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29 December 1982

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 22, 16 November 1982

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

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PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY LITERATURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 2-4

[Article by V. I. Lenin; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The new conditions for social-democratic work in Russia which have arisen since the October Revolution have brought the question of party literature to the fore. The distinction between the illegal and the legal press, that melancholy heritage of the epoch of feudal, autocratic Russia, is beginning to disappear. It is not yet dead, by a long way. The hypocritical government of our prime minister is still running amuck, so much so that IZVESTIA SOVETA RABOCHIKH DEPUTATOV is printed "illegally"; but apart from bringing disgrace on the government, apart from striking further moral blows at it, nothing comes of the stupid attempts to "prohibit" that which the government is powerless to thwart.

So long as there was a distinction between the illegal and the legal press, the question of the party and nonparty press was decided extremely simply and in an extremely false and abnormal way. The entire illegal press was a party press, being published by organizations and run by groups which in one way or another were linked with groups of practical party workers. The entire legal press was nonparty--since parties were banned--but it "gravitated" toward one party or another. Unnatural alliances, strange "bed-fellows" and false cover-devices were inevitable. The forced reserve of those who wished to express party views merged with the immature thinking or mental cowardice of those who had not risen to these views and who were not, in effect, party people.

An accursed period of Aesopian language, literary bondage, slavish speech, and ideological serfdom! The proletariat has put an end to this foul atmosphere which stifled everything living and fresh in Russia. But so far the proletariat has won only half freedom for Russia.

The revolution is not yet completed. While tsarism is /no longer/ strong enough to defeat the revolution, the revolution is /not yet/ strong enough to defeat tsarism. And we are living in times when everywhere and in

everything there operates this unnatural combination of open, forthright, direct and consistent party spirit with an underground, covert, "diplomatic" and dodgy "legality." This unnatural combination makes itself felt even in our newspaper: for all Mr Guchkov's witticisms about social-democratic tyranny forbidding the publication of moderate liberal-bourgeois newspapers, the fact remains that PROLETARY, the central organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, still remains outside the locked doors of /autocratic/, police-ridden Russia.

Be that as it may, the half-way revolution compels all of us to set to work at once organizing the whole thing on new lines. Today literature, even that published "legally," can be nine-tenths party literature. It must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialized bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, "aristocratic anarchism" and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of /party literature/, must develop this principle and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible.

What is this principle of party literature? It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen! Literature must become /part/ of the common cause of the proletariat, "a cog and a screw" of one single great social-democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organized, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work.

"All comparisons are lame," says a German proverb. So is my comparison of literature with a cog, of a living movement with a mechanism. And I dare say there will ever be hysterical intellectuals to raise a howl about such a comparison, which degrades, deadens, "bureaucratizes" the free battle of ideas, freedom of criticism, freedom of literary creation, etc., etc. Such outcries, in point of fact, would be nothing more than an expression of bourgeois-intellectual individualism. There is no question that literature is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or leveling, to the rule of the majority over the minority. There is no question, either, that in this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content. All this is undeniable; but all this simply shows that the literary side of the proletarian party cause cannot be mechanically identified with its other sides. This, however, does not in the least refute the proposition, alien and strange to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois democracy, that literature must by all means and necessarily become an element of Social-Democratic Party work, inseparably bound up with the other elements. Newspapers must become the organs of the various party organizations, and their writers must by all means become members of these organizations. Publishing and distributing centers, bookshops and reading rooms, libraries and similar establishments--must all be under party control. The organized

socialist proletariat must keep an eye on all this work, supervise it in its entirety, and, from beginning to end, without any exception, infuse into it the life-stream of the living proletarian cause, thereby cutting the ground from under the old, semi-Oblomov, semi-shopkeeper Russian principle: the writer does the writing, the reader does the reading.

We are not suggesting, of course, that this transformation of literary work, which has been defiled by the Asiatic censorship and the European bourgeoisie, can be accomplished all at once. Far be it from us to advocate any kind of standardized system, or a solution by means of a few decrees. Cut-and-dried schemes are least of all applicable here. What is needed is that the whole of our party, and the entire politically conscious social-democratic proletariat throughout Russia, should become aware of this new problem, specify it clearly and everywhere set about solving it. Emerging from the captivity of the feudal censorship, we have no desire to become, and shall not become, prisoners of bourgeois-shopkeeper literary relations. We want to establish, and we shall establish, a free press, free not simply from the police, but also from capital, from careerism, and what is more, free from bourgeois-anarchist individualism.

These last words may sound paradoxical, or an affront to the reader. What! some intellectual, an ardent champion of liberty, may shout. What, you want to impose collective control on such a delicate, individual matter as literary work! You want workmen to decide questions of science, philosophy, or aesthetics by a majority of votes! You deny the absolute freedom of absolutely individual ideological work!

Calm yourselves, gentlemen! First of all, we are discussing party literature and its subordination to party control. Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate antiparty views. Freedom of speech and the press must be complete. But then freedom of association must be complete too. I am bound to accord you, in the name of free speech, the full right to shout, lie and write to your heart's content. But you are bound to grant me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to enter into, or withdraw from, association with people advocating this or that view. The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating antiparty views. And to define the borderline between party and antiparty there is the party program, the party's resolutions on tactics and its rules and, lastly, the entire experience of international social-democracy, the voluntary international associations of the proletariat, which has constantly brought into its parties individual elements and trends not fully consistent, not completely Marxist and not altogether correct and which, on the other hand, has constantly conducted periodical "cleansings" of its ranks. So it will be with us too, supporters of bourgeois "freedom of criticism," /within/ the party. We are now becoming a mass party all at once, changing abruptly to an open organization, and it is inevitable that we shall be joined by many who are inconsistent (from the Marxist standpoint), perhaps we shall be joined even by some

Christian elements, and even by some mystics. We have sound stomachs and we are rock-like Marxists. We shall digest these inconsistent elements. Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism within the party will never make us forget about the freedom of organizing people into those voluntary associations known as parties.

Secondly, we must say to you bourgeois individualists that your talk about absolute freedom is sheer hypocrisy. There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the masses of working people live in poverty and the handful of rich live like parasites. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, Mr. Writer, in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands that you provide it with pornography in frames [novels] and paintings, and prostitution as a "supplement" to "sacred" scenic art? This absolute freedom is a bourgeois or an anarchist phrase (since, as a world outlook, anarchism is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out). One cannot live in society and be free from society. The freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist or actress is simply masked (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the money-bag, on corruption, on prostitution.

And we socialists expose this hypocrisy and rip off the false labels, not in order to arrive at a nonclass literature and art (that will be possible only in a socialist extra-class society), but to contrast this hypocritically free literature, which is in reality linked to the bourgeoisie, with a really free one that will be /openly/ linked to the proletariat.

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people--the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades).

To work, then, comrades! We are faced with a new and difficult task. But it is a noble and grateful one--to organize a broad, multiform and varied literature inseparably linked with the social-democratic working-class movement. All social-democratic literature must become party literature. Every newspaper, journal, publishing house, etc., must immediately set about reorganizing its work, leading up to a situation in which it will, in one form or another, be integrated into one party organization or another. Only then will "social-democratic" literature really become worthy of that name, only then will it be able to fulfill its duty and, even within

the framework of bourgeois society, break out of bourgeois slavery and merge with the movement of the really advanced and thoroughly revolutionary class.

NOVAYA ZHIZN, No 12,
13 November 1905
Signed: V. I. Lenin

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WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO MODIFY THE CHINESE VERSION OF 'PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY LITERATURE'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 5-8

[Article by office for editing and translating Lenin's and Stalin's works of the editorial and translation bureau of the CPC Central Committee]

[Text] There are not many words in the article written by Lenin more than 70 years ago but the influence of the article is very great. Starting from the 1930's, there have been many translations of the article in China. Some have even been included in various versions of special collections of articles on literature and art by the classical writers. However, there are many inaccuracies in some of the crucial places in all the Chinese translations, including the translation by our own bureau. Misunderstandings have been caused. For example, the expression "partiinaya literatura" (the second word comprises literature, documents and publications, but what is meant here is newspapers, periodicals and books). This phrase is translated as "party literature" in all the existing Chinese translations. Such a phrasing could easily give people the erroneous understanding that the cultural and social phenomenon of literature is merely an accessory of the party. Thus, we think it is necessary to check the translation again and correct the mistranslations. In addition, we make a brief explanation of the background against which the article was written, the central features of the article and our translation.

Lenin's article "Party Organization and Party Literature" was written in November 1905 at the climax of the first Russian bourgeois democratic revolution. The people's revolution which was started at the beginning of 1905 reached its climax in the autumn. The political strike throughout Russia in October was an augury of the coming of the revolutionary storm, the people's armed uprising was imminent. Scared by the surging tide of revolution, the czarist government was forced to promulgate a "manifesto" on 17 October. The people were promised certain civil rights and political freedom and that the legislative Duma (parliament) would be called. While the situation of the revolution was rapidly developing at a tremendous pace, Lenin returned to St Petersburg from outside on 8 November to be in direct charge of the work of the CPSU Central Committee. He directed the whole party to comprehensively and profoundly arouse and organize the masses, increasingly promote the consciousness of the democratic force which had

the proletariat and the peasants as its mainstay and make preparations in various aspects for the armed uprising. Lenin held that: In order to strengthen the party's leadership in the revolutionary movement, the party's organization work, propaganda work and agitation work must be reorganized to meet the demands of the new situation. No sooner had he returned to Russia than he published the series of such articles as "Party Organization and Party Literature," "The Proletariat and the Peasantry," "The Armed Forces and the Revolution," "Learn From the Enemy," "Revolutionary Office Routine and Revolutionary Action," "The Dying Autocracy and New Organs of Popular Rule," "The Socialist Party and the Nonparty Revolutionism" and "Socialism and Religion" and so on in NOVAYA ZHIZN', the first legal Bolshevik official newspaper. "Party Organization and Party Literature" was one among these articles written at that time. The content of these articles principally analyzed the situation of revolution and the political tendency of the various social forces, expounded the new task of struggle for the Russian proletariat and proposed a new form of work for the Russian Social Democratic and Labor Party [RSDLP].

Before returning to his country, Lenin pointed out in his letter to the RSDLP Central Committee that: Since the situation of revolution develops rapidly, "the time is past for ideological leadership through 'whispering' in secret meeting places and rendezvous with agents! Leadership should be through political literature" (literatura, which here means publications). ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 34, p 348) In the past, there was not freedom of speech and freedom of the press in Russia. It was impossible for the party to exercise its ideological leadership through the party's publications. Now, there was this possibility. However, in order to make the party's legal newspaper become the party's publication in reality as well as in name and be able to shoulder the important task of ideological leadership, it was necessary to carry out the necessary reforms in written propaganda work. Lenin's "Party Organization and Party Literature" was written to solve this problem.

In this article, Lenin analyzes the situation in the country and the situation of the party's propaganda through the newspapers and periodicals, proposes the party's principle of publication, discusses the position that the party's written propaganda occupies in the party's cause and the characteristics by which it differs from other work of the party and makes it clear that the relationship between the party and its propaganda organs (the newspapers, periodicals, the publishing houses and the publication departments and so on) is the relationship between the party, the sympathizers of the party and the party members who contribute articles to the party's publications. Lenin makes a penetrating analysis of the characteristics of a writing career. He points out that: "There is no question, either, that in this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content." It is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or leveling, to the rule of the majority over the minority and formulism. In addition, he emphatically criticizes the bourgeois anarchic and individualistic tendencies which attempted to shake off the party's leadership and supervision under the disguise of "absolute freedom of thought and creation."

Lenin repeatedly emphasized that the social democratic publications should become the party's publications and elaborated on the party's principle of publication. Lenin held that: The written propaganda work should become a component of the party's cause; the party's newspapers, magazines and other publications should propagate the party's views with a clear-cut stand. The writers who contribute articles to the party's publications, in particular the party member writers, should maintain unity with the party's views. It is absolutely forbidden to discard the party's views. In order to ensure the enforcement of the above principles, Lenin demanded that party member writers join one of the party organizations. Party organizations were to adopt measures to handle party members who violated this principle or propagated views against the party until they were expelled from the party. Propaganda organs such as newspapers, magazines and publishing houses were to be subject to the party's supervision, report their work to the party and appeal to the workers, the party members and the masses to pay close attention to and supervise this aspect of their work. These views are the central theme and principal features of Lenin's article.

Lenin emphasized the problem of the party character of the publications and the party member writers. This was closely related to the historical stage in which the Russian revolution was to be found at that time, the contemporary social environment and the struggle inside the Russian Social Democratic Party. The 1905 Russian revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution. The revolution had an extensive social base. In addition to a handful of royalists, there were all kinds of social forces which took part in, supported or sympathized with the revolution. Thus, it seemed that the revolution was a revolution "of the whole people." In order to conceal its interests and purposes, the bourgeoisie spared no effort to disguise itself as the political representative "of the whole people." In addition, the bourgeoisie propagated the supra-class and supra-party "nonparty" ideology and advocated bourgeois anarchic and individualistic ideas such as "absolute freedom of creation" and "freedom of criticism" and so on.

The proletariat and its party took part in the revolution to achieve the party's minimum program. This was of course to pave the way for the development of capitalism, but this was not its purpose. The proletariat took part in the bourgeois democratic revolution in order to thoroughly overthrow the feudal autocratic system, eliminate the remnants of serfdom and create conditions for overthrowing the bourgeoisie in the next step and realizing the socialist revolution. Thus, the proletariat had to maintain its political independence in the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletarian party had to adhere to a clear-cut party character, criticize the "nonparty" ideology and resist the corrosion of anarchism and individualism.

The above bourgeois ideology was influential inside the RSDLP. At that time, the Mensheviks were a part of the party in form, though politically, they tagged behind the bourgeoisie. In the ideological aspect, they had completely abandoned the struggle against the influence of the bourgeoisie

and did not supervise their official publications and party member writers. The "Organizational Program" passed by the 1905 Menshevik Congress did not stipulate that the party member writers must have any relationship with the official publications. Some Menshevik writers published their views, which openly violated the party program, in the publications of the liberal clique. Plekhanov placed himself above the party and published the "Journals of a Social Democrat" by himself. In this way, a situation in which "the publicists are outside the party, above the party" and a situation of "the party unto itself, and the publicists unto themselves" emerged. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 8, p 515) In the NOVAYA ZHIZN, the first legal Bolshevik official newspaper, articles with a mystic flavor and in conflict with the party's world outlook had appeared. Lenin gave an angry reprimand: "Away with writers without party characteristics! Away with superman writers!" Lenin said this in view of the contemporary situation.

Lenin expected that the bourgeois intellectuals who advocated "absolute freedom of creation" would certainly condemn the ideas which he expounded concerning the party's publications. Thus, he devoted much space to criticizing and refuting the arguments for "absolute freedom of creation."

1) Lenin proceeded from "freedom of association," the party's organizational principle and organization discipline to criticize such arguments and clearly pointed out that the party "is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate antiparty views"; 2) Lenin proceeded from the historical materialist principle that all ideologies in the confrontation between the classes and society have class character. He had revealed that the so-called "absolute freedom of creation," which meant the freedom that divorced itself from social class, could not exist in a class society. "The arguments for absolute freedom are only hypocrisy." Precisely in this place, Lenin directly touched upon the problem of the class character of literature and art as a component of ideology. He pointed out that the freedom the bourgeois writers, painters and actresses enjoyed was the dependence on the bourgeoisie in disguise and that nonparty literature and art could only exist in a classless society.

Thus, we can see that Lenin's article does in fact discuss the question of literature and art. In the article, the discussion on writings and the career of writing includes literature and can be applied to literature. This is Lenin's important contribution to the Marxist theory of literature and art. However, when we consider the background in which the article was written when reading through it all, we still cannot say that the question of literature is the article's central feature.

Finally, we would like to say something about the question of translation. The word "literatura" runs through the entire article. The origin of this word is the Latin word "litteratura." It is commonly used in many Western languages. It is a word with more than one meaning. Its important meanings include: 1) It refers to anything put into words in a general sense, meaning written works; 2) it refers to all forms of literary works which means "literature" in a specific sense as said in modern Chinese. In order to distinguish it from other writing, in Russian, the restrictive attribute is sometimes added and the word is written as "khudozhestvennaya literatura"

(artistic works, sometimes rendered as artistic literature); 3) it is the collective term for publications in a certain aspect or sphere of knowledge. "Literator" may have the combined meaning of man of letters, writer and author. In modern Chinese, there is no readymade word directly corresponding to these two words. In translating these two words, we can only depend on the different meanings which the two words have in different linguistic contexts to render "literatura" as "documents," "writings," "literature," "publications," "books and periodicals" and "readers" while "literator" is rendered as "writer," "author," "man of letters" and "literary figure" and so on. The expression "partiinaya literatura" appears many times in Lenin's works. What is the meaning of it? When we speak of its form, it means the newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and leaflets published by the party; when we talk about its nature, it means the publications which are subject to the political, ideological and organizational leadership and supervision of the party and which maintain unity with the party's views, meaning that they follow the party's program and constitution and implement the party's policies, strategy and line. As early as in the party building period, Lenin had begun to use this expression. He held that in order to overcome the "handicraft form" in which the small groups conducted their scattered activities and build a unified party, it was necessary to establish a common literature (literatura). In his "A Draft, Program of Our Party" written in 1899, he said: "The need for unity, for the establishment of common literature (literatura), for the appearance of a Russian workers' newspaper arises out of the real situation." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 201) In 1900, in his "Draft of a Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra and Azrya" and "Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra," Lenin further explained why "it is necessary to develop a common party literature (partiinaya literatura)," "a common literature, consistent in principle and capable of ideologically uniting revolutionary social democracy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 286, 316) In 1903, Lenin wrote the "Draft Resolution on Party Literature (Partiinaya Literatura)" for the second congress of the RSDLP. In the article, he mentions that there was "the absolute and urgent necessity for a wide production of popular social democratic literature for all sections of the population and for the working class masses in particular." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 427) The resolution "On Party Literature (O Partinoy Literature)" passed by this congress pointed out that: With the comprehensive development of the labor movement, we should correspondingly make the masses of workers understand the recent target and ultimate goal of the Social Democratic Party as clearly as possible. The resolutions demanded: 1) Run the party's "central official newspaper" well; 2) turn the "Azrya" into the "party's official publication"; 3) "edit and write separate editions of reading materials which are rich in content." ("Collected Resolutions of the CPSU," Book 1, p 57) In June 1905, in his "Preface to the Pamphlet 'Workers on the Split in the Party,'" Lenin pointed out that one of the organizational foundations for the combination of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was that: "All party publications (partiinaya literatura), both local and central, must be completely subordinate to both the party congress and the relevant central or local organization of the party. The existence of party publications (partiinaya literatura) unconnected with the party is not allowed." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 9, pp 152-153) There are many occasions when Lenin used the expression party publications. However, no more examples will be cited here.

In all the volumes of the Chinese translation of the "Collected Works of Lenin," there are many translations for the expression "partiinaya literatura," which are, in most cases, quite accurate. It is translated as "party books and publications," "party newspapers and publications" and "party publications" and so on. However, in this article, the translation in the past has been inherited, it is translated as "party literature." In classical Chinese, the term "literature" may mean the written philosophical, historical and literary works in a general sense. However, in modern Chinese, the term has a fixed meaning. It refers to the art of language. Thus, it is inappropriate to render the expression as "party literature."

Since Chinese and Russian are two different languages, it is difficult to find words in the two languages which correspond completely with each other. How to translate the word "literatura" is really a difficult problem. Having asked the opinions of many people and made studies on the problem, "literatura" is translated as "publications" and "writing" in different contexts in the new translation. In the case in which literature is discussed, the word is still translated as "literature"; "literator" is translated as "author." In this way, theoretical and political writings, political comments and literary creations can be included. This may be closer to the meaning of the word.

Of course, if we examine the question from the angle of translation, there are still shortcomings: 1) Unanimity in translation has not been achieved. There are three translations for the word "literatura" in the same article. 2) In the original, the word has many meanings including the meaning "literature," however, in the Chinese translation, it is rendered as "publications." In this way, it is not obvious that it has the meaning of literature, or it is hard to see that it has such a meaning. In the original, literally, the expression "printsip partinoi literatury" is related to "the party character principle of literature." However, we cannot see the relation from the expression "the party's principle of publications" in the Chinese translation. There are doubtless limitations in translation caused by the differences between the two languages. However, after weighing up the advantages and disadvantages, we should first of all be faithful to the spiritual substance of Leninism. As for the difference in linguistic form, under the condition that the difference cannot be settled by translation, this should be subordinate to the content.

The checking this time has principally corrected the translation of the above key words. In addition, some other inaccuracies in the translation have been corrected. Due to our limited level, it is possible that there are still mistakes. Readers, please criticize them and point them out.

CSO: 4004/14

HAVE FULL FAITH IN EFFECTING A FUNDAMENTAL TURN FOR THE BETTER IN PARTY STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 9-13

[Article by commentator]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress has affirmed the general task of the party in the new historical period and raised the inspiring call of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Based on the demands of the general task of the new period in the 5 years from this congress to the next congress, our whole work in broad outline is to energetically push forward the building of socialist material civilization as well as spiritual civilization, unremittingly strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system, conscientiously rectify party style and organization and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in the condition of state finance and economy, a fundamental turn for the better in social convention and a fundamental turn for the better in party style. The three fundamental turns for the better can be described as the only road in proceeding from present reality toward our magnificent goal. Among them, the one with crucial significance is the fundamental turn for the better in party style.

Precisely because our party is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it is a mature and serious party which has been repeatedly tested by setbacks and successes. Therefore, we have not and will not be intoxicated by the successes already achieved or remain stationary in the face of such successes. We hold that there are still many shortcomings, still many difficulties and still all sorts of things which are not as good as expected in our work. Our party is soberly aware of the gap which actually exists between its own position and its object of struggle, and is making great efforts to find practical and effective measures for solving various real problems. In its field of activities, one of the greatest advantages of the political strategy of our party is its skill in grasping the most vital trend and in finding out and firmly holding the basic link which is of decisive significance to the overall situation. Lenin pointed out: "Political events are very confused and complicated. They can be compared with a chain. To hold the whole chain, you must grasp the main link." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 267) According to him, grasping this kind of link could be described as the "complete art of the politician." To achieve

a fundamental turn for the better in the whole work of our party and state at present is one of the basic or vital links described by Lenin.

The report to the 12th party congress reiterated an important thesis put forward by Comrade Chen Yun long ago: The style of a party in power determines its very survival. At the same time, this also has a bearing on the rise and fall of our whole country and nation and on the success or failure of the socialist cause. Our party is the leader of economic construction, the leader of political power and the leader of all aspects of national life and all aspects of socialist undertakings. The line, policies and principles of the party must pass through party members at various levels and through the work and exemplary role of party members found everywhere all over the country before they can be understood and accepted by the broad masses of people and become their immense strength for transforming the world. Therefore, a fundamental turn for the better in the condition of our state finance and economy as well as social convention, even down to the progress and development in various fields of socialist undertakings, cannot be separated from the fundamental turn for the better in party style. This condition also applies to a district, a department or a unit. If the party organization there is strong and united and can implement the line, policies and principles of the party in the light of its own specific conditions and if the party members and especially the party cadres holding leading posts can modestly listen to the voices of the people, serve the people wholeheartedly, put others before themselves, show integrity and public spirit and work diligently and conscientiously with a spirit of dedication, then their work will certainly be very outstanding. Conversely, in places where little or no success has been achieved in work and in places where issues are tangled up and mistakes are often made, some of the reasons for this kind of situation can always be traced to the conditions of party style there. Party leadership is not just issuing instructions and giving orders. It can never be separated from the exemplary vanguard role of the party members and the leading party cadres in particular. If the party members themselves are unwilling to do good work, then it is very difficult to arouse the masses to do so. If the party members themselves are unwilling to correct mistakes, then it is very difficult to help others correct mistakes. This exemplary vanguard role of party members is an unshirkable duty in party leadership and it is an inseparable as well as extremely important part of adhering to and improving party leadership. "To correct others one must first correct oneself." This old maxim expressed by our people is as popular as well as profound truth. In a big country with 1 billion people, as long as the 40 million party members who form the vanguard of the working class and above all the comrades holding leading posts among them are worthy of the historical responsibility entrusted them by the people and if they really can become the quintessence and mainstay of socialist modernization and show a high degree of political consciousness, lofty communist ethics, strict discipline and an ability to cope with work in various fields, then a good work style of everybody united as one from top to bottom and working with one heart and one mind will appear. The broad masses of people will certainly closely unite round the party and will join us in overcoming various difficulties and obstacles on the path of advance,

triumphing over all sorts of enemies and making a success of socialist modernization.

The task of effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style solemnly affirmed by our party at its 12th congress has explained that not just a handful of comrades, but those from the highest leading body to the broad masses of party members have already fully understood its important significance. The party has noticed that inside the Communist Party, an extremely small section of the members, the absolute number of whom is not small, have demonstrated by their own deeds and words that they do not deserve the glorious title of Communist Party members. At present, it is true that inside the Communist Party, there is the problem of ideological and organizational impurity and impure work style. Facts have illustrated that not all veteran party members can in the same way withstand the tests of defeat and success or of bayonets and flattery. Under peaceful circumstances, along with the change of the party's position in the entire national life, certain people with evil designs have used joining the party as the ladder to acquiring personal gains, gratifying their lust for power and enjoying material comforts. Some people with selfish motives and even speculators and careerists, have quite easily wormed their way into the party and quite easily concealed their identity. The effect of the serious damage caused ideologically, politically and organizationally to the party during the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" can never be eliminated within a short time. A handful of remnant elements are even now unjustly occupying certain leading posts and waiting for an opportunity to make trouble. To those people in the party whose will is not strong, the policy of promoting economic exchanges with foreign countries and livening up the economy at home in recent years has provided them with objective conditions for becoming corrupt. Some party organizations have become weak and lax, and some basic level organizations are paralyzed. A handful of cadres have gone in for bureaucratism, privileged style and factional activities. Some have practiced corruption and graft, engaged in malpractice for selfish ends and committed serious economic crimes. All these have caused great resentment among the broad masses of party members and people, greatly hindered the healthy development of modernization and damaged the image of the party. If such conditions are allowed to exist and spread unchecked, the destiny of the socialist cause would be dreadful to contemplate. This cannot be tolerated by the party and the people of various nationalities.

We should also see that the new historical conditions and task not only require us to clean ourselves and show not the slightest mercy to various unhealthy tendencies, but they also require us to make new discoveries and breakthroughs in the series of work. The party must become the leader of socialist modernization and every party member must advance along the footprints of time. In restoring, upholding and developing the various fine traditions, we must keep on heightening our communist consciousness, open up new fields of knowledge, create new work methods and cultivate a new style.

In short, the accumulated problems left behind over the years have yet to be solved and the gap between the higher demands put to us by the historical

tasks and the existing conditions must be filled. This means that we cannot but give the highest priority to carrying out party consolidation step by step in a planned manner. The 12th party congress has decided that beginning from the second half of next year, 3 years will be spent in carrying out a comprehensive rectification of party work style and party organization by stages and in groups. In the party consolidation, we must of course strive to eliminate the dark side, but at the same time, we must also strive to consolidate, develop and keep on opening up the bright side. This decision of the 12th party congress not only has the support of the comrades of the whole party, but it has also further strengthened the confidence of people of various nationalities throughout the country in the party.

Some comrades do not have enough confidence that the party style will make a fundamental turn for the better. They hold that the Central Committee has made repeated injunctions in recent years and even after the "guiding principles for internal party political life" has been transmitted and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has been adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some people still pay no heed to the instructions of the Central Committee and still stick to the old way of doing things and there is still not much change in the unhealthy tendency of using one's power to seek personal gain among the cadres, including the leading party cadres. In a certain sense, these comrades are soberly aware of the present condition in party style and have an urgent desire to effect a turn for the better in party style as quickly as possible. This is a good point. Compared with the Yanan period and the early period of the founding of the People's Republic, there is obviously still quite a gap in the condition of the present party style in many respects. However, there is definitely an improvement in the present party style compared with the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the 2 years immediately after the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has neither gone backward nor regained its original tempo. The reason why party style has so far not made a fundamental turn for the better only explains the seriousness of the longstanding malpractice and explains the need to make greater efforts because of this, but it cannot illustrate that it is impossible to effect a fundamental turn for the better in party style. All Communist Party members and especially party members holding leading posts, should not only use practical actions to overcome their own unhealthy tendencies, but they also have no right whatsoever to adopt an attitude of cool detachment toward the unhealthy tendencies of other people, or, apart from expressing appropriate indignation, only moan and sigh without doing anything. The important matter is not only in understanding the world but also in transforming the world. Transforming old work style and habits detrimental to the healthy development of the cause of the people, including the phenomenon of improper party style, is the sacred duty as well as responsibility of communists. We believe that even among comrades without sufficient confidence that the party style will make a fundamental turn for the better, most of them still support the line, policies and principles of the party, observe discipline and law and work conscientiously for the people. If these comrades will truly set a strict demand on themselves, uphold principles and wage an effective struggle

together with the broad masses of party members and people against the phenomenon of improper party style, the power to carry forward healthy tendencies will be greatly enhanced.

This effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style in the 5 years from this party congress to the next party congress is not just an inspiring slogan, but is also a solemn fighting task that should and must be fulfilled. This is not something prompted by a sudden impulse or thought up on the spur of the moment, but it is a goal determined by the CPC Central Committee as a result of making careful considerations, centralizing the common aspirations of the comrades of the whole party as well as the people of various nationalities and scientifically analyzing various subjective and objective factors. We can study the possibility and inevitability of this goal from many directions. What this article refers to are only its main points.

1. The leadership of the CPC Central Committee is correct, firm and united. In addition, a Marxist line and a series of policies and principles have been formulated. In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," our party has affirmed the criteria for determining important historical rights and wrongs of the last 30 years and in the report of the 12th party congress, further summed up the work carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and set our various grand tasks in line with objective foundations. After several years of effort, the leading bodies of the state at various levels have been readjusted, restructured and improved. Generally speaking, the power of leadership of organizations at various levels has already been basically placed in the hands of cadres loyal to the party and the people.
2. The masses of Communist Party members, regardless of whether proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation or comrades who joined the party at different periods after the founding of the People's Republic, including most of the comrades who joined the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution," have all stood severe positive and negative tests and they have learned much from history and actual practice. The party is making progress, and the party members are also making progress. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the masses of party members have resolutely implemented the line, policies and principles of the party, worked together with the masses in labor, work and battle posts and played the hardcore role and exemplary role in the building of socialist material civilization as well as spiritual civilization and in the struggle against unhealthy tendencies and criminal activities. This is the main aspect of the ranks of our party.
3. The state is beginning to take the road to a truly healthy socialist system. Various laws, decrees and regulations for promoting orderly production, work and study as well as normalization of all aspects of social life have been promulgated or are being formulated and have been made more and more complete. We have already the first set of criminal law as well

as law of criminal procedure since the founding of the People's Republic, and the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress will also approve the new party constitution. We should say that how to become a qualified citizen, a qualified party member and a qualified party cadre is no longer restricted to a general appeal, but we have a series of clearly defined provisions imbued with the binding force of law and party regulation which can be followed. The party upholds the principle that party members and nonparty members are all equal before the state law and all party members are equal before the party constitution. On the basis of carrying out full investigation and study and respecting facts, we have adhered to the chosen course of safeguarding the interests of the people as well as the political dignity of the party and seriously dealt with many cases of violation of law and discipline.

4. As our party is in the position of leading the political power as well as all aspects of work of the whole country, the question of party style is particularly important for it has a bearing on the party and the masses. Under the difficult circumstances of the revolutionary war and peaceful construction in the 60 years since its founding, our party has developed a profound feeling for the people of various nationalities in China. The people warmly love, respect and trust the party and they place great hopes on the party. If we apply to China the words which Lenin used in appraising the Bolshevik Party, then we can say that the great CPC has indeed become the wisdom, honor and conscience of our era. The line, policies and principles of the party in recent years have greatly heightened the socialist enthusiasm as well as initiative of the masses. These lines, policies and principles have been formulated by our party by respecting the creative spirit of the people, summing up the experiences of creative labor carried out by the people and complying with the demands of the people and the trend of historical development. Their implementation has consequently produced outstanding results, and they have not only restored but also enhanced the prestige of the party. More and more workers, peasants and intellectuals are supporting the party and more and more people have linked their destiny with the party. Their political consciousness, creative spirit and historical responsibility are increasingly promoted. In this way, in promoting party work and supervising every party member, they play an increasingly important role. This has become a tremendous force for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

5. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, the focal point of our work has been shifted to the track of building socialist modernization. Just as Marx said: "The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can only be conceived and rationally understood as revolutionary practice." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 17) He also strongly criticized the idealist concept of splitting individual transformation from social development and blindly seeking historical dynamics in spiritual and moral self-perfection. According to the founder of Marxism, only by changing circumstances could the proletariat no longer be "old people" and "in the revolutionary activity of changing circumstances, they will at the same time also transform themselves." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 234) The

great significance of this strategic policy decision of shifting the focus of work will not only enable all our work to be henceforth placed on the correct track, but it will also inevitably lead to a profound change in the mode of activity and mode of thinking of the whole society including everyone. This inexorable trend of historical development cannot but demand a fundamental turn for the better in party style and also cannot but promote a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

6. The CPC Central Committee not only has resolute determination and careful policies, but also effective measures and clear steps for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style. This will be mainly achieved through party consolidation. The report of the 12th party congress pointed out: The overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations can only be achieved on the basis of thoroughgoing ideological education. The consolidation will start with the leading organs and cadres. We must follow the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades," conscientiously develop criticism and self-criticism and take appropriate measures to solicitate opinions from the masses. In the final stage there will be a reregistration of all party members. We must take necessary organization measures to expel from the party those who still fail to meet the requirements for membership after education. At the same time, we must work out concrete methods to strengthen and improve party leadership so as to effect an improvement in the work of party organizations at all levels. These policies and measures summed up from the experiences of both the positive as well as negative aspects in our party history will certainly produce the desired result in practice.

People are learning from history and from the practice of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We can gladly say that the serious damage to the prestige of socialism and Marxism has to a great extent been reversed. The so-called question of "confidence crisis," which created a racket for some time, has not been able to stop the progress of our cause. Apart from a handful of people who stand against the cause of the people, more and more of those among our comrades who lack sufficient confidence of effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style, will doubtless, after patient and fully convincing ideological education, gradually change in the face of reality. A true communist does not require cheap confidence. He needs actual confidence. The most convincing education is the conscientious implementation of the guidelines of the 12th party congress and the action of the party members and party cadres themselves. On the other hand, we should admit that there has been a dark side in the past in the work of our party and government, there is a dark side at present and there will also be a dark side in the future. However, in the history of the 60 years and more since the founding of the party, the history of the 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic and the history of the 4 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the history has always been that of the bright side triumphing over the dark side and the bright side constantly expanding. This is the history of the glorious chapter written by

tens of thousands of party members in their selfless struggle for the liberation cause of the nation and people. The entire history of the past has proved that our people are undefeatable. Precisely the opposite, all enemies and difficulties will suffer defeat before our party and people. During the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques usurped an important part of party and state power and their influence spread all over the country. However, final victory did not belong to them but to our party and people. Judging from the angle of party style alone, no problem has been more serious than that decade in the 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic. The situation at present is entirely different from the past. The unfavorable factors are being overcome by us one by one, and more and more favorable factors have appeared. Under this kind of situation, there is no basis whatsoever for losing confidence in the party style making a fundamental turn for the better. We not only must accurately recognize the existing state of affairs, but we must also accurately see the inexorable trend of its development. If we ignore and cannot fully appraise the bright side of our work, or if we are not adept at observing the process of the bright side triumphing over the dark side in life, this at least is a reflection of one-sidedness in understanding. From the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the 12th party congress and since the 12th party congress, the unremitting progress in all our work is actually playing an increasingly important role in effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style. This is our reality and this is where our hopes lie.

Effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style within 5 years is the prerequisite as well as basis for the flourishing development of our socialist cause in the next decade and more. Without the success of these 5 years, we cannot talk about future successes. We should and must, during the fundamental turn for the better in party style, create a new situation in the building of socialist modernization. We profoundly believe that under the guidance of the 12th party congress, the broad masses of party members will struggle resolutely and persistently together with the broad masses of people and make proper contributions in way of changing the ideological and organizational impurity and impure work style in the party at present, and in way of bringing the cadre ranks more in line with the demands of socialist modernization.

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PARTY CONSOLIDATION IS A MATTER OF PRIME IMPORTANCE TO OUR PARTY

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[Article by Duan Junyi [3008 0689 3015]]

[Text] While setting forth the fighting program for the new historical period to the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, it was solemnly declared at the 12th CPC Congress that: "To achieve a fundamental turn for the better in our party style, the CPC Central Committee has decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years beginning from the latter half of 1983." This is a matter of prime importance to our party and a pressing strategic task entrusted to it by history since the development of the communist movement. The 1942 Yanan rectification movement was carried out after the historic change of our party during the democratic revolution period, and resulted in greatly raising the Marxist-Leninist level of the whole party and promoting unprecedented unity throughout the whole party. It enabled our party to grow to maturity and thus win victory in the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war, and establish a new China. The present party rectification is to be carried out after another historic change of our party in the socialist period, and at a time when the party has gained a more mature understanding of the cause of socialist revolution and construction. We are sure that this rectification will heal the deep wounds inflicted on our party by the decade of internal disorder and bring about the fundamental turn for the better in our party style, so that our party will be more vigorous and, in the new historical period, hold high the banner of communism and lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country to achieve a triumphant victory in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang's exposition on party rectification and his analysis on the situation within the party was absolutely correct. In the light of my own understanding, linked with the conditions of Beijing municipality, there follow some of my opinions on the work of party consolidation.

The Necessity and Great Significance of Party Consolidation

Our party is the vanguard of the working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the struggle to lead the Chinese people in their fight to realize the communist ideal, and through repeated tempering and all kinds of severe tests, our party has gained the mettle and capability to bring about a radical change in the situation. Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in 1976, and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has accomplished in a few years: the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in its guiding ideology, achieved major victories in setting things right in its practical work on various fronts and effected a historic change. History has once again proved that the CPC is worthy of its role as a solid core leading the people of all nationalities of China, and is sure to lead this huge vessel of China's socialism to surmount numerous difficulties under all kinds of complicated situations, and brave wind and waves to advance toward the brilliant future of communism.

Why then has the party solemnly set forth the task of party consolidation again, after it has led the people of the whole country in effecting this historic change? What is its necessity, and its great significance?

First, the key to fulfilling the fighting program put forward by the 12th CPC Congress in the new historical period is to consolidate the party well.

Historical experience teaches us that whenever the communist movement has developed to a new historical stage, particularly after effecting a historic change, there is bound to emerge a new period of vigorous development. Under these circumstances, for the sake of creating a new situation able to meet the needs of the new development of history, it is imperative to concentratedly and universally conduct education in Marxism throughout the party, rectify its ideology and style and consolidate its organization, solve all the contradictions that do not comply with the new historic development, arm the whole party with the line, principles and policies of the new period, deepen our understanding, unify our thinking, enhance our fighting capacity and lead the broad masses of people in their struggle to attain the magnificent new task.

The consolidation of the party we are faced with at present has the sole purpose of further eliminating the negative consequences left over by the 10 years of internal disorder, creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and attaining the fighting program put forward by the 12th CPC Congress. In order to attain the three fundamental turns for the better in the state's financial situation, social mood and party style, we must first of all strive to attain the fundamental turn for the better in party style. Because only through consolidating the party and attaining the fundamental turn for the better in party style can we lead the fundamental turn for the better in social mood, which is also conducive to promoting the fundamental betterment of the state's financial situation. In order to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization

and do a good job in the building of socialist economy, politics and spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, it is necessary above all to build well the CPC, which is the core leading our cause, through rectifying party style and consolidating party organization. Under the leadership of the party, only by carrying forward the spirit of creativeness, innovation and forging ahead proper for a party member, setting an example and leading the broad masses of people in fighting with one heart and mind and exerting themselves in the struggle, can we attain the new, great task put forward by the 12th CPC Congress. In working for the four political guarantees of socialist modernization, the fundamental guarantee is to consolidate the party.

Second, in view of the problems existing within the party and the historical conditions facing us, it is imperative to consolidate the party.

Due to the decade of internal disorder caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution," the ideological and organizational building of the party were seriously sabotaged. The party organization of Beijing municipality suffered serious destruction. Through the restoration and consolidation carried out in the past few years, particularly the readjustment carried out at all levels of leadership bodies, the situation has greatly improved. Most of the party organizations and leadership bodies are good, and better than they were. They have resolutely supported and implemented the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and made tremendous efforts in the arduous struggle to set things right. They have achieved marked results and played the role of proletarian vanguards. The party organizations of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company, Beijing coking plant, Beijing optical instrument factory, Beijing machinery factory, Beijing second cotton mill and other units are the outstanding representatives among them. But there still exist a lot of problems of ideology, organization and style in some of the party organizations and leadership bodies. According to an investigation and analysis made on 3,658 party branches in Beijing municipality, less than one-third of advanced party branches were correct in their line, united in their leading bodies and able to play the role of a fighting force. Around 60 percent of the branches were in a mediocre condition, 10 percent were backward, and among them, some branches were in a state of paralysis or semiparalysis. The main problems existing in the backward branches were: 1) Leading members were not united, each had cliques of their own engaged in factionalism, and tried to seize power and blame others; 2) their ideological lines were not correct. They had a cynical and resistant attitude toward party policies, were despondent and did not properly do their work; 3) they made use of their authority to seek private gains and privileges and even formed cliques to pursue selfish interests. They practiced dishonest methods and violated the law and discipline; and 4) they practiced decentralism with regard to the higher levels by doing things in their own way and practiced "what I say goes" toward lower levels. Similar states of affairs also existed to a certain extent in the party organizations of a number of units, and particularly the problems of leading bodies being weak, slack and low in revolutionary enthusiasm were quite serious. It will be impossible to fundamentally restore and enhance the fighting capacity of the party.

organizations if we do not find a remedy to these cases and treat all of them by consolidating the party.

In view of the conditions of the broad masses of party members, among the 650,000 party members in Beijing municipality, 310,000 joined the party before the "Great Cultural Revolution," 250,000 joined the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and 90,000 were admitted to the party after the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. The majority of the party members are good and relatively good. Many of our outstanding party members have played an exemplary vanguard role on various fronts, united the masses in working hard for the socialist cause and firmly stood in the forefront of setting things right. Among them there were people praised by the masses, such as the advanced activist who "worked ahead of time," the "iron man" who continuously worked in the first line down a mine, although he suffered from cancer and was injured while on duty, the salesman who worked for more than 20 years in supply and marketing but remained honest and upright, the forest guard who protected trees for his collective, the fine cadre who wholeheartedly served the people and so on. In 1981, of the 1,027 model workers of the municipality, 818 were party members, 79.6 percent of the total. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "All the splendid successes of the party and the people have been achieved precisely through the inspiring example given by such fine core members of the party." This is the main trend among the broad masses of party members. Meanwhile, we must be clear about the fact that due to the remaining consequences of the sabotage caused by the decade of internal disorder and the increasing invasion of bourgeois ideology under the new conditions, there still exist the problems of impure ideology and style among some of our party members; there also exists the phenomenon of decadence, which we must be fully alert to. Some party members resist the line, principles and policies formulated by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, are doubtful and hesitant about communism; even up to now, some still stick to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and resent the party; some party members are imbued with bureaucratism and irresponsible in their work or seek for personal privileges by making use of their authority to pursue private interests; some party members practice anarchism and ultra-individualism, and impair the party's organizational discipline, some have carried the decadent and vulgar stuff of the bourgeoisie into the party, as if nothing can be done without inviting people for dinner. They pursue a bourgeois lifestyle and some even engage in smuggling, offering and accepting bribes and engaging in corruption. Although these people were only a few in number, they have seriously corroded the body of the party, impaired the prestige of the party among the masses of people and to an extent affected the people's confidence in the cause of socialism. We must also be aware that nearly 40 percent of the party members of the whole municipality were admitted to the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Among them, many still lack training in the party's program and the basic knowledge of the party. They do not understand, or do not fully understand, how to be a qualified Communist Party member. Some party members even say: "Why is it that we party members and not the masses must take the lead in our work?" Some were even admitted to or drafted into the party at the "battlefront" of rebellion and up to the present still fail to

conform to the requirements of a party member. There also exist various problems among veteran party members. So, without consolidating the party, it will be impossible to fundamentally change the above state of affairs. We must be aware that due to a variety of domestic and international conditions, the struggle between capitalist corrosion and socialist anti-corrosion will exist for a long time in our country and sometimes even be acute. At present, we have already exposed many shocking facts. Some party members who were not firm enough have been attacked by and succumbed to the material or spiritual "sugar-coated bullets" of capitalism; some others have to a certain extent been corroded by bourgeois ideas and invaded by the trend of bourgeois liberalism. Although we have achieved good results in carrying out education against this corrosion combined with combating serious criminal activities in the economic field, we have still not fundamentally solved the problem. Only through consolidating the party and building a steel wall with communist ideology and strict discipline resistant to the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology, can the vast number of our party organizations become a powerful fighting force and the broad masses of party members become firm, sober-minded and worthy vanguard fighters of the proletariat. Under the conditions of the new historical period, this is a fundamental measure for maintaining the purity and fighting effectiveness of the Communist Party, so that it can maintain an invincible position.

Third, it is imperative to consolidate the party well if the Communist Party in power intends to always keep its revolutionary spirit young.

The position of a proletarian revolutionary political party after seizing political power is quite different from before. This change of position will inevitably bring about a series of new problems in building the party. From the development of the communist movement up to the present, one of the major theoretical and practical problems that must be properly solved is how to always keep the revolutionary spirit of the Communist Party in power and its party members young, how to strive forever for the realization of communist ideals, forever keep in close connection with the masses of the people and forever work for their well-being. At present, the majority of our party members were admitted to the party after it seized power. They have joined the party in a peaceful environment and it is easy for them to be cadres after they have joined the party. After they become cadres, they have power and authority. If they do not work for communism and the well-being of the people but become individualist, then they are bound to make use of their authority to gain advantages from the state, collective and masses, or even form a clique to pursue selfish interests, undermine the foundations of socialism, and turn from being the people's servant to being a lord over them. In the light of the experiences of our party, in solving this problem, we must carefully admit party members strictly according to the stipulations of the party constitution, strengthen education and supervision over them, constantly carry on criticism and self-criticism, strictly observe party discipline, work out all kinds of necessary rules and regulations; we must also conduct large-scale party rectification over a certain period, universally, systematically and profoundly carry out education in Marxism, consolidate our organization and, rectify

our ideology and style, raise the quality and level of all party members and expel from the party those members who have morally degenerated and who are still not qualified after education, or persuade them to withdraw from the party. This is an important strategic measure for the construction of the Communist Party in power. Today, at a time when the whole party and the people of all nationalities of our country are working for the great task put forward by the 12th CPC Congress, we have lost no time in conducting party consolidation. This will inevitably have far-reaching historical significance in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and in the vigorous development of the communist movement in the days to come.

Conditions Are Ripe for Consolidating the Party

After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, consolidating the party became a historical mission confronting us due to the serious damage to our party caused by the 10 years of domestic turmoil. Without consolidating the party, the situation in which the party's style of work is impure cannot fundamentally change. However, there had to be a process between the needs arising from the development of history and the actual implementation of party consolidation. In the wake of the 12th party congress, the conditions for consolidating the party became completely ripe.

1. We have successfully fulfilled the historical mission of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights. The party's line, principles and policies followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have been proved correct by practice. The thinking of the whole party has been unified on the basis of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." The 12th party congress' report and the new party constitution have further explicitly laid down the programs for China's socialist modernization construction and for the building of the party and have stipulated more strict requirements for party members and the basic guiding principles to be followed by the coming movement of consolidating the party. All this has laid a solid ideological foundation for the coming movement.

2. Now we have the firm and unified leadership of the party Central Committee. The leadership of party organizations at all levels is now mainly controlled by people who support the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. So long as we make careful and meticulous preparations and conduct proper guidance and organization, the consolidation of the party is guaranteed to develop steadily and healthily along a correct course.

3. The broad masses of party members have a strong desire to consolidate the party, and the masses of the people also cherish great expectations of the coming consolidation.

4. We have been making preparations for consolidating the party in many fields for a long time. Since the implementation of the "principles on

inner party political life," some activities with the purpose of consolidating the party have been carried out step by step to a profound degree in connection with major political study, the implementation of the principles and policies laid down by the central authorities and the reorganization of some leading groups. Taking the work in Beijing as an example, over the past year, the Beijing municipal authorities have conducted discussions on the topic of "serving the people and bearing responsibility to the people" in connection with the study and implementation of the "principles on inner party political life"; they have checked unhealthy tendencies such as spending public money on extravagant eating and drinking, and forming special ties between units so as to facilitate the private giving and accepting of gifts; have inspected education among cadre's children; have required leading groups at all levels to review their work of the last year, and have universally carried out democratic elections in grassroots party branches. Recently, Beijing also carried out activities opposing the corruption of capitalist ideology and strengthening education in communist ideology. All this embodies the spirit of rectifying the work style of the party. The education in consolidating the party has been consciously carried out in all these activities. In fact, they were all preparatory measures for consolidating the party. Especially in the recent education on the subject of opposing corruption, all party members in Beijing have received training in rotation. Among the party cadres at county, district and bureau levels, 569 people have given party lectures, accounting for over 40 percent of the total number of cadres at this level. Besides this, more than 5,000 leaders of grassroots party committees have given party lectures. A good start has been made on the whole party concentrating on party building throughout Beijing. Though these education activities differed in scale and depth, they all provided important ideological, organizational experience and public opinion preparations for consolidating the party. On the basis of studying the 12th party congress documents and through experiments in some units and the summing up of experience, these activities will be developed into the official consolidation of the party in a methodical way.

We Must Fulfill the Task of Consolidating the Party With High Standards and High Quality

How shall we do a good job in consolidating the party, in accordance with the stipulation of the new party constitution and the requirements on consolidating the party set forth in the congress report and in connection with the conditions in Beijing?

First, we must clearly realize the objective and requirements of this movement of consolidating the party.

The new party constitution has set forth more stringent demands on party members and has laid down explicit stipulations on enhancing the fighting power of party organizations, upholding and improving the party's leadership. This should be taken as a yardstick in consolidating the party. In line with this yardstick, we will carry out an overall rectification of the work style and organizations of the party and turn party members into ones

who are qualified and conform to the requirements of the new party constitution. At the same time, we will effectively improve the state of affairs in party organizations at all levels so as to turn grassroots party organizations into staunch fighting bastions which conform to the requirements of maintaining good relations with the masses laid down in the new party constitution and turn leading groups at all levels into cores of leadership in conformity with the requirements of the new party constitution.

Since the coming consolidation of the party will be an overall rectification, according to the stipulations of the new party constitution, its main specific requirements in all aspects should be as follows: In the field of ideology, party members and cadres should be required to bear in mind that the objective of struggle is communism and that the principle is to serve the people wholeheartedly. They will be required to eliminate the bureaucratic style of work and mentality of enjoying privileges which can easily appear among party members and particularly party cadres. The shameful conduct of abusing powers to seek private interests and encroaching upon the interests of the state, the collectives and the masses for private benefits as well as the unhealthy tendencies of violating the people's interests and divorcing oneself from the masses should all be criticized and overcome. Party members and cadres will be required to form a communist attitude toward work, a revolutionary spirit of selflessness and to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of being ambitious and willing to do pioneering work, making innovation, and being dedicated. They should be willing to sacrifice all their personal benefits and struggle for communism all their lives. In the field of politics, party members and cadres are required to maintain a political stand in line with that of the party central leadership, to uphold the four basic principles, to correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and to struggle for the great tasks set forth by the 12th party congress. The problem that some party members and organizations refuse to implement instructions issued by the central authorities and take a dissenting attitude toward the party for feigning compliance while acting in opposition should be solved. In the field of organization, party organizations at all levels will be consolidated and perfected. Party members and cadres will be required to uphold the principle of democratic centralism. The party's collective leadership will be strengthened. The practice that one person decides everything, and that of decentralism, will be opposed. The spirit of uniting people from all corners of the country will be carried forward so as to strengthen party unity and oppose the sectarianism within the party. Party discipline must be strictly enforced by strengthening the attitude of bearing in mind the party's interests. Extreme individualism, anarchism and all kinds of illegal behavior will be criticized and eliminated. It is absolutely impermissible to maintain the following people in the leading posts: those who gained their powers through rebellion; those who harbor a seriously sectarian attitude; those who have participated in beating, smashing and looting; those who oppose the line taken by the party central leadership since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; and those who have committed various serious criminal activities. These people will be dealt with one after another once they are discovered still to occupy

leading posts. In the field of work style, party members and cadres will be required to restore and carry forward the party's good tradition and the three major styles of work namely, combining theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The dirt of subjectivism and bureaucratism as well as the bad style of casting aside principles, concealing faults and glossing over wrongs, boasting and toadying and fearing to offend other people should all be eliminated. At the end of this movement, when party members are asked to register, we must strictly follow the new party constitution's stipulations and expel those members who fail to meet the requirements even after education, or persuade them to withdraw from the party.

Second, the work of consolidating the party must constantly uphold the correct guiding principles.

In the history of our party, there exist rich experiences in both positive and negative aspects. We should carry forward the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement and adhere to the principles of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "achieving the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." When approaching party members who have committed errors, we should, starting from the desire for unity, through serious criticism and self-criticism and by adopting suitable ways to listen to the opinions of the masses outside the party, help them genuinely realize and correct their mistakes so as to achieve unity on a new basis. We must prevent and oppose the erroneous principle and method of "cruel struggle and merciless blows" which have in the past been used by the party. Furthermore, we must prevent evil persons from taking advantage of this opportunity to frame up and attack good comrades. At the same time, we should also prevent perfunctory attitudes which makes the movement a sham.

Third, the work of consolidating the party must be brought under the leadership of the party central authorities, must be treated very prudently, be prepared in a very meticulous way and be carried out in a planned and methodical manner.

According to conditions in Beijing city, our initial plan is first to organize party members and cadres to seriously study the 12th party congress report and the new party constitution and then go in for consolidation in the fields of ideology and organization on the basis of general education. We will start work in some selected units to gain experience this winter and next spring. The overall movement will start in the second half of next year by stages and groups in a planned and methodical manner under leadership from top to bottom. The consolidation of the party will be linked with the administrative structural reform and reorganization of enterprises and institutions.

Carrying out ideological education for party members in a universal, systematical and thorough way is the essential measure for doing a good job of consolidating the party. When studying the 12th congress report and the new party constitution, we should simultaneously study the "Resolution

on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the "principles on inner party political life." We must particularly emphasize education in communist ideology for party members and basic theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We should educate them in communist ideals and in the party's line, principles and policies. We should also educate them in the basic knowledge of the party, in the requirements for party members, party spirit, style of work and discipline. We should place stress on making all party members clearly realize the party's character, position and function and be aware that only the people who are willing to struggle for communism throughout their lives and to sacrifice their all for the revolution can be qualified members of the CPC so that they can consciously compare themselves to the requirements of the new party constitution for party members and find out their deficiencies. At the same time, we should be good at educating party members with both positive and negative lessons so as to arouse their revolutionary enthusiasm and make them profoundly realize the necessity of consolidating the party, and determine to dedicate their all to the party, the people and the communist cause. This method has been adopted in some Beijing units when carrying out the recent education in opposing corruption. This lively and concrete method has achieved marked results and should be carried forward on a larger scale. Historical experience shows that only by holding up a clear-cut communist banner and unswervingly implementing the party's current policies in a down-to-earth manner, can we gather the vast number of party members and progressives outside the party to carry out arduous struggles under the communist banner and to unite the whole nation to win victories in revolution and construction. When smelting steel we need to keep the furnace burning, and only when the communist enthusiasm of the vast number of party members is fully aroused can all kinds of non-proletarian ideological dregs be washed out of the minds of party members. Only thus can we achieve success in consolidating the party.

The experimental work of consolidating the party in a few selected units is a preparatory step for smoothly carrying out the movement in an all-round way. Though we have accumulated rich experiences in carrying out the movement of consolidating the party, the current conditions are very different from those in the past and the situation inside the party has also changed. Apart from this, many party members and cadres at middle and grassroots levels do not have practical experience in this field due to the fact that we have not consolidated the party for many years. Therefore, the experimental work in selected units is very important. We can gain experience there and use it to guide general work. This winter and next spring the Beijing municipal authorities will select a number of units in organs subordinate to the municipal party committee, industrial, capital construction and financial departments and in both rural and urban areas as the experiment points for consolidating the party. The relevant departments of the municipal party committee and party committees (or party groups) at district, county and bureau levels will send leading cadres to take part in the experimental work and will pay attention to study the experience and problems in consolidating the party so as to make preparations for the work of all-round consolidation.

Carrying out the work of consolidating the party by stages and in groups in a planned and methodical way under a unified leadership is an important guarantee for the healthy development of the work of consolidating the party. This work should be started in the municipal party committee and then gradually develop to leading groups at district, county and bureau level. After this, the consolidation of grassroots party organizations can be carried out by stages and in groups. In this way, the movement will develop from top to bottom at one level after another under the leadership of the upper party organizations. As for those party organizations which have been paralyzed or corrupted, their senior organizations should send work teams there to bring the party work directly under control.

Furthermore, the work of consolidating the party should be linked with administrative structural reform and the reorganization of enterprises and institutions. A unified arrangement should be worked out. In the course of consolidating the party, it is necessary to continue to strengthen the building of leading groups at all levels. It is necessary, by upholding the principle of appointing people on their merits and giving priority to their political integrity, to promote those young and middle-aged cadres, who have comparatively high education level, strong professional ability and organization and leadership capabilities and who can open up new prospects in work, to leading positions in place of those incompetent cadres who cannot do so. Reformative measures should be taken as the work of consolidating the party is carried on. Concrete measures for strengthening and improving the party leadership should be worked out so as to consolidate and develop the achievements of the movement. It is necessary to lead the revolutionary enthusiasm of party members emerging after the work of consolidating the party into their professional work and production so as to promote work and production and to create a new situation in which the work in all fields is going full steam ahead.

Our era has sounded the clarion call to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We must, in the course of studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th party congress' documents, do a good job of consolidating the party and build all party organizations in Beijing city into vigorous fighting command posts able to create new situations, which will unite and lead the people throughout the city, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and in accordance with the four-point instructions on the building of the capital issued by the party Central Secretariat, to build Beijing into a modern capital of our socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy, and to continuously advance our work in all fields in concentrated, enthusiastic and orderly manner.

CSO: 4004/12

COMMENTS ON DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING PLANNED ECONOMY AND MARKET REGULATION MECHANISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 20-22

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]; preface by the editor of the RED FLAG Publishing House to the book "Collections of Theoretical Essays on Planned Economy and the Market Regulation Mechanism"; which collects articles on this topic published in major newspapers and magazines from the publication of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" to June 1982]

[Text] 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 points out: "It is necessary to practice planned economy on the basis of public ownership and at the same time, give play to the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism." Both the historical experience and current situation of China's socialist economic construction have shown us the fact that whether the national economy can healthily develop and whether the socialist economic system can be further consolidated depend on whether this basic principle is put into effect in an all-round way.

Since the publication of the resolution, theoretical and actual workers in the economic field have widely discussed the problem concerning planned economy and the market regulation mechanism and have published many articles on this topic. Over the past year, the people's understanding of this problem has been raised to a new level and the discussions have achieved useful results.

As we know, when discussing the reform of China's economic institutions a few years ago, people generally felt that there existed many maladies in our economic institutions, such as the overcentralization of power, rigidly planned management which covered too wide a range and exerted too rigid a control, the lack of decisionmaking powers in enterprises and the neglect of the function of the market mechanism. Undoubtedly, it is correct to point out these maladies and seek ways to solve these problems and this has played an active role in promoting the reform of our economic institutions. At the same time, there being no need for reticence, some improper and even erroneous viewpoints have also come up in the discussions. For a certain

period, many comrades did not take seriously the state of affairs. In the wake of the publication of the resolution, Comrade Chen Yun repeatedly emphasized that it is necessary to adhere to the principle of "giving the leading role to planned economy and the supplementary role to the market regulation mechanism." Since then, a new situation has been brought about.

In the articles published in the past year, many comrades on the one hand fully affirmed the great achievements of the theoretical discussions concerning the reform of our economic institutions and on the other hand, seriously analyzed the problems existing in the discussions a few years ago. Apart from inappropriate wording and inaccurate propositions, which were problems that were hard to avoid and should not be taken seriously, they mainly pointed out the following erroneous viewpoints: Considering that the law of planned development of the national economy does not exist under the socialist system; considering that our country at present is not provided with the material conditions for practicing a planned economy; considering that inefficient management and poor economic results are inevitable outcomes of the planned economy; considering that mandatory plans should be abolished and that state plans should only be treated as references and should not have a binding force; considering that planning regulation mechanism is only suited to the management of macroeconomy while microeconomy, that is, the activities of enterprises, should be subject to the market regulation mechanism; considering that all enterprises, including those owned by all the people, should be economic entities which are completely independent and are provided with all the characteristics and rights of commodity producers and should thus have the power to independently handle production, exchange and other economic activities; considering that only by relying on the law of value, can production and other economic activities be properly regulated; and considering that market economy is much superior to planned economy. Among these viewpoints, some were only the ideas of a few individuals, but others were supported by a number of comrades. Seriously and objectively pointing out these viewpoints which negate and are detrimental or may at least lead to the weakening of our socialist planned economy and then analyzing and criticizing them, rather than remaining indifferent toward them, represents an earnest and scientific attitude. This shows that our economic theoretical workers have made progress and improvement in their understanding. This is a good thing. Launching discussions around these substantial issues of principle will never hinder the scientific study of theories but instead, it will only promote this study. This will not impede the reform of the economic institutions, rather, it will benefit the healthy development of this reform.

In the articles published in the past year, many comrades started from the actual conditions of our country, applied the basic principles of Marxism to the socialist economy to sum up positive and negative experiences in China's economic construction. They made some concrete expositions on the important issue of "giving the leading role to planned economy and the supplementary role to market regulation mechanism" and further explicitly affirmed the following viewpoints:

1. The national economy developing in a planned way is a basic characteristic of the socialist economy. Only by practicing planned economy on the basis of public ownership, can we guarantee the proportionate and coordinated development of various branches of the national economy and various links of social reproduction and guarantee the growth of production in conformity with the interests of the whole society. In this way, the practicing of planned economy embodies the requirement of the socialist basic economic law. Abandoning planned economy will inevitably lead to anarchy in social production and to the destruction of the socialist public ownership system.

2. Our country has been provided with the conditions for practicing planned economy. The superiority of planned economy has been proved in the past 30 years' practice of economic construction. It is true that maladies existed in the specific systems of planned management in China and many major mistakes did occur in our planning work, but all this can be improved and corrected. We should never suspect and negate the basic system of planned economy for these reasons.

3. Practicing mandatory plans is a basic sign of the socialist planned economy and is also an important embodiment of China's socialist system of ownership by all the people. If mandatory plans, the state's direct management of the production and distribution of the means of production and consumption with a bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood and the state's direct command over backbone enterprises were to be completely abolished, our plans would, like plans in capitalist countries, only play a coordinating role in the enterprises' productive and economic activities. In this case, it would be hard for the state to control necessary economic strength to guarantee the national economy developing in accordance with the interests and demands of the entire society. This would inevitably lead to confusion in the social economic life and would not guarantee the advance of our economy as a whole along the socialist course.

4. As for the forms of planned management, apart from direct plans, or mandatory plans, many products and enterprises may and should be subject to indirect plans, or guidance plans, which mainly rely on prices, taxes, credits and other economic levers to guide enterprises to the fulfillment of state plans. The attempt to exclusively practice mandatory plans without regard to actual conditions and necessity is also unfavorable to the proportionate development of the economy and unfavorable to the improvement of economic results.

5. Under the conditions of the planned economy playing a dominant role, it is also necessary to define a certain scope in accordance with the specific situation of various periods and allow enterprises to conduct free production and exchange within this scope, that is, to allow the production and exchange of a section of products to be regulated spontaneously according to the law of value. In this way, this market regulation mechanism is subordinate to the planned economy and just plays a secondary role, but it is essential and serves as a useful supplement to the planned economy. When

emphasizing the importance of the planned economy, we should not neglect the supplementary role of market regulation mechanism.

6. In order to properly organize the socialist economy, it is necessary to make all efforts to follow objective economic laws and first of all, the specific laws of the socialist economy, such as the socialist basic economic law and the law of proportionate development. At the same time, it is necessary to follow the basic law governing commodity production, that is, the law of value. When practicing both mandatory plans and guidance plans, we must take into account the situation of market supply and demand and the requirements of the law of value. It is wrong to deny that the socialist basic economic law and the law of planned development are the principal regulators in social production and to exaggerate the regulatory role of the law of value. It is also wrong to deny the regulatory role of the law of value and to think that emphasizing the planned economy means negating the necessity of developing commodity production and exchange.

7. We must reform China's economic planning institutions. The basic principle and orientation of this reform must be: 1) socialist in character; and 2) Chinese in style. The result of the reform must be to strengthen and consolidate rather than destroy the socialist economy. Measures adopted in some capitalist countries, including some effective measures in those countries, are not certainly applicable in our country. We should not mechanically copy even the measures of other socialist countries because our conditions are different from theirs. We must seriously sum up our own experience and only take foreign experience and ideas as references, rather than foundations.

8. The central problem of institutional economic reform is the implementing of the principle of giving the leading role to the planned economy and the supplementary role to the market regulation mechanism. It is necessary to correctly define the scope and limits of mandatory plans, guidance plans and market regulation mechanism. Different degrees of decisionmaking power should be vested in different types of enterprises so that their business results can be linked with their material benefits, and responsibility, power and interests can be combined together. Both administrative means and economic levers should be put into practice. This reform involves a wide range and should not be treated as some nonessential amelioration. Many problems in this reform need to be solved and we must not take this as an easy thing. We must take an active attitude, work out feasible programs and put the reform measures into effect step by step.

9. We must improve our planning work and place our plans on a better scientific base. We should always maintain our guiding ideology and principles in the economic field in conformity with objective reality and try our best to maintain the overall balance in the national economy. We should properly arrange various major ratios in the economy and take into account the interests of the three aspects, namely, the state, the collective and the individual. We need to draw up a plan system which combines long-term plans with short-term plans and to set up a rational system of indicators.

It is necessary to strengthen economic forecast and statistical work and adopt a scientific method for planning. The application of prices, taxes, credits and other economic levers should be included in state plans and taken as an important component of the plans. Only by continuously improving the level of our planning work and making our plans more scientific, can we firmly consolidate the authoritativeness of our plans.

10. We must protect the solemnity of the state unified plans and oppose various behaviors of weakening and shaking off the state planned management. Localities, departments and enterprises should have the notion of taking the interests of the whole nation into account. Selfish departmentalism, decentralism and the liberalist tendency must not be allowed to go unchecked. The state should use both administrative and economic means and perfect economic legislation and carry out inspection and supervision so as to guarantee economic activities being handled in accordance with state plans.

Over the past year, the discussions concerning planned economy and market regulation mechanism have achieved useful results. Of course, not all questions have received unanimous replies. On the implications of some concepts, on the expression and exposition of some viewpoints and even on some essential problems, writers still have different opinions. These differences of opinion remain to be solved in the future discussions. As for how to turn the principle of giving the leading role to the planned economy and the supplementary role to market regulation mechanism into concrete measures and how to set up a concrete system in accordance with this principle, it requires us to make a great deal of investigation and study of China's reality and carry out thorough theoretical discussion.

In order to facilitate economic theoretical and practical workers and other cadres and masses to acquainting themselves with and studying the issue of planned economy and market mechanism, we compile this collection of theoretical essays. This book collects some articles published in major newspapers and magazines during the year from the publication of the resolution on the party's historical questions to June 1982. These articles are arranged in the sequence of their publishing time. In addition, the book also includes a few articles which have not been published before. The editor has revised the topic of a few articles. An index of the articles on planned economy and market regulation mechanism is attached at the back of this book. This is the first collection. A follow-up will be compiled and published according to the progress of the discussions. We hope writers and readers will offer help to our editorial work.

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SAFEGUARD THE SOCIALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 23-26, 32

[Article by Yi Zhi [2496 0037]]

[Text] On the ownership of land in China, the draft of the revised constitution of the PRC clearly defined: "Land in the cities is the property of the state." "Land in villages, towns and the suburban areas is the property of the collectives, except for the portion which belongs to the state according to provisions of the law; house sites and private plots of cropland and hilly land are also owned by collectives." "The state may in the public interest take over land for its use in accordance with the law." "No organization or individual may appropriate, buy, sell or lease land, or unlawfully transfer land in other ways." This has affirmed that the present stage of China accords with the public ownership of the means of production and there exist two kinds of socialist ownership of land; further, it has confirmed the principle that the land owned by the state and the collective is inviolable and cannot be regarded as a commodity to be sold, bought or leased. These principles affirmed by the fundamental law of the state which has supreme legal effect have great immediate significance in safeguarding the socialist economic basis of our country and promoting the management of land.

I

Land is the basic means of production for industrial and agricultural production, and cannot be substituted. It is closely linked with the people's life and the existence and reproduction of mankind. Socialism is incompatible with the private ownership of land. In their "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels pointed out: "Wielding its political domination, the proletariat" "expropriates landed property and provides land rent to the state for its expenditures." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 489, 490) In "places where there are large number of peasants who own the land," Marx proposed to "promote the transition from private ownership to collective ownership of land." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, pp 694, 695) After the victory of the democratic revolution, China abolished the feudal ownership of land in rural areas and carried out the principle that those who till own their land. The collective ownership of land in rural areas was gradually established

during the cooperative transformation of agriculture and finally realized with the establishment of the advanced agricultural producers' cooperative; whereas the state ownership of land was gradually set up and strengthened through expropriation, confiscation, taking over (of unowned land in town and country), redemption (of capitalist estates), requisition and other methods. The establishment of the two kinds of public ownership of land eliminated an important source of exploitation and oppression that the Chinese people had suffered from, cleared away the obstacles and paved the way for China to become a prosperous, strong and modernized country. These are the great achievements gained by the Chinese people in the struggle to solve the land problem in the past decades under the leadership of the CPC.

The establishment of the two kinds of socialist public ownership of land was widely supported and respected by various organs, organizations, state-owned enterprises and institutions, collective economic organizations and the vast numbers of civilians in cities and villages. On the whole, it was relatively stable. But in recent years this system has been encroached upon to varying degrees. In rural areas, it has been mainly a case of some cadres and commune members building their own houses and willfully occupying cultivated land belonging to the collective; in city suburbs, it has mainly been some production teams, organs and enterprises illegally buying, selling or leasing land; and in cities, there have also been serious cases of illegal land grabbing. The practices of violating rules and occupying land are also rather serious. Some units and individuals try every possible way to occupy open spaces, green plots, parks, public roads and residential courtyards. Land under construction is also forcibly occupied. What merits special attention is that when some units owned by the whole people apply for land for the purpose of construction, they budget liberally but spend sparingly. After they have got the land which the state paid a high price for in taking over, if they do not or cannot use it, they exchange it for houses or materials, or sell, lease or transfer it at a high price. If we allow all the above practices of violating state or collective ownership of land to spread unchecked, the socialist economic basis of our country will be seriously impaired and a great deal of valuable land will continue to be ruined and wasted; this will lead to consequences dreadful to contemplate.

Although land is a means of production, it is somewhat different from that of machinery equipment, factory buildings, raw materials, fuel and other means of production. It cannot be reproduced. One mu occupied will be 1 mu less. Moreover, its position is fixed and cannot be moved. China has a large population with limited land and the distribution of our population is seriously uneven. At present, in many cities and rural areas, there have been a shortage in usable land. Along with the increase of population and the development of the construction cause, this situation of shortage will be more and more intensified. Therefore, to cherish every inch of land is our existing national policy and also the bounden responsibility of all organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions, economic organizations of the collectives and the residents of cities and villages. It is stipulated in the draft of the revised constitution of the PRC that "socialist public property is sacred and inviolable." The land owned by the state

and the collective is sacred and inviolable. The establishment of socialist public ownership of land offered the possibility for the rational exploitation and utilization of land in a planned way. But by applying this possibility to reality, we still need to rely on the people of the whole country and particularly all cadres to safeguard the socialist public ownership of land. Recently, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council emphasized: In the past few years, the situation in rural areas of occupation of cultivated land and building of houses was quite serious, and in addition, more land is found to be occupied by the state every year for its construction. This further accelerates the contradiction of the large population and limited land of our country becoming more striking. If we do not attach great importance to this situation and take drastic measures to stop it, it is bound to have serious consequences. Therefore, it is demanded to strictly control the occupation of land and building of houses, and resolutely check the trend of cadres taking the lead in grabbing land and building houses. This instruction is very important.

In order to safeguard the socialist public ownership of land, we must further perfect the land legislation, study and improve the system of land management and make clear the problem of ideological understanding concerning the public ownership of land.

II

One of the important reasons why our socialist public land has frequently been violated in the past was that our country's land laws were not complete and there were no legal guidelines when problems concerning land management occurred. For instance, since the cooperative transformation of agriculture, although the party and government time and again reaffirmed in its policy documents that buying, selling and leasing of land were forbidden, people nevertheless bought, sold and leased the land, and there were no clear-cut laws stating what responsibility the culprits should bear. Consequently, even if the cases of selling, buying and leasing of land were investigated, those guilty were not duly punished. A culprit who offended the law "made self-criticism for a short spell but got benefits throughout his life." This then created a precedent for future illegal activities. Here is another example: We criticized the rural grassroot level cadres for arbitrarily distributing house sites. But for a long time we did not suggest any way to properly distribute the house sites, with the result that each locality chose their own way. Some even competed with others, keeping pace with a "high standard."

Socialist land law is a powerful weapon for us to protect the socialist public ownership of land. It is inconceivable for such a big country as ours with a large population and limited land not to have complete land laws.

It is gratifying that in the past 12 months or so, the State Council has successively promulgated several important land decrees. A number of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have also formulated their own local land regulations. There has been great progress in the land

legislation work of our country. But we still do not have our own land law. There are some details of the newly promulgated land decree that need to be formulated and put in force. We must continue to firmly grasp the work in land legislation. The clear and perfect stipulation laid down in the new constitution for the ownership of land for our country at the present stage will establish a prerequisite for the land law of China.

To make a law is not easy but, in a certain sense, to carry it out is even more difficult. A special feature of many cases of illegal land dealings is that both parties received benefits at the expense of the state. Therefore, these cases are not easily discovered in advance. When it is investigated, it has already become a fact. There are also great obstacles and difficulties in dealing with these cases. Moreover, there are the phenomena of too many opinions and, ambiguous responsibility in land management at present which meant that land appeared to be managed but in fact was not; this seriously hindered the development of land management work. Urban land should of course be managed by the real estate departments. But too many heads involved in the management cause it to be in a confused state. Therefore, after we have laid down a series of land decrees, it is necessary to further perfect the administrative organs of land management and earnestly grasp the work of enforcing the law. It is imperative to have a full understanding of the difficulty of enforcing the law. We must educate the comrades of judicial and land management departments to bear the spirit of responsibility to the state and our later generations, act according to the law and enforce it strictly.

III

One of the main defects in the economic management system of our country is the idea of eating out of the "big communal pot." This is also true in our land management system, and in the management system in the state-owned land in particular.

At present, when land is needed by enterprises and institution units owned by the whole people, provided that the construction or extension project is approved, the construction unit can in the name of a state representative take over land for its use, no matter how high the expenses, because they are allocated, paid and reimbursed by the state. After the land is taken over, it is owned by the state and used by the construction unit. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," the units owned by the whole people had to pay to the state a small fee for the use of land. During the "Cultural Revolution," this symbolic payment was also revoked. Now, the units of the ownership of the whole people gratuitously use state land. Although this kind of system conforms with the simplified tax system, it has also brought a lot of problems. Among them the most typical one is gratuitous use of land. Everybody rushes in sharing from the "big pot" of state land, thus causing a shocking waste in the use of land. In requisitioning land, we often find cases of requisitioning more land than needed, or requisitioning it much earlier than it is used, or even not using it at all. The crux of the matter is that land owned by the state is free. At present, the reason why the capitalists of foreign countries rush day and

night and seize every minute to build factories is that every inch of land is extremely expensive there. The capitalists wish to finish it as quick as possible in order to recover the cost of purchasing the land at an early date. But in our metropolis, when houses are demolished, it is usually the case that after several years they are still in ruins. There is no choice but to erect an advertisement board to cover up the sight. If land is not used gratuitously, but must be paid for, and if whoever takes over the land and does not use it, will be levied heavy taxes by the state, or the land be taken back in due time, then the situation may be far better than the present.

In socialist society there still exists differential land rent. The land rent of construction sites is mainly determined by the position of the land. Whether or not the enterprises are situated near the sources of raw materials, markets and water and electric supply centers, and whether or not the communication and transportation and coordinative conditions are convenient, have great influence on the operation of their businesses. It is not because of good operation of business or large amount of labor put in that some of the enterprises make a good income, but mainly because they benefit by the position of the factory (or shop; the mines benefit from rich resources). At present, wherever the land used by the state-owned enterprises is situated, it is free; therefore, the differential land rent is then distributed to enterprises that are situated in a good location. This not only causes uneven income, advantages and hardships, it also encourages people to crowd into the metropolis and particularly to seize the land in the center of the city and the vegetable plots in the suburbs.

In the past, when the management system of the entire planning, finance, supply and marketing and others were all sharing from the "communal pot," the above defects of free use of land did not arouse the attention of the people. Now, the initiative power of enterprises have been extended and we have instituted the economic responsibility system. When the other fields began to actively solve the problem of "communal pot," the problem of "communal pot" in the state-owned land became more conspicuous and its defects exposed more clearly. This is an important problem that calls for a solution in reforming the land management system.

In order to make the construction units use land more economically and change the free occupation of state-owned land to a paid one, it is absolutely necessary for the state to levy land-use tax on private house sites and land used by units for construction purpose, according to the quality and quantity of land. The state must pay relevant fees for requisitioning, exploiting and managing land. At present, the expenses in requisitioning land constitute a large amount of every capital construction investment allocated by the state. This sum of money is not part of the social reproduction process and does not form fixed assets. It cannot be gradually withdrawn, depreciated or recouped, and is not included in the rent; therefore the state is not reasonably compensated. It is necessary to levy a certain amount of tax on the units that use land to compensate the expenses used in requisitioning, exploiting and managing land.

It seems that the state charging the state-run enterprises for using land is like collecting a sum of money from one side but reducing the profits that should be turned over on the other; the wool comes from the sheep's back. In fact, collecting and not collecting are quite different, and the results of the wool coming from this or that sheep's back are also quite different. Collecting is advantageous for maintaining the state ownership of land and prevents the reduction of state ownership of land to unit ownership. Under the condition of extending the initiative power of enterprises and the enterprises having relatively independent economic rights and interests, it is a very beneficial thing for the state to levy tax on using land and levying a higher tax on the well located land and suburban vegetable plots according to the principle of differential land rent. This reflects a series of policies of the party and government in valuing land, readjusting the income of enterprises, controlling the population increase in cities, protecting the environment and so on.

IV

In order to do a good job in land management in rural areas and city suburbs and safeguard the socialist collective ownership of land, at present, it is necessary to clarify some ideological understanding on the problems concerning the collective ownership of land.

The first problem is forbidding the buying and selling of land. The constitution and law of China has a stipulation forbidding the buying and selling of land. It not only forbids the units owned by the whole people to sell state-owned land, but also forbids the units owned by the collective to sell collectively owned. This is not a willful stipulation, but a scientific one. Some comrades hold that since land belongs to the collective, they have the right to sell. They do not understand the reasoning behind this stipulation.

The buying and selling of land is an outcome of private ownership of land and it is an important reason why in history, land has been monopolized and annexed by a handful of people. In the old society, the rich had fields from north to south, but the poor did not even possess a speck of land. In addition to the rulers plundering land from the laboring people by means of political and military power, this was also caused by the rich buying land from the impoverished peasants. Through the democratic and socialist revolutions, China abolished the private ownership of land and nobody was allowed to use land to exploit others. We had the objective conditions for forbidding the buying and selling of land. In order to protect the socialist public ownership of land, the law of our country has a stipulation forbidding the buying and selling of land. The state recognizes the proprietary rights of the collective units over the land and legally protects collectively owned land from being encroached upon. Collective units are by no means allowed to sell land at will. If the collective units are allowed to sell land at will, it will inevitably mean giving the green light to a few people to engage in speculation, and conversely, all bad deeds will come one after another. This is not safeguarding but sabotaging the collective ownership of land.

In socialist society, there exist the production and exchange of commodities, but land is not a commodity. Further, viewed from the development of the causes of production and construction, it is not necessary to carry out a policy of free buying and selling of land. If the state needs land for capital construction, it can requisition land from the production teams through legal procedures after approval by the land management organs. The state does not have to purchase it. If the commune enterprises need land for construction, they can also requisition land from the production teams through legal procedures after approval by the state; they do not have to purchase it either. At present, those who intend to purchase land are mainly units who want to extend their capital construction which is not under the planning of, or approved by, the higher levels. If the free buying and selling of land is allowed, it will be impossible to control the planning of cities, capital construction and land utilization.

The second is the problem of bounds between the public ownership of land and the system of production responsibility, that is, the bounds between proprietary rights and utilization rights of land.

After land reform was carried out in China, the proprietary rights and utilization rights of land were always connected together. After land reform, land was returned to the individual peasants. The individual peasants were the owners and users of land. After a considerable time after the setting up of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives in rural areas, the land was cultivated by the collective and therefore, the collective was the owner and user of land. Because the "two rights" were combined together for a long period, this caused some of the peasants and cadres to be mixed up about the bounds. After the implementation of the responsibility system of fixing output quotas for individual households and assigning land to each household in exchange for fixed levies, proprietary rights and utilization rights were separated or partly separated. Therefore, some people misunderstood it as "dividing the fields among individual households" and "land has returned back to its original owner." In the past few years, some people have built houses and graveyards and used the soil to bake bricks on contract land, private plots and fodder fields. This is related to the mixing up of the bounds between proprietary rights and utilization rights of land. What we have to do is to do more propagation and explanation work, and lead the peasants and cadres to draw a clear line of demarcation on this issue. We must realize that in our socialist society, it is normal to separate the proprietary right and utilization right of land. We must help the cadres and commune members to draw a clear line of demarcation between proprietary right and utilization right, so that they can understand that they have the right to use contract land, private plots, hilly land and fodder fields to a certain limited extent, and that they do not have the proprietary right over this land. This is advantageous for maintaining the collective ownership of land and also for perfecting the system of production responsibility in rural areas.

Marx predicted 110 years ago that "the ownership of land is the primitive source of all wealth. Now it has become a big problem. The future of the

working class depends on how this problem is properly solved." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 64) This big problem has basically been solved in our country. The problem we face today is to consolidate our achievements and perfect our public ownership of land. With the efforts of all of us, we believe that our socialist public ownership of land will constantly be perfect and further definitely manifest its superiority.

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LAUNCH THE ADVANCED PRODUCERS MOVEMENT ON A LARGER SCALE

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[Article by Yu Yannan [2456 3601 0589]]

[Text] The advanced producers movement is a mighty endeavor undertaken by the working class and other working people of our country in their establishment of socialism and march forward toward the gigantic objective of the realization of communism. This movement is entirely different from past political movements, particularly those so-called "political movements" during the 10 years of civil disorder. We use the word "movement" here to indicate that it is a popular campaign which is organized, purposeful and rather prestigious. And the advanced producers movement is a popular production emulation movement which is led by the party and the government, lies within the jurisdiction of the law and statutes, possesses the definite objectives of establishing material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization, both of a high degree of development, and is conscientiously and voluntarily participated in by the working class and other laboring people.

I

The advanced producers movement is a major part of the workers' movement of a new historical era in the establishment of socialism in our country.

A working class still exists in a socialist era. Since there is a working class in existence, naturally there is a workers' movement. Following the seizure of political power by the working class, it may be said that the first step has been taken insofar as the realization of its ultimate objective, namely, communism, is concerned. Hence, the workers' movement has not, and cannot, come to a standstill. But since the tasks and the pivotal points of work taken on by the working class before their seizure of political power were different from those shouldered by them after the seizure, the workers' movement necessarily has suffered vast changes in content and form. Before the birth of new China, the central tasks of our working class were, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, to form a close alliance with the peasant class and other laboring people, to overthrow the rule of imperialism, the landlord class and the bureaucratic capitalist class, and to liberate the social productive force.

Hence, during the revolutionary period of new democratism, the basic content of our workers' movement was to engage in class struggles to destroy corrupt production relations and their upper structures which had impeded the development of the social productive force. In this context, during this period, the workers' movement resorted to such measures as strikes, parades and demonstrations and even engaged in more violent and hostile action such as armed struggles. Following the birth of new China, the political and economic status of the working class suffered a basic change. They have become the leadership class of new China and the masters of the new society. Particularly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership system of the means of production and the elimination of the class status of the exploiting class, the central task and the pivotal points of work of the working class, generally speaking, were to devote their utmost efforts to socialist construction concurrently with raising the social productive force, to reform certain portions and links of the production relations and their upper structures which were not in conformity with the development of the productive force, in order to enable the socialist system to gradually become perfect. During this new historical period, the basic content of the workers' movement was to establish a modern, powerful socialist nation which was highly civilized and highly democratic. In other words, the content of the workers' movement shifted from the past liberation of the social productive force to the proper protection and development of the social productive force. Hence, under the new historical conditions, the workers' movement has taken the form of being democratic and emulative and not brutal and hostile.

Some comrades have frequently entertained too narrow a concept of the workers' movement. They seem to believe that the workers' movement existed only before the seizure of political power by the working class and that the workers' movement could exist only when the workers were engaged in struggles with the capitalist class, with or without, the shedding of blood. Such a concept is one-sided, and does not realize that the workers' movement necessarily possesses a different content and a different form in different historical periods. For the same reason, it does not conform to objective reality if we confine the workers' movement merely to political struggles and do not take it as embodying the important contents of the actual practices in production and in the study and renovation of science and technology engaged in by the working class during the socialist period. In reality, certain noted political activists of the proletarian class long ago took socialist labor emulation in the male and female workers' movement as one of the most glorious chapters in the history of socialist construction.

II

A large-scale development of the advanced producers movement carries an enormous significance and role in promoting the establishment of a material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization in our country.

The history of mankind's production development tells us that at any period in history and in any production department there existed a small number of

relatively advanced producers who adopted relatively advanced production techniques and created relatively advanced production norms. Subsequently, an increasing number of producers have learned their techniques and measured up to their norms until finally what had been originally the production level of the small number of advanced producers became the production level of society at large and, as a result, production of the entire society increased. By that time, producers of an even more advanced level began to appear. They adopted techniques of an even more advanced level and created norms of an even more advanced character. They influenced and led many more producers to join the ranks of the advanced. In this way, the snow-balling effect gathered momentum. In general, this may be said to be a picture of the development of socialist social production and demonstrates the general law governing the development of socialist social production. In the interval, if any big and important invention in production technique is made, then it will lead to an important reform in production technique and promote a big increase in production. One of the chief superior points of socialism is that it provides various advantageous conditions and opens up unlimited extensive prospects for the growth of millions of advanced producers, for the full display of their subjective initiative in production, and for the utilization and propagation of their advanced experiences and their various kinds of inventions and creations. No other social system can provide such advantageous conditions.

As early as at the end of 1955, Comrade Mao Zedong had brought forth a proposal to start a socialist emulation campaign in our country. On the basis of this proposal, in March next year the CPC Central Committee issued a circular entitled: "Notice Concerning Active Leadership Over the Advanced Producers Movement." Thus, 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution," our country had already started the advanced producers movement. Although in the interval there were certain setbacks and errors, generally speaking, it had played an important role particularly during the period of the recovery of the national economy and the period of the completion of the First Five-Year Plan. After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, popular activities striving to become various kinds of advanced producers were again rampant. This was a result of the implementation of the policy eulogizing advanced people on various frontlines, development of labor campaigns in various forms, an upsurge of such activities as technical renovation and making rational suggestions, and the "learn from, and surpass, the advanced" campaign which had for a time been interrupted during the 10 years of internal disturbance. According to statistics compiled by relevant departments in an investigation of 11 large-size backbone enterprises, in recent years roughly 20 percent of their staff members have won such meritorious titles of labor as labor model, advanced producer, shock worker in the new Long March, 8th March Red Banner pacesetter, and contributor of meritorious services to the four modernizations. Since the founding of the PRC, for every thousand staff members, roughly five have been awarded, at one time or another, titles of labor models of various grades. At the moment, in various localities, departments and enterprise units, the development of the advanced producers movement is still uneven and varying results have been attained. For example, at the end of each

year, Daqing oil field carried out a campaign to "appraise advanced workers, compare contributions, elect models, and exemplify pacesetters." This has played an important role in the development of construction of the oil field and in stabilizing its high yield in recent years. The Daqing Oil Well Drilling Corporation combined labor emulation simultaneously with implementing the economic responsibility system. Last year, its oil well drilling footage was more than 600,000 meters, and its entire year's production tasks were filled 28 days ahead of schedule. Since last year, the Shanghai No 5 steel plant has promoted activities to solicit rational proposals from its staff members and in this way has enhanced economic benefits to the enterprise. This plant has a steel rolling workshop with over 700 workers. Last year, from July to the end of the year, roughly 10 percent of its workers made some 116 rational suggestions. Following investigation, 36 of these proposals were accepted. An investment of 31,000 yuan was required to carry out these proposals and awards amounting to 141 yuan were made. Implementation of these proposals will yield profits of 1.65 million yuan a year. This is equivalent to 8.7 percent of the total profits received yearly from this workshop at present. Of these 36 proposals, 19 were carried out before the end of last year. An investment of 5,000 yuan was made but the profits realized that year amounted to 420,000 yuan. A team leader in this workshop made a suggestion on "improving the productivity rate." The making of the suggestion, its examination and eventual implementation took only 2 days. Not a cent was spent; each year, 360 more tons of steel can be rolled, increasing profits by 45,000 yuan. Innumerable facts have shown that the vigorous development of socialist labor emulation to "compare, learn from, catch up, help and surpass" can readily be transformed into a powerful popular movement in which everybody learns from the advanced and catches up with the advanced. It can vigorously arouse people's enthusiasm and urge for improvement, change people's spiritual consciousness, promote technical rebuilding in the various departments of the national economy, and improve the labor productivity rate, work efficiency and economic effect of various trades and industries. In this way, the prosperous development of socialist economic construction in our country can be promoted.

The central theme of the current large-scale development of the advanced producers movement is to greatly increase the labor productivity rate and the economic effect to the enterprises. Development of the movement enables the rapid development of social production and in this way can provide to society even more plentiful products to satisfy the daily increasing material and cultural needs of the people. This is a special characteristic of the socialist system's superiority over capitalism. Therefore, vigorous development of the advanced producers movement helps in consolidating and developing the socialist system.

In the various departments of the national economy, the carrying out of widespread, penetrating and sustained labor emulation activities of a popular nature and the attraction of an increasing number of employees and workers into the movement to learn from and to catch up with the advanced not only can produce enormous economic benefits but also possesses an inestimable significance and importance in improving the cultural and

technical quality of the entire working class, in gradually reducing the differential between physical labor and mental labor and in nurturing and raising the class consciousness and good virtues of the working class, particularly the young workers.

According to relevant investigation statistics, there are in our country some 60 million young workers and employees under the age of 35. The mainstream and quality of these youthful workers and employees are good. They represent an exceedingly hopeful new generation of our country's working class. But for various reasons, for the time being a rather large proportion of these youthful workers are not imbued with the revolutionary spirit and superior virtues of the industrial proletarian class. Frequently they lack the far-sighted ideology of the working class, lack the enterprising spirit, and sometimes look for momentary "comforts" and "material enjoyment." They often fail to put their exuberant vitality to good use and devote too much of it on petty household affairs. A small minority may even make trouble out of nothing, engage in brawls and fights, and even step on the dangerous road of lawbreaking. Under the present conditions of the great majority of workers being young people, we urgently need to vigorously develop popular activities which are of service to this great enterprise of the working class so as to attract these young workers, to make them strive to become the advanced and to do their utmost to fulfill their own wishes by means of creative labor and so that they can effectively display and put to good use their exuberant vitality and precious time via beneficial channels. And the advanced producers movement is precisely the type of good popular activity which can meet immeasurably well the above demands. The advanced producers movement not only possesses an extensively popular character but also has a highly competitive and emulative nature. All this is extremely suitable to young people's special temperament. Like competition in sports, labor emulation can immensely arouse the ideology, enthusiasm, fighting spirit, and wisdom of the young workers, and can turn a dull daily work routine into ever-surging waves and undulations, full of excitement and steam. It can place young workers in a lively atmosphere and rhythms of strain, excitement, enjoyment and gladness. This makes them feel the fullness of life, the beauty of ideologies, and the bright prospects of the future. When they reap good results in their technical training, in technical renovation, in making rational propositions and in such activities as production emulation and pacesetting competition, when they are aware of their own importance and role in socialized production, and when they enjoy the fruits of glory and happiness of their creative labor, they will become increasingly interested and will even conscientiously regulate their own actions in conformity with the countenance of the working class. In short, vigorous development of the advanced producers movement and enthusiastic mobilization of the extensive masses of young workers to join the movement will make the young workers more readily accept the rigid training of socialized production, rapidly cultivate the revolutionary character and superior quality of the proletarian class in industry, and become truly worthy successors to the working class.

Advanced producers represent an advanced level of the productive force. On the one hand, they utilize their own advanced technique, advanced

experiences and advanced norms to help and to teach the producers around them to learn and handle these advanced technology and experiences and to fulfill the advanced norms, in this way directly promoting the development of the productive force. On the other hand, by means of their exemplary deeds, their advanced thinking and brand-new lifestyle, they wash away the dirt and poison of the old ideologies of old society, introduce new styles and behavior to the age of socialism and communism, attract and encourage millions of people to adopt a new labor attitude and to undertake new fields of work, and thereby promote the onward development of the productive force. Since the founding of the PRC, on the various production fronts of our country a large number of celebrated advanced producers (workers) and model workers have appeared, such as Meng Tai, Shang Xiuli, Zhao Mengtao, Shi Chuanxiang, Wang Jinxi, Peng Haimu, Luan Fu and Zhao Chune, and those well-known labor models up to now are still diligently laboring on various fronts for the socialist enterprise. In addition, we may mention the nationally known advanced production teams and units such as the "Mao Zedong locomotive unit," Ma Hengchang subgroup, Ma Wanshui engineering team, and Daqing Nos 1202 and 1205 drilling teams. This large number of celebrated advanced individuals and advanced groups, plus thousands of advanced producers (workers), individuals and advanced units, demonstrating in their own selves the lofty spirit of loyalty to communist enterprises, their good professional virtue and their brand-new socialist lifestyle, truly constitute the pillar of our country's socialist spiritual civilization. Hence the further large-scale development of the advanced producers movement and an increasing number of employees and workers joining it certainly will form an extremely colorful and noble atmosphere which will wipe away the various kinds of evil habits and ways which corrode the socialist enterprises on our motherland.

Since the founding of the PRC, as a result of the vigorous development of the advanced producers movement, the working class has enhanced its political consciousness and improved the quality of its culture and technology. The ranks of advanced elements in the working class have also continuously expanded and improved and large numbers of advanced producers and labor models have grown up to become superior engineering and technical personnel, or administrative cadres, or leadership cadres, in the party and government circles. All this categorically shows that the advanced producers movement is in the nature of a big school for the working class to learn communism, is a large melting pot for the steeling of advanced elements among the working class, and at the same time constitutes an extremely important road and form, under the new historical conditions, for the self-rebuilding and self-development of the working class.

III

There is little doubt that the development of the advanced producers movement embodies an important significance and role in the construction of our country's socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. However, at present, many leadership cadres have not yet given the matter the importance it deserves. In organizing the advanced producers movement, the leadership circles concerned are full of worries. They seem to have their

hands and feet tied and can hardly do anything. In such enterprise units, the trouble lies in not having attached enough importance to the movement, to the lack of a precise objective and concrete procedural measures, and an inability to envision definite results. It often happens that after vainly propagating for a while, the movement came to a halt. Naturally, conditions of this kind must be rapidly rectified. In addition, there exist causes which impede and adversely influence our development of the advanced producers movement on an even larger scale. For example, many enterprises to varying degrees display a bad tendency to isolate or to attack the advanced. This has seriously disrupted the development of the "learn from the advanced" campaign. Also, certain problems and evil practices have been found in such phases as selection, use and propagation of the advanced producers.

According to an investigation made by relevant departments, out of the 126 nationally known cotton spinning and weaving experts, 66, or 52 percent, have been taunted or criticized. At the Yinchuan Cotton Weaving Mill in the Ningxia Autonomous Region, a national labor model, working as a weaver recently overfulfilled his spinning and weaving tasks each year. He has been in the habit of using his rest hours to teach new workers his techniques. Somebody actually wrote words on the blackboard taunting him and urging him "not to show his stuff any more." In some localities and enterprise units, it is difficult for the backward to become advanced. In the Changsha Restaurant in Hunan Province, a young pacesetter used to have participated in evil ways in her early life. After the smashing of the "gang of four," she was "reborn." She was found reliable in her work and finally won the honor of being a pacesetter in the new Long March. She was elected to the municipal political consultative committee. Unfortunately, very soon, doubts, taunts and rumors were cast on her. This was a serious spiritual blow to this youth who had just begun a new life. She was so depressed that she thought of committing suicide. Again, for example, according to an investigation made by a certain department store in Shanghai, it was found that of 65 advanced producers investigated, 17 felt that taunts, jeers and attacks were the main impediments to their continued advancement. A large number of facts show that the evil wind of isolating and attacking the advanced is blowing in varying degrees of severity in many localities and units and that this is more or less a general phenomenon. The various levels of leadership in the relevant departments must therefore pay special attention to this problem and make serious efforts to rectify it. The reason why the evil wind of isolating and attacking the advanced has not been effectively stifled in time is basically because of the weak and loose disposition of the party leadership in the organizations concerned. Isolating and attacking the advanced is basically incompatible with the advanced character of the working class and its political party, the nature of the socialist system, and the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The firm rectification of such an abnormal phenomenon has a direct bearing on the consolidation and development of the leading position of the working class in advanced thought and the expansion and development of the enterprise of the working class. Hence, our party and government leadership at various levels should take a clear-cut stand in representing and supporting the advanced and make a thorough investigation of the plight

of the advanced producers and other advanced people in their respective localities, departments and units. They should educate the medium-level and backward workers and employees on how to correctly treat the advanced people and criticize the erroneous ideology of not seeking advancement for oneself and also keeping others from advancing. At the same time, they should firmly rectify the erroneous viewpoint and behavior which considers that all advanced producers must be advanced in everything and all through their lives and thus foster a demand for perfection on the advanced producers. Acts which falsely accuse and attack the advanced must be sternly investigated and dealt with. Serious cases involving a breach of criminal codes must be prosecuted. Only in this way is it possible to foster a good social and political environment in which everybody learns from the advanced and strives for advancement.

In the final analysis, whether or not an employee or worker should be conferred a labor honor and with what kind of labor honor should be determined by whether or not he has made any contribution and the extent of his contribution, if any, to the cause of promoting the development of the social productive force and the construction of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. This should be our fundamental criterion for the selection of advanced producers. Following the development of socialist modern construction enterprises in our country, there should be an increasing number of advanced producers standing in the front ranks of holding, promoting and creating modern technology. This represents an objective demand made on us by the passage of time. According to an investigation, last year a certain machine-building plant in Shaanxi Province elected 96 advanced producers and 45 advanced teams at factory grade. By far the great majority of them had been commended on doing overtime work, overfulfilling production quotas, enduring great hardships and undergoing extremely hard labor. However, lacking were such advanced examples as the trial production of new products, renovation of tools and equipment, adoption of advanced technological processes and advanced techniques, strengthening of scientific management and improvement of the economic benefits to the enterprises. Conditions of this kind are fairly common in other enterprises. The advanced model of the "old cattle type," the name of one of the categories of advanced models, represents one of the treasures of our party and people. The "old cattle spirit" it exhibits is the revolutionary spirit of fighting hard struggles, daring to sacrifice, and giving one's all until one's dying day. It is a vivid representation of communist ideology and is an enormous spiritual force supporting our construction of a modern powerful country. Therefore, from now on, we should have still more of this type of advanced model. But if only this one type of advanced model is available, then certainly it is not sufficient and can hardly meet the development needs of socialist modern construction. Hence, concurrently with training and bringing up, with great warmth, the existing advanced people (particularly creating the necessary conditions for them to learn and control scientific and cultural knowledge), we must pay adequate attention to the discovery, nurturing and support of advanced models who possess the special features of being new and conforming to the existing era's requirements. At present, the number of young labor models is small. This has directly reduced their influence

and role among the vast masses of workers. According to an investigation made by relevant departments on 11 large-size backbone enterprises, of over 90,000 young workers, only 330 workers have been selected as labor models. This is 0.3 percent of the total number of young workers, whereas of over 50,000 elderly workers and middle-age workers, 397 people have been selected as labor models, or roughly 0.8 percent of the total number of elderly workers and middle-aged workers. The latter proportion was nearly 300 percent of that for young workers. Of course, there are various reasons for the small number of labor models among young workers, including the erroneous thought of exacting the demand for perfection among the young workers. Therefore, from now on, simultaneously with propagating the advanced and selecting labor models of the old and middle ages, we must break through the bondage of conservative ideology and boldly post up young advanced model personages so as to lower the average age of the contingents of labor models. We must also hold more single-item emulations for advanced ranking. This will make it possible for more workers and employees to take part. Moreover, in order to correctly and sufficiently bring the role which labor models should possess into full play, we must firmly rectify the current phenomenon of the current labor models occupying concurrent posts, participating in too many conferences and engaging in too many conferences and engaging in too many social activities. This will ensure that they have sufficient time at their disposal for production and at the same time strengthen their relations and contact with the masses. We must concretely solve the practical problems of the work burden of a portion of the labor models being too heavy, of their difficulties in finding adequate time for studies and making advanced studies as well as their individual problems of daily life. This will foster the growth of labor models. We must in a big way and practically and realistically propagate the advanced ideology and deeds of labor models. We must, by means of real hard work, enable thousands by thousands of workers and employees to continuously join the ranks of the advanced and strive for achieving the objective of making, in the next 3-5 years, the size of the contingents of truly qualified advanced producers much bigger, and their quality much better, than is the case today.

IV

Over the more than 30 years since the founding of the PRC, we have gathered and accumulated many valuable experiences in organizing the advanced producers movement and, at the same time, we have learned many painful and penetrating lessons. One of the important experiences gained is that in our work we must rigidly abide by the natural laws and economic laws. We must be practical and realistic no matter whether we are determining the emulating contents or targets or whether we are setting up advanced models or promoting advanced experiences. In our country, there are nearly 400,000 industrial and communications enterprise units. They differ in thousands of ways. In learning from the advanced and promoting advanced experiences, if we adopt or stick to one model or form, copy or apply mechanically, and bring compulsion to bear by means of the issuance of orders and directives, the consequence will only be setbacks in or failure of our advanced producers movement. Since the advanced producers movement is a gigantic undertaking participated in by millions of people, it simply won't do to have only a few

people engaged in that work. Hence, we must be great in strength and impetus and, through all necessary means, mobilize and organize the vast masses of people. But we must also watch the actual results and be determined to avoid formalism. The way of doing things by raising a hue and cry, going in for ostentation and extravagance, and attending only to form has all along been hated and rejected by the vast masses of workers and employees. It must be firmly avoided and rectified.

We may also note that in our country at present conditions have become increasingly ripe for developing the advanced producers movement on an even larger scale than before. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have implemented a series of new and important guidelines and policies. This gigantic reform of historical significance has lasted for 4 years. It has demonstrated to people of the whole country not only its political achievements but also its material benefits. In fact, the actual standard of living of the great proportion of the workers by far has been improved to a certain extent and everybody is living more happily. The improvement in the material and cultural life of the vast masses of workers sooner or later will be reflected in their production work and more or less bring about an upsurge in their labor enthusiasm and creativeness. In recent years, we have done much work in the direction of reorganizing the leadership ranks of the enterprises, setting up the economic responsibility system and training workers and employees. In the enterprises, various kinds of management work such as quota control, business accounting and so on have been put on the right track. If we combine the above with other conditions, such as strengthening ideological and political work, we can entirely anticipate that there will emerge in our country an advanced producers movement of a gigantic scale which has the objective of building our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist modern powerful nation. Within the working class, and within the entire population, an increasing number of people will strive to become advanced producers and more and more people will indeed become advanced producers. This in itself is an important symbol of the continuous elevation of our country's socialist spiritual civilization. The advanced producers movement will surely become an enormous force promoting the modernization of our country's industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and pushing forward the healthy development of the entire socialist undertaking.

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THE PARTY'S CAUSE, THE PARTY'S WORK ON LITERATURE AND ART AND NONPARTY
LITERARY AND ART WORKERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 33-36

[Article by Qi Fang [2058 2455]]

[Text] While talking about the two basic problems of audience, namely, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced and the way to serve them, "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" specially discusses inner-party relations, namely, the relations between literary and art work of the party and the entire work of the party, and in addition, a problem of the party's external relations, namely, the relations between the party's work on literature and art and nonparty literary and art workers. For a considerably long period in the past, not many of our literary and art works specially discussed and analyzed Comrade Mao Zedong's views in this respect. The reason why we suffered setbacks and made deviations in our literary and art movement was closely attributed to our failure to pay attention and properly deal with this view. Therefore, to restudy such a view is an important subject for bringing order out of chaos on the literary and art front.

As proletarian revolutionaries, politicians and theoreticians, Comrades Lenin and Mao Zedong observed the problems of literature and art from the angle of the strategy and tactics of the entire proletarian revolutionary movement. They maintained that the proletarian literary and art movement should not be separated from the general track of the proletarian revolutionary movement and the Marxist and Leninist leadership of the party. With regard to Communist Party members who are engaged in literary and art undertakings, literature and art are their specific fighting posts at which they devote themselves to the proletarian revolutionary cause. First of all, party member literary and art workers should not forget that they are Communist Party members. They should implement the party's resolutions, guiding principles and policies and abide by the party's discipline. They should on no account regard their work as an individual thing which has nothing to do with the general cause of the proletariat. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin pointed out in his article "The Party's Organization and Publications": "The work of writing should be a part of the general cause of the proletariat."

Lenin's article, which was written for the party's newspaper, journal, publication and propaganda work, is, of course, suitable for the party's literary and art work. So far as literary and art undertaking are concerned, it raises and answers the problem of inner-party relationships, that is, the relations between the party's literary and art work and the party's entire cause on the one hand and the relations between party-member writers and the party's organizations on the other. Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" and other relevant works also carry forward Lenin's basic ideas on this subject. It is not in accord with the basic spirit of Lenin's article to regard Lenin's demands on party-member artists and writers as demands on all artists and writers. This would also cause serious consequences in practice.

Lenin's remarks "Writers without party spirit, get out!" referred to writers who had organizationally joined the party and all inner-party publication and propaganda workers, rather than nonparty writers and authors in general. After the October Revolution, while leading the struggle against the "proletarian cultural faction," Lenin mercilessly taunted the sectarian and closed door views which thought that the task of building proletarian culture could only be accomplished by relying on the efforts of the proletariat itself together with scientists, artists and engineers who were of proletarian origins. Lenin said that this was a wholesale fabrication. He explicitly pointed out: "In the activities in various fields, if we fail to form an alliance with nonparty personnel, we cannot begin to talk about successful communist construction." ("On the Significance of Combating Materialism")

While affirming that the party's literary and art work is part of the party's entire cause, Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" profoundly expounded the relations between the party's literary and art work and the nonparty literary and art work and regarded these party's external relations as a problem of a united front in the literary and art circles.

Our country's revolutionary literary and art movement is led by the party and attended by party member writers and artists. This gives rise to the relations between the party's literary and art workers and the party. Revolutionary literary and art undertaking is an extensive activity of the masses which is closely connected with almost every member of society. Apart from Communist Party members, it needs the participation of a number of literary and art workers who sympathize with and support the revolutionary cause to varying degrees and have different ideological tendencies and literary and art viewpoints. This gives rise to the problem of how our party should handle well its relations with nonparty literary and art workers, that is, the party's external relations. With regard to the party, this actually means how our party should exercise its correct leadership over literature and art and arouse the enthusiasm of all positive factors to promote the development of literary and art undertakings. Whether at the stage of democratic revolution or socialist revolution and construction, if the party fails to adopt correct policy to extensively cooperate with the masses outside the party, to fully arouse their enthusiasm and give play to their wisdom, talent and specialty, it is impossible to carry out the proletarian revolutionary literary and art movement in the true sense.

Handling well the relations between the party and nonparty literary and art workers is, very often, related to the party policy toward intellectuals. The broad masses of intellectuals in China are full of revolutionary spirit. Very often, they play a vanguard and linking role in the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong attached full importance to the essential role played by intellectuals in the process of the Chinese revolution. In his article "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the long and ruthless war of national liberation, in the great struggle to build a new China, the Communist Party must be good at winning intellectuals, for only in this way will it be able to organize great strength for the war of resistance, organize the millions of peasants, develop the revolutionary cultural movement and expand the revolutionary united front. Without the participation of the intellectuals victory in the revolution is impossible." If we fail to unite with nonparty literary and art workers, it is impossible for us to correctly implement policy toward intellectuals on the cultural front.

It was on the basis of such fundamental estimation and specific analysis that Comrade Mao Zedong expounded a series of policies and guiding principles for correctly handling the relations between the party and nonparty literary and art workers in the literary and art work. In his "Talks," he emphasized: "Our party writers and artists must: 1) unite on this issue of resistance against Japan with all nonparty writers and artists (ranging from party sympathizers and petty bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeoisie and landlord classes who are in favor of resistance to Japan); 2) we should unite with them on the issue of democracy...; 3) we should unite with them with regard to the special issue of method and style in literature and art." With respect to the criterion for literary and art criticism, he again pointed out: "Subject to the general principle of unity of resistance against Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes," "our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art." In the meantime, he stressed: "In a united front, all unity and no struggle and all struggle and no unity are both wrong policies--as with the right capitulationism and tailism, or the 'left' exclusivism and sectarianism, practiced by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics." With regard to artistic works, Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that we should correctly appraise them according to artistic criterion in a scientific way. He said: "We must severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party." Here, Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the problem of united front and relations between the party and nonparty literary and art workers. On the literary and art front, the cooperation between the party and nonparty literary and art workers is not without principles. Instead, it is based on the common great objective (defending basic interests of the masses and the nation) and respecting artistic law. Instead of keeping on the right side of everyone, this cooperation is guided by Marxism and includes serious ideological struggle. However, to strive for the common great objective and artistic development, we should not set the criterion for party members on nonparty literary and art workers and implement a closed door policy toward them.

We should sincerely cooperate with them and bring their enthusiasm into full play.

Because Comrade Mao Zedong correctly handled the relations between the party and nonparty literary and art workers with respect to theoretical principles and specific policies and correctly cooperated with all possible allies in the literary and art circles, we made brilliant achievements in our revolutionary literary and art movement at the democratic revolutionary stage. On the eve of the founding of new China in 1949, the two great literary and art contingents from the KMT-ruled areas and the liberated areas successfully joined forces at the First National Congress of Literary and Art Workers, which marked an unprecedented and great unity of the Chinese literary and art movement. At that time, almost all well-known writers and artists (regardless of their schooling or world outlook) assembled together in the contingent of the cultural construction in new China led by the party. This was a wonderful and magnificent page in the history of our country's revolutionary literature and art. This was also a victory for the party policy for literature and art and a successful example of the united front work in literary and art circles.

Under the conditions that the proletariat has succeeded in snatching state power and becoming a national rural party, are Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas quoted above still valid? Do they still have guiding significance in practice?

The answer to these questions is in the affirmative.

After the proletariat has succeeded in snatching state power in the whole country, fundamental changes have taken place in class relationships and revolutionary tasks: The Chinese Communist Party has become a ruling party. With the accomplishment of the socialist reform of the ownership of the means of production, the exploiting class as a class has been eliminated and intellectuals, including literary and art workers, have become part of the laboring people and forces on which socialist construction relies. If we neglect or negate such historical changes and still use the old viewpoints to formulate our policy toward intellectuals, we are bound to commit grave mistakes. The fact that following the founding of new China, we suffered defeat in our guiding thought for literary and art work and committed "leftist" mistakes in discriminating against intellectuals was closely connected with our negligence of these basic changes.

The task and scope of the literary and art movement in the socialist period are greater than those of the left-wing literary and art movement and the art movement in the liberated area. The number of our writers and artists and the size of our literary and art contingent exceedingly surpass those made before the victory of the revolution. Despite the fact that the number of party members in the literary and art circles has increased by the dozens, they are still the majority in the literary and art contingent. We should not rely on party members alone in the literary and art circles to promote and develop socialist literature and art and build socialist spiritual civilization. On the contrary, we should, under the leadership of the

party, unite with all nonparty literary and art workers who love socialism and the motherland to accomplish the task together.

Since the founding of new China, "leftist" mistakes occurred in the literary and art movement on several occasions. We unilaterally, mechanically and arbitrarily dealt with the relations between the party's literary and art work and the party's entire work, simply regarded literary and art creativity as a weapon for political propaganda and used political movement and struggle to solve the matter of right and wrong in the literary and art movement. Apart from that, the distinctions between the party and nonparty literary and art workers were obscured. In so doing, we weakened not only the mass foundation of literary and art work, but also the party's leadership over literature and art and ideological work. When such "leftist" ideology went to extremes, cultural autocracy and nihilism in the "Great Cultural Revolution" occurred. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques not only brutally attacked nonparty literary and art workers, but also treated a number of literary and art workers inside the party as enemies. The direct result brought about by such act was that in the literary field of a big country with a population of 1 billion, only a few "revolutionary writers" survived. In a civilized ancient country with a long history of 5,000 years, there were only 8 "model operas." On the other hand, the practice of the literary and art movement in our country following the founding of new China has also shown us that we should guard against another danger: If we give up necessary ideological struggle on the literary and art front and the leading role of Marxism in the ideological and cultural fields, underestimate the corrosion of the ideological influence of the old society and various bourgeois ideological trends from foreign countries and attach importance to unity alone without carrying out necessary ideological struggle, our actions will give rise to the bourgeois liberalization and the spread of bourgeois ideology. In so doing, Marxism will lose its ideological front and the socialist nature of the literary and art movement and its role in the socialist superstructure will also diminish.

In the new historical period, the conditions of the party organizations and party members in the literary and art contingent are matters of fundamental significance for upholding the orientation of the socialist literature and art, because we rely on them to implement the party's line, guiding principle and policies. Because party organizations in the literary and art contingent were sabotaged and weakened during the 10 years of internal disorder, the sense of responsibility to the party of some party-member literary and art workers has been dulled. This has become a major problem which adversely affects the healthy development of the literary and art movement. Therefore, we should stress that party organizations in the literary and art contingent should maintain their political and ideological purity and that party-member writers should strengthen their party spirit. All party members who are engaged in literary and art work should, first of all, realize that they are Communist Party members before they regard themselves as writers or artists. In this respect, all Communist Party members should do so without exception. In other words, all party-member literary and art workers should be bound not only by constitution and law, but also by the party's program and constitution. They should conscientiously abide

by the party's discipline and implement the party's guiding principles, policies and resolutions. They should unequivocally keep in line politically with the CPC Central Committee, maintain the party's ideological and organizational purity and resolutely fight against all ideology and acts which run counter to the party's interests. They should not conceal their political features as Communist Party members and contaminate the communist banner. They should influence the masses around them with their own exemplary acts and excellent communist characters. They should neither lower the standard for themselves and slacken their efforts to set strict demands on themselves nor stand above the masses, separate themselves from the masses and consider themselves to be reformers. Writers enjoy freedom of literary and artistic creativity. However, party-member writers should not set their creative freedom against their duties as party members. The party has conferred full rights on them so that inside the party they can present their opinions to the party organizations or even the CPC Central Committee. Outside the party organizations, they are not allowed to make use of their social status as writers to express ideas and remarks which are not in accord with the party's principle or violate the party's line, guiding principles and policies. Party-member writers and artists should take part in the activities of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." However, they should take part in such activities as Communist Party members rather than as writers and artists in general. In the activities of letting a hundred schools of thought contend, they should expand the ideological front of Marxism, but not the opposite. If we fail to solve this problem, we will not be able to retain the socialist nature of the literary and art movement, ensure the party's leadership over literary and artistic undertaking or correctly arouse the enthusiasm of nonparty literary and art workers.

In the new historical period, the handling of the relations between the party and nonparty literary and art workers is actually a problem of how our party should correctly exercise its leadership over literary and art undertaking. To solve this problem, in-depth study and exploration are needed.

First, we should amply trust the majority of our literary and art workers. We should not regard them as alien forces or reject them because some of them have made certain mistakes and/or have shortcomings in certain respects. Otherwise, we will commit "leftist" mistakes. The fact that literary and art workers have become part of the laboring people does not mean that they have all become Marxists. This is also the case with workers and peasants who can also be influenced by nonproletarian and non-Marxist ideology. The main work we should do is that on the basis of trusting them, we should gradually guide, help and educate them.

Furthermore, we should realize that in the new historical period, the cooperation between the party and nonparty literary and art workers on the literary and art front is still very extensive. For instance, in our endeavor to realize the socialist modernization of the motherland and getting rid of poverty and backwardness, our literary and art workers have more common language. We are now facing the task of returning Taiwan to the

motherland and of opposing imperialism and hegemonism. Under the slogan of uniting the motherland and reinvigorating China, we should not only arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of literary and art workers on the mainland, but also unite with all patriotic literary and art workers and artistic schools, including Taiwan compatriots, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and Overseas Chinese to promote the prosperity, richness and colorfulness of our socialist literature and art.

What guiding principle and methods should we adopt to arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals, including literary and art workers? We should pursue the principle of distinguishing the two kinds of contradictions with different nature, including that of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Comrade Mao Zedong regarded the "double hundred" policy as a principle for promoting and developing literary and artistic creation and sciences. To implement this policy, we should encourage works of various artistic styles and schools and various literary and art viewpoints to compare, contend, compete and argue with one another. This includes ideological struggle. The idea of regarding the "double hundred" policy as a practice devoid of criticism and struggle runs counter to the policy. Of course, it is harmful to adopt crude and repressive measures to deal with an ideological problem. We should learn to overcome various erroneous ideas by the method of persuasion and education.

Due to the sabotaging activities carried out by the "gang of four" in the ideological field and the attack of the bourgeois ideological, literary and artistic trends, our literary and art circles are faced not only with the task of continuing to fight against the pernicious influence of "leftist" mistakes, but also with the task of fighting against, to varying degrees, bourgeois liberalization. This problem not only exists inside the party, but also involves nonparty literary and art workers. In recent years, under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee, we have been carrying out an ideological struggle on the two fronts in the literary and art circles. While upholding the Marxist principle, we also help and educate the broad masses of literary and art workers and arouse their enthusiasm to the greatest possible extent. This is a successful practice for dealing with ideological struggle in the literary and art field. Summing up new experience in this respect is a matter of guiding significance for the development of the literary and art movement in the future.

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MAKE GREAT EFFORTS TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE ESSENCE OF THE DOCUMENTS AND
SEEK IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 37-38

["Short" commentary]

[Text] There has already been massive enthusiasm throughout China in studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Everything points toward relatively clear and effective results as a consequence of the importance being attached to the documents by party members at every level in every region and the resultant enthusiasm to study the documents by cadres in general. Many cadres have seen their understanding and consciousness raised as well as their political enthusiasm.

In terms of the overall process, study has only just begun, profound study is still to follow. According to the plans of the party Central Committee, the first stage of study mainly concentrates on learning and grasping the spirit of the documents, elevating one's understanding and uniting ideology in the direction of the plans and policies laid down by the 12th CPC National Congress. The contents of the documents of the 12th congress are rich and abundant. It supports the principle integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the objective facts concerning China's present conditions so that through our study we can bring together the experiences we have gathered from socialist construction in China and produce a mass of new, correct policies and directions which will open up a new era in the socialist modernization construction program. Using our theories we can make clearer elucidations of Marxism, thereby embodying the new leap that the party is making in terms of understanding and appreciating the rules of China's socialist construction. The documents are the development of Maoism under new historical conditions and they represent the compass for all our future work. Only by fully and completely understanding and grasping the spirit of the documents is it possible to correctly initiate and implement our plans and our work and to avoid making mistakes. Thus, we must be earnest in our study of the documents, we must examine them closely and deeply and not be satisfied with only a superficial understanding. We must avoid anything which influences our full and thorough understanding of the documents, such as insufficient analysis of the documents or insufficient examination of the situation before drawing up work plans; deviation from the contents of the documents to discuss nothing

but generalities; using supplementary reading material instead of the essence of the documents during study, and so forth. In the past, some cadres have made such mistakes as these, that is, they did not study the documents sufficiently and therefore were not able to grasp their essence, the result being that their behavior ran opposite to the spirit of the documents, causing them to make mistakes. We should remember this.

A full understanding of the spirit of the documents allows us to increase our understanding, seek ideological unity and guide our work. A key link here is to bring together ideology and reality, to make comparisons with the documents and overcome such thinking which does not correspond with the essence of the 12th congress documents. We must understand that by ignoring this step, it is impossible for the essence of the documents to truly take root in our minds. The documents of the 12th congress cleared up a series of problems which needed rectification in order to establish this new stage in the socialist modernization construction program. For example, it counteracted "leftist" tendencies as well as rightist tendencies; it clarified the tactical targets for socialist modernization construction; accumulated funds to carry out important construction work; developed many different economic styles and implemented the system of responsibility in management and administration; took the implementation of a planned economy as being of utmost importance and market readjustments as supplementary; outlined education and science as being the most important strategies for development of the economy; strengthened the education of communist ideology; established socialist spiritual civilization; successfully attacked corruption and crime in the economic, political and cultural spheres; restructured the system of leadership; and activated revolutionarism, youthfulness, expertise and perception among the cadre ranks. We all have our own opinions of these problems; some are correct, some are not so correct or accurate. Only on the basis of understanding the essence of the documents and carrying out intercadre discussions and meetings can we hope to unite our ideology and understanding.

Studying documents and uniting ideology represent a glorious tradition in our party, but during the 10 years of internal disorder, this tradition was severely damaged. The "gang of four" used unity of ideology as one of their means with the result that this present readvocation of the idea as a means of study has met with some doubt from some comrades. If this situation is not rectified, then we will be unable to continue our study work in any depth. Leaders on all levels should work hard to implement the unity of ideology and reality, such an important link in the chain, and in doing so bring about a restoration of one of the party's glorious study methods.

Understanding and grasping the essence of the documents, raising our appreciation and perception and unifying our ideology are all extremely important steps to be taken. Only by thoroughly carrying out this step can one go on to the next step involving the linking up of all this with the actual work situation in each individual region, department or work unit, collating and learning from experience and examining and implementing the measures and plans outlined in the essence of the 12th CPC National Congress.

The key to carrying out deeper study lies in strengthening leadership. Now, we should take a look at the study process, at the understanding of the essence of the documents, the linking of ideology and reality, the unification of our understanding with the demands of the essence of the 12th CPC National Congress and ask ourselves how well were these things carried out? What experiences have been gained from doing so? What problems exist? How can we improve things? And so forth.

Our first major task today is to study the 12th congress documents. This then demands that we have a concrete order to our work, that we ensure definite work periods and that we ensure that the cadres study in earnest. We should not consider our task of studying the congress documents as something outside our work. Studying the party line, policies and direction is itself our work and is indeed the very first part of any of our work. Linking this with the workers must first be seen in terms of a blueprint. The tactical program drawn up in the documents until the end of this century are a great blueprint for work and only by first studying it carefully can we arduously struggle to construct the great modernized tower of socialism with clear direction, great determination, correct methodology and awareness.

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IS THE PRACTICE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK CONTRADICTIONARY TO THE PROMOTION OF A COMMUNIST WORK ATTITUDE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 38-40

[Article by Xue Yan [5641 1693]]

[Text] In their study of the 12th national congress reports, some comrades made the point that on the one hand they were carrying out policies of distribution according to work while on the other hand advocating a communist attitude toward work and were these two policies not contradictory? How should we come to understand this problem?

Distribution according to work is socialism's distribution principle. It sets out that everyone receives remuneration according to the quantity and quality of their own work, so that more work produces more pay and less work produces less pay while no work produces no pay. A communist attitude toward work means carrying out work of one's own free will regardless of quotas or remuneration. Both of these two concepts are very different but both are vital to this present stage we find ourselves in. A correct handling of the relations between these two concepts is of great significance to the promotion of the socialist modernized construction program.

Distribution relations in society are decided by the situation relating to the means of production. In a capitalist society where the means of production are privately owned, the exploitive classes rely on the means of production that they own to exploit the surplus labor of the workers and thus pass their days earning money but without having to work while, at the same time, the workers are economically exploited and politically suppressed. In a socialist society the workers are the masters of the state. Under conditions of socialist public ownership of the means of production, the people have equal rights of possession of the means of production and distribution of consumer products is carried out according to the principle of distribution according to work. This is the greatest advance in history ever made by human societies. Although the communist principle of distribution according to need continues to develop and become more ideal it can only be truly achieved in a communist society with a highly developed productive force, and with a population with a highly developed consciousness. During the stage of socialism it is only possible to implement distribution according to work. As far as China's present situation is

concerned, industrious implementation of the principles of distribution according to work is today still a problem which has not been completely solved whether it be in the industrial sector, the agricultural sector or any other sector and it thus still requires active and concentrated work. There is still a great deal of work to be done including the structuring of the system of economic management. Correct implementation of the principles of distribution according to work allows us to actually see and feel material benefits in the process of constructing socialism, so that as production develops so too do our individual contributions to the cause and thus, at the same time, the standards of living both materially and culturally gradually improve for everyone, thereby activating everyone's enthusiasm to construct socialism and to work even harder for society and also promoting the ever faster development of the productive forces as well as technology and culture. This is a question of essential importance to the construction of socialism.

While distribution according to work is socialism's distribution principle, it is also an objective rule for the development of socialist economics. We must recognize it, take advantage of it but on no account abuse it or destroy it otherwise we just accept punishment. We all still remember how in 1958 some comrades, under the guidance of mistaken "leftist" thinking, went against the principles of distribution according to work subjectively believing they could hasten the advent of communism in this way by blowing "the wind of communism" and eating "the largest portions of rice." The result was serious damage to production, while people's living standards were also seriously affected. During the 10 years of social chaos, "leftist" tendencies and mistakes reached their pinnacle with the result that not only was distribution according to work no longer conscientiously practiced, it was also criticized so that the end result was serious damage to the workers' enthusiasm and the creating of one of the main factors blocking the development of the economy. These experiences should not be forgotten.

Why, then, in this stage of socialism is the communist attitude toward labor again being advocated?

1. A socialist society represents the initial stage of communism with society's basic means of production already under public ownership and with society already having produced common benefits for all. Thus, a significant portion of the work advocated for socialist workers is for society. This portion of work must be deducted and is dissimilar to that in other societies and is designed to consolidate and develop the system of public ownership of the means of production as well as fulfilling the demands of common benefits and long-term benefits. For these reasons, therefore, it contains elements of communist labor. As far as society's total line of products is concerned, what products should be included in this portion of labor? In his "Critique of Gothe's Program" Marx discussed the question of distribution during the primary stage of communism and listed the following few items. The portion of labor which goes toward making up for means of production lost in consumption--if that portion is not deducted then even simple reproduction in society cannot be maintained.

The portion of labor added to increase production; the portion used to pay for foreseen mishaps; general management costs not directly related to production; the portion used to satisfy common needs, such as schools and health facilities; these accurate divisions drawn up by Marx were developed by taking an objective look at the real situation and carrying out theoretical analysis of future societies. If we integrate the practicalities of the communist movement and China's present social situation, then we can see that there is still a portion of China's products which must be seen as national defense costs. Only after deducting these can society distribute the means of subsistence according to the quantity of work preferred by each worker. Obviously, socialist workers should not work merely to receive their money, in addition they should have a concrete communist attitude toward labor and they should work with enthusiasm for socialist production as well as the above few items so closely connected to common benefits. Otherwise, not only will the socialist society be unable to progress and develop, it will also no longer be able to exist.

2. As far as advocating a communist attitude toward labor is concerned, there are several questions of significance worth asking. One is the question of how a socialist worker should treat his own work tasks and the other is what level of consciousness a worker should have. The principles of distribution of consumer products can only be achieved according to the principles of distribution according to work, but all workers would say there should be no adoption of such attitudes as "work according to pay," "work only as much as the pay is worth" and so on. The reasons for this are that since the workers are already the masters of their society, work is both for the society and oneself, regardless of whether it is paid or unpaid work. This is totally different from the capitalist and master/worker type work of the old society. Every worker must fully appreciate his or her position. Of course, this communist attitude toward work that is being advocated is not mainly designed to promote unpaid work, but instead, is most importantly demanding that everyone take full responsibility for their own work and constantly keep improving themselves. Practical experience shows that if when we practice distribution according to labor we only concern ourselves with how much money we get for how much work, then, without carrying out any ideological and political work and without advocating the principles of a communist attitude toward labor, it is very easy to go astray and produce tendencies of concerning ourselves solely with money. In his report to the 12th national congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "If, under the guidance of communist ideology, we ignore this great task of constructing socialist spiritual civilization throughout society, then the people's understanding and perception of socialism will become one-sided with the result that the people's attention will only be drawn to the construction of a material civilization or even only to the search for material benefits. If this happens, our modernized construction will no longer be able to guarantee a socialist direction with the result that our socialist society will lose its ideals and its targets as well as the force of its spirit and its fighting will, with the result that it will not be able to resist corruption by many corrosive factors and may even see lopsided development or deterioration."

By educating the masses with communism, it will even be easier to implement policies of distribution according to labor and solve the contradictions between distribution according to work and the communist attitude toward work. We already have many examples of this having taken place in our present-day life. Such advanced and developed people as Lei Feng, Wang Jie, Qiao Yulu and Zhao Qune represent models for the correct resolution of this kind of contradiction. They were able to carry out their work and the labor for both the party and the people and they gave their all until the end. They are exemplary figures who displayed a communist attitude toward work.

China has already had 30 years of socialist public ownership of the means of production and after a long period of education the masses are gradually beginning to establish a philosophy of being masters of their world and as a result we are achieving great victories for socialist construction. Nevertheless, we must remember that because of new increase in the composition of the workers as well as the destructive effect of the 10 years of social disorder and various weaknesses in our present work, there still exists today a not insignificant number of people who do lack the philosophy of being masters of their own society and who lack a communist attitude toward work. Some people continue to enjoy the great benefits provided as a result of the socialist public ownership of the means of production without putting any effort into working or laboring for socialism, indeed some even loaf around at work and do nothing. In our present work of educating the masses in correct communist ideology we must stress the importance of learning how to be masters of their society in line with the socialist public ownership of the means of production. Undergoing this kind of education will make the working classes and other workers come to understand the historical duty they are to bear and thus give full expression to the advantages of the socialist system.

Teaching cadres and the masses to adopt a communist attitude toward work is a long-term process, but as far as Communist Party members are concerned it is a very immediate problem. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Yaobang said: "Of course we cannot expect every member of society to become a communist, but we must make use of communist ideology to aim at Communist Party members, CYL members and all advanced members of society and through them educate and influence the masses." As far as a true and correct communist is concerned, he or she should not by any means be a revolutionary only for the sake of distribution according to work. A Communist Party member should on the one hand work hard to implement party policies, such as distribution according to work, but on the other hand he or she should not on any account make distribution according to work a final and advanced target or aim. In this way their work and their labors will not be completely money oriented but will be selfless and altruistic, making the benefits of the party and the people the most important thing to work for. When contradictions arise between individual interests and those of the state or between short-term and long-term interests, then these people will be able to consciously subordinate individual interests to those of the state and subordinate short-term

interests to those of a long-term nature and even, should it come to it, sacrifice themselves for the cause, even to the extent of giving their lives. Only in this way can we hope to activate the masses and promote the development of the socialist modernized construction program and move onward toward our glorious aim of communism.

CSO: 4004/12

WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO CARRY OUT COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT THE SOCIALIST STAGE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 41-43

[Article by An Tung [1344 0681]]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang proposed: "At the present stage, we must adhere to the system of to each according to one's work and to all socialist principles. Of course, we cannot wish everyone to be a communist, but we must measure CPC members, CYL members and all advanced elements by communist ideological standards, and through them, educate and influence the broad masses."

Viewed from the angle of the socialist economic system or from the angle of the socialist political structure, there is a major difference between China's socialist system and the past private ownership system. China's socialist system is a product under the guidance of the communist ideological system. It has to be gradually improved in practice. However, it will undoubtedly lead China's society into the advanced stage of communism. Although for many years some Communist Party members have been doing the specific work of the socialist and communist cause, have been practicing communist ideology in action, have been living in the communist movement and have been facing the increasing communist factors, they do not consciously or not too consciously understand the communist nature of our cause. Under such circumstances, although they work faithfully and diligently, it is often difficult for them to do a good job in their work, in particular it is difficult for them to meet the increasing requirements in socialist modernization. Some comrades shoulder the heavy responsibilities entrusted by the party and the people, but they think that the present policies and work have nothing to do with communism. When we emphasize that we must carry out communist ideological education, they feel strange and are upset. They even think that it is queer to carry out communist ideological education in the course of building socialism. Such a phenomenon shows that it is a pressing task to educate party members, particularly leading cadres at all levels, to understand well the communist nature of our cause in the course of socialist modernization, to always remember guidance concerning the communist ideological system and to always remember the great aim of communism.

Some comrades are worried that the "leftist" erroneous tendency will emerge again and that the "communist wind" will prevail again, as did in 1958. In particular, they are afraid that the country will be plunged into the fallacy of communism which was practiced by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the "Cultural Revolution." In order to dispel such misgivings, it is necessary for us to seriously review the history of the party and the situation since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Everyone knows that we have corrected the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution," that we have corrected the past "leftist" erroneous tendency, that we have completed the task of bringing order out of chaos in our guiding thinking, that we have achieved the great victory of bringing order out of chaos in our practical work on various fronts and that we have worked out and implemented a Marxist line and a series of principles and policies to guarantee that our country's socialist construction will go forward along a correct road. Battling for the realization of communism is the duty and job of all communists. We should hold high the banner of communism. But it does not mean practicing a "leftist" erroneous line. Now we can see more and more clearly that not only was the "leftist" erroneous tendency not the product of the communist ideological system, but on the contrary, that it was the result of violating the communist ideological system. The purpose of emphasizing the carrying out of communist ideological education and of arming all the party members and the people of all nationalities throughout the country with communist ideology is, in the light of specific conditions and under the guidance of the communist ideological system, to resolutely implement all the present socialist policies and to conscientiously understand the relationship between our present work and the great aim of communism. In addition, this also enables us to constantly overcome and correct the erroneous tendency that distorts, from various aspects and in various manners, communist ideology and the party's principles and policies. It not only opposes bourgeois liberalization and prevents Communist Party members from being corrupted by the decadent capitalist ideology, but also opposes an ossified way of thinking and prevents any "leftist" erroneous line from emerging.

History is a kind of connection, an objective course which has its own internal law. The wisdom of communists lies in the fact that they can use Marxism, which is the most scientific and the most revolutionary ideology, to observe and tackle problems and that they can do practical work together with the people with a firm belief for the future and in the great spirit of historical optimism to bring our society toward the predicted goal. They are the conscious creators of history. Our party's line and all its various principles and policies are the products of correctly understanding China's situation under the guidance of the communist ideological system, and they can only be correctly understood and implemented under that guidance. In his opening speech delivered to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The line put forward by the 8th CPC National Congress was correct. But at that time, the party was not sufficiently mentally prepared for overall socialist construction, and the line and many correct suggestions put forward by the 8th CPC National Congress could not be persistently carried out in practice." This was directly related to our being unable to understand and handle well the various

problems in socialist construction under the guidance of the communist ideological system. The results of the implementation of the correct line, principles and policies in different regions, departments and units are often greatly different, some are even different to what is expected. One important reason is that communist ideology in the minds of some leading cadres is not firm enough and that they do not adopt a serious attitude with regard to the party's line, principles and policies.

The reason why the social policies formulated by the party at a certain historical stage are correct is that these policies are in line with actual conditions; at the same time, they also promote the development of our cause toward the communist goal. So long as the social status of a policy in a certain historical period is not fundamentally changed, such a policy must be continued so as to maintain relative stability. We must understand the relationship between each stage of the communist movement and its various stages from a high plane of the whole course of the historical development of such a movement. Only in this way, can we implement well policies which are suited to the actual conditions of a certain historical stage, and can we implement well policies which are suited to a new historical stage when the situation fundamentally changes and history enters a new stage. Only in this way can we have an overall understanding of the present policies, see that we must conscientiously implement the policies for a fairly long time to come and realize that by comparing with the final target of communists, the stability of policies is necessary and relative. Only in this way can we always remember the great target and highest ideal of communists and avoid becoming short-sighted persons who rest content with the present situation. For instance, the policy of to each according to his work is a social policy our party must adhere to and gradually perfect during the socialist period. Communist Party members should become models who can guarantee the implementation of this policy. If we do not implement the policy of to each according to his work, we will not be able to realize the tasks set by the party for the socialist period, and only by resolutely implementing this policy can socialist construction develop healthily and can the necessary social conditions be created for the future implementation of the policy of to each according to his needs. On the other hand, Communist Party members must do their work without thinking too much about remuneration. They must, in the communist spirit, handle well various social problems and social contradictions which cannot be appropriately solved by merely implementing the policy of to each according to his work. At the present stage, like safeguarding the policy of to each according to his work, this is the need for the people's interests, as well as the need for historical development.

In the final analysis, what should we rely on to bring into play the people's initiative for carrying out socialist modernization? Some people say that we should rely on material incentives, bonuses and "material benefit." Material incentives, including bonuses, can, to a certain extent, bring the people's initiative into play, so long as it is applied in a correct manner. In enabling the people to consistently maintain a high level of initiative and in giving such initiative a correct direction, obviously, it will not do just to rely on material incentives. Material

living conditions and material production are the prerequisite to the existence of human beings. But the life and production of a society or of an individual have never been without purpose, they must have a certain ideal as their spiritual mainstay. In material life and material production, the people always gradually form their appraisal and attitude with regard to actual social life and social productive activities and thus form their social ideals. Correct ideology and beautiful ideals are not only the indispensable part of the people's social life, but also guarantee that the people's social life can develop healthily and guarantee that the level of social material production keeps rising. Communist theory correctly explains the people's material life and material productive activities. Therefore only if we are under its guidance can we understand and handle the problem of material benefit, set a lofty target for our life and understand well the present social value and its historical significance, and obtain the greatest encouragement. Only communist ideals can make us fear neither hardship nor setbacks and enable us to maintain full enthusiasm and the confidence to be successful in our revolutionary cause. When necessary one must sacrifice one's life without any hesitation. The reason why we emphasize the necessity for bringing the people's initiative into play by carrying out communist ideological education is that within the sphere of the whole society, we will enable the people to have a communist work attitude; social relations based on love and unity and the noble character of wholehearted dedication to the people's cause so as to bring forward the smooth development of our socialist modernization and to meet in a better manner the daily increasing needs for material and cultural life of all the members of society.

Energetically carrying out communist ideological education in the course of socialist modernization is a motive force for bringing the people's initiative into full play, as well as a motive force for victoriously developing our cause. With this motive force, our cause will certainly have a bright future and unlimited prospects.

CSO: 4004/14

WHY MUST PLANS OF A MANDATORY NATURE BE ENFORCED WITH REGARD TO IMPORTANT PRODUCTS AND KEY ENTERPRISES?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 43-44

[Article by Zhao Mu [0340 3663]]

[Text] Plans of a mandatory nature are those which have a binding force and are transmitted by the state to the lower levels. They are worked out by the state's planning departments and are transmitted to enterprises and departments, which should seriously execute them and complete them as scheduled. They are an important form of planned management of the national economy in a socialist state through the conscious implementation of economic principles.

In view of the actual situation of our planned economy, plans of a mandatory nature should be enforced with regard to the production and distribution of production means and means of subsistence which are vital to the state-owned economy, in particular key enterprises which are vital to the entire economy. This is an important reflection of the organization and management of production in socialist ownership by the whole people. Under the ownership by the whole people, the production means and products of enterprises do not belong to the enterprises, but to the state, which represents the entire nation. The state is the organizer and leader of the economic system of ownership by the whole people. Based on existing resources and productivity, and on the objective demand for various scales of socialized mass production, the state coordinates and directs the economic activities of enterprises under the ownership by the whole people through state plans. At the same time, a certain amount of independence and autonomy are given to such enterprises. These enterprises are not the independent owners of production means, but economic units which are under the state and enjoy a certain autonomy. They have the responsibility and obligation to carry out mandatory plans transmitted by the state. Only in this way can the completion of state plans and the state's control over the production means and products of state-run enterprises be ensured.

The fact that plans of a mandatory nature must be enforced with regard to important products and key enterprises which are vital to the state-owned economy is a prerequisite for the successful development of the entire national economy. Why?

Socialist economy is a planned economy. The execution of mandatory plans is the main body of the planned economy. The adherence to mandatory plans is the key to the adherence to the planned economy. State-owned economy plays a leading role in the national economy. Because of their significance and production value, products under mandatory plans constitute a major portion of the national economy although they only constitute a small portion in terms of variety. Mandatory plans ensure the state's control of the entire economy and the production and supply of key industrial raw materials, facilities, energy and basic necessities, so that the basic stability of market and price can be maintained and chaos in the whole of economic life can be avoided. Plans of a mandatory nature constitute a restriction over the economic activities of enterprises. At the same time, they serve as an assurance, for they provide the enterprises with key facilities, raw materials, energy and external conditions for the sale of products.

Through mandatory plans, the state directly adjusts the main body of social production, ensures that key constructions and urgent social needs are provided with vital industrial raw materials and energy, increases short-term products and put restrictions on long-term ones, so that proportion and balance among departments can be maintained. Under circumstances in which prices are unreasonable and basic readjustment is impossible in the short run, the effect of mandatory plans becomes more significant. Enterprises' partial and immediate interests are often in contradiction with the state's overall and long-term interests. Mandatory plans are often required to resolve such contradictions. They can directly reflect the objective demands of basic socialist economic principles and those of the principles of planned development. Cancelling or diminishing the necessary realm of mandatory plans will give rise to blind and repetitive construction and production, incur loss and affect economic development.

The enforcement of mandatory plans brings the efficiency of guiding plans into full play so that under the condition that planned economy takes the lead, they help regulate the market, thus serving as an effective supplement to the planned economy. In the past we one-sidedly emphasized mandatory plans, doing so strictly and excessively that we neglected the effect of economic lever and market regulation. This was one of the causes of drawbacks such as production being out of line with demand and poor economic results in enterprises. The economic system reform under way also aims to work out a solution to this problem. In his report made at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that, apart from plans of a mandatory nature, economic levers would primarily be applied to quite a few products and enterprises, to ensure the implementation of guiding plans. The production of various minor commodities would be freely arranged by enterprises in accordance with changes in supply and demand. Since these three forms of management are in harmony with the level of our productivity and the coexistence of various economic forms, they should be combined organically so that each has a role to play. In this way our economic development will be concentrated, united, flexible and multifarious. Basing on experience gained in the fifties, the fact that the state is in control of the economic lifelines, leading the planned production and circulation of major industrial and agricultural products and the free production and

circulation of minor ones is a prerequisite for the prevention of overall economic confusion.

Staple food, cotton, oil and other major agricultural by-products are basic necessities for major industrial raw materials and for the people in cities and rural areas. Due to our huge population, insufficient arable land and backward agricultural production, such agricultural by-products are always in acute shortage. The state should, therefore, set some mandatory targets for collective ownership economy, to ensure that the state is in possession of considerable amount of grain and other major agricultural by-products to satisfy the needs for national construction and the people's livelihood. The collective economy in the rural areas is collective ownership by the laboring masses who have the right to freely utilize their own production means and to distribute their own products. The state should respect the autonomy of units under collective ownership and of the peasants. It should, however, ensure that the interests of such units and peasants are basically in harmony with those of the masses. The development of national construction and the economic development of ownership by the entire people will benefit the agricultural population. Therefore, the state should respect the autonomy of the collective economic units and should also set mandatory targets for the purchase and distribution of staple foods and other major agricultural by-products. Consequently, not only the urban residents but also the masses of peasants will be benefited.

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the provincial government and leading comrades at all levels who took the lead in the study.

The provincial party committee supported our decision to hold the examination. Prefectural and municipal party committees and leading comrades of various provincial government departments also paid great attention to the examination. Many units held special meetings to check the situation of study and work out revision plans. Effective measures were taken to supplement the study and revision so as to ensure that the majority of the cadres could sit the examination and gain better results. Fuzhou prefectural party committee decided to join the provincial regular and unified examination and consequently it arranged a certain time for reviewing even though the prefecture was at the time seriously hit by floods and was busily engaged in relief work. Senior leading comrades of Zhangzhou prefectural party committee and two other leading comrades had official duty on the day of the examination; consequently they sat the examination at 8:11 pm that day. Some provincial government departments were having meetings that day, so the leadership made special arrangements and sat the examination before they began their own meetings. Without the attention of the party committees at various levels and support from leading comrades, it would not have been possible for the examination to draw so many cadres and achieve such good results.

The examination is our trial project for setting up a system for cadres' official theoretical study, and there were a number of shortcomings to this work due to the lack of experience. We will continue to spare no efforts and in the process of studying the documents of the 12th party congress, we will gradually set up and perfect the cadres' study and examination system so as to promote cadres' theoretical study in our province.

CSO: 4004/12

IN STUDYING THE 12TH PARTY CONGRESS WE MUST GET FIRMLY TO GRIPS WITH ITS
BASIC SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 p 47

[Article by Li Ping [3810 1627]; reprinted from Sichuan's XUEXI [STUDY]
magazine, No 4, 1982]

[Text] In the report delivered by the CPC Central Committee to the Central Propaganda Department entitled "Arranging the Study and Dissemination of the Documents of the 12th National Congress of the CPC," it was stated that in his opening speech to the 12th national congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave an overall clarification of the historical position of the 12th national congress, the tasks of the congress and the essence of the documents of the 12th national congress. All levels of the party committee should use this opening speech as their guiding ideology and get fully to grips with studying and disseminating of the documents of the 12th national congress and studiously organize their implementation. This general guiding ideology provided by the Central Committee points us in an extremely clear direction in our organization of the study and dissemination of the party's 12th national congress documents.

The party's 12th national congress documents represent shining examples of Marxist literature, rich and profound in content and crystallizing the assimilation of historical experience and the collective knowledge of the party. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping stressed that "our modernized construction must be carried out with China's present actual situation in mind," "to construct socialism of a Chinese nature," "and we must rely on the strength of the Chinese people in order to carry out our work," "and cherish our rights of independence and initiative which we have struggled so long to gain. No foreign country may ever try and make China their vassal, nor should they imagine that China shall eat any bitter fruit which would damage the national interests of our country." While stressing his support for China's open door policy he went on to say that we must "continue to resist the corruption resulting from decadent foreign ideology and on no account should we permit the spreading of bourgeois life styles in China." We must gain a profound comprehension of the essence of this speech and diligently propagate it, to stimulate an enormous increase in patriotic fervor throughout the party and the masses. In his opening speech, after clarifying the three major tasks of the people during the 1980's, Deng

Xiaoping listed the four items of work which must, as of today, be tackled immediately by the entire party for a long time to come; namely, to carry out restructuring of mechanization and of the economic system: implement revolutionarism, youthfulness, increased knowledge and expertise amongst cadre groups; establish a socialist spiritual civilization; crack down on and break up antisocialist corruption and crime in the economic and other sectors; on the basis of thorough study of the new party constitution reorganize party style and organization. These are the most important guarantees of our support for the socialist direction and the joining together of our forces to carry out modernized construction. The general outline of the basic essence of the 12th national congress documents also states that it is under the guidance of communist ideology that we support the socialist direction and join together our force to carry out modernized construction and get firmly to grips with the four major items of work. The full documents and all the activities of the 12th national congress completely embody this point and in our study and dissemination of the documents of the 12th national congress it is vital that we fully grasp its fundamental essence.

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RAISE THE COMMUNIST SPIRIT, STUDY WELL THE 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 pp 47-48

[Commentator's article by XIN CHANGZHENG—from Jilin's XIN CHANGZHENG [NEW LONG MARCH] No 9, 1982]

[Text] An utterance, an article and a meeting are all very refreshing things. The most refreshing thing about the 12th national congress may be summed up in one word--communism. Communist targets, communist practice and communist ideology were interwoven through the documents and decisions of the 12th national congress like a red ribbon. Thus, when we study the 12th national congress we must bring out this communist spirit. In other words we must stand on the high level of communism to understand and comprehend the essential spirit of the documents of the 12th national congress and get to grips with the fundamental direction of every policy and task outlined and decided upon in the 12th national congress.

Comrade Hu Yaobang made it very clear in his report when he said: "In order for communism to achieve full realization as a social system in China we still face several generations of long and arduous struggle. But communism is first and foremost a movement--and the final aim of a movement such as this is to achieve a communist social system." Thus we must integrate closely our present practice with our future aims and take the 12th national congress as the correct road for establishing a new phase in the socialist modernization program and integrate it and its policies closely with our long-term ideal of achieving communism. We must both keep this in mind and adhere to it. Since the establishment of the PRC, the problems that we have come up against during the course of our socialist construction work have many different causes behind them but we can in essence say that they were all the result of insufficient or inept handling of just this relation. Thus, during the stage of socialism we must support and believe in guidance by communist ideology and improve and strengthen the teaching of communist ideology without hesitation or faltering. Furthermore, under guidance by communist ideology we must draw up policies and plans based on our present situation and then fully support and endorse their implementation. In other words, we should not separate communism and socialism either on a theoretical or a practical basis, nor should we oppose them to one another. Furthermore we should not confuse socialism and communism in their developed stages nor equate the two of them on this

level. Only in this way can we keep our feet on solid ground but have a clear view into the long-term future. And only in this way can we ensure that the communist movement progresses along correct lines and with healthy development from the beginning to the very end.

An important lesson that we have learned in the past is that sometimes our understanding of socialist society becomes very one-sided and biased. History has proven to us that vacuous politics, setting up "spiritual omnipotence" or aiming for similar extremes and thereby ignoring and weakening political and ideological work, thus seeing only material factors and ignoring the human ones, only tends to obstruct the progression of our cause and can even create serious damage. Thus it was that Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report, that socialism is constantly moving nearer its high level target of communism and this progression cannot only rely on increases in material wealth, it must also rely on the constant elevation of the people's communist ideological consciousness and the constant activation of the revolutionary spirit. If under the guidance of communist ideology we ignore the great task of establishing a socialist spiritual civilization throughout society then it is impossible to guarantee a socialist direction for our modernized construction program and thus our socialist society will lose its ideals and its aims as well as its spiritual force and fighting will with the result that we will be unable to resist corruption by all kinds of degenerate factors and we may even end up seeing lopsided development and the appearance of decadence and evil ways.

CSO: 4004/12

THE INTELLECTUALS ARE A FORCE ON WHICH THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM DEPENDS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 82 p 48

[Article by Zhang De [4545 1795]--reprinted from Jiangsu's QUNZHONG [THE MASSES] No 19, 1982]

[Text] In order to fully get to grips with such vital tactical points for the development of the economy as education and science, to allow full expression to intellectuals during the process of constructing the two kinds of civilization, and to struggle for the realization of our tactical aims, the following items of work must constantly appear on the agendas of every level of party and government bodies.

1. While studying and disseminating the spirit of the documents of the 12th national congress we must remember to study and promote the policy toward intellectuals. In this way the entire party and the masses will come to understand and appreciate that the key to realizing the four modernizations program lies in the modernization of science and technology while the foundations lie in establishing a sound education.
2. We must continue to implement the party's policy on intellectuals. This includes rectifying leftover problems of cases of injustice, carrying out communist ideological education among intellectuals, study by intellectuals of their tasks and duties and gradual improvements in the working and living conditions of intellectuals, based on feasibility and necessity.
3. Draw up 5 to 10 year plans and clear targets for such cultural undertakings as education, science, culture, hygiene and physical education on the basis of overall balance.
4. Take care to develop and foster activists amongst intellectuals, particularly middle-aged intellectuals, to develop party members and thus strengthen the party ranks. Furthermore we should take care to select cadres from amongst the intellectuals to enrich every level of the leadership bodies and thus improve the intellectual structure of party and government bodies as well as leading cadres in enterprise and work units. People generally dislike it when confused orders are issued but cold and objective analysis shows us that the issuing of confused and wrong orders by leading bodies and cadres cannot always entirely be traced back to

intentions and morals of the individual leaders; more importantly, such events are the result of two objectively existing factors. One is that they have the power to issue orders. The other is that they lack the necessary intellectual knowledge for their area of leadership. Let us use a formula to explain this: power plus lack of knowledge equals the issuing of confused and incorrect orders. Production needs unified leadership and leadership needs authority. Authority thus requires that someone submits to the authority since authority can only exist under the premise of having someone to submit to it. In order to avoid the issuing of confused or incorrect orders the leadership bodies should be made up of people "in the know." Leading cadres must be "in the know" and an important condition for being in the know is that one has the specialized knowledge to carry out one's own work.

5. We must make use of all methods acceptable to intellectuals to constantly urge them to consciously raise their political consciousness and to consciously make use of new knowledge to enrich themselves. Furthermore they should consciously make use of the principles of socialism to correctly handle all kinds of relations including the relations between the individual and the collective, the intellectual, the worker and the peasant, and the internal relations between old, middle-aged and young intellectuals and the relations between work responsibility and glory, and treatment.

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RANDOM TALKS ON PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

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[Article by Lin Wenshan [265] 2429 1472]]

[Text] As everyone strives to promote the establishment of a spiritual civilization, joyous reports of good deeds have been pouring in. Two such reports, concerning scientists, can be seen in the YANGCHENG WANBAO.

One is: Comrade Xiong Jincheng and Comrade Zhou Zuoling were both separately engaged in research but arrived at the same results. In assessing his "honor of being first" to arrive at the results, Comrade Xiong Jincheng, who was first to publish his thesis, openly stated that the honor of being first to arrive at the results should go to Comrade Zhou Zuoling, who published his thesis later. Seeking truth from facts, Comrade Xiong Jincheng stated that he only entered this field of work after being introduced into it by Comrade Zhou Zuoling. Although Zhou Zuoling's thesis was published only later, it was actually sent off 3 months earlier. As a result it was Comrade Zhou Zuoling who received the research results award. Another is: Researcher Lou Tongmao, head of the geomorphology department of the Guangzhou Geographical Research Institute, put all of his major efforts into supporting the work done by his middle-aged and young researchers. The amount of work that Comrade Lou Tongmao put into many theses from their inception to the final draft was frequently no less than that of the actual writer. When people put his name at the front, he always crossed it out. Under such motivation as his, unity and cooperation became the order of the day throughout the entire department and as a result, last year they made three relatively important scientific achievements, publishing 15 scientific articles.

Of course we are not by any means advocating avoidance of publicity. When listing references and acknowledgements in a scientific thesis or publication, apart from stating whose work the publication involved, it should also state the name of the person in charge and responsible for the line of thinking or the material behind the work. But, let us be honest here, as far as some intellectuals are concerned, acknowledgements do have a great deal of attraction. Comrade Xiong Jincheng and what he did are both worthy of respect for he need only have stayed silent and "the honor of being first" would of course have been his. But he stood up and spoke the

truth. For Comrade Lou Tongmao to put his name in the acknowledgements would have been both reasonable and legal. But he did not agree with doing things this way. Using himself he fully embodied the spirit of the so-called "human ladder or chain" thereby encouraging his followers to aim for equally lofty realms. Both of the comrades are not only educated but truly ethical.

It is said that in theatrical troupes in the old society there was a saying, "backbiting art" meaning that between the performers there was often jealousy, struggle for fame and jockeying for position. There was obvious backbiting and covert backbiting--backbiting on and off stage. Obviously all this backbiting gave rise to a great deal of lost energy and a lowering of the artistic effect of performances. This terrible phenomenon of "backbiting" did not of course only exist amongst theatrical troupes, it was also to be found in scientific and various other fields. Such people, fearing that the achievements of others would surpass their own would do everything in their power, using all their authority and connections to stifle the opposition and even going to the extent of confounding the achievements of others. Untalented and uneducated people would use all sorts of means such as plagiarizing and lifting of work in order to take the credit for something. Often the theory would be someone else's, the writing another's, and yet those who had authority would put their names on the work, even at the head of the work. Some people even went so far as to satirize and joke about the true contributors and writers of a piece of work by claiming to be "above material and worldly pursuits."

Under the influence of such a lack of professional ethics, being adept in the "study of contacts and string-pulling" allowed people to enjoy juggling things so that they could profit without working, gaining both fame and wealth, while those who really spent their time working hard on various pieces of work found their lives beset with problems and lived in perpetual terror. Today, enterprises and work places have all expressed the need to lay down a code of professional ethics, and from what we have discussed it is obviously very necessary. Around 100 of China's greatest scientists and experts in technology including Mao Yisheng and Zhou Peiyuan have drawn up a "code of professional ethics in science for workers in science and technology," and this publication includes one criterion for professional ethics as follows: Support creative invention and encourage others to do better than oneself. Such an aspect of professional ethics is a very good thing and embodies the country's and the people's future expectations of workers in science and technology as well as giving voice to all the demands of true and correct scientific workers in China.

Science seeks to establish the truth from facts and without this central aim, what contributions can science make? Liang Qichao wrote a book called "Science in the Qing Dynasty" and it is very well worth reading, both for natural and social scientists. In addition to discussing scientific research during the Qing dynasty it also discusses the scientific mood and professional ethics of that time and there are a few lines which are still relevant to us today. For example:

Everyone considers it immoral to hide or twist facts and proof.

Whoever speaks must prove his words—plagiarization is a greater immorality.

In terms of this question, overbearing manner, incoherent writing or those insinuating ridicule are also immoral.

If we take these few lines and with them examine the situation in science and technology over the last few years we can see that for a variety of reasons this Qing dynasty scientist's methods of evaluating immorality are still to some extent pertinent to some of our scientific books. Thus we must resolve this situation if we wish to see further development to our science and technology.

After the ideological confusion caused by the 10 years of social chaos we must now work hard to make respect of professional ethics common practice. This means that every line of work and research must draw up individual codes of professional ethics and praise good people and good deeds while criticizing bad people and bad deeds. In this way the domain of ideology will once again take up a forward position. Let us hope that from today we receive more and more reports of good deeds and that we hear no more of cases of people in power signing their names to work with which they had nothing to do.

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END