the communist spirit, and persist in carrying out the revolutionary struggle in all spheres until the supreme communist ideal is fully realized. The

"Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "This is a great revolution, unprecedented in human history. Our present endeavor to build a modern socialist China constitutes but one stage of this great revolution." This is the glorious task which history has entrusted to us. All of us party members and party cadres must devote ourselves to doing our bit for this great revolution.

Differing from the communist movement during the period of the new democratic revolution and also from that during the period of the transition from new democracy to socialism, the communist movement in which we are now engaged has its own characteristics. With the establishment of a socialist social system, it has become a communist movement during the stage of socialist society. At present, the conditions, whether objective or subjective, for us to struggle for the cause of communism are better than in any preceding period. First, through several decades of the party's efforts to conduct propaganda and education, communist ideas have increasingly taken root in the hearts of the people, with more and more people believing in communism and fewer and fewer people doubting and even opposing communism. Next, in the socialist society in which we live, there exist many communist factors. With the continuous development of socialist society and the reinforcement of education in communist ideas, there will surely emerge more communist new people and things. Again, through the 60-odd years, and particularly the last 30-odd years, of the communist movement since the founding of the PRC, our party has accumulated rich historical experiences, both positive and negative, and formulated entirely correct line, principles and policies which are suited to the state of things at the present stage. In sum, as the primitive phase of communist society, the basic content of socialist society is to prepare both material and spiritual conditions for moving on to communist society. This determines the nature, orientation and tasks of the communist movement under socialism.

The communist movement has more than 60 years of history in China. That is to say, the communist ideology founded by Marx and Engels has for more than 60 years been tested by practice in China and has been proved, and will continue to be proved, to be an incomparably correct scientific truth. However, when discussing the question that practice is the only criterion for testing truth in 1978, some comrades unexpectedly put forth the following argument: Communism is a truth but it has not been tested in practice. It can therefore be seen that truth should not necessarily be tested by practice and practice is thus not the only criterion for testing truth. This is out-and-out nonsense. The history of the practice of the communist movement in which our party has been engaged since its founding, as stated above, essentially refutes this erroneous view. Are all struggles which we carried out during the period of the new democratic revolution actually not the great practice of the communist movement? Are the socialist revolution and socialist construction in which we have been engaged since the founding of the PRC not precisely the great practice of the communist movement? If we say that communism has not been tested in practice, then what is the purpose of our holding meetings to sum up experience? What is the

fundamental nature of this experience? By summing up experience, we mean summing up our experiences in practicing communism at the different stages of development, that is, the experiences in developing the communist movement. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" adopted by the enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CPC Central Committee was the summarization of the practical experiences in developing the communist movement during the 24 years after the founding of the CPC; and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was the summarization of the practical experiences in developing the communist movement during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC. This shows that communism, this great truth, has for years experienced the test of historical practice in China. Practice has proved it to such an extent that to this day every one of us can feel it in real life. With regard to the future communist social system, we have not yet practiced it. Marx and Engels made general assumptions on the communist social system. The correctness of these assumptions, and in particular, whether or not they can be realized according to the ways and patterns which they assumed, needs of course to be tested in practice. The comrades who put forth the above-mentioned erroneous argument do not refer to this point alone. They fundamentally negate that communism is a process of practice. In this way, they do away with the indispensable relationship between communism and practice. Furthermore, doing away with this relationship will lead nowhere other than to an erroneous conclusion, that is, negating that all the revolutionary struggles we carried out in the past, and are carrying out at present, have the nature of putting communism into practice, and as a result, negating that communism is a scientific truth and regarding it merely as a hollow and abstract belief.

### III

The communist movement, from the outset, has been directed by communist ideology. Without the communist ideological system founded by Marx and Engels, there would be no communist movement for us to speak of. The communist movement, from a "specter" haunting Europe, has become, after the experience of 100-odd years, a great mass movement which is sweeping the world with tremendous momentum. This is wholly due to the guidance of communist ideology. The victory of the international communist movement is the victory of communist ideology and the victory of the Chinese communist movement is also the victory of communist ideology.

It is no accident that communist ideology has unparalleled might. Lenin pointed out: "Communist theory--the science of communism created mainly by Marx, this doctrine of Marxism--has ceased to be the work of a single 19th century socialist, even though he was a genius, and it has become the doctrine of millions and tens of millions of proletarians all over the world, who are applying it in their struggle against capitalism." "That was because Marx based his work on the firm foundation of human knowledge acquired under capitalism. After making a study of the laws governing the development of human society, Marx realized the inevitability of capitalism developing toward communism. What is most important is that he proved this

on the sole basis of a most precise, detailed and profound study of this capitalist society by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 347) He went on to say: "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 441) Communist ideology not only guides the communist movement but at the same time is also tested by the communist movement. It advances with the development of the communist movement. The more than half a century of the party's revolutionary practice has further developed Marxism-Leninism and enriched the contents of communist ideology which can thus more powerfully guide the communist movement.

The communist movement led by our party has undergone many historical stages. As we have mentioned above, what we are now engaged in has become the communist movement during the period of socialist society--the primitive phase of communism--rather than the communist movement in the general sense. In accordance with historical experience, the strengthening of the guidance of communist ideology is even more necessary during the period of socialist society. Just as without the Communist Party, socialism cannot be built, without communist ideology, it is impossible to build socialism. However, some people even go so far as to say that spreading communism and strengthening propaganda and education in communist ideas and ethics in the period of socialism is "transcending historical stages" and "contradictory to the policy of distribution according to work," and so on. These viewpoints and arguments are utterly wrong.

First, during the period of the new democratic revolution, we were already adhering to guiding all our work with communist ideology, standardizing the words and deeds of the party members and advanced elements, and spreading the communist spirit, such as serving the people wholeheartedly, "being selfless" and "utter devotion to others without any thought of self." We have now entered the stage of socialist society--the primitive phase of communism--so why can we now not do so? This cannot be explained away.

Second, in socialist society, we resolutely uphold the implementation of the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," continuously perfect it as a matter of policy and strive to overcome egalitarian drawbacks. However, implementing this principle precisely needs, rather than excludes, the encouragement of a communist attitude toward labor among the masses of people. Party members and party cadres in particular must energetically engage in work without fixed quotas, regardless of remuneration and self, of their own accord and in the spirit of discharging their responsibilities for society to the best of their ability rather than confining themselves to the principle of "distribution according to work." In fact, inside and outside the party there are people who are engaged in this noble labor in all matters. Just imagine, can the advanced deeds of those who sacrifice themselves to save others, and particularly the thoughts and actions of those who sacrifice their own happiness and even give their lives for the sake of safeguarding the motherland

and the lives and property of the people be explained by the principle of "distribution according to work"? Upholding the principle of "distribution according to work" and encouraging the communist attitude toward labor are mutually complementary rather than being contradictory. Encouraging a communist attitude toward labor and advocating handling various social relationships with communist ethics are the required conditions for ensuring the correct implementation of the principle of "distribution according to work" rather than obstacles to the implementation of the principle. Innumerable facts have shown that wherever education in communism is strengthened, the principle of "distribution according to work" is satisfactorily implemented, the enthusiasm of the people for labor is high, the people tackle difficulties themselves and make things easy for others, they work with one heart and one mind and help one another in unity; and wherever the education in communist ideas is discarded or weakened, there emerges the trend of "doing everything for the sake of money," the principle of "distribution according to work" turns into "working according to remuneration," with everyone haggling over every ounce and even "not working despite receiving remuneration," discipline becomes lax, dereliction of duty occurs and out-and-out egoism and anarchy run rampant. These phenomena call for deep thought.

Third, in socialist society, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and the corrosive influence and attacks of capitalist ideology are still very serious. "Distribution according to work" is a socialist principle and is antagonistic to the capitalist principle of distribution. However, facts have indicated that it is impossible to resist the corrosive influence and attacks of capitalist ideology by relying on the principle of "distribution according to work" alone. To effectively resist the corrosive influence and attacks of capitalist ideology, it is imperative to rely mainly on communist ideas. Some veteran party members and veteran cadres were not conquered by the enemy's force of arms during war years and were not compelled to submit by the despotic power of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of internal disorder. They are worthy of the title of hero and fighter. But they were defeated and became captives in the face of the corrosive influence and attacks of capitalist ideology. Where does the reason lie? It is mainly because they have discarded communist ethics, lost the purity of communism, and forgotten and abandoned their original intention of vowing to struggle for communism. This lesson is quite profound.

Theory and practice as well as history and reality tell us that in the socialist society, we must propagate communism boldly and forcefully. First we must teach all the party members and party cadres to preserve their own purity of communism, to standardize their words and deeds with communist ethics and observe and handle all matters with communist ideology. Then we should influence and unite the broad masses of people through the model and vanguard role of all the party members and party cadres and, together with the masses of people, develop socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideas as its core and train the Chinese people into men with revolutionary ideas, revolutionary morality, revolutionary discipline

and culture. Only in this way, can the orientation of socialism be upheld and the modernization program be victorious.

Of course, by adhering to guiding our actions and work with communist ideology during the period of socialism, by no means do we need to carry out immediately the policy of realizing top-level communism. In the wake of the October Revolution, in the process of leading the socialist revolution and construction, Lenin time and again stressed that the work of spreading communist ideas on the most extensive scale should be propagated, and he highly praised and warmly supported the communist factors and buds (such as "weekend voluntary labor") which emerged at that time. At the same time, he again pointed out that the communist system should not be prematurely carried out, and held that it was harmful and dangerous to do so before the material basis was ensured for carrying out the communist system. While leading the new democratic revolution in China, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "Beyond all doubt, now is the time to spread communist ideas more widely and put more energy into the study of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise we shall not only be unable to lead the Chinese revolution forward to the future stage of socialism, but shall also be unable to guide the present democratic revolution to victory. However, we must keep the spreading of communist ideas and propaganda about the communist social system distinct from the practical application of the new democratic program of action; we must also keep the communist theory and method of investigating problems, undertaking research, handling work and training cadres distinct from the new democratic line for national culture as a whole. It is undoubtedly inappropriate to mix the two up." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 666) We must firmly bear in mind and follow the principles concerning the relationship between communist ideology and existing policies, which were expounded by Comrades Lenin and Mao Zedong. We are now in a stage of socialism. As the primitive phase of communism, there are many communist factors in socialism and moreover it is advancing and developing toward its higher phase--communism--but there is, after all, a distinction between socialism and its higher phase--communism. In the past we paid a high price for mixing up and obliterating the demarcation line between the primitive and advanced phases of communism and being overanxious to overstep the primitive phase. It goes without saying that this should not be repeated. Therefore, during the period of socialism, we must adhere to the guidance of communist ideology and strengthen the education in communist ideas and must not be vague and waver in the slightest degree on this matter; at the same time, we must determine our policies under the guidance of communist ideology and in light of current actual conditions and resolutely carry them out. The argument and practice of mixing up the two different stages of development, socialist and communist, in the conditions of the present policies is wrong. The argument and practice of approaching problems in an isolated and one-sided way, denying the nature of our socialist system as being the primitive phase of communism, and thus proceeding to deny the guidance of communist ideology and deny the practice of the communist movement guided by this ideology, is also wrong. That is to say, we must conduct the struggle between two lines both in theory and practice. On the one hand, we must not isolate socialism from communism and set the former against the latter in theory and practice

and negate the necessity of taking communist ideology as the guiding ideology in socialist society and on the other hand, we must also not mix up and equate socialism with communism in terms of the stage of development, and must not carry out the policies of its higher phase--communism--in the period of socialism. Only when this extremely important Marxist principle is effectively grasped and implemented, can it be ensured that our communist movement will consistently and healthily develop along a correct course.

We should have the whole world in view and look forward to the future. With a rosy future, we are full of pride and enthusiasm. Under the direction of the line of the 12th national congress of the CPC, let us hold high the banner of communism and continuously push the communist movement during the period of socialist society forward to the long-range goal of communism in a down-to-earth and highly effective way.

CSO: 4004/2

FURTHER PROMOTE THE SUCCESSION OF OLD CADRES BY NEW ONES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 82 pp 9-11, 26

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The succession of old cadres by new ones has been going on steadily and healthily since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, thanks to the exemplary role of the proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation in vigorously, patiently and carefully pushing forward the work in this respect. This year, the CPC Central Committee has regarded streamlining of the administrative structure as a major task for the whole year, thereby greatly accelerating the progress of the succession of old cadres by new ones and making it possible for this succession to progress smoothly among the leading cadres of the central organs of the party and state. Our current task is to further promote the succession of old cadres by new ones from the top downward and in an overall manner and to make this an important matter, a matter of strategic significance to our party's communist cause, to produce the desired results.

The succession of old cadres by new ones means to build powerful, energetic leadership organizations fully capable of accomplishing socialist modernization and to set up leading groups which are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent in all leading organs of the party and state. Specifically, this means that in the leading groups of the party and state at various levels, a number of old cadres will retire and at the same time a number of middle-aged and young cadres who have both ability and political integrity will be promoted to the leading posts.

Because of historical reasons and other reasons arising from work, our ranks of cadres are faced with the question of the succession of old cadres by new ones. At present, the leading organs of the party and state at various levels are vexed with the questions of "senility" and "inadequate knowledge." These questions are very serious in some localities. In some leading organs of the party and state, there is an acute contradiction between these questions and the demands put on leadership work during the new historical period. This situation can be thoroughly changed by starting from the top down to promote the succession of old cadres by new ones. Therefore, the succession of old cadres by new ones is not just a task for a few central



organs of the party and state but is a common task confronting the leading organs of the party and state at all levels. Negligence of this question of succession will seriously impede the establishment of a leading group which is more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. Now much headway has been made in the replacement work in the central party and state. The replacement work will start soon in all leading organs of the party and state at the provincial, municipal, autonomous regional, prefectural and county levels. Only when the replacement work has been accomplished by all leading organs ranging from the central to the grassroots levels in accordance with the plans and principles drawn up by the CPC Central Committee can we establish a powerful, energetic leading body suited to the needs of the four modernizations. This is the only way to convince the cadres and the masses to minimize the obstacles of all kinds hindering replacement work and, subsequently, to accelerate progress in this work.

The key to carrying out replacement work lies in the promotion of thousands of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. That is to say, it is imperative to promote hundreds of thousands and even millions of these cadres and absolutely not just a few or a few dozen of them. For a long time in the past, in handling the question of promoting revolutionary successors, we held the wrong viewpoint that only a few people should be promoted. We consciously or unconsciously linked the future development and the destiny of the proletarian revolution with only a few people and neglected the role of the vast number of cadres and the broad masses of people. This method of thinking and work was incompatible with the principle of the proletariat. Our mistake taught us many lessons. During the last few years of his life, Lenin did some hard thinking about a series of questions regarding the training of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Many of his valuable opinions still provoke our deep thoughts and serve as our guide today. In a letter dictated by him to the congress in 1922, he first proposed increasing the number of Central Committee members. As we see it today, the essence of this proposal was to train and cultivate large groups of successors to the revolution. He held that this increase is good in that it might serve "a double or even a treble purpose." He said: "Such a reform would considerably increase the stability of our party" and "the stability of our party would gain a thousandfold." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, pp 615-616) During the period of China's socialist construction, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out more clearly: "In order to guarantee that our party and country do not change their political color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution." (Quoted from 14 July 1964 RENMIN RIBAO) Undoubtedly, these opinions are very correct and we can learn from them the great importance of training and bringing up millions of successors to the revolution. Today, our party has put forth that it is necessary to promote hundreds of thousands and even millions of middle-aged and young cadres. This is not only a summing-up of our party's experiences and lessons on the question of succession but also a summing-up of the experiences and lessons on this question acquired in the international communist movement. Our party is now leading the socialist modernization in a big country with a

population of 1 billion. The socialist modernization is an extremely important stage of development in our entire historical course of achieving the great ideal of communism. Whether for the purpose of guaranteeing the continuity and stability of our party's line and policies, or for the purpose of preserving our party's purity of communism, or even for the purpose of accomplishing the various historical tasks at the present stage, it is necessary for us to promote middle-aged and young cadres as an important task which should be carried out in a planned way. The party's organizational departments and the party and government organs at all levels should jointly carry out this task. Any crude and careless styles of work and rash and arbitrary actions may lead to a new disaster.

The most important point in promoting millions of middle-aged and young cadres is to consider their political qualities. We must be vigilant against "three kinds of people." That is to say, we must never promote those who rose to prominence by rebellion, those who displayed strong factionalism and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting. None of them should be promoted. Those among them who have been promoted must be resolutely dismissed. These "three kinds of people" are political dangers. Once leadership power is in their hands and the political climate is good for them, they will make trouble and again play the tricks of the "gang of four." For this reason, before the middle-aged and young cadres are promoted, their behavior during the "Great Cultural Revolution" must be seriously considered. At the same time, their political record after the downfall of the "gang of four" and in particular after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee must be considered. Those who politically, ideologically and organizationally oppose the four basic principles, those who stubbornly resist the party's Marxist line, principles and policies and those who have committed serious political, economic and organization crimes must not be admitted into the leading groups. Those who grovel at the feet of the capitalists and those who are interested in the capitalist tricks and hanker after the bourgeois way of life are degenerates inside our ranks. They will play an enormous role in eroding our party organizations and our revolutionary ranks. Their serious danger should not be underestimated. Those who are seriously imbued with selfish ideas, whose political qualities have always been undesirable and whose work is not motivated by principle must not be allowed to sneak into the leading groups. We must specially emphasize that a party cadre, no matter how high his position and how important his work, must be a "servant of the people," treat others as equals and appear among the masses as an ordinary member of the working people. He must remain humble and prudent, honest, open and aboveboard, energetic in work and must never exploit his office to seek private gain and to profit at the expense of the masses and the state. In his actions he must observe the revolutionary discipline, faithfully carry out the party's policies and keep in line with the CPC Central Committee. He must not hesitate to sacrifice his all and to fight his whole life for the communist cause. In short, our purpose of promoting middle-aged and young cadres is to make sure that there are successors to the cause of proletarian revolution and that the communist movement may be carried on generation after generation. For this reason, the middle-aged and young cadres who are to be promoted must, first, have the political

qualities of being loyal to the people and holding themselves responsible to the people and, second, are capable of serving the people. That is to say, they must be both Red and expert and have both ability and political integrity. It is extremely wrong to promote a cadre by seeing only that he is young and capable and without considering his political performance and quality.

In promoting middle-aged and young cadres, special attention should be paid to promoting and using those who are intellectuals. After the founding of the PRC and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," about 5 million intellectuals graduated from colleges and universities or attained equal educational level through private study. They have already become the backbones in our country's socialist modernization. Close attention should be paid to bringing their role into full play. Facts have shown that in an enterprise, department or locality, our work in all fields will develop if there is a group of "people in the know" who have special knowledge and are active in work and capable of maintaining ties with the masses. We must understand that qualified personnel can be trained only by being boldly used and that experience can be accumulated only through practice. The intellectuals' shortcomings should not be indiscriminately dealt with. For example, arrogance certainly is a shortcoming which should be overcome. However, one who does not have a bit of confidence can achieve nothing. Moreover, some of the shortcomings of the intellectuals are caused by their being divorced from reality. They can be corrected if the intellectuals are helped to maintain ties with the masses even though they may be holding some leading posts. There are qualified personnel around. They are before your eyes once you widen your field of vision. Once the guidelines put forth by the CPC Central Committee are implemented, it is definitely possible to discover and promote large groups of qualified or outstanding middle-aged and young successors.

In short, to further promote the succession of old cadres by new ones, it is necessary to implement the CPC Central Committee's policy on the succession of old cadres by new ones at all levels without exception, to promote hundreds of thousands and even millions of middle-aged and young cadres and to closely consider the political qualities and performances of the middle-aged and young cadres to be promoted. In this way, we can gradually, steadily and comprehensively accomplish the succession of old cadres by new ones and establish a leadership system suited to the tasks of socialist modernization. This is a demand imposed on us by socialist modernization. We must not even slightly slacken our efforts, hesitate and fall short of this demand. Otherwise, our ardent wish and strategic plan for attaining our great goal at the end of this century will come to nothing because we have a weak leading group.

The exemplary role of the old comrades is of utmost importance in further promoting the succession of old cadres by new ones. The old comrades are a valuable treasure of our party and state. In the struggle to found and develop our state, they showed no fear of self-sacrifice and fought bravely, making tremendous contributions. Now they will retire from their work posts, painstakingly select successors from among the middle-aged and young cadres,

thus ensuring that the ranks of cadres are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent and that there are successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. This is yet another historic contribution they make to the party. It will be remembered forever by the future generations. The realization of our great communist cause needs the arduous struggle and the continuous course of succession of the old by the new throughout many, not just a few, generations. At all times and under all circumstances, a proletarian revolutionary fighter must never slacken his efforts but must struggle ceaselessly. The old comrades understand that although they have now retired, their revolutionary spirit must never recede and they must still carry out the work of passing on experience, giving help and setting examples in training the middle-aged and young cadres. Only by doing this work well will they have contributed their last ounce of strength to the party and the revolutionary cause. They also see this point very clearly: They are old and weak. They must live a few more years in order to contribute more to the party. In order to live a few more years, they should do less work. In this sense, doing less work means having more time for doing the work; doing more work means having less time for doing the work.

All our comrades, the old ones in particular, must have a high sense of responsibility for the work of promoting the succession of old cadres by new ones and must be aware of the urgency with which this work should be done. In fact, it is now time for solving without fail the problem of promoting middle-aged and young cadres, who have both ability and political integrity, to the leading posts at all levels and in various fields. Meanwhile, there are conditions for solving this problem. In particular, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are still around, a large number of old comrades are consciously displaying their revolutionary spirit and playing an exemplary role, and a large number of middle-aged and young cadres have both ability and political integrity and are capable of shouldering the responsibility of inheriting the past and ushering in the future. Our middle-aged and young cadres do not have so much revolutionary experience as the old cadres do. However, generally speaking, they have been trained after the founding of the PRC and are better educated. They also have acquired a great deal of experience in revolutionary work, thanks to their training in practical work for many years. Judging by those who have been promoted to the leading posts, almost all of the middle-aged and young cadres are full of vigor and highly enthusiastic in their work and, with the help of the old comrades, can do their work competently. Therefore, if we choose the right ones among them and if the old comrades do well their work of passing on experience, giving help and setting examples in training the new ones, the middle-aged and young cadres who have both ability and political integrity and who have been promoted can gradually assume the leadership work of the party and state at all levels. We should have full confidence in them.

From now on, the succession of old cadres by new ones should be gradually institutionalized. That is to say, it is necessary to establish the cadres' retirement system and to abolish the de facto lifelong tenure of office of the leading cadres. The establishment and application of this system are

of great significance to the building of our party and the development of the cause of proletarian revolution. Facts tell us that the existence of the lifelong tenure of office of the leading cadres dampens the enthusiasm of the middle-aged and young cadres, causes the gradual "senility" of the leading groups and leads to the "senile cycle." Under these circumstances, our leading groups can hardly maintain their exuberant vitality and subsequently our socialist modernization cannot be smoothly carried out, our state can hardly cope with the sudden changes in the international field and will have to face sudden social upheavals caused by the question of successors. Precisely for this reason, after careful consideration, our party has determined to reform the present cadre system. Of course, due to the present conditions in our cadre ranks, some transitional methods have to be adopted to gradually enforce the cadres' retirement system and to finally and completely abolish the de facto lifelong tenure of office of the leading cadres.

The succession of old cadres by new ones has always been a major problem in our party. Serious lessons on this problem have been learned in the international communist movement and in our party. Now our party actively, systematically and methodically carries out replacement work within the cadre ranks. This shows that the CPC has taken a step forward in becoming a mature, great party. Under the leadership of this mature, great party, the succession of our old cadres by new ones can surely and triumphantly be accomplished and our communist cause will definitely prosper and be carried on from one generation to the next generation. There is no doubt whatsoever about this.

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THE DEEPLY RESPECTED COMRADE CAI CHANG

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[Article by Ou Mengjue [0575 1125 6030]]

[Text] Comrade Cai Chang is a proletarian revolutionary of the elder generation, an outstanding leader of the women's movement of our country, and a noted activist in the international progressive women's movement. She is deeply beloved and respected by the people. As early as in early 1926 I had the privilege of making her acquaintance. Since then, for more than 50 years, I have worked alongside her on various occasions. She has greatly impressed me with her affectionate concern and patient teaching. She was and is my good teacher. When I heard and read the message of greeting extended to her by the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, I was greatly excited. Each and every word of the message brought to me a reminiscence of the past.

I

Comrade Cai Chang always stood at the forefront of the struggle in the various historical stages of the country's revolution. In this way, she has made an immortal contribution to the revolutionary course of the proletariat. Truly, she was the most outstanding feminine revolutionary of our party.

Comrade Cai's native place is Yongfeng village of Xiangxiang County (now known as Shuangfeng County), Hunan Province. Quite a number of relatives of her family are known to have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the revolution. Her mother, Ge Jianhao, was a revered old lady who was always keen for advancement, progressive in thinking, and imbued with a determined fighting spirit. Her elder brother Cai Hesen was one of the leaders of our party in its initial stages and was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary and theorist. He was killed in 1931 by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Her sister-in-law Xiang Jingyu was also one of the leaders of our party during its early stages. She was an outstanding leader of the feminist movement. She was killed in 1928 by the KMT reactionaries. She had another brother, Cai Luxian, a graduate of the Whampoa Military Academy and a member of the Communist Party. During the big Guangzhou-Hong Kong strike he acted as the commander of the Workers' Picket Corps. He was killed in the course of the struggles. Comrade Cai Chang was brought up in a family environment of this nature.

In her early youth, under the influence of Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen and Xiang Jingyu, Comrade Cai Chang took part in various progressive campaigns such as the May 4th movement, and in this way received new ideas and new culture.

Before and after the May 4th movement, Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen and others started a movement to organize young Hunanese to study in France as students under the part-work and part-study system. Xiang Jingyu and Comrade Cai Chang jointly organized an association of Hunanese girl students for the same purpose. From 1920 to 1924, Comrade Cai Chang was in France studying in such a capacity. She was able to mingle well with Chinese workers and French workers. She studied diligently the French language and various Marxist-Leninist publications such as the "Communist Manifesto." She was an active participant in such movements as the "28 February" movement under the leadership of Comrade Cai Hesen and the "Reject Indemnity" and "Occupy the Sino-French University of Lyons" movements led by Comrades Cai Hesen, Zhou Enlai, Zhao Shiyun, and others. In 1920, she became a member of such progressive bodies as the New People's Study Society, and the Workers' World Study Society. In 1922, she joined the China Socialist Youth League (European Branch). The following year, through the introduction of Comrade Zhao Shiyun and Liu Bojian, she became a regular member of the Communist Party of China (European Branch). In 1924, she was sent to the Soviet Union by the party organ to study at the Eastern University in Moscow.

There she made a more intensive study of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the Soviet Union's socialist revolution.

While Comrade Cai Chang was studying in the Soviet Union, a new revolutionary high tide was surging in China. To meet urgent needs, the party organization transferred her back to China. In August 1925, she arrived at Guangzhou and took part in the Northern Expedition. She served as assistant secretary and then secretary of the Women's Committee of the Guangdong-Guangxi CPC Committee. That period was the first period of KMT-CPC cooperation. The party sent her to serve as a cadre in the Central Women's Department of the Kuomintang and concurrently as the dean of the Research Institute of the Central Women's Movement, helping He Xiangning, head of the department, to promote the women's movement. As a result of efforts rendered by He Xiangning, Deng Yingchao, and herself, the women's movement in Guangdong enjoyed rapid development. Following the start of the Northern Expedition, Comrade Li Fuchun became the party representative of the 2d Army. She likewise followed the troops northward to Nanchang and took part in political work in the army as well as in the women's movement of Jiangxi Province. Soon afterwards, she arrived in Wuhan and became the head of the Women's Department of the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee. In April 1927, she attended the fifth party congress.

The failure of the great revolution caused the death of thousands of Communist Party members. Comrade Cai Chang then proceeded to Shanghai, the city of White terror, to engage in underground work. She led the strikes of the women workers in the Huxi Cotton Mill and the Zhabei Silk Factory. In June 1928, she attended the sixth party congress in Moscow and also attended the sixth congress of the Communist International. Afterwards,

she traveled back and forth between Hong Kong, Shanghai and other places to continue to engage in the party's underground work.

At the end of 1931, Comrade Cai Chang proceeded from Shanghai to the central revolutionary base. At first she worked at the Political Department of the Ruijin Red Army Academy. She personally lectured on the history of social development to army cadres. The cadres who attended her lectures can still recollect that Comrade Cai Chang's lessons and lectures were impressive and moving, made people increasingly interested and enabled them to learn many of the truths of Marxism. Afterwards, she journeyed to places such as Xingguo and Ningdu and became the head of the Organizational Department of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, concurrently head of the women's department, chairwoman of the supervisory committee for industry and agriculture of Jiangxi Province, and so on. Subsequently, she took part in the world-famous 25,000-li Long March.

At the end of the Long March, Comrade Cai Chang at first worked in the Shaanxi and Gansu provincial CPC committees. She served as the head of the united front department, head of the organization department and secretary of the Zhongxin County party committee. Afterwards when in 1941 the party Central Committee reorganized the Central Women's Committee, she succeeded Wang Ming and served as acting secretary of the Central Women's Committee. She was generally responsible for promoting women's participation in the anti-Japanese struggle. In April 1945, she attended the seventh party congress and was elected a member of the Central Committee. In the same year, she was elected head of the Women's Union of China's Liberated Areas.

Following the triumphant conclusion of the anti-Japanese war, Comrade Cai Chang left Yanan and arrived at the northeast China liberated zone. She continued in her capacity as secretary of the CPC Central Women's Committee and concurrently served as the secretary of the Northeast China Bureau Women's Committee. She organized the vast masses of women to take part in the war of liberation. Following the peaceful liberation of Beijing, she organized and took charge of the convening of the First All-China Women's Congress. She was elected chairwoman of the All-China Democratic Women's Union.

After liberation, Comrade Cai Chang, in her capacity as chief representative of the All-China Women's Union, took part in the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. She was elected a member of the central people's government. She served as first secretary of the Women's Committee of the CPC Central Committee and continued to act as the chairwoman of the All-China Women's Union. Furthermore, she was successively a member of the 8th to 11th CPC Central Committees and was also the vice chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the 4th and 5th National People's Congresses. She thus worked wholeheartedly and diligently for the party and the people.

In the course of our party's various struggles against erroneous thinking, Comrade Cai Chang was unwavering in her stand. She spontaneously supported the correct line held by Comrade Mao Zedong and other comrades. During the



period of the first KMT-CPC cooperation, Chiang Kai-shek singlehandedly engineered the "Zhongshan gunboat incident" and brought forth the "party reform program" in an endeavor to attack the Communist Party and break the KMT-CPC cooperation. Comrade Cai Chang maintained the same stand as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yannian and other comrades and was firmly determined to strike back at Chiang Kai-shek. Both before and after the "April 12th" and "July 15th" counterrevolutionary incidents, as well as at both the fifth and sixth party congresses, she was firmly opposed to the errors of Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism toward the Kuomintang's rightist elements. During the anti-Japanese war, she continued her determined opposition to Wang Ming's "leftist" and rightist errors. All this fully demonstrates her allegiance to the basic principles of proletarianism.

During her several decades of revolutionary struggles, Comrade Cai Chang insisted on learning and researching on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. She was extremely loyal to the party and to the revolutionary cause. Toward the elder revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and others, she harbored deep proletarian feelings. Over several decades, she offered her entire energy to the party. For this reason, she won high respect from the entire Chinese people and even people of the entire world. Just as Miss Ning Mo Wei Er Si [1337 6206 7279 1422 2448] wrote in her book "Recollections of the Westward Journey (Continued)": Cai Chang is "China's leading female communist member," "the most active female revolutionary," and a "superior female revolutionary."

## II

From the time of the Northern Expedition to after the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Cai Chang devoted herself to the women's movement under the leadership of our party. In fact, she has persevered for over half a century in the struggle for the complete liberation of Chinese women and the development of the progressive women's movement of the world and has made enormous contributions thereto.

First, she has faithfully followed and carried out the party's line for the women's movement and firmly insisted on the direction of the women's movement of the proletariat. As early as in the Northern Expedition, Comrade Cai Chang led the Guangdong Provincial Federation for Women's Liberation to struggle against the women's organizations of the rightist elements of the Kuomintang. She clearly pointed out that the "liberation of women must join forces with the national revolution and with the liberation of the working class," and in this way put the women's movement on the right track. In her article "The Russian Revolution and Women," she introduced the experiences of the women's movement in Russia. She pointed out: "The laboring women's movement is part and parcel of the entire proletarian movement." The women's movement must be linked with the liberation cause of the proletariat to become a "new contingent" of the proletariat. Only in thoroughly overthrowing the exploitation system and establishing the proletariat's own political control and domination can we talk about a real women's movement. She sounded the call: "If the Chinese women want a thoroughgoing liberation, the only way is to unite themselves and actively

take part in the revolutionary movement." It may be said that from the beginning, our party's women's movement, under the leadership of comrades such as Xiang Jingyu, Cai Chang, Deng Yingchao and others, has followed the correct track of the proletariat. During the anti-Japanese war, the women's work of the party was under the leadership of Wang Ming who called in vain slogans such as "economic independence," "freedom of marriage," "opposition to the fourfold oppression," and so forth, but failed to organize women to take part in actual production and in revolutionary struggle. In this way, the women's movement segregated itself from the populace, fell into formalism, and took the wrong direction. Endeavoring to rectify Wang Ming's errors, Comrade Mao Zedong issued the call to organize women to take part in production and to render aid to the front. In 1943, based on this spirit, Comrade Cai Chang drafted for the Central Committee a "resolution on the guideline for women's work in the various anti-Japanese base areas." Comrade Mao Zedong carefully edited each and every word of the draft resolution. This was subsequently known as the "1943 Resolution." The resolution pointed out that for women to take part in economic work constituted the "most suitable work for women" and the "central link in protecting women's own interests," and would be equivalent to the same "glorious task" as the warriors fighting on the front line. The resolution clearly pointed out that this should be the "new direction of women's work in the various anti-Japanese base areas." In addition, Comrade Cai Chang personally wrote an important article entitled "Greetings to the New Direction in Women's Work." The article propagandized and explained in detail the "1943 Resolution." She thus devoted her utmost efforts to the thoroughgoing adoption and execution of this resolution. After that, Wang Ming's erroneous guideline was discredited and the "1943 Resolution" has guided the women's movement of our country ever since. Comrade Cai Chang was truly a glorious standard-bearer of the women's movement in China.

Second, she organized and led the vast women's masses to participate in the revolution and production. During the period of the Northern Expedition, I worked beside her and saw with my own eyes how she led the work of the Women's Liberation Federation of Guangdong Province, how she organized the formation of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Joint Association of Women Workers on Strike, and how she efficiently handled the convening of a large-scale Guangzhou-Hong Kong Congress of Women Workers. At her recommendation, and with the approval of Minister He Xiangning, the women workers on strike in these two localities successively organized factories to produce reed sandals, sewing plant and knitwear plants. Women were also mobilized to solicit contributions to help solve the financial difficulties of workers on strike. Thus valuable support was given to the Guangzhou-Hong Kong strike and the way was cleared for mobilization and preparation for the Northern Expedition. In the central revolutionary base areas, for the sake of mobilizing women to take part in production and to support the war, she took the lead in going out to the field and broke the feudal superstition that "women who dare plow the fields will be struck dead by a thunderbolt." She thus succeeded in organizing the womenfolk into a huge army of workers. During the anti-Japanese war and the war of liberation, under the party's leadership, the women's movement particularly prospered and grew, and much of this was due to Comrade Cai Chang's immortal contributions. At that

time, it was found that in the liberated areas the vast masses of women were busily occupied in one or another of the following pursuits: Taking part in production to support the war; or going directly to the frontline to slaughter the enemy; or bidding farewell to husband or son who were joining the armed forces; or serving as stretcher bearers or nurses attending to the wounded; or, behind the enemy lines, engaging in guerrilla warfare, strengthening the defenses and clearing the fields and working together with the civilian armed forces to resist and break the enemy's "mopping-up" campaigns; or taking part in suppressing bandits, resisting unruly elements, engaging in land reform and staging struggles against reactionary landlords, and so on. After liberation, the women of our country continued to display the traditions of the war years. On the socialist revolutionary and construction fronts, their activities literally covered "half the sky." This, in effect, was indivisible from the efforts made by Comrade Cai Chang.

Third, she trained up many women cadres and promoted the development of nursery enterprises. In Comrade Cai Chang's understanding, the development of the women's movement in our country required the existence of a large force of women cadres who were both virtuous and talented. As early as in 1926 during the Northern Expedition, she already paid great attention to the training of women cadres. She took charge of the setting up of training schools for the women's movement. She trained a number of women cadres who were subsequently sent to various parts of the country and became the backbone force of the revolution. Wherever she went, she showed intimate concern for the interests of women and gave her support to struggles such as those against feudal oppression, fighting for freedom of marriage and claiming equality between the sexes. She actively encouraged women to leave their homes in order to take part in revolutionary work. She fervently helped them to acquire culture and learning and to raise their political consciousness and thus to create conditions for their participation in the revolution. Many cadres have subsequently become the party's leading cadres thanks to her concern and encouragement. Even today many comrades can be found who have benefited from her teaching and who would fondly point her out as the first teacher ever to guide them to take part in the revolution. In the actual revolutionary struggle, Comrade Cai Chang managed to summarize a set of experiences in cadre training. She said: We must systematically train up party and nonparty women cadres. Women cadres must be discovered and trained up amid struggle. While we must pay great attention to giving vital training to comrades from families of industrial workers or peasants, we should not confine ourselves to the theory of the unique importance of class origin. We must boldly select people who are "upright, good in labor, can unite the populace, and dare to struggle" and people who are both virtuous and capable. We must pay attention to training up women cadres who belong to the intelligentsia while, for those women cadres who already possess a known degree of intelligence and technology, we should guide them to do more intensive study and research so as to become specialists. As to the method of training, we can set up cadre schools, or short-term training classes, or let the elder or more experienced people teach the new. These experiences summarized by Comrade Cai Chang are still very valuable today. In May 1949, Comrade Cai Chang gave her vigorous support to the establishment of an All-China Training School for Women

Cadres. This school exists even now (although classes were interrupted for a brief period) and has trained up for the various localities a large number of women cadres. At the eighth party congress, she delivered a speech on "Actively Training and Promoting More and Better Women Cadres." In the speech, she specially dwelt on the importance of selecting, training and promoting women cadres and on the method of training these cadres.

Concurrently with actively training up women cadres, Comrade Cai Chang's attention was also directed at children's welfare. She was particularly concerned with the orphans of martyrs and took a special interest in fostering successors to the revolution. During the Yanan period, through Comrade Cai Chang's efforts, Yanan's first nursery school was established. It provided care and education to many of the martyrs' children and cadres' children. Following the martyrdom of Comrades Zhang Tailei, Guo Liang, Cai Hesen and Xiang Ying, she was extremely concerned with the well-being of their children and with their subsequent education and growth. When she was convalescing in Moscow, she paid frequent visits to the international nursery to see the Chinese children entrusted to its care. The children themselves were very fond of her and affectionately called her "Mother Cai." In addition, she set up nursery classes to train up cadres for children's welfare and devoted much effort to bringing up the revolution's younger generation.

Fourth, she committed herself to the international democratic women's movement, extended the influence of the Chinese revolution to the international front, and rendered aid to the struggle for liberation of the world's women workers. At the end of World War II, on 1 December 1945, the International Democratic Women's Union was established with the purpose of establishing everlasting peace and strengthening the friendship and unity of women all over the world. At the end of that year, the Women's Union of China's Liberated Areas became a member of the International Women's Union. In 1946, Comrade Cai Chang was elected a director of the International Democratic Women's Union and in the following year was elected vice president. In November 1948, when the Second International Women's Congress was convened in Budapest, Hungary, Comrade Cai Chang led a delegation of China's women representatives to take part in the congress. This writer happened to be a member of the delegation to Hungary. Comrade Cai Chang delivered a speech at the congress. She analytically explained the relationship between the proletarian revolution and women's liberation and systematically told the congress the state of development, role and experience of China's revolutionary women's movement. In great anger, she unveiled and condemned the atrocities of the American soldiers and the Kuomintang reactionaries in exploiting, oppressing and inhumanly trampling on the rights of womenfolk in the KMT-dominated areas. Her speech won deep sympathy and support for the Chinese women from the delegates in attendance. In the early period of the formation of the PRC, our country was entrusted by the International Democratic Women's Union to handle the preparatory measures for convening the Asian Women's Congress in Beijing. Comrade Cai Chang was head of the preparatory committee and took up the responsibility of preparing for the convention of the congress. In the course of such international intercourse, Comrade Cai Chang propagandized to the world China's

revolution, in this way expanding the influence of the Chinese revolution, strengthening China's international status, and winning honor and glory for Chinese women. At the same time, the development of the international progressive women's movement was fostered.

### III

The whole people and people of the entire country loved and respected Comrade Cai Chang because of her determined and firm party "character," elegant personal integrity and high moral character. Truly, she is a superior representative of the proletariat. Her many virtues constitute indeed a valuable spirit and wealth for eternally educating the millions of party members and people. Our Chinese women take great pride in having amidst them such an outstanding proletarian woman revolutionary.

Comrade Cai Chang has a deep faith in communism. Imbued with this faith, she has worked relentlessly for the revolution and never paused for a moment in the endeavor. Over several decades of struggle, she has from beginning to end demonstrated an unyielding, indomitable, resolute and determined revolutionary spirit. In her family alone, several members have already fallen victim to the reactionaries' ruthless slaughter, but she was never frightened. What she did was to bury the dead, take over their baton and flag and continue determinedly with the struggle. While engaging in underground work in the White-terror stricken cities like Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong, she was always in danger of being caught or killed but she was never mindful of her own safety. In the Long March, she scaled snowy mountain tops or crossed the grassland and all the time insisted on doing propaganda and promotion work and on toiling along with the populace. Sometimes when the comrades were fatigued, she would loudly sing the "Internationale" or the "Marseillaise" thus imparting faith and strength to the populace and fully demonstrating the steel-like aspirations of Communist Party members. In the 10 years of internal disorder, Comrade Li Fuchun suffered humiliations of various sorts and was branded as "going against the current," or being a "black ringleader." She herself was implicated. But even in such circumstances, she and Comrade Li Fuchun never forgot to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They would talk about the party's history with other comrades to augment their faith in the party. Mao Zedong said: Comrade Cai Chang is an honest person. This gave her much encouragement.

In 1973, a tea party was held in the Great Hall of the People in celebration of the 8 March International Women's Festival. Comrade Zhou Enlai specially invited her to be present and warmly praised her in the course of the party. On her 80th birthday, Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao, Kang Keqing, Zhuo Lin and other comrades went to her residence to offer their congratulations. Comrade Nie Rongzhen additionally brought her a gift, a Chinese potted landscape adorned with a miniature evergreen tree. All of them conveyed the party's warm feelings and concern, in the hope that she would live comfortably in her last years.

When Comrade Cai Chang was still young, she saw with her own eyes such scenes as communist intellectual elements like Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen and others, with only an umbrella and a pair of sandals but not a cent in their pocket going about everywhere, penetrating deep into the peasant villages to do investigation work and fraternizing with the workers and peasants. This deeply impressed on her that in revolution if you do not go deep among the masses and if you segregate yourself from the realities of China, then the revolution can hardly succeed. Since taking part in the revolution, she has taken such people as Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen and others as a model, gone deep into the worker and peasant masses and engaged in research and investigation work. In Guangzhou, at the time of the Northern Expedition, she frequently visited factories, rural villages and schools to do investigation and publicity work, encouraging the workers in the work. When doing underground work in Shanghai, she went deep among the worker masses. As a result, the attempts of the reactionaries to arrest her were foiled more than once. In the central revolutionary bases, she was entirely one of the masses. She would labor like the masses and intimately coached them in culture and learning. She penetrated deep into the families of the masses to learn the real situation and to do ideological work. In 1941 when she took up the post of acting secretary of the Central Women's Committee, she at once dispatched investigation and research teams to the counties and municipalities in the Shaan-Gan-Ning [Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia] border area. Comrade Mao Zedong's article "On Investigation in Rural Villages," was based on talks with the investigation teams at that time. This was Comrade Cai Chang's way of insisting on penetrating deep into a subject and learning the facts from all sides and then proceeding to shape the guideline for work in accordance with the actual conditions. This completely rectified Wang Ming's vulgar work style of formalism, objectivism, and doctrinairism. In 1942 a special issue of the Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO carried a reprint of Mao Zedong's calligraphy which urged "going deep among the masses and avoiding empty talk." These Chinese characters represented warm coaching to the women's work under the leadership of Comrade Cai Chang. They vividly described just what she was doing.

Comrade Cai Chang is a friendly and amiable person. Before her comrades and her subordinates she is untiring in her persuasion and has the utmost patience in doing educational work. She stands on principle and makes rigid demands. At the same time, she is friendly and always endeavors to unite comrades together. In my recollection, she would always meet people with a smiling face. I never had any occasion to see her angry. She has the tender heart of an affectionate mother. She treats comrades sincerely, warmly and straightforwardly, and is always glad to help others. To brothers and sisters of other classes, she is full of affectionate sentiments. I remember that on one occasion in Guangzhou, a peasant girl by the name of Cheng Furu left her home to escape from a mercenary marriage. Comrade Cai Chang gave the girl refuge in her own home. She helped her to solve her living problems. Following patient educational work, this girl was finally converted to the path of revolution and eventually joined the Communist Party of China. In Yanan, many leading cadres lived near her cave. Whenever there was a family dispute, she was invited to mediate. Everybody treated her as an intimate acquaintance. Just because of her

possession of such qualities, within our party she has won everybody's respect. The entire party all fervently called her "Big Sister Cai."

Comrade Cai lives strictly within her means and lives very frugally. This has always been her style, be it in war years or in peacetime. When doing underground work in Shanghai, she worked very hard every day. Besides, she suffered then from a stomach ailment and occasional headaches. She did not have the heart to spend her money and preferred to economize on food and clothing. She put aside Comrade Fuchun's meager salary and eventually contributed the money to the party's coffers to serve as party expenses.

After liberation, she and Comrade Fuchun continued to live frugally. Even now she wears clothes from the 1950's. The savings from her and Comrade Fuchun's salaries were not accumulated or reserved for their children on their younger generation. Rather, the whole of the savings was contributed to the party. Following the death of Comrade Fuchun, she contributed a sum of 100,000 yuan under her name and Comrade Fuchun's name to the party as "party fees." In fact, several years earlier, she had already contributed 30,000 yuan for the same purpose. She has always felt that the party had given her much but she had contributed little in return and that therefore she must devote her entire efforts to the service of socialist construction.

Comrade Cai Chang has never been proud or arrogant. Rather, she has always been modest and cautious. She herself is a superior woman revolutionary while her brother Cai Hesen, sister-in-law Xiang Jingyu and her husband Li Fuchun were all noted leaders in the party. However, she has never publicized herself or her family members. On one occasion, a correspondent of ZHONGGUO FUNU [CHINESE WOMEN] magazine visited her and asked for information about her past history and family background. She courteously rejected the request. In her estimation, revolution is the people's undertaking. We should propagandize the party and the people and should not heap the achievements on any one individual's account. This is indeed a lofty virtue of a Communist Party member. Although for a long time she has occupied a leadership position in the party and in the government, she and Comrade Fuchun never once utilized their power and position for private gain. Nor did they allow their relatives, friends or children to do so. She has always maintained the "color" or lifestyle of a public servant of the people. She has a strict organizational concept, has always spontaneously taken part in organizational life, paid the party fees on due time, and rigidly observed the party's security protection system and various kinds of disciplinary codes. What she wants for her children is especially stern and demanding. She sent her only daughter to study agricultural technology in the Soviet Union so as to devote her life to the reorganization of China's backward agriculture. One of her grandchildren was staying with her, but she made him take his meals in the public canteen for staff and workers. She also made him take part in the labor and in production. She always taught him to learn from the workers and peasants and to make friends with the latter's children.

In recent years, she wholeheartedly responded to the party's call to abolish the lifelong tenure system for leadership cadres. She wrote on various occasions to the party and the state to offer her resignation from her party and government posts, in order to better train up her successors. In 1978, she relinquished the post of president of the All-China Women's Union. In September 1980, she was no longer the vice chairwoman of the National People's Congress. This year, she no longer took part in the party's 12th national congress and resigned from all her party posts. Her action fully demonstrated an old Communist Party member's breadth of vision and earned her even greater respect from the whole party and whole people.

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THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE CREATES A NEW PATH FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

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[Article by Zhan Wu [6124 2970] and Liu Wenpu [0491 2429 3877]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a profound change has taken place in the features of the countryside and an excellent situation of unprecedented vitality has appeared. This is manifested by an all-round development in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery, and a big and extensive increase in production. Between 1979 and 1981, the average annual growth of 5.6 percent in gross agricultural output value surpassed the average annual growth rate of 4.4 percent between 1950 and 1981. There was a pronounced improvement in the living standard of the peasants. The net income of peasant households showed an unprecedented average growth rate of 18 percent between 1979 and 1981. The proportion of affluent production brigades with an average per capita income of more than 150 yuan from collective distribution rose from 3.8 percent in 1978 to 15.6 percent in 1981. A large number of communes and production brigades began to shake off the condition of economic backwardness, straitened circumstances and lack of initiative among commune members, and the number of poor counties with an average per capita income of less than 50 yuan from collective distribution dropped from 381 in 1978 to 211 in 1981.

The main reason why the rural economic situation has been able to quickly take a turn for the better is because, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have more thoroughly corrected the long-standing "leftist" mistakes in agriculture and adopted a series of important policies and measures such as raising the prices of some agricultural sideline products, reducing or exempting taxes by taking circumstances into consideration, improving credit and agricultural sideline products purchasing work, encouraging and backing the commune members to make a success of their private plots and family sideline production, restoring country fair trade, popularizing various forms of responsibility system, respecting the ownership rights and decisionmaking power of the collective economy, suiting measures to local conditions and supporting the collectives and individuals to develop a diversified economy. This has enabled the agricultural economy to embark on a new path in keeping with the conditions in our country within a few short years.

### The Important Thing Is To Arouse the Enthusiasm of the Peasants

The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development" adopted by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "The first point of departure in affirming agricultural policy and rural economic policy is to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and to the enthusiasm of the 800 million peasants in our country. We must ideologically strengthen socialist education over the peasants, and at the same time, economically show full concern for their material interests and politically safeguard their democratic rights. Divorced from given material interests and political rights, the enthusiasm of any class cannot spontaneously emerge." This has grasped the crux of our agricultural problem. In the 20 or more years since cooperativization, we have wasted a great deal of energy on rural work. However, prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, about one-third of the production teams still had an average per capita income of less than 60 yuan and lived in the straitened circumstances of "relying on resold grain for food, relying on loans for production and relying on relief for existence." Although the grain output of some of the economic units of advanced collectives rose, the economic effect was not ideal. That was because they did not grasp this crux of solving the material interests and political rights of the peasants and did not touch on the basic defects in the agricultural policy and the management system. They suppressed the enthusiasm of the masses and caused agricultural economic development to lack any kind of intrinsic motivation. These defects were mainly manifested in:

First, one-sided emphasis was given to the development of heavy industry, and the economic interests of the peasants were ignored and infringed upon. High indexes, high purchasing quotas, blind commands and inappropriate restrictions on the peasants to prevent them from developing avenues for making money resulted in the fact that production could not be properly developed and the livelihood of the peasants could not be properly improved in many areas.

Second, the peasants lacked decisionmaking power. Many production policies did not come from the peasants themselves but from the upper levels. The policymakers were also far away from the scene of production and did not have to assume any responsibility for mistakes in commanding production. This was the basic reason for blind commands. Blind commands inflicted a heavy economic burden on the peasants.

Third, egalitarianism was practiced in the internal distribution of the collective economy, everybody ate out of a "big pot" and the economic interests of the individual were not linked with the fruits of labor. The peasants had no economic incentive, consequently their production initiative and labor enthusiasm were dampened.

In the light of the above defects, the agricultural policy decisions since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have used carrying out the production responsibility system as the turning point supplemented

by various comprehensive countermeasures to firmly grasp this basic problem of arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants. Therefore we have been able to sweep away the depressing atmosphere in the countryside within a few short years and witness the appearance of a dynamic and vigorous situation.

From the tortuous path of development taken by our collective economy, we can obtain the following revelations:

First, in socialist construction, we must adopt an extremely cautious attitude in coordinating the economic interests of the state and the peasants. The state must accumulate funds and carry out industrialization, and the peasants should make contributions. At the same time, we must carry out work in accordance with the capability of the peasants and must not try to achieve high rates of industrial growth at the expense of the peasants' rightful economic interests. Otherwise, we will dampen their enthusiasm and damage agriculture, and in the end, the whole national economy will also suffer. One of the important policy decisions made after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was to readjust the proportion between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and provide enormous material benefits to the peasants by raising the purchasing prices for agricultural sideline products and reducing taxes. This has played a very important role in arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants. Naturally, the material benefits given by the state to the peasants cannot exceed the extent the state can afford. If this extent is exceeded, the balance of financial revenue and expenditure as well as price stability will also be affected. This would be disadvantageous to the state, and ultimately, to the peasants.

Second, rural economic policy must be based on showing concern for the material interests of individual peasants and correctly handle the economic interests of the state, the collective and the individual peasant. The reason why the production responsibility system can produce such obvious results is because it has closely integrated the personal interests of the peasant with those of the state and the collective. Because of this, the peasants will profoundly feel that they are the masters of the collective economy and will wholeheartedly throw themselves into socialist construction.

Third, respect the decisionmaking power of the peasants. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development" stipulated: "Under the premise of upholding the socialist orientation, implementing the policies, laws and decrees of the state and accepting the planned guidance of the state, all basic accounting units of the people's communes have the right to carry out planting in line with local conditions, the right to determine measures for increasing production, the right to determine methods of management and administration, the right to distribute their own products and cash and the right to resist the blind commands of any leading organ or member." This has played a very good role in arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants. The production contracts signed between the peasants and the production teams

and the supply and marketing contracts signed between the peasants and the state commercial departments which appeared everywhere have more clearly defined the rights, responsibilities and interests of the peasant, the collective and the state. They not only safeguard the decisionmaking power and rightful interests of the peasants, but also safeguard the implementation of the plans of the state and the collective.

#### Rural Economic Development Must Take a Chinese-Style Path of Modernization

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, leading comrades of the Central Committee have successively proposed that our agricultural development must take a Chinese-style path of modernization. This includes transforming agriculture from solely grasping grain to all-round development and from purely carrying out farmland water conservancy construction to properly grasping the planting of trees and afforestation and improving the plant cover at the same time. Our policy is, we absolutely cannot slacken up on grain production and the active development of a diversified economy. Our agriculture must take the path of garden-style cultivation and horticulturalization [zou yuan lin hua yuan yi hua de dao lu 6382 0954 2651 0553 0954 5669 0553 4104 6670 6424], the path of all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery and the path of comprehensive operation of agriculture, industry, commerce and transportation. After several years of practice under the guidance of these guiding principles, we have initially developed a path for agricultural development that is in keeping with our national conditions and tangible results have already been achieved.

What are the distinguishing features of the so-called Chinese-style path of agricultural modernization, and what is its objective inevitability?

1. In the utilization of cultivated land, it is necessary to carry out garden-style cultivation and horticulturalization. China has a huge population and little land, and the population will continue to grow in the future. Therefore, our policy can only be to keep on raising the utilization rate of the land and take the path of intensive operations, garden-style cultivation and horticulturalization.

In the process of readjusting the production structure and developing diversified economy, the most conspicuous contradiction is the struggle between grain and cash crops for land. This is mainly because the degree of intensive management of agricultural production in our country is not high and extensive management has been carried out on a very large part of the cultivated land. To solve this contradiction, we can only find a way out from garden-style cultivation and horticulturalization. Regardless of whether in grain or in cash crops, we must keep on raising the level of intensive cultivation and greatly increase the yield per unit area. Here, we must also properly handle the question of long-term and immediate relations. Taking the long-term view, we must continue to readjust the production structure of agriculture. A considerable part of the cultivated land will gradually shift to various areas of the diversified economy in order to greatly increase the ratio of diversified income in agricultural income.

Otherwise, it will be difficult to quickly develop the rural economy and also difficult to more speedily bring general affluence to the peasants. However, readjusting the production structure is, in the final analysis, conditioned by the level of productive forces and the level of the supply of commodities and grain in particular. Under the present condition of the level of our agricultural productive forces being very low and the grain problem still rather tense, the steps of readjusting the production structure cannot be too quick. Under the condition that there is no evident improvement in unit grain yield, the area of grain field should be stabilized at a certain level and can no longer be reduced. All areas suitable for the planting of grain must develop grain crops. Areas which are not only suitable for the planting of grain but are also suitable for the development of cash crops should give priority to the planting of grain. A small number of sandy land, alkaline land and sloped land areas not suitable for the planting of grain but suitable for the development of cash crops or forestry and livestock production naturally must not have grain planted on it. The extent of readjusting the production structure must be determined in accordance with the margin of increase in the unit yield of grain and cash crops. An important aspect at present is to transform the medium- and low-yield fields which accounted for two-thirds of the existing cultivated land in our country. If effective measures can be taken to raise the unit yield of this portion of cultivated land, the contradiction in the struggle between grain and cash crops for land can be greatly mitigated.

2. Rural economy must implement the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery as well as the comprehensive management of agriculture, industry, commerce and transportation. For a long time, one of the serious defects in the development of agriculture was focusing attention only on the 1 billion and more mu of cultivated land and neglecting the use of the vast mountain areas, grasslands and water areas. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have broadened our field of vision. We understand that people can make use of the abundant resources of these places to produce ligneous oil, ligneous grain, dry and fresh fruit products, aquatic products and livestock products. All of these are excellent foods. They not only can satisfy the various livelihood needs of the people but can also reduce the pressure on grain. We understand that grain production is the basis for the development of forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and diversified economy, that forestry also provides excellent ecological environment for the development of agriculture and animal husbandry, and that forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and diversified economy supply fertilizer and funds to the planting industry. As a result of the implementation, an excellent situation has appeared of the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery promoting each other.

China has a population of 1 billion people, of which 800 million live in the countryside. China has a labor force of 400 million people, of which 300 million are engaged in agriculture. Since 1957, our agricultural labor force has increased by about 50 percent and our agricultural machines and

power for agricultural use have increased 10 times, scores of times and even hundreds of times, but the cultivated land worked by the agricultural labor force has been reduced by half and there is a great surplus of agricultural labor. Since the institution of the production responsibility system, this problem has become even more pronounced. Where can we assign this surplus agricultural labor? Our national economy is backward, and the ability of urban industries, commerce and service trades to absorb surplus rural labor is limited. Moreover, the increase of the population in cities and towns is also conditioned by the situation of commodities and grain supply, and there will be no basic change in this situation for a relatively long time to come. Therefore, we must keep most of the surplus agricultural labor in the countryside and find a place for them there. This is advantageous to the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. At the same time, we must develop rural industries, commerce, transportation and service trades in a planned manner, promote the development of rural towns, bring about the development of rural culture, education, social welfare and public undertakings and progressively diminish the gap between towns and villages.

3. Agricultural production must develop along the direction of making concentrated use of labor and knowledge. We must give play to this superiority held by the rich agricultural labor resources of our country. Automation and mechanization of agriculture can only be selectively carried out in key points, and we cannot blindly run after wholesale mechanization and automation under existing conditions in China. For the sake of satisfying the constantly growing material and cultural needs of our society, we must not only pay attention to improving labor productivity, but we must also pay attention to improving the productivity of the land. To do so, merely relying on increasing capital and means of production is not enough. We must raise the level of intensive cultivation and put in more work and know-how. Our agriculture has a fine and longstanding tradition of intensive cultivation. We must continue to give play to this distinguishing feature and integrate it with modern science and technology. For this reason, we must attach great importance to the promotion of rural intellectual development. Without a large number of peasants with a good grasp of science and technology, there will not be a Chinese-type modernization in agriculture. Rural intellectual development must begin with an improving rural education, the setting up and perfecting of a sparetime cultural and technical education system and a setup for popularizing rural technology to the peasants is a path for raising the technical level of rural areas that requires little investment and produces faster and better results.

Under the Premise of Public Ownership of the Means of Production, Management of Collective Economy Must Be Flexible and Diversified

For a long time, people have developed this kind of understanding: After the cooperative transformation of agriculture, collective management, centralized labor and unified distribution should be practiced. This traditional concept has been smashed by the practice of the peasant masses since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

At present, the two forms of the responsibility system practiced by most of the communes and production brigades are "production contracted to each household" and "responsibility for the task assigned to each household." Some changes have taken place in the unified management and unified distribution system of the production teams, and what they practice is decentralized management with the family as a unit, or the collective economy has adopted the form of household management. This reform in management reflects a change in rural relations of production. It cannot be denied that various districts have a number of well-run production teams. Their economic level, management level and the income level of their commune members are higher. They have accumulated more public property and a very great change has taken place in the features of their production and livelihood. This kind of production team can, and also should, continue to practice the form of unified management and unified distribution with the production team as a basis. However, such production teams are actually very few in number. As for the communes and production brigades in many districts, household management has become the principal management form of the collective economy.

Why is it that socialist collective agriculture can adopt the form of household management, and will not this form of household management change the socialist character of the collective economy? Outwardly, the form of household management adopted by the collective economy at present bears a certain resemblance to the individual economy. However, the character of a mode of production should not be judged on the basis of its form. We should go beyond the form to analyze its internal economic relations. The distinguishing features of management by separate household are: 1) It is carried out on publicly owned land. The ownership by the collective over the land is protected by law and the land cannot be leased or sold. There are also stipulations regarding the use of the land, and if necessary, it can be readjusted or taken back. Therefore the economic position of the contracting peasant households is entirely different from that of individual peasants. They have no means to freely amass land, and polarization is also inevitably restricted. 2) As the contract-awarding unit, the collective economy can supervise and direct the activities of peasant household management in accordance with the terms of the contract. It also possesses essential material means such as large and medium-size farm machines and implements as well as water conservancy facilities able to influence the production of the subcontracting households and bring them into line with the plans of the state and the collective. 3) In addition to administrative methods, the state also has at its disposal to orient production all essential economic means, including large-scale industries, commerce, credit, subsidies and taxation. These conditions will shift decentralized household management from the socialist course and place it in the service of socialist interests. Therefore, it is an integral part of the collective economic structure of socialist agriculture and a form embodying the socialist mode of production.

For a new mode of production to adopt the shell of the old mode of production at the initial period of its establishment, because productive forces are not strong enough, is not a unique phenomenon in history. At the

initial period of its establishment, the capitalist mode of production had extensively adopted the form of household industries, and judging from the appearance in connection with such characteristics as the employment of household labor, the use of the home as a factory and the independent household management, there was almost no distinction between these household industries and the former household handicraft industries of capitalism. However, because they had established contract relations with large capitalist factories, Marx correctly pointed out that with the exception of a similarity in name these household industries were completely different in essence from the household industries of the past. They were the external sections of capitalist factories and their workers also increasingly became wage workers. For the same reason, separate household management under the publicly owned economy is only using the form of the small peasant economy, but its essence has basically been changed.

However, we should see that household management also has its limitations. Most have not broken away from the state of natural economy, and management items are small and complete. This situation is in contradiction to the demand for the further development of production. This is most sharply manifested in: It is detrimental to the specialization of production techniques, and people with specialized technique also cannot easily bring their skill into full play. Contracting everybody to work in large fields is detrimental to changing the state of the unitary production structure. Separate management has made it difficult to centralize for production the surplus funds and labor scattered around the countryside. It affects the rational utilization of large and medium-size agricultural machines and water conservancy facilities as well as the popularization of advanced science and technology. Moreover, it can also be easily divorced from the plans of the state and the collective. It is detrimental to developing the commodity economy and raising the marketability of commodities. Therefore, our socialist agriculture must certainly develop along the direction of specialization and socialization. Such household management on the basis of public ownership will also gradually head toward specialization and socialization along the three paths listed below.

1. Specialization of contract management and household sideline production. The specialized households and key households that have emerged everywhere at present are an embryonic form of specialization and socialization. They are a transitional form of development from natural economy to modernized agriculture. In terms of the whole country, their number is still very small. As they require little investment but produce better economic results and more commodities with high marketability, they have already shown great vitality. They have a common tendency, which is that they have gradually broken away from the small and complete natural economy. They have first of all separated the planting industry from the livestock and poultry-raising industry. Since then, specialized division of labor has also appeared within the planting industry and the livestock and poultry-raising industry and they have also set up all kinds of socialized technical service companies and organizations.



2. Strengthen the ties and joint operations of the socialist-owned economy. After carrying out separate household management, some of the better-run production teams have, on the principle of unifying what should be unified and separating what should be separated, strengthened unified control and use of large and medium-size agricultural machines and water conservancy facilities, and some of the sideline industries not suitable for decentralized management have been placed under the unified management of production teams or production brigades. Based on the demands of the state plan and the needs of the collective economy, they have worked out a unified production plan and have also properly organized contract work to guarantee their implementation. They have drawn necessary funds, including accumulated funds, from the reserves kept by the collective to give play to the material base of unified management and expanded production. In this way, they have strengthened the economic ties and leadership to the collective economy over various peasant households, with notable results. Along with the raising of the degree of specialization and socialization of various peasant households (especially specialized households and key households), the ties between the management activities of the peasant households and the commercial, transportation, agricultural product processing and technical service departments of the state and the collective have steadily strengthened, and some of them have also set up joint operations with the above-mentioned organizations. The higher the degree of specialization and socialization, the greater the reliance of the management activities of peasant households on the socialist publicly owned economy and specialized service departments and the more they are conditioned by socialist planned economy.

3. Organization of new economic cooperation and alliances. In areas carrying out the "production contracted to each household" and "responsibility for the task assigned to each household" systems, economic cooperation and alliance between the contracting households have experienced varying degrees of development in recent years. On the whole, they can be divided into: 1) Temporary production cooperation. The distinguishing features are: voluntary production cooperation, with separation and integration or alliance but no integration of a seasonal nature, for the sake of solving the contradiction between the dissemination of advanced technology over a large area and decentralized management. The nature of labor cooperation among the peasant households takes such forms as labor exchange, mutual help and joint soaking and raising of seedlings. Some have used their hardcore technical forces to contract with peasant households for certain technical and production tasks, such as the prevention and control of plant diseases and elimination of pests. Certain peasant households have set up unified planning and technical service organizations. 2) Establishment of an independent economic alliance. Generally speaking, this is led and organized by people who have a good grasp of technology with those taking part putting in investment and buying a share. Some have mainly taken advantage of their natural resources, some have joined forces to raise money for running sideline production.

There are still many problems facing agriculture, and we cannot treat them lightly or be unrealistically optimistic. However, the course has been

charted and the way clearly pointed out. It has only been a short time since the implementation of the policies affirmed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but the changes taking place in the countryside have already manifested the powerful vitality of these policies. We are positive that they will continue to promote the development of our agricultural and rural situation in a favorable direction.

CSO: 4004/2

A MAJOR PROBLEM IN IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 82 pp 22-26

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Earnest and overall implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals, in particular toward middle-aged intellectuals, is an important question affecting the overall situation in the socialist modernization of our country.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to the question of intellectuals. It has done much theoretical work in straightening things out in this respect and has adopted a series of measures to implement the policy toward intellectuals. For example: Those who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have basically been redressed and most of them have been offered appropriate posts; a large number of old intellectuals have been restored to leading posts and a large number of outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals have been elected to leading groups at various levels to strengthen them; a large number of outstanding intellectuals have been admitted into the party; assistants have been assigned to some old specialists; the situation that some intellectuals cannot make use of what they have learned or cannot make use of their strong points has been changed as a result of the readjustments made, and the question of ensuring intellectuals to use what they learn is being gradually resolved; in many departments and units, many cadres engaged in professional work have been examined and given higher technical titles; the problems of couples living separately in different localities or couples without a child living with them to take care of them have been solved for many people; and the work and living conditions of intellectuals have been preliminarily improved. These measures show that the party and the people are concerned with intellectuals and have aroused their enthusiasm in dedicating themselves to socialist modernization. However, for various reasons, many problems remain unsolved in implementing the policy toward intellectuals. Therefore, it is imperative to earnestly check the work in implementing the policy toward intellectuals in accordance with the party Central Committee's instructions.

At present, the results of checking the work in implementing the policy toward the intellectuals throughout the country show that, comparatively speaking, the work in implementing the policy toward old intellectuals is better; whereas the work in implementing the policy toward middle-aged intellectuals, that is, raising their political status, giving full play to their role and improving their work and living conditions, is not yet satisfactory. However, implementing the policy toward the middle-aged intellectuals is the key to implementing the policy toward all intellectuals. This question has already drawn the attention of the whole party, the people of the whole country and the people in all walks of life.

The middle-aged intellectuals are basically those who were directly nurtured by the party and matured after the founding of new China. Most of them suffered from hardships inflicted on the nation and the classes to which they belong and their world outlook was fostered in the early 1950's-1960's when our party's work style and the general mood of the society were the very best ever. Therefore, their political consciousness is relatively high and they have a deep love for the party. They have unswerving faith in socialism, great enthusiasm toward the revolutionary cause and the spirit of dedicating themselves to it. Although many comrades among them have been unjustly treated or have suffered hardships in some political movements, in particular during the "Great Cultural Revolution," they have all along loved the party and socialism and have great faith in the victory, destiny and future of our party and motherland. Moreover, the intellectuals of this generation have received relatively more systematic education and training in specialized fields and their knowledge of science and culture is relatively better. Even during the adverse conditions during the 10 years of internal disorder, many comrades continued to diligently study and closely followed the development of modern science and technology. Therefore, although changes occur every day in all fields of knowledge at present, they are still able to keep pace with new situations, acquire new knowledge and make new achievements in science and technology. All this shows that the various fine qualities and special skills of our country's intellectuals can be collectively found in the middle-aged intellectuals. They are a very valuable treasure of the party and the people.

Intellectuals of the older generation in our country have made important contributions to socialist modernization in various fields and they have been highly commended by the party and the people. At present, most of them are over or well over 60 years old. Although they have lofty aspirations and are still working their hearts out for the socialist cause, they find their ability unequal to their ambition. There are quite a few young and capable intellectuals but they are still growing to maturity and they still have to make further improvements and advanced studies in politics and their work. Under these circumstances, the position and role of the middle-aged intellectuals, who are in the prime of their lives and constitute the main body of our country's intellectuals, have become very prominent. For example, of the 179 scientific and technological workers who were prize-winners 96 times in scientific research achievements of the first and second grades in the Beijing area of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1978-79, 158 are 36-50 years old, accounting for 88 percent of

the total. Again, of the 100 scientific research items in the Jiangsu Agricultural Research Institute, 71 are in charge of middle-aged scientific and technological workers. The situation on the education front is more or less the same. The middle-aged teachers of the ship dynamics department of the Shanghai Jiaotong University account for 65 percent of the teachers of the whole department; of the 50 courses offered in this department in one year, 48 are taught by middle-aged teachers, accounting for 96 percent; of the 6 major items of scientific research achievements made by this department and awarded by Shanghai municipality or the state, 5 were organized and directed by middle-aged teachers. These facts clearly show that the middle-aged intellectuals are the mainstays and backbones of the entire ranks of intellectuals. They are shouldering the historical mission of inheriting the past and ushering in the future in making our country's science, education and culture prosper. Whether or not we can give play to their role involves the inheritance and development of our country's science, education and culture, the orientation and level of development of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization and the success or failure of our country's socialist modernization.

It is not enough just to understand the position and role of the middle-aged intellectuals in our country's socialist modernization. We must also understand their initiative toward this undertaking. The line, principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have further aroused their tremendous enthusiasm. They are proud of the historical mission they have shouldered. This is the spiritual motive force that makes them work selflessly in their posts on the scientific, technological, educational, cultural and other fronts, and attain tremendous achievements. We must be fully aware of the latent initiative and creativeness of the middle-aged intellectuals. We are not telling the truth if we say that the mental state of the middle-aged intellectuals is gloomy and pessimistic. The broad masses of middle-aged intellectuals will not agree to this either.

The selfless spirit of the broad masses of middle-aged intellectuals dedicating themselves to the struggle for the cause of socialism is worth respecting and commending. Besides, the party and the state are fully aware of their difficulties. In order to give full play to their initiative and creativeness, we must provide favorable conditions for them so that they will be able to concentrate and energetically display their talents in the socialist modernization drive. At present, the party Central Committee regards solving problems for the middle-aged intellectuals as the main task in implementing the policy toward intellectuals. This is an important decision with far-reaching significance. The implementation of this decision will undoubtedly speed up the progress of our country's socialist modernization. We must consciously and resolutely implement this decision of the party Central Committee and must never adopt a passive attitude in this respect.

In implementing the policy toward the middle-aged intellectuals, we must give full play to their special skills so that they can make the best use of what they have learned. What distresses many middle-aged intellectuals

most is that they cannot rationally use their knowledge in specialized fields which they acquired during the years when they were educated by the party. This is the most urgent demand of the middle-aged intellectuals at present. Party committees at all levels must pay great attention to this problem and earnestly solve it. We must truly understand them, trust them and provide conditions for them to display their wisdom and talents. We must elect outstanding middle-aged intellectuals with moral integrity, capability and ability to do organizational work in leading posts at various levels and see that their authority commensurates with their posts and duties. This is also an urgent task in making the cadres in leading groups become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. We must admit into the party in good time, just as we treat advanced elements among the workers and peasants who want to be admitted into the party, all advanced elements among the middle-aged intellectuals who have satisfied the requirements for becoming a party member and must not discriminate against them or treat them with prejudice. In addition, in accordance with the situation of uneven distribution and actual needs of professional people in various departments and localities, we should encourage a rational directional flow of these people and establish rational management systems for the distribution, use, examination, flow and advanced studies of these people. The fundamental question in arousing the enthusiasm of the middle-aged intellectuals at present is to use them rationally and appropriately. If we do a good job in this respect, their ideals and enthusiasm for participating in socialist modernization will find sustenance and there will be a basis for solving other problems for them.

An important question which is closely linked with the questions of having full faith in them and letting them have a free hand in their work is that we must be determined to gradually improve the work and living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals. We must resolve actual difficulties in their work and daily life and provide necessary material guarantee in order to give full play to their role. For example, we must gradually increase their wages, improve their housing conditions, reduce their household chores, give them necessary books, material, apparatus and equipment for their work and so on. All this is very necessary to protect their energy and health and to raise their efficiency. If we have not done a good job in this respect, we cannot say that we have truly implemented the policy toward intellectuals.

In order to earnestly implement the party's policy toward intellectuals, in particular toward middle-aged intellectuals, we must also solve some ideological problems. First, we must make clear that improving the working and living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals and giving full play to their role are in keeping with the interests of the broad masses of the people. In deciding to solve the problems of the middle-aged intellectuals, the party Central Committee proceeded from the interests of the working class, the people and the nation. Whether or not we can build a highly developed material civilization and a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization and attain the goal of our 20-year struggle depends on the foundation we lay in the 1980's. If we can do a solid job in the coming

10 years, we will bring about bright prospects in endowing our economy with vitality in the future and will create conditions for a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization. In order to lay a good foundation in this respect, we should, of course, carry out structural reforms and make material preparations but the most important preparation is to train the necessary capable persons. The experience of many economically developed countries has proved that economic prosperity depends to a very great extent on science, technology and education and the training of capable persons. Without intellectuals, it will be impossible to develop our country's science and education or to speed up the development of our country's productive forces by means of science and technology. Without intellectuals, it will also be impossible to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation or to make our next generation become new people with good education, lofty ideals, moral integrity and cultural knowledge and people who will observe discipline. We must, with the broad-mindedness and far-sightedness of the proletarian, carefully handle and earnestly resolve the important question of the intellectuals, which involves the overall situation. Otherwise, we are prone to be "short-sighted."

We should realize that many people are suffering from "short-sightedness." The longstanding "leftist" ideas of belittling science, culture and the intellectuals and the pernicious fallacies about the intellectuals spread by the "gang of four" are still affecting the minds of some comrades. Much effort is needed to eliminate this influence. Today, this influence is manifested in: 1) Ideologically and theoretically, some people have not yet truly realized that the great majority of the intellectuals are components of the working class who have mastered relatively more knowledge in science and culture. 2) Some people do not really understand that the further we go on with the modernization, the more we need the intellectuals. They even think that "without the intellectuals, production will be carried on and houses will be built just the same" and so on. It is high time this kind of prejudice and narrow-mindedness was gotten rid of. If we do not realize that the intellectuals are components of the working class, we will not adopt an equal and comradely attitude toward them. If we do not understand the role played by the intellectuals, we will not look squarely at their difficulties and demands. Our leaders at all levels must remain sober-minded and use Marxist views to theoretically clarify the position and role of science, technology, education and culture in the socialist modernization and the position and role of the intellectuals and educate the cadres and the masses in this respect. We must make everybody understand that in modern large-scale production, we cannot stick to the old ways or be complacent and conservative. Without the prosperity of science, technology, education and culture, we will lag behind and be vulnerable to attack. Stalin said that theoretical mistakes never brought benefit, nor would they ever bring us any. It is not easy to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideas if we do not theoretically and thoroughly clarify all questions of concern; nor will it be possible to increase our consciousness and to reduce our blindness in implementing the policy for the intellectuals.

Second, we must overcome the idea of looking down upon mental labor. It is undoubtedly a correct attitude of historical materialism to criticize the erroneous idea of regarding "everything inferior to study," give an appropriate place to physical labor and respect physical laborers. However, we should not play down mental labor or show contempt for knowledge and the intellectuals. The separation between mental labor and physical labor is the product of social development at a certain stage. Its emergence was of progressive significance and promoted the development of science and culture. In a class society, this separation is based on class antagonism. In a socialist society, the nature of class antagonism between mental and physical labor no longer exists. However, protracted efforts are needed to eliminate the differences between them, and the elimination of these differences is precisely the important revolutionary task to be implemented during the whole historical period of socialism. Under the conditions of socialism, both mental workers and physical workers are laborers. They are only assigned different jobs and have no basic conflict of interests. The relationship between them is a comradely relationship of mutual cooperation among comrades. Only in a communist society will the differences between mental and physical labor finally disappear when these two kinds of labor merge together. The process of this merging is inevitably realized by increasing mental labor and reducing physical labor and not otherwise. Therefore, the idea of despising mental labor is entirely wrong.

Mental labor has its own characteristics. These characteristics are usually manifested in its creativeness, continuity and complexity. Creativeness means that it continuously makes new achievements for the spiritual life of human beings and for the transformation and regeneration in production and promotes the development of spiritual and material civilizations. Continuity means that mental labor is work which often takes longer time to complete and requires greater efforts before achievements can be made and which cannot be interrupted at will or even interfered with in any way. Complexity means that mental labor is to mainly probe into the inherent laws of things. It often comes across in new questions and therefore needs a rich accumulation of knowledge which continues to develop in depth through practice. Generally speaking, mental labor is complicated work which only people who have received special training can do. Marx said: Labor power which can do complicated labor "is trained at higher educational costs and for a longer period of time than ordinary labor power. Consequently, it has a higher value. Since this kind of labor force has a higher value, it is engaged in high-level labor and turns out more value within the same period of time." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 223) It is precisely because the labor of the intellectuals has the above characteristics, that their treatment, work conditions and living conditions should be suited to these characteristics. For example, since the value created by their labor is greater, they should have higher remuneration. We must change the irrational phenomenon of middle-aged intellectuals earning lower wages than skilled workers of the same age group so that the mental and physical energy consumed in the labor of the former can be duly compensated. We must pay attention to solving their housing problem and their problem of having to do heavy household chores so that they can have



a quiet environment and an undisturbed mind, and so on. All these must be solved step by step in the course of implementing the policy toward the intellectuals.

Third, we must overcome the idea of egalitarianism. Egalitarianism reflects narrow-sightedness of petty producers and is the product of the handicraft industry and small-scale peasant economy. The old China was under the feudal system for a long period of time. There were countless petty producers and the influence of egalitarianism was great. The implementation of the principle of to each according to his work in a socialist society is a way to negate egalitarianism. However, due to the prolonged influence of "leftist" ideas, egalitarianist ideas often spread extensively. This was particularly so during the 10 years of internal disorder. Its manifestation in actual life is inappropriate control of distribution according to work, including inappropriately evening remuneration for mental and physical labor and for complicated labor and simple labor and making the remuneration for mental labor less than that for physical labor. Therefore, in implementing the policy toward the middle-aged intellectuals, we must oppose egalitarianism, foster a general social mood of respecting mental labor and treasuring capable persons and create good conditions for them in terms of public opinion and material benefits.

Of course, in improving the working and living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals, we must do our work step by step according to the development of the country's economy, and it is impossible to solve all problems at one go. But there are things which can be done under the present situations without spending much money. We must do these things without delay or hesitation. Party committees at all levels must put the issue of solving problems of the middle-aged intellectuals on the list of important work of the day and administrative departments of various units must be sincerely concerned with the life of the intellectuals and try their best to help them overcome their difficulties. Besides, we must also stress that leading comrades at all levels must earnestly make friends with the intellectuals and must understand them and know their demands well. Many intellectuals eagerly hope that leading cadres will frequently go among them, be concerned with them, talk with them and listen to their views. If leading cadres act in this way, even if some problems in their work and life are not solved for the time being, the intellectuals will still be heartwarming. This is extremely helpful in implementing the policy toward the intellectuals and in giving play to the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals.

That the party and the state show concern and attach importance to the middle-aged intellectuals shows that the party and the state trust them and place their hopes on them. It also means that the middle-aged intellectuals are shouldering heavy responsibilities. The broad masses of middle-aged intellectuals must be modest and prudent and learn modestly from the workers, peasants, intellectuals of the older generation, young comrades and more advanced comrades. Only if they continuously remold their own subjective world while transforming the objective world will they be able

to shoulder the historical mission. We hope that the broad masses of intellectuals, in particular the middle-aged intellectuals, will further arouse themselves, continuously increase their capability in practice and together with the broad masses of people make even greater contributions to building our country into a modern powerful socialist country.

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CORRECTLY APPRAISE THE NEW GENERATION OF THE CHINESE WORKING CLASS

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[Article by Yu Yannan [2456 3601 0589]]

[Text] The replacement of old workers by young workers in Chinese working class has increased dramatically since the 1970's. From 1949 to 1969, the number of workers increased on average by more than 2 million annually while between 1970 and 1981, the number increased by an annual average of 4 million. The number of old workers who began their work prior to liberation and in the early days of the founding of new China has drastically decreased, while the proportion of young workers has grown bigger and bigger. According to close of 1981 statistics, the number of young workers under the age of 35 who began to work in 1966 was more than 60 million nationally, making up about 60 percent of all workers. The young workers have become the main body of the Chinese working class and this is an important fact. A very important question is that of how to appraise the more than 60 million young workers. There are different views among many comrades as to how to appraise this young generation of the Chinese working class. Through study and investigation, our basic view is that, taken as a whole, the general outlook and nature of the young workers are good and that their weak points and shortcomings can no doubt be overcome through education and help. They represent a hopeful new generation of the Chinese working class. This basic appraisal accords with objective reality and with the basic principle of the theory of dialectic materialism and the theory of historical materialism.

In order to correctly appraise the new generation of the Chinese working class, we must first of all understand the basic fact that the majority of these 60 million young workers are active in the front line of production and have become the main force and backbone of production in various trades. For example, the mechanical workers in the Shanghai No 7 Cotton Mill under the age of 35 make up more than 90 percent. The crew of the Guangzhou Ocean Shipping Company under the age of 35 make up 88 percent of the total. The statistics of the maintenance service section and workers' service section of the Zhengzhou Railway Subbureau and the Zhengzhou north railway station show that young workers under the age of 35 who are working in the front line of transportation make up 66 percent of the total. In the Daqing oilfield, of the 1,222 production team leaders, 68 percent began their work

in 1966 or later. The proportion of young workers in the trades with a higher labor circulation rate (such as building construction) is still bigger. In short, extensive investigation shows that the new generation of the working class has historically begun to shoulder the heavy task of realizing the national modernization program and have begun, in particular, to shoulder the task of modernizing our industry. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been tremendous achievements in economic and other construction, and in the various causes of the working class there have also been tremendous developments. If we consider that the basic condition of the young workers who make up 60 percent of the total workers in our country is one of disorder, it is obvious that this view runs counter to the logic of life.

In order to correctly appraise the new generation of the working class in our country, it is necessary to analyze in an overall way the basic features of the young workers and the reasons for the appearance of these features. The new generation of our working class differs very much from the older generation in such aspects as social experience, cultural level, class consciousness, mental outlook and mode of life, for the older generation was subject to political oppression and economic exploitation in the old society, was emancipated following the victory of the revolution and has made tremendous contributions to socialist construction. In effect, what are the features of the new generation of the Chinese working class, and how should we understand and treat these features? The following are our views, based on extensive reference from investigation.

1. Most of the new generation of workers are from urban workers' families, while their predecessors were mainly from bankrupt peasants' families. The majority of veteran workers who began to work before liberation are from poor peasant families or handicraft workers' families in rural areas. Most of the new workers who began to work soon after liberation also came from the rural areas. But the situation now is different. The majority of the new generation of workers are from cities. Statistics show that in 1957, there were 7 million new industrial workers, of whom about 30 percent were from worker families. Reference materials from recent investigations show that 80 percent of the new workers who have worked in factories since 1966 are from worker families (the proportion of new workers from peasant families who are working in such enterprises as coal mines and oilfields is bigger). Generally speaking, the young workers who are from worker families, including urban cadre and intellectual families, have grown up in a peaceful environment. They have spent happy childhoods and they have beautiful memories because their families, thanks to the party and socialist system, spent their days in happiness. They themselves experienced a good social atmosphere and received a regular education in their early days. Following the downfall of the "gang of four" and particularly since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the political situation and living standards of these young workers and their families have, thanks to the implementation of the party's various policies, development of production and expansion of employment, improved considerably. Recent investigations show that the majority of young workers support the party's line, principles and policies. A number of typical investigations

show that most young workers have affection for the party and for socialism. But, because they did not experience the oppression and exploitation of the old society to compare the new society with the old one, generally speaking, their feelings are therefore not as strong and profound as those of their predecessors. These young workers are also less conscious than their predecessors regarding a sense of responsibility as the masters of their own state, in overcoming hardships and in abiding by organizational discipline.

2. The cultural level of the young workers is higher than that of the old workers. Following the liberation and particularly since the mid-1960's, junior secondary school education has been popularized in the cities, while since the 1970's, senior secondary school education has also been popularized in the cities. But most of the young workers, who are mainly from the cities, are junior and senior secondary school graduates and, consequently, their cultural level is higher than that of their predecessors. Statistics researched by the departments concerned show that in 1957, the cultural level of workers across the country was at that time, less than 20 percent below secondary school, 64 percent primary school level and 15 percent illiterate. But now, more than 90 percent of young workers are junior or senior secondary school graduates and only a few are illiterate. Of course, because of the delay and influence caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution," regular education received by many young workers did not correspond with the level of their education. The actual cultural level of a number of young workers is lower than their education level and this situation has been termed as the "level" lower than "diploma." But in modern life in the cities there are many ways for people to acquire knowledge. For example, many young workers have acquired scientific and cultural knowledge through TV programs, broadcasts and exhibitions, and such knowledge cannot be acquired in schools. Investigations show that apart from an education level that does not accord with actual cultural level, the actual cultural level of young workers now is higher than that of their predecessors. Still, if the cultural level of the young workers is compared with the objective needs of modern construction, it is still far from meeting such needs. Therefore, it is necessary to constantly raise the cultural and scientific level of the young workers through cultural education for workers.

Investigations show that when young workers have a higher cultural level, they are quick to learn new technology. Many young workers are able to master in 2 to 3 months and 2 to 3 years the production skills and experience that the old workers needed many years to accumulate in their practice in production. The past few years have been characterized by the replacement of many old workers by young workers and, apart from the situation in which the young workers are yet to be trained to master certain technologies, this replacement does not, in general, affect production. And this situation is largely related to the fact that young workers have a higher cultural level and are good at learning technology. Many production departments have enormously absorbed educated and physically sound young workers to renew the production force and, consequently, have promoted production. Last year, 140,000 young workers in Shanghai completed production tasks 2 months ahead of schedule. As the young workers have a higher

cultural level, consequently they have a wider scope of vision, are more active ideologically with less conservative thinking, are able to learn political theory with better results and to understand more complicated social political problems quicker, and have a strong impetus in transforming some irrational situations. All these are favorable to young workers in the understanding and acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's principles and policies.

3. The young workers experienced a complicated life during the 10 turbulent years. The young workers under 35 should have enjoyed this precious time in receiving socialist education in regular schools, but instead, they experienced 10 turbulent years during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Therefore, their experience during this period has been termed as "to have been born under the red flag and have grown up in turmoil." At that time, "classes were stopped for carrying out revolution." The majority of these young workers joined the "Red Guards" because they trusted Comrade Mao Zedong and the party and because of their revolutionary zeal. Because of their ignorance and under the instigation of some ultraleftist slogans, quite a number of these young people went too far and consequently caused, against their own will, considerable damage. These young people were lacking in political experience and, consequently, their souls were hurt and their ideology was in a chaotic situation. Later, they were sent to rural areas to settle down and then they returned to the cities, waiting for jobs. Thus having traversed a tortuous path, these young workers have a more complicated ideology, world outlook and outlook on life. Now, a few young workers are fed up with politics. However, they are seeking "material benefit," they have no revolutionary idealism and they have the serious ideology of a wage laborer. They do not even have confidence in the prospects of socialism and in the party's leadership. All these shortcomings cannot be separated from the fact that during the 10 turbulent years, a large number of cadres, intellectuals and model workers were subject to slander, that the achievements of the revolution and construction made in decades were denied and the relations between us and the enemy were topsy-turvy. Neither can all these be separated from the sufferings of their families during this period. A few young people have violated labor discipline, taken away state property or engaged in fighting, and all these are a result of the anarchism and ultra-individualism which were rampant during the 10 turbulent years. With regard to individual young workers who violated laws, were degenerate and even committed crimes in robbing and raping, in the final analysis, all these to a great extent are also the grave consequences of the 10 turbulent years.

In short, the family background and individual experiences of these young workers differ very much, not only from those of their predecessors who began to work prior to liberation, but also from those middle-aged workers who were already grown up in the 1950's and 1960's. Now some of our comrades have not concretely understood and analyzed the features of these young workers, their history and their situation. Instead, they have just seen that some aspects of these young workers are lagging behind the old workers and that some of these young workers are passive. Consequently, these comrades consider that this generation of the working class has a

much lower political standard. They even hold that this generation of workers has lost the class nature of the working class and, finally, they have lost confidence in these young workers. Through comprehensive analyses of extensive reference materials from investigations, we hold that these views do not correspond with reality and, therefore, they are incorrect.

In order to correctly appraise the new generation of the Chinese working class, it is imperative that the ideological situation and reality of the ranks of the young workers be classified and studied and that quantitative analysis be made. Analysis and study of extensive reference materials from investigations show that young workers can be divided into the following five categories:

1. Those who belong to this category have great aspirations and have done a good job in their positions. They have constituted a political backbone and they are a shock force in production. They are good at learning and eager to make progress, conscientious in their studies and consciously abide by labor discipline. They make up about 20 percent of the total of young workers.
2. The young workers who belong to this category are able to give prominence to their work, which they carry out in a down-to-earth way. They pay attention to safety in production. They have a desire to become advanced workers, are hard working and live a simple life and dislike flighty and undisciplined behavior. They make up about 50 percent.
3. Those who belong to this category are able to fulfill their production tasks. But they do not have aspirations and do not care about politics. They pay particular attention to "material benefit," regard "everything from the point of money" and think that "to become workers means making money and earning their living." These young workers make up about 25 percent.
4. People in this category have empty minds, work halfheartedly and do not observe discipline. They seek only temporary material comforts, and while they do not make any big errors, they continue to make small ones. They account for about 5 percent of the young workers.
5. Those who belong to this category have violated laws and committed crimes. They have been sent to receive labor education or have been legally punished. Their number is less than 5 in every 1,000 young workers.

These proportions may be different in different regions, trades and industrial and mining enterprises because of their different situations. But investigations made in some regions and enterprises showed that the majority of young workers are good.

Some of the young workers are called "graduates in 3 years" and merit our special attention. They are junior and senior secondary school graduates from the 3 years 1966, 1967 and 1968. These young workers experienced social chaos in the early days of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and were

also sent to settle in rural areas. Consequently, they have traversed a tortuous path. But most have received education directly from workers and peasants, have experienced production practice and have been trained to overcome difficulties. We must also understand that prior to the turbulent 10 years, they had generally already received regular school education, family education and social education for 7 to 12 years. They have a comparatively solid cultural foundation and a better world outlook and moral training. In addition, they joined the ranks of the working class earlier and have been trained in the environment of socialized mass production for about a decade. Eventually, a number of these young workers have succeeded to the fine morality and good tradition of the working class and have gradually become a backbone in both political work and production and construction of enterprises. According to statistics from some enterprises, about one-half of production team leaders are these young workers. The roles of such young workers include advanced furnace team leaders, workshop leaders, fine branch secretaries of the CYL and party branch secretaries. Although they traversed a tortuous path during the 10 turbulent years, many still maintain their confidence in the revolution and revolutionary zeal. In addition, through repeated comparisons in practice and serious study, their feelings for and understanding of the party and socialism have become deeper and deeper. They have great influence and prestige with the young people around them. Consequently, they are able through their own experiences, to grasp the ideological features of these young people, help raise their understanding and solve various ideological problems and, consequently, these young worker leaders have become an important force for the party in carrying out political and ideological work. In strengthening work among young workers, the party and CYL organizations at grassroot level must rely on these young workers so that they will be able to fully display their roles.

In order to correctly appraise the new generation of the Chinese working class, it is necessary to grasp the Marxist scientific analytical method and be good at grasping, from their manifestation, the nature of things. In his book "The Condition of the Working Class in England," Engels specifically described and analyzed the condition of the British working class in the first half of the 19th century on the basis of his own investigations and reliable reference materials. It was true that there existed various negative phenomena in the ranks of the working class at that time, but Engels did not consequently deny the historical status and historical role of this class. On the contrary, he profoundly expounded that it was none other than this class which had shouldered the heavy historical task as "gravediggers for capitalism." Today, in analyzing the young workers in our own country, we must also resort to this basic stand and method of historical materialism. Young people, and particularly the young workers who are related with the socialist social and socialized mass production and who have a higher cultural level, are the most active and vigorous force in our society. Some comrades have failed to appraise correctly the main aspects and unessential aspects of the young workers. They have paid more attention to the negative features of these young workers and less attention to their positive factors. Consequently, their appraisals of the new generation of our working class do not accord with



reality. This is primarily because these comrades often simply just appraise the young workers today with the criteria for appraising the old workers and middle-aged workers. They neglect the changes in our social and historical conditions, fail to understand that the young workers and old workers have different ways of thinking, different modes of life because of the different living conditions of their families, different cultural levels and different social experiences. In spite of making concrete analyses, these comrades analyze the condition of the young workers of the 1980's with the criteria used in the 1950's. They also fail to carry out political and ideological works according to the features of the young workers. For example, our old and middle-aged workers suffered in the old society. Through the education of recalling the past miseries and comparing them with the present happiness, they will be helped to profoundly feel that they are liberated. This method of education helps inspire their innate class feelings for the party and socialism. But the young workers do not have such experiences. So, generally speaking, the traditional ideological and political work of "recalling personal sufferings" and "recalling family sufferings" are not of much help to them. Also, some comrades often regard the situation as one in which the young workers are refusing such education. Another example: Unlike their predecessors, the young workers like playing, joking and beauty and like to raise questions and put forth their opinions. But in spite of encouraging these features in the young workers, the comrades link these features with some bourgeois decadent thinking and style of work. All this has hindered us in correctly appraising the young workers. We must understand that although these young workers are not as good as their predecessors in overcoming difficulties, they have a higher cultural level, are quick in mastering technology, relatively sharp in ideology, do not easily believe in everything and are quicker in understanding and correcting their shortcomings and mistakes. Some comrades do not really understand the features of these young workers, which are very much in the interest of our socialist modernization program, and therefore do not work hard to develop these features. In fact, some of our comrades were previously old workers themselves or have had experiences that are similar to those of the old workers. This situation has also become a reason why these cadres demand that the young workers have the standards of the old workers.

It is undeniable that the young workers have various shortcomings and problems. We have to understand that the emergence of these shortcomings and problems not only has its own reason but is also mainly because of the fact that during the 10 turbulent years and over the past few years we slackened the education of the young workers (some places even discarded such education). Some young workers lack revolutionary aspirations and a sense of responsibility as the masters of their own country and this situation has been greatly related with the fact that in the past, these young workers did not receive systematic education in political theory and historical knowledge and education in the fine tradition and morality of the Chinese working class. Because of this lack of education, the young workers are strangers to those things with which the old workers are familiar. They are also very far from really understanding their motherland, the CPC, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist system, the happy and

beautiful tomorrow of socialism, the historical tasks, the glorious revolutionary tradition and the fine morality and nature of the working class. Thus, without this knowledge, how can they foster revolutionary ideals and a sense of responsibility as the masters of their own country? This situation has also been caused by the mistakes we made in our work. It is improper and unfair to blame this situation on the young workers. Recently, the Tianjin Soda Factory, Yangzhou Cotton Mill and many other industrial enterprises have strengthened this aspect of education. As a result, the class consciousness of the broad masses of the young workers has been greatly raised and their revolutionary initiative has risen. Facts prove that as long as we are able to correctly appraise the young workers and step up and improve their education, the shortcomings of these young workers will no doubt be overcome.

The majority of the young workers are good, but we can in no way neglect the problems of a few young workers who are lagging behind. These backward young workers are only a small proportion of the whole working class, but we must take active measures to reform them through education. We must understand that taken as a whole, the fact that some young workers are backward or degenerate is a phenomenon under particular historical conditions. If the whole society is concerned for the growth of this part of the young workers and the management departments concerned are able to succeed and develop the rich experience and fine tradition of the party in educating and reforming as well as mobilizing the masses to help these young workers patiently and meticulously, the majority of these young workers will be turned, through education, into an active strength and will even, with the exception of a few who are incorrigible, become advanced elements. This has been proven in practice by many factories and enterprises. Although for the time being, these few young workers are backward or even degenerate, they have grown up in our socialist motherland. We must understand that these young workers can by nature be reformed. We can in no way put them in the same place as young people in capitalist societies who have become the "collapsing generation" as they turn decadent and degenerate because of the defects of the whole society and because they have no future. Of course, we must be fully aware that it is a very difficult task to reform these young workers. It needs time and effort before we are able to heal the wounds suffered by them during the 10 turbulent years. Externally, we have now implemented the correct open-door policy and internally we have implemented an economically activating policy. The old ideology and concepts of the old exploiting classes, the influence and corrosion of the decadent bourgeois ideology inside and outside socialist society cannot but have a negative effect on the part of the young workers. Therefore, the education of these young workers has become even more complicated. But we, the working class, constitute the most advanced class in the history of our country and our party is the advanced vanguard of the working class which has mastered the most advanced science in the world--Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. History has proved that our party and working class are able not only to educate and reform themselves but also to guide the whole nation and to educate and reform it. Therefore, we must be fully confident that by resorting to powerful ideological and political work and systematic education, we will be able to constantly overcome the influences and

corrosion of the various forms of the ideology of the exploiting class and educate and reform these backward young workers so that they will be turned into qualified members of the new generation of the Chinese working class.

The history of the development of the working class both at home and abroad shows that this class is in a position to educate, reform and digest various idle class elements and people with various forms of nonproletarian ideology (such as the lumpen proletariat) so as to expand its own ranks. Modern and socialized big industry is a big furnace that is coupled with the injection of the ideology of the advanced working class, rich experience in revolutionary struggles, tradition in revolutionary struggles and education in modern science and culture. Therefore, this furnace can melt various non-proletarian elements into true members of the working class. Today, the working class in our country is the leading class of the country while our party is leading the national political power on behalf of the working class. In addition, we have conditions for resorting to all means outside and inside factories in our efforts to bring up the new generation of our working class. Marx said: "The most advanced workers are fully aware that the future of their class and, consequently, the future of mankind totally depend on the education of the growing new generation of workers." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 11, p 217) These words have been proved by facts. We must put the education of the young workers into an important position and pay much attention to it. We have restored order today. It is imperative for our party, which is the vanguard of the working class, to make more efforts in strengthening the work of the young workers so as to train them into a new generation of the working class who are imbued with communist ideology and morality, who have modern scientific knowledge and production skills, who are united and cooperating and who have strict discipline, and to enable them to help unite and influence young people in society.

At the present stage in our country, workers, peasants and intellectuals are the forces on which our party relies. Of course, we must rely on the working class, but because of the present great changes in the organizational structure of our working class, the target of the party's key work within the working class must also be shifted from the old workers who began to work in factories after the founding of new China as the main target, to the young workers as the main target (of course, we cannot neglect the backbone role of the middle-aged workers). This work is demanded by history and by objective reality. In order to effectively build the ranks of our working class both ideologically and organizationally and in carrying out all work concerning the working class, we must pay full attention to this change in the target of education.

CSO: 4004/2

A LETTER TO A READER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 82 inside back cover

[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788], editor in chief of RED FLAG]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Chen Baozhu, a young cadre of Jilin Province, wrote a letter to Comrade Xiong Fu, editor in chief of RED FLAG, saying that he was going to write an article about the building of the party in the new historical period. Comrade Chen Baozhu hoped that Comrade Xiong Fu would correct his article. The following is Comrade Xiong Fu's reply.

Comrade Chen Baozhu:

How are you!

I have received your letter dated the evening of 10 May. Let me first say that we are equal members of the party's contingent, only we have different direct responsibilities and types of work. Comparatively speaking, I am older than you, and naturally have more experience than you. While you are working at the basic level, you have more practical knowledge than I do. Is this not right?

It is good that you are going to write an article about the building of the party in the new historical period. It can doubtless be said that you would not write such an article as a pastime or to seek the limelight, but to share the party's and the country's cares and burdens. You fully know the situation in basic-level organizations, and have a party member's sense of responsibility, particularly that which a worker of the party should have toward the party's work. You ask me to help you write this article well. I will naturally help you, because it is my duty, as well as my responsibility.

I have read the enclosed contents of your letter to the party Central Committee. If you write according to those contents, the article may possibly cover too large a subject, and it will not be easy to write. A good subject must be chosen when writing an article. If the range of the subject is small, it is comparatively easier to begin. If the range of the subject

is too large, the theme and elaboration will be full of empty words. Furthermore, we must proceed from actual conditions, centralize the problems that emerge in actual life, explain how we look at the problems (that is, our viewpoints) and expound (that is, state our reasons). Theory is not at all mysterious. Comrade Mao Zedong said that theory meant drawing something from objective reality (drawing is abstract, meaning summing up) and obtaining something that has been proved in objective reality. In addition, when expounding, we must have factual arguments as well as points of view. These two must be combined to form a certain logic. This means fully stating reasons. Minor principles should be subordinated to major ones. Principles and ways of saying things must be in conformity with each other. They should not contradict each other. That is to say they should not be, as the saying goes, speaking incoherently. According to the general requirements of writing articles, and according to your feeling that the party's good policies cannot be thoroughly implemented in basic-level units, you may narrow the range of the subject of your article to the analysis of the ideological and political conditions of party members at the basic level and to how to strengthen their education. In this way, you can help them raise their level of implementing policies. I do not have a good knowledge of the situation at the basic level. But I am afraid that the main thing is not "effectiveness," but the varying levels of understanding policies. Many comrades do not really understand the party's policies. My suggestion is only for your reference.

In addition, you have mentioned that you do not agree with "relaxing" our policies. You are worried that if our policies are changed too often, we cannot win the confidence of the people. You regard "changing too often" and "relaxing" as an organic whole, and you misunderstand these two concepts. Have our policies changed? Compared with the "leftist" mistakes made during and before the "Cultural Revolution," our policies have of course changed, and they have changed in a fundamental sense. But viewed from the angle of the consistency and continuity of policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and from the orbit of the guiding thinking for formulating policies, that is, Mao Zedong Thought, we cannot say that our policies have changed in a variety of ways, because our party's policies are suited to the present actual conditions of our country and have been proved correct. As to "relaxing" our policies, there are three main aspects in the rural areas. 1) The method of "abolishing" the individual economy too early has been changed. 2) The method of controlling the collective economy too tightly has been changed. 3) The method of "eating from the same pot," adopted in the past in allocating the results of labor, has been changed. With regard to these three aspects, our party's present policies are as follows: The policy of assisting the individual economy is adopted under the condition that the socialist public ownership system occupies the dominant position. The policy of appropriately enlarging the autonomy of the collective economy is adopted under the prerequisite that the collective ownership system is consolidated. The principle of to each according to his work and more pay for more work is implemented in allocating the results of labor. This is bringing order out of chaos, insofar as past "leftist" mistakes are concerned. This is what

we mean by "relaxing" our policies. Such "relaxation" of policies is necessary, and has absolutely nothing to do with "changing in a variety of ways."

That's all for now.

Wishing you success in your work!

Yours,

Xiong Fu

CSO: 4004/2

END