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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 23, 1 December 1982

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# CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 23, 1 December 1982

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

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BE A QUALIFIED LEADER OF THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 2-6

[Article by Chen Yeping [7115 6851 5393]]

[Text] The new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress added a new chapter on "party cadres" and stipulated in explicit terms the basic requirements that leading cadres at various levels should meet. This is an outstanding characteristic that the party never had in its previous constitution. Why in addition to the requirements, duties and rights of party members, must there be specific stipulations for leading cadres? This is a problem we must properly ponder while we study the new party constitution. Only by profoundly comprehending the essence and significance of these stipulations can we further conscientiously study hard through practice in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution, constantly raise our quality and be a qualified leader of the new period.

It Is the Necessity of the New Period To Set Higher Demands on Leading Cadres

Our country has effected another historical change and ushered in a new developing period. To vigorously develop China and build a modernized socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy is the common aspiration of the billion Chinese people and also a glorious task given to Chinese communists by our great era. In order to accomplish the most magnificent and creative project in human history, we must not only further eliminate the numerous negative consequences left over by the decade-long internal turmoil and strive to attain a fundamental turn for the better in the state financial situation, social mood and party style within 5 years, but also blaze new trails in the building of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristic. We must not only create a new situation with revolutionary courage, resourcefulness and leading capability, and build material civilization for socialism, but also build spiritual civilization for socialism with communist ideology as its guidance. We must not only have a good grasp of Marxism and Leninism, thoroughly understanding the development and changes of domestic and international situation and formulate a series of principles, policies and a strategic plan that conform to the objective reality, but also take forceful organizational measures to ensure their implementation and execution and effectively prevent and

overcome all kinds of interference. This is an extremely arduous and complicated task that needs our utmost and unremitting efforts. In order to attain the general task of the new period at present, the 12th CPC Congress stipulated a clear strategic target, focus and measures, and concerned principles, policies and elected a strong central leadership core. The key for the future is to have large numbers of leading cadres that conform to the needs and characteristics of the new period and through their exemplary and backbone role lead the broad masses on various fronts to carry on highly effective and creative activities in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Without this condition, there will be no hope for our cause. Politically, professionally, ideologically and in its style, the new party constitution has set further higher demands on leading cadres. This has precisely reflected the objective demand and at the same time, it is an urgent need of enhancing the self-building of the party and adhering to and perfecting the leadership of the party during the new period.

Although our present ranks of leading cadres were seriously undermined in the 10 years of internal turmoil, through the work of the past few years, they have been gradually readjusted, reorganized and strengthened. Viewed from the situation of the whole, this rank is firm and has its fighting capacity. Our veteran cadres in particular have experienced the struggle and test of various historical periods, made great contributions to the revolutionary cause and accumulated abundant experiences. Although a number of these comrades have become old and infirm and some are going to or will withdraw to the second line, they have kept the lofty sentiments and aspirations of their youth. They are still working hard for the state, sharing the burdens of the party, working for the interests of the people and continuously bringing their role into play. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the reason why the line, principles and policies of the party have been carried out, why the work on various fronts has achieved great victories obvious to all and why the historical change could be successfully effected under very difficult conditions, is that it is inseparable with the efforts of the leading cadres at various levels. This fact itself has proved that our ranks of leading cadres are worthy to be the backbone force of the party and state. It is wrong if we are not aware of this point.

Certainly, to affirm the essential and main aspect of the ranks of our leading cadres and their important role in developing socialist cause does not mean that everything is perfect. In the past few years, the CPC Central Committee has time and again reminded us that due to historical reasons, not only is the problem of overage common in our leading bodies, but also the theoretical and educational level of a substantial number of our comrades has been rather low. There has been a lack of professional knowledge, particularly of modern scientific and technological knowledge and lack of management and organizational leading capacity to meet the needs of the four modernizations. For instance, some comrades lacked political foresight, they could not correctly apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to observe the new conditions and problems occurring in the historical change, could not distinguish the erroneous

trend and tendencies and even wavered right and left and got mixed up with erroneous things; some comrades had no idea about the work they were responsible for, could not understand the situation or grasp problems, could not offer ideas or properly use cadres and at every turn lost track of the sequence of events; some comrades had scanty knowledge of new emerging things, still kept to the conventional ways of doing things according to their impression, pattern and model, doubted reform and dared not create new things. Some other comrades were corroded by the ideas of the exploiting class and influenced by unhealthy tendencies, they forgot the great objective of communism, discarded the party's revolutionary tradition and style and were full of selfish and distracting thoughts; some even sought private gains by abusing their power, forgetting all moral principles at the sight of profits and degenerated into vulgar egoists or criminals that gravely sabotaged the socialist cause. All these practices show that there existed among our leading cadres the problem of not adapting to the rapidly advancing era and the new situation after the shift of focus in our work. If we ignore these shortcomings and the gap by which we are lagging behind and fall into blindness, we will be more weak and incompetent in the great struggle to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and fail to shoulder our leading responsibilities. The basic requirements stipulated for leading cadres by the new party constitution have illuminated the correct orientation and way for us to constantly march ahead. Every leading cadre in office and those comrades who are to take up leading posts, must soberly estimate the changing and developing situation, practically realize our shortcomings and weak points, inspire our enthusiasm, work hard and aim high, narrow the gap between ourselves and the needs of building socialist modernization and be a leader with foresight and sagacity and be capable of constantly creating new situations.

#### Principal Characteristics of the Basic Requirements for Leading Cadres in the New Period

The six basic requirements stipulated by the new party constitution for leading cadres not only summarized the historical experiences of the party in building its cadre ranks, but also in the light of the characteristics and needs of the new period, raised the requirements for leading cadres to a new high level, which has the clear-cut character of the time. Each of the six requirements has its specific substance and they are all inter-related. They form an inseparable whole with each part complementing the other, which manifests the organic unity of being Red and expert, and having both ability and political integrity. We must master the essence and characteristics of these six requirements as an essential whole, comprehensively understand its great significance in perfecting and adhering to the party leadership, preserve the great significance of the building of socialist modernization and conscientiously temper ourselves to be more matured and be further adapted to the needs of the new period.

1. The basic requirements indicate the unity of the scientific nature of revolutionary practice with steadfastness of political orientation of leading cadres in the new period.



A firm and correct political orientation is the foundation for our communists to properly do all work well. Without this foundation, our revolutionary cause is bound to fail and suffer setbacks. The revolutionization of cadres, above all, requires this foundation, in which the most important thing is to uphold the four basic principles with the party leadership as its core. In the basic requirements, the first one indicates that it is necessary for the leading cadres of the party to "have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the policies based on this, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party." That is to say, as a leading cadre of the party, he must not only be a firm revolutionary, but also be a sober-minded Marxist; in addition to being loyal to and fighting all his life for the cause of socialism and communism, he must also genuinely master the basic principles of Marxism and be good at applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism to correctly handle all sorts of practical problems. If we are not qualified with this requirement and fail to differentiate real from sham Marxism, true from false socialism and fail to distinguish and resist the interference from "left" and right deviations, we will then not be able to keep to the firm and correct political orientation. Why is that among some of our leading cadres with good intentions, they have run their work wrongly or foolishly and were even deceived? Why is that some people who have not fully realized the correct line, principles and policies of the party and were obviously wrong in not properly implementing them, and have blamed the party's policies for being "changeable"? Why is that some people were busy the whole year round, but still could not get to grips with the essentials in their work and failed to create new situations? In addition to the respective and specific reasons, one of the important and common weak points is that they neglected the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and did not know and were not good at applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to understand the new situation, realize new-born things and study new problems and could not soberly and correctly guide their work, resulting in the confusion of right and wrong by taking truth as falsehood and vice versa. If this work is not first solved, we will get nowhere in all other work.

Leading cadres who are determined to carry out reforms and are keen to forge ahead must have a firm and correct political orientation and also a practical scientific attitude as well. With only the former and without the latter, we are bound to make mistakes or even go contrary to our wishes and do the opposite of what we would wish. Due to the influence of dogmatism and bookishness, some of our comrades have probably forgotten to "proceed in everything from actual conditions"--the fundamental principle of Marxism. They were used to mechanically copying and relaying the instructions of the higher level and believed themselves to be running affairs according to the principles and to be politically in unity with the CPC Central Committee. It is quite obvious that this is a muddled idea. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, the line, principles and policies laid down by the CPC Central Committee on the basis of setting things right were itself an outcome of the combination of adhering to the scientific attitude of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the specific practice of the

great historic change. Without a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, it would be impossible to correctly comprehend its spiritual essence, still less to correctly and creatively carry it out. This is the fundamental reason why those empty talkers who knew only how to shout slogans and brag, and those boorish people who acted blindly and recklessly in spite of subjective and objective conditions, were bound to change and distort the line, principles and policies of the party. Therefore, leading cadres at all levels must attach great importance to theoretical study, conscientiously read books, be bold to practice and learn to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in guiding their work. At the same time, they must frequently make investigations and study, know the situation well, firmly grasp principal problems, make great efforts to master the objective law of the building of socialist modernization, persist in seeking truth from facts and correctly lead the masses. Only in this way can we rationally and effectively organize the people's initiative and creativeness to become a powerful strength in conscientiously promoting the building of the four modernizations.

2. The basic requirements indicate the unity of strong revolutionary dedication with the political sense of responsibility and ability of being competent at leading work of leading cadres at the new period.

The new party constitution has demanded that leading cadres at various levels "be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and be imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge." It is quite necessary to put forward these demands on leading cadres in the new period. Leading cadres at various levels are organizers and leaders in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Whether or not they have the great objective of communism in mind and are highly responsible to the party and people by devoting themselves to the building of spiritual and material civilization, fear no difficulties and are bold to do pioneering work has great importance to the success or failure of the cause of socialism. It is quite impossible for people who lack political foresight and have no revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence in winning victory to shoulder such heavy responsibility, but to build a socialist country with Chinese characteristics, we need to combine the universal principle of Marxism with the development of concrete practice of China's socialist construction and rely on our own practice in exploring and advancing ahead. In order to meet this demand, we must not only carry on our fine character and strong points but also have the new quality and capability required by the new period and possess the relevant educational level, professional knowledge and organizational ability. Otherwise, our revolutionary cause and political sense of responsibility cannot be properly implemented and our good wishes for creating a new situation will also fail. We must assiduously learn cultural and scientific knowledge, be proficient in our professional work, possess organizational capability and management experience for being competent at the leadership job and genuinely achieve the unity of being Red and expert, and having both ability and political integrity. Only in this way, can we correctly, timely and specifically guide practical work and earnestly

shoulder the heavy responsibility of leading the building of the four modernizations.

Due to a series of political movements and the influence of "left" deviation in our guiding ideology, for years we neglected and even ceased to conduct cultural education and professional training of cadres. What is more, the problem of rational use of talents was not properly solved. That is why in the leadership bodies at various levels, there were very few university or college graduates or those equal to this level, who were proficient in their work and familiar in management, which resulted in many difficulties in our work. This contradiction became more acute after the focus of our party work was changed. Leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee time and again pointed out that the realization of the four modernizations rested on whether or not we could make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally competent. We must fully realize the gravity and urgency of this problem. History is developing and matters are changing all the time. There are endless new conditions and problems that need to be studied and solved. Many new tasks compel us to master more new knowledge and skills that we never approached or were familiar with before. If people always think of themselves as "O.K.," "not too bad" and do not have the determination or resolution to conform to the criteria of cadres, then certainly they forfeit the qualification to be a leader in the new period.

3. The basic requirements indicate the unity of the fine character of wholeheartedly serving the people with the principle of party spirit of being boundlessly loyal to the party's cause of leading cadres of the new period.

The new party constitution has demanded that leading cadres at various levels "have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the party's mass line, conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the party and the masses, and combat bureaucratism" and "exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the party and the state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain." This requirement has great significance to the building of cadre ranks and leading bodies at various levels in the new period. Our party is the party in power and our country is a socialist state led by the working class in which the entire laboring people are masters of their own. Regardless of the level of their position or limits of power, party cadres are public servants of the people. The people entrust the power to us because they are confident that we can represent the interests of the people and loyally run affairs in the interests of the people. Long ago Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Communist Party is a political party which works in the interest of the nation and people and which has absolutely no private ends to pursue. It should be supervised by the people and must never go against their will." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 767) He also said: "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected--that is what being responsible to the people means." ("Selected Works of Mao

Zedong," Vol 4, p 1074) Here Comrade Mao Zedong not only clearly defined that "all for the people" is the fundamental purpose of the party and the starting point and end result of communists in running anything, but also expounded the uniformity of wholeheartedly serving the people with being loyal to the party's cause, and the activity of being responsible to the people with being responsible to the leading organs of the party. To be responsible to the interests of the people means being responsible to the party. At present, the fundamental interest of the people of the whole country is to unite the broad masses of people and strive to build China into a modern socialist country. If we deviate from this fighting objective, it would mean to go against the purpose of the party to serve the people and it would be out of the question to be responsible to the party and the people. Any viewpoint and acts that separate or isolate the two are wrong.

The prestige of our party and leading cadres is not established on the power entrusted to us by the people but on what we have done for them. Power has real strength and is effective only when it is combined with the will and interests of the people. Any power, departing from the interests of the people and without the confidence and support from the people, is bound to be weak and unreliable. Our party has always emphasized that leading cadres of the party must genuinely and sincerely respect, have faith in and rely on the people, persist in the mass line, consult with the masses when matters arise, listen attentively to the voice of the masses at all times, be concerned with the well-being of the masses, consider and be eager to meet the needs of the people and resolutely oppose any acts that are harmful to the interests of the people. Under the education of the party over a long period of time, the majority of our leading cadres could fulfill their duty, wholeheartedly serve the people and were worthy of the name of being public servants of the people. But there are also a minority of people who have become lords and officials, have forgotten the deserved revolutionary character and lofty sentiments of communists and have abandoned the tradition and fine spirit of our party. They abused their power at hand and engaged in vulgar interests and sought personal gains for themselves, relatives and friends; or practiced in one man has the final say, standing high above the masses, riding roughshod over them, not listening to the opinions of the masses and accepting supervision by the masses; or ignored the well-being of the masses and felt apathetic toward the urgent and rational demands of the masses. These behaviors and bureaucratic airs that harm the interests of the people have seriously impaired the prestige of the party and government, dampened the enthusiasm of the masses and are very harmful to the building of the four modernizations. The stipulations of the new party constitution in this respect will be conducive for party organizations and the masses of the people to publicly and effectively supervise leading cadres at various levels, so that they can be strict on themselves, forever maintain the true qualities of being public servants of the people and conscientiously perform the duties the party and people have entrusted on them.

Look Far Ahead, Aim High and Advance Despite Difficulties Are the Deserved Characteristics of Leaders in the New Period

In the final analysis, the basic requirements for leading cadres is that they must be firm, sober-minded and promising Marxists and leaders of the socialist cause. Confronted with this earnest problem, what should the leading cadres at various levels do? There are but three kinds of attitudes: The first attitude is they judge the hour and seize the situation, advance despite difficulties and in accordance with the demands of the building of socialist modernization, study hard through practice, raise their level, improve their work style and strive to be qualified leaders; the second attitude is that they are not willing to face the practically existing contradiction, lack determination and boldness in marching forward, blame everyone and everything except themselves, hesitate to press forward and let things drift on and on; and the third attitude is that they have the intention to forge ahead but are not willing to do practical work, talk too much but do a little, are very lazy and have little drive, dare not take big strides and are not capable of creating a new situation. It is obvious that the first attitude is more practical and realistic. Only by unswervingly working can we make progress. We surely will not learn from the latter two, which manifest a low spirit. Although it is an old saying that "a boat sailing against the current must forge ahead or it will be driven back," it is philosophical. If we do not study and make progress, we are bound to lag behind the situation and be eliminated by the huge waves of the times.

However, it is no easy job to fully acquire the demands of the basic requirements. We must set strict demands on ourselves and make great efforts. But since we are leading cadres of the new period, we must be responsible to the great cause of socialism, the millions of people and the coming generations. There is no other criteria than the above and we must never hesitate to set strict demands on ourselves. Are these requirements unattainable? Certainly not. In the ranks of our existing leading cadres, whether they are cadres of higher or of grassroot levels, old or young, have a solid or poor base, there are many comrades who conform or basically conform to the six requirements, and none of them could reach this level without hard work over a long period. "Where there is a will, there is a way." The key is whether we have this "will" or not and whether we are willing or not to put in a lot of effort in study. Here there is a fundamental problem of communist consciousness, that is, the understanding and attitude on the building of the four modernizations at the present stage. Provided we have a high sense of responsibility toward the party's cause, know our own limitations, are genuinely aware of the hidden danger of our insufficiency and the gap by which we lag behind, sincerely and not perfunctorily come to realize from blind complacency and sticking to the old ways, and are determined to rouse ourselves to catch up, no matter the disparity of our gap and insufficiency, we are sure to catch up and keep pace with the times. Modern science and technology is changing with each passing day and the cycle for new knowledge is getting shorter and shorter, particularly at a time when our country is confronted with a profound change and, new problems and conditions are emerging one after another. Even to

those comrades who have a high level of education and profound experiences, there is also a problem at present of studying and constantly studying. If we are merely satisfied with our past knowledge and experience and do not make new explorations, it would also be impossible to meet the needs of our work and play the role of passing on experience, giving help and setting examples in training new cadres. As for those young cadres who have been elected to the leading posts at various levels, they should further spur and measure themselves by the six requirements in all matters, redouble their efforts and strive as early as possible to be competent in the duties they undertake. Inspired and guided by the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress and with the ardent expectations of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, we are confident that the leading cadres at various levels will profoundly realize the historical responsibility they are shouldering, further set strict demands on themselves, study and work hard, make themselves leaders qualified for the new period at an earlier date and remarkably accomplish all the tasks the party and people have entrusted us with.

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BE MORE CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND RESOLUTELY POLITICALLY IN LINE WITH THE CPC  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 7-9

[Article by Liu Zhijian [0491 1807 1017]]

[Text] It is a matter of prime importance for the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to study, publicize and implement the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. At present, the vast number of commanders and soldiers in our army are conscientiously studying these documents. They are making efforts to unify understanding and action in the light of the program, policies and principles put forward by the 12th party congress, and are striving to fulfill the glorious tasks the party and the people have entrusted to them and to make more contributions in safeguarding and building our socialist motherland. We have much work to do. But to the people's army, which is under the leadership of the party, the most important thing to do is to keep political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. This is a principle of party spirit, which all Communist Party members and party organizations at all levels must adhere to. It is also a political principle and an organizational principle that all cadres and fighters must abide by. Consciously keeping political unanimity with the party Central Committee is an important sign of whether we are conscientiously studying and implementing the documents of the 12th party congress and an important guarantee for creating a new situation in modernizing and regularizing our revolutionary army under the leadership.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in accordance with the directives of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission, the CPC committee of our PLA units has repeatedly emphasized that keeping political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee is a matter of fundamental importance that must be firmly grasped in doing party committee work and political work. It has also put forward concrete demands and measures on this fundamental problem and has done much work. Judging from the overall situation, since this problem has been grasped firmly and consistently, most cadres and soldiers are able to conscientiously implement the party's line, policies and principles in the process of shifting the focal point of our party's work, and marked progress has been achieved in various aspects of our work. However, we must not be satisfied

with these achievements. Instead, we must realize that the 12th party congress has set a higher demand for us on the question of keeping political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. We must further do a good job in this respect.

In order to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, the CPC Central Committee pointed out that it is necessary to strengthen party building and enhance the fighting strength of the party to suit the needs and characteristics of the new historical period. Ours is a party of militancy. In order to make it a strong core of leadership in socialist modernization construction, it is necessary to preserve a high degree of centralism and unity in our party. This is a matter of great importance. We must practice democracy within the party, but we must also have a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. Only thus can the whole party take concerted action in fighting for the common goal, and only this type of party is really militant.

The fighting strength of the party is chiefly displayed through the role played by the core of the party leadership. But how does the core of party leadership display its role? First it must work out and implement a correct line and correct policies and principles, and must do a good job in organizational work as well as in propaganda and education. Second, it must give play to the exemplary role of all party members in various jobs and in social life. A Marxist political party attaches great importance to the formulation of a correct program, for it is a banner from which the masses of people can recognize the party and decide whether they support it. Simultaneously, a Marxist political party also attaches great importance to concrete action. It holds that, in a sense, concrete action is more important, for only when the whole party takes concerted action in fighting for the realization of the party's program can it rally its determination and win real support and the faith of the broad masses of people. For this reason, all party members must take the requirements of making concerted efforts in the whole party as a fundamental principle in dealing with relations between the individuals and the party organization. They must firmly and consciously keep political unanimity with the party Central Committee. If this principle is sabotaged by unorganized and undisciplined action, the unity and fighting strength of the party will be undermined and the fundamental interests of the people will be damaged.

Political unanimity must be achieved on the solid basis of ideological unanimity with the party Central Committee. The organizational principle of our party has always been: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the organizations at lower levels are subordinate to those at higher levels, and various organizations of the whole party and all party members are subordinate to the party's national congress and the Central Committee. This principle and discipline of democratic centralism was established on the ideological basis of a high degree of consciousness. The line, policies and principles of our party are formulated by integrating Marxist-Leninist principles with the concrete conditions of our country. They were from, and are adhered to by, the masses of people. Therefore, without the masses' deep understanding and



conscientious support, the party's program and its policies and principles cannot be well implemented merely by means of administrative orders and organizational measures. Thus, when we emphasize the importance of keeping political unanimity with the party Central Committee, it is first necessary to require that all party members have a profound understanding of the party's line, policies and principles both in theory and in practice so that their consciousness can be enhanced in implementation. In other words, we must not only organizationally obey the spirit of the central authorities and make a statement to show our resolute support of it, we must also change our past attitude of knowing only the how without knowing the why and change the status of having only half of the knowledge. Only when political unanimity with the party Central Committee is achieved on the basis of unified understanding and a high level of political consciousness can it be firm and reliable and be able to withstand the test of tortuosity and complications in the process of practice. Now, the 12th CPC National Congress has already put forth fighting programs and tasks for the new historical period and has formulated a series of policies, principles and measures. We must first endeavor to get a deep understanding of the essence of these programs, policies and principles, and grasp their spirit so that we can solve various problems in our recognition by linking them with practice and unifying our understanding in light of these policies and principles.

There is another question that needs to be clarified. When we emphasize the basis of ideological unanimity, we do not mean that if we do not understand the party's policies and principles, we can disregard them and do whatever we like. On the contrary, it means a higher demand for keeping unanimity with the party Central Committee in action. Being Communist Party members, both our words and actions must always be in keeping with the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission. We must not say or do anything that is not in keeping with, or is even against, the central authorities. This is the political discipline which we must abide by.

We must take concrete action to keep political unanimity with the party Central Committee. Keeping unanimity with the party Central Committee is not an empty slogan, but a principle of concrete action. A fine tradition of our party is that when we say it, we must do it. The proletarian political party and the people's army always act on what they have said. This shows that they are highly responsible for the people. We must resolutely carry out the fighting program of the 12th CPC National Congress and adhere in a down-to-earth manner to the party's line, policies and principles, display the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and do our bit for the rejuvenation of the country and the people's happiness. When we say or do anything, we must take the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress as our guide, take the documents and directives of the party Central Committee as our standard, and obey the unified leadership of the party Central Committee. All party members must unexceptionally and resolutely carry out the principle of democratic centralism which the new party constitution has reiterated, that is, "various organizations of the whole party and all party members are subordinate to the party's national congress and the Central Committee." We will not allow such practices as saying yes but

meaning no, complying in public but opposing in private, overtly agreeing but covertly opposing, feign compliance and implementing this principle according to one's likes and dislikes. We will not allow any factional action. We will not allow any pragmatic attitude toward the directives of the central authorities, that is, implementing only that part of the central directives that conforms to the partial interests of some people or their units. We resolutely oppose the trend of ultra-democracy and the decadent behavior of liberalism.

We must actively and creatively implement in our practical work the spirit of the directives of the central authorities. Keeping unanimity with the party Central Committee does not mean to blindly and mechanically carry out the directives of the Central Committee. Instead, it means to implement them in the light of the concrete conditions in our localities and units. We must carry out the directives of the Central Committee in a correct way rather than copy them mechanically in a simplified way. Only thus can we create a lively new situation in our practical work. The CPC Central Committee ardently expects that the PLA will continue to be a great wall of steel guarding our socialist motherland in the great struggle of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and be an important force in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. We must, in light of the actual conditions of the army, make concrete efforts to score new achievements in various aspects, such as in strengthening military and political training and enhancing the fighting strength of the army, in carrying out a long-term activity of learning from the advanced units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization, in training a generation of new people who have ideals, morality, cultural knowledge and sense of discipline, in speeding up construction of the frontier defense and in fulfilling the arduous tasks of guarding the frontier and guarding the four modernizations construction. We must make new contributions through our actions for the realization of the party's program and tasks.

In order to keep political unanimity with the party Central Committee, it is necessary to overcome all obstructions of the "leftist" and right erroneous tendencies.

As to various wrong words and deeds, we must carry out education or criticism, sometimes even necessary struggles against them, according to the seriousness of the errors. The present political situation of stability and unity is one of the best in our country since it was established. Permanent stability is an inevitable trend. However, since the pernicious influence of the "Great Cultural Revolution" has not yet been completely eliminated, and due to the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and the remnants of feudal ideas, various erroneous ideological trends still exist to different extents within our party, our revolutionary ranks and society. Some people who have been more seriously influenced by "leftist" ideology or bourgeois liberalism do not quite understand the party's line, policies and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Proceeding from "leftist" or right ideologies, they have misinterpreted, doubted and even resisted the party's policies. A small

number of people with ulterior motives have adopted an antagonistic attitude toward the party's present policies. Some of them are trying to preserve the erroneous practices of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and some are fundamentally opposing the four basic principles. There are actually a small number of the remnants of the Lin Biao clique and the "gang of four" who are still occupying some leading posts, waiting for an opportunity to make trouble and opposing the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We must keep a clear head toward all this. We must make a concrete analysis of these problems with the scientific methods of Marxism and treat different problems in different ways. Problems of recognition must be solved through persuasion and education; but obstructions from either "left" or right must be resolutely removed, or struggled against if necessary.

Emphasizing political unanimity with the party Central Committee is the need of safeguarding the fundamental interests of the party and the people, and the need of implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. It is also a common desire of the broad masses of cadres and soldiers. The unity between the people of all nationalities throughout the country achieved on the basis of the whole party keeping political unanimity with the party Central Committee is a fundamental guarantee of the victory of our socialist modernization drive. We must fully understand this and take effective action.

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PRACTICING FAMILY PLANNING IS ONE OF THE BASIC STATE POLICIES

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[Article by Qian Xinzong [6929 0165 1813]]

[Text] In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Population has always been an extremely important issue in China's economic and social development. Family planning is a basic policy of our state. We must do our utmost to keep our population within 1.2 billion people by the end of this century. The total number of births is now at its peak. Excessive population growth will not only adversely affect the increase of per-capita income but also cause serious difficulties in food supply, housing, education and employment, and it may even disrupt stability. Consequently, we must never slacken our efforts in family planning, especially in the rural areas. We must conduct intensive and meticulous ideological education among the peasants. Provided that we do our work well, we can succeed in bringing our population under control." This exposition further expounds the great strategic significance and practical urgency of bringing our population under control in our country and concretely points out the objective, key points and orientation of family planning work. It is the fundamental basis and guarantee for us to make a good job in the promotion of family planning.

I

The population policy of controlling population growth and raising the quality of the population constitutes an important component part of the political and economic policies of Chinese society. As with other policies, China's population policy is also formulated in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theories and with our basic national condition. Therefore, it has a solid scientific foundation and completely corresponds to China's objective reality.

Marxism holds that in the process of the development of human society there consistently exist two kinds of production: "On the one hand, there is the production of the means of subsistence, namely food, clothing and housing and the production of tools needed for this purpose, and on the other hand, there is the production of human beings themselves, that is, the multiplication of species." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels,"

Vol 21, pp 29-30) These two productions are inseparable and interrelated. The material production constitutes the foundation of the existence and development of society and also the foundation of the production of human beings themselves. Without it, human beings will be unable to exist, still less to have any descendants. The production of human beings themselves is a prerequisite for carrying out material production. Without a certain quantity set as a minimum population, there could not possibly be any social material production. Under any social system, there exist some proportional relations between the two kinds of production. If the production of man and that of material are mutually coordinated, economic and social development will be promoted. Conversely, if the two productions do not for a long time fit in with each other, economic and social development will be delayed. Under different modes of social production, the consistency between the production of man and that of material has a different nature, characteristics and consequences. In a society where everything is based on the private ownership system, where the material production or the production of population is carried out in a spontaneous and unplanned way, the balance between the two is achieved as it suffers constant destruction. Under the capitalist system, owing to the development of educational and cultural undertakings, family planning can possibly be carried out at the family level. However, taking society as a whole, the production of man is still spontaneous, just as production in specific enterprises is organized, while the production of a whole society is still anarchic. Only under the socialist system, that is, only when the public ownership system of the means of production has been realized and the socialist basic economic laws and the law governing the planned and proportional development of the national economy have come into play and the people have become the masters of society and even the masters of childbirth, can it be possible to put material production and population production under planning within the scope of the whole society, to have the two productions suit each other and to push forward the socialist society. Just as predicted by Engels as early as 100 years ago: "If we say that the communist society will have, in a certain period of time in the future, to carry out readjustment as it has done in the case of material production, and at the same time, it has to readjust the production of man, then it is precisely that society, and that society alone that can do this without the slightest difficulty." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 35, p 145)

Ours is a socialist developing country with relatively backward economic development and insufficiently developed science and education, a country of limited cultivated land. On the other hand, it has a huge population totaling 1 billion people of which 800 million are peasants, a big cardinal number of population, a composition of young people and a rapid rate of population growth. Therefore, how to harmonize the population growth with the increase of the national economy has become a major problem which our state has to solve. In a fairly long period in the past, owing to the lack of experience, we had a one-sided understanding of the population issue and stressed the argument that the more people we have, the easier it will be to accomplish things. This practice ran counter to the objective demands of the socioeconomic development of population growth and resulted in an excessively rapid growth in our population, in a disproportion between our

population growth and production development and resulted in serious consequences.

Historical experience and lessons have shown that to carry out the socialist modernization program in a country like ours, while developing material production in a planned way, we must practice family planning and strictly control population growth so that our population will conform with the various plans of economic and social development.

First, bringing our population under control will be conducive to alleviating the contradiction of production of the means of production lagging far behind the excessive population growth and conducive to solving step by step the problem of employment. At present China has abundant resources in labor power. Being restricted by such conditions as funds, the scope of our production and construction cannot be expanded boundlessly. In order to solve the employment of surplus labor power, many enterprises and operating units had to excessively arrange the people waiting for jobs. This was detrimental to raising economic results and labor productivity. Furthermore, the superfluous staff and workers and the increased total amount of wages will mean adding more weight to financial difficulties and bring fairly great pressure to bear on the state. When the PRC was founded, in rural areas the average per-capita cultivated land was around 3 mu but at present it is only about 1.5 mu, constituting a 50 percent reduction. After the introduction of the production responsibility system, labor productivity increased substantially. In many places, about one-third of labor power was saved and as a result the contradiction between a huge population and an insufficiency of arable land become more pronounced. Therefore, from a long-term point of view, strictly controlling our population will gradually lighten the pressure on employment, gradually rationalize and balance the proportion between the working population and the means of production and proceed to contribute to raising the results of industrial and agricultural production and solving the problem of employment.

Second, bringing our population under control will be conducive to solving the contradiction of the production of the means of subsistence lagging far behind the excessive population growth and conducive to steadily improving the standards of living of the people. Since more than 30 years have passed since the founding of the PRC, great advances have been scored in China's national economy and a relatively big absolute number in the increases in the output and output value of industrial and agricultural production has been recorded. However, what everyone got is still limited because our population grows too rapidly. Most of the newly added means of subsistence are consumed by the newly grown population with the result that no proper improvements have been achieved in the people's standard of living and there is still a strain in food supply, clothing, housing, transport, education, public health work and other fields. Strictly controlling our population growth will alleviate the contradictions in these fields, improve the level of the people's material and cultural life and promote the realization of the objective of the Chinese people becoming comparatively well-off by the end of this century.

Third, bringing our population under control will be conducive to solving the contradiction between excessive population growth and the raising of the quality of the population and conducive to fostering talented people who develop in an all-round way--morally, intellectually and physically. The modernization of science and technology is the key link in the four modernizations program, and it therefore requires developing China's education, science and technology, public health work and various other undertakings. However, unplanned population growth is bound to seize China's limited investments in education and health protection and to interfere with the exploitation of intellectual resources and the raising of the quality of the population. Therefore, in order to raise the quality of the population in a planned way and bring up talented people of high quality so as to meet the needs of the four modernizations program, it is also necessary to bring our population under strict control.

Fourth, bringing our population under control will be conducive to solving the contradiction between accumulation and consumption and conducive to comparatively increasing construction funds. The 12th party congress has announced the grand goal of China's endeavors to modernize its economic construction by the end of this century, striving to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to amass a large amount of funds for construction. Excessive population growth will inevitably increase the part of accumulation funds in the national income and interfere with the level of accumulation needed in accomplishing the objective of economic construction. Therefore, strictly controlling our population is also an important factor for stabilizing the accumulation rate and ensuring the availability of the funds needed for the four modernizations program.

It can thus be seen that practicing family planning and controlling population growth is an important matter which concerns the success and failure of China's socialist modernization program. We must never slacken our efforts in this respect. Any slackening and wavering in our efforts in this respect will cause population expansion and will surely affect the realization of the objective of the four modernizations program and interfere with the happy future of the coming generations of the Chinese nation. This is where the strategic significance of practicing family planning becoming our basic national policy lies.

## II

Since 32 years have passed since the founding of the PRC, with the deepening of our understanding of the population issue, China's population policy has constantly been developing. In the early 1950's, we never controlled our population and for a time even encouraged growth in our population; in the late 1950's, we began to pay attention to the matter of the relationship between population growth and economic development. However, our population continued to expand as a result of one-sidedly stressing that having more people was a good thing and erroneously criticized some scholars who engaged in population theory work. In 1962, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued a "Directive Concerning

Conscientiously Encouraging Family Planning" and explicitly pointed out: "It is the established policy in our socialist construction to encourage family planning in the cities and densely populated rural areas and to appropriately control the natural rate of increase so as to ensure that the matter of giving birth to children will be put under a state of planning rather than not being planned at all." By the 1970's the party and government had further deepened their understanding of the population issue and set the "late, sparse and few" requirements (that is, late marriage and giving birth to children late; the space between the first and second child should be longer than 4-5 years and each couple should have no more than 2 children). After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party made a further scientific analysis of the country's population issue and formulated the policy to fundamentally put an end to the excessive population growth in our country. In September 1980, the CPC Central Committee issued an "open letter to CPC and CYL members concerning the question of bringing population growth under control." In February this year, the party Central Committee and the State Council issued a "Directive Concerning Continuing To Do a Good Job in Family Planning Work" and explicitly expounded to state cadres and staff and workers, as well as residents in towns and the country, except those who had exceptional cases and had received formal approval, the necessity of carrying out family planning and put forth the clear demand calling on each couple to have only one child. In rural areas, the practice of one couple, one child is universally encouraged. Those people who have practical difficulties and wish to have two children should arrange to do so in a planned way after being examined and approved. In any case, the practice of having three children should not be allowed. As for the minority nationalities, family planning among them should also be encouraged but the terms should be appropriately softened. In his government work report delivered at the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Zhou Ziyang pointed out: "It is our policy to control population growth while raising the quality of the population." In his political report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out: "Family planning is a basic policy of our nation" and thus raised to a new level our understanding of the family planning issue.

The population policy of any country should serve the politics and economy of the country. China's present family planning policy should serve the strategic objective of the economic construction charted by the 12th party congress. At present China already has a population of more than 1 billion people and is faced with about a 15-year-long peak in the total number of births. During this period, on the basis of existing work, if on a nationwide scale we increase the rate of having a single child, control the practice of having two children and strictly put a stop to the practice of having three children, it will be possible for us to keep our population within 1.2 billion people by the end of this century. If every couple throughout the nation has, on the average, two children, the country's population will exceed 1.3 billion people by the end of this century. The excessive population will bring about diverse pressure on socioeconomic construction. We must have a sober understanding of this matter and make an earnest effort to implement the childbirth policy formulated by the party and government. While paying special attention to economic construction, we must



simultaneously strictly control population growth and manage to grasp the "two kinds of production."

Another important content of our population policy is to raise the quality of the population including a series of work, such as eugenic births and child-rearing. In the past we paid insufficient attention to this. From now on, great efforts should be made to publicize and encourage eugenic births. Health departments should gradually open up outpatient advisory services on eugenics and strive to reduce the birth of invalid children who suffer from congenital diseases and other hereditary diseases. Along with this, we must still pay attention to eugenic rearing, universalize scientific knowledge of giving birth to children, strengthen maternity and child-care work and intensify preschool education so as to allow the next generations to receive as good an education as possible and to grow healthily. While developing the economy, we must still pay attention to adopting various measures to solve the problem of providing for the aged.

### III

Provided that we correctly understand our policies, we can correctly carry them out and proceed to give full play to the might of our policies and achieve the expected results. At the beginning of this year, after the transmission of the "Directive of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council Concerning Continuing To Do a Good Job in Family Planning Work," the cadres and masses of many places had a deeper understanding of the concrete policies stipulated by the document and implemented them quite satisfactorily and thus vigorously propelled the promotion of family planning. But there are still some problems in some places in understanding the document and grasping the policies which demand earnest solutions.

Some comrades hold that childbirth policies stipulated in the "directive" of the party Central Committee are more "relaxed" than those in the "open letter" and for this reason, more relaxed practices were adopted in the practical work, resulting in an increase in the rate of having two children. There are also some comrades who deem that the stipulations in the "directive" are "stricter" than those in the "open letter" and, as a result, they were on the tight and strict side while implementing the stipulations. In fact, these two understandings are not comprehensive. It must be noted that the CPC Central Committee's "directive" and its "open letter" are identical in spirit. The "directive" further expounded the policies in accordance with the principles of policy of the "open letter" after 1 year and more of practice and work of the various places, and respectively set different concrete demands on the state cadres, staff and workers, residents in the towns and country, in the rural areas and among national minorities with regard to family planning. In order to really persist in our family planning policy, it is necessary to lay a feasible foundation and ensure that the majority of the people will support it through our work. This is an important matter which has a bearing on whether or not our family planning work can regain the initiative. Only when we strive to seek truth from facts, suit measures to local conditions and particular people, deal with each case on its merits and offer classified guidance and not indulge

in "finding a single solution to diverse problems" can we achieve effective results.

As for the stipulations of policy on having one or two or three children, there is also a problem of how to correctly understand them and how to correctly implement them. Our country has a vast territory; the politics, economy, culture and the conditions of various social institutions of the various localities are vastly different and the distribution of population is quite uneven, so while bringing the practice of having two children under control, we must proceed from reality, set different requirements under different conditions and not indiscriminately impose uniformity. At present, in arranging those who wish to have two children, quite a few localities have formulated some stipulations which are geared to actual circumstances and have produced satisfactory results. It is reported that those who are allowed to have two children are relieved; those who are not allowed to have two children can give up the idea altogether and those cadres who engage in family planning work can heighten their confidence in their work. A serious problem at present confronting the country is that in some provinces and localities, the ratio of the practice of having three or more children is still relatively high. We must be resolute in solving this problem and reduce the rate of having more children as quickly as possible.

The fundamental question of family planning is to legislate. Without legislation, family planning work will not last long; with legislation, family planning work will gradually embark on the right course. Within 2 years, in accordance with the principle of integrating the higher and lower levels and combining the leadership of the specialists and the masses, the leadership at various levels must conduct investigation and study, explore the laws governing this work and strive to study and enact the law of family planning which will be effective in controlling population growth and which is geared to actual conditions.

In practicing family planning, we must persist in giving priority to ideological education, to contraception and to the day-to-day work so that our work can become a regular and systematic practice. This is also a problem which warrants our attention in our work. While practicing family planning, we must break with the old traditional concepts, such as regarding men as superior to women and continuing the family line by producing a male heir. This is an important matter of changing social customs and traditions and of building socialist spiritual civilization. We must do a good job in ideological education work. Provided that the people's thinking is straightened out, this work will play a role for a long time, but provided that the people's thinking is not straightened out, relapses will still emerge even if we have made some achievements over a period of time. To give priority to contraception, we must adopt safe and effective measures for contraception and birth control, protect the health of women and enthusiastically carry out family planning work in a manner suitable to particular people. Giving prominence to the day-to-day work should also be stressed. Family planning is a long-term strategic task. We must work out the plans for our work in accordance with this understanding and, through

our unremitting efforts, infuse the party's policies into the minds of the vast numbers of cadres and the masses of the people so they will become conscious actions.

Of course, over a period of time, it is necessary for some localities to carry out some crash propaganda and educational activities. However, crash activities should be based on the day-to-day work. In light of actual conditions, the various localities and units should strengthen ideological and organizational work and the work to supply contraceptives and contraceptive instruments. Ideological work must be painstaking and meticulous, and measures must be efficient and practical. Crudely done work should be avoided. Many cases have shown that in the localities and units where family planning is carried out well the day-to-day work is all done satisfactorily.

Family planning involves every family and household and is the mass work in the broadest sense. We must have faith in the policies of the CPC Central Committee and in the consciousness of the masses and believe that through our work; the masses can conscientiously accept and support the party's policies. These two ideas should be firmly implanted in the minds of the cadres who engage in family planning. In our work, we must pay attention to summing up and spreading advanced experience so that the advanced localities, units and individuals can constantly grow in number, their results can be continuously consolidated and expanded, and they can influence and bring along the intermediate so as to advance together. At the same time, we must pay special attention to the less advanced localities, units and individuals and help them to catch up with the advanced. Family planning is an important matter of the whole party and of the people throughout the nation and is therefore a glorious and arduous task. To fulfill this task, the workers of family planning and medical and health workers must, under the leadership of the party committees at various levels, do their own work in the communist revolutionary spirit and at the same time, must rely on the cooperation in unity of the fraternal units and departments and on the support and backing of the broad masses. Under the guidance of the program of the 12th party congress, let us struggle hard with one heart and one mind, continue to exert ourselves indomitably and strive to create a new situation in the field of family planning.

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THIS IS WHERE THE GREAT HOPES OF OUR COUNTRY'S RURAL AREAS LIE

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[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, enormous changes have taken place in the rural situation of our country. The agriculture which had come to a stalemate for a long time has begun to thrive, and a new situation of sustained and steady development has emerged in agriculture. Despite repeated floods and drought which have hit us since 1979, the total output value of agriculture increased at an average annual rate of 5.6 percent. This year an overall bumper harvest was again reaped in agricultural production. It is estimated that the total output of grain will be over 200 billion jin more than last year's figure and that of cotton will increase by more than 600 million dan and the other various industrial crops will almost set a record. Along with the development of production, the farm produce and sideline products as well as raw material for industry which agriculture supplies to the state are increasing in quantity day by day and their income is also steadily increasing, and remarkable improvements have been achieved in their standards of living. Of the poor and backward regions throughout the country, there are 10 regions which have the greatest difficulties, totaling 231 counties. At present, except for a small number of regions which still have great difficulties in the northwest and southwest, most of the remaining regions have solved or basically solved the question of having enough to eat and wear. Of these, there are 23 counties whose average per-capita income increased from about 50 yuan to more than 150 yuan last year. Economically speaking, many famous poor counties and regions have come into their own within the last 1 or 2 years. They not only no longer ask for subsidies of relief and grain resold to them by the state but have paid off their debts and furthermore have even sold their farm produce and sideline products to the state instead. Such changes have seldom been seen since the founding of the PRC and also are contrary to our expectations.

Why are the changes in the countryside so fast and great? The answer is becoming clearer and clearer and also increasingly widespread. This is because since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has adopted a series of correct rural economic policies, that is, what counts is the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities

with payment linked to output which has brought the enthusiasm of hundreds and millions of peasants into play.

The difference between the agricultural production responsibility system which has been introduced in rural areas in recent years and the other responsibility system, such as the short-term work contracts and management with fixed output quotas which were practiced during the period of cooperation, lies mainly in the method of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. The turn from not linking payment to output to linking payment to output has not only added a new form to the production responsibility system in our rural areas but has also brought about a qualitative change in the responsibility system itself. With the development and improvement of the responsibility system, a historic change has begun in China's agricultural production and rural economy.

The system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is characterized by the fact that the collectively owned land is respectively contracted out to commune members for farming with payment made according to output. The heart of this matter is the word "contract." Contracting responsibilities with payment linked to output links up the labor of the working people closely with their production results, combines responsibility, authority and benefit and proceeds to effectively overcome the drawbacks of egalitarianism and the practices of doing things in a massive and unplanned way while working and issuing harmful and arbitrary directives; it enables the peasants to have decisionmaking power, to become both producers and managers and the real masters of the cooperative economy and to give full play to their initiative and creativity. Contracting responsibilities and linking payment to output is the combination of the unified and separate management and has universal adaptability and a diversity of forms. Not sticking to one pattern, this method can suit local circumstances, under which whether the production targets are to be carried out in a centralized or decentralized way hinges on the situation. In this way, it can correspond to the intricate situation of China's vast countryside which varies from place to place and enables the relations of production and the productive forces in rural areas to fit in with each other. It is precisely for this reason that the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is warmly welcomed by hundreds of millions of peasants and is continuously developing in the course of practice, accompanied with the emergence of such different forms as assigning responsibilities to each group and linking payment to output, assigning responsibilities to each labor and linking payment to output, fixing output quotas for individual households and assigning the households full responsibility for task completion. The CPC Central Committee has always respected the creative initiative of the masses, upheld that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, earnestly summed up the new experience and new creativity of the masses with the development of practice and constantly substantiated, revised and perfected the policies concerning the agricultural responsibility system. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "There is no rigid pattern for the development of the socialist relations of production. At every stage our task is to create those specific forms of the relations of

production that correspond to the needs of the growing productive forces and facilitate their continued advance." The system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is a new form of the socialist cooperative economy with Chinese characteristics. It is the creation of hundreds and millions of peasants who, under the direction of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, have emancipated their minds, practiced in a bold manner and explored step by step. It is the result of correcting the "leftist" mistakes and of bringing order out of chaos and the product of earnestly summing up our historical experience, both positive and negative. The practice of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is a great pioneering undertaking of the Chinese people. It has a bright future which should not be underestimated.

The people have a quick or slow as well as a deep or superficial understanding of the far-reaching significance and great role of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. This is completely understandable. Under the influence of "leftist" ideology, in the past we blindly pursued the form of "large in size and collective in nature" and mistook that while engaging in the socialist collective rural economy, we had to adopt the form of doing labor in a concentrated way and of distribution according to work. As time passed, this form became a "set pattern" which shackled the people's minds and no one dared to overstep the minefield even one step further. Those who aired divergent opinions and tried some different things in light of actual conditions would be criticized as committing "errors in the political orientation and line." In the past we criticized the "three freedoms [private plots, a free market and responsibility for one's profit or loss] and one contract" and "fixing output quotas for individual households," and we did so for so many years that people were scared at the sight of the words of "contract" and "household" which almost became a "conditioned reflex." The people would be scared by the mention of fixing output quotas for each group; they would be more scared by the mention of fixing output quotas for individual households; and they would be most scared by the mention of assigning the households full responsibility for task completion. Therefore, the fact that the majority of comrades remained unconvinced of the application of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, were irresolute in action and even resisted it was a matter of understanding. In the last few years, much controversy has emerged on the issue of the responsibility system but the CPC Central Committee has always earnestly heeded different opinions, constantly conducted investigations and study and never compelled and criticized any people. On the contrary, it has all along put stress on suiting measures to local conditions and on the coexistence of diverse forms and allowing the masses to make their own choice in a democratic way and paid attention to preventing the practices of acting on impulse and of having a single solution to diverse problems. Practice is a classroom in which people can receive the best education. Through many years of practice, the majority of comrades have realized from objective facts that the policies of the party Central Committee are correct, and they have increasingly identical views on this issue. At present a small number of people have still not understood the system of contracted responsibilities with

payment linked to output. We hope that they will go deep into the realities of life, conduct investigations and study, heed the opinions of the masses and have a look at the fine situation of the countryside, and we are sure that this will educate them and bring about a change in them and that they will deepen their own understanding. The introduction of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is the demand of hundreds and millions of peasants and the trend of historical development. In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The production responsibility system set in various forms in the countryside in recent years has further emancipated the productive forces and it must be adhered to for a long time to come. The thing for us to do is to gradually perfect it on the basis of summing up the practical experience of the masses. In no case must we make rash changes against the will of the masses, still less must we backtrack."

The widespread implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output has put an end to the situation in which agriculture has been at a standstill for a long time. A series of new things with internal relations have emerged in an endless stream over time, and the rural economy has entered a new stage of flourishing and vigorous development.

The rapid growth of agricultural production and the improvement of labor productivity in agriculture has saved much surplus manpower, promoted diversified undertakings, raised the commodity rate of farm produce and sideline products, and as a result, the demands of the peasants for market supplies have also increased. Developing a diversified economy is of great significance in changing the features of China's agricultural production. China has a vast territory with insufficient arable land but with very abundant usable agricultural resources. While ensuring that grain crops should be planted in the cultivated land suitable for growing grain crops and ensuring a steady increase in grain production, we must go all out to operate the diversified undertakings in a big way. This will not only contribute to the full utilization of the surplus manpower and natural resources but will also help promote the further development of grain production and will thus turn the human talents and land and other material resources to good account.

With the development of the diversified undertakings and commodity production, there have emerged in recent years batches of specialized households and households doing specialized jobs with special technical skills and management ability, some of which are developed on the basis of household sideline production; others contract some production tasks of the collectively run diversified economy; and still others form new combinations according to the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. These specialized households or specialized groups are relatively small in scope of operation and production and have therefore some strong points: 1) Being convenient for tapping the potentials of manpower and of the means of production, absorbing more manpower and auxiliary labor in particular and putting the simply constructed construction projects and facilities to maximum use; 2) corresponding to the existing technical ability, experience

and managerial techniques of the producers and providing ample scope for the broad masses of peasants to display their intelligence and wisdom; and 3) easily economizing on funds, reducing energy consumption and promoting environmental protection and the ecological balance. In sum, they are characterized by the fact that they are small in scope and require less investment but promise quicker and bigger results with a high commodity rate. They are in keeping with the economic and cultural level of the Chinese countryside at the present stage and are a good form for developing a diversified economy and commodity production. The combination of the form of specialized household or specialized group with the great mass fervor for studying and applying science which is in the making universally among the peasants will push agricultural production and the whole rural economy forward to further prosperity.

With the growth of the production of specialized households and specialized groups and the improvement of their operational techniques, the realization of specialization and socialization of some links of the process of production will surely become a necessity. Every step forward in the specialization and socialization of production should be followed and even anticipated by communications and transport, commerce and other service trades, otherwise it will lag far behind the demands of the development of the situation. The application of the system of contract responsibilities with payment linked to output in rural areas has solved the question of production and distribution but has not yet solved the question of circulation. At present, the enthusiasm of the peasants for developing commodity production has been aroused but the work of the various departments concerned still lags far behind and the most conspicuous one is that the circulation link is poor. The failure to transport and market farm produce and sideline and native products caused overstocking of products in producing areas and a shortage in goods supply in marketing areas, made batches of fresh and live products go moldy and rotten while the industrial products needed by the peasants were hard to buy. This contradiction is becoming more and more acute. Any undesired solutions to this issue will bring about renewed setbacks to the enthusiasm of the peasants, which has until now run high. We must attach great importance to this matter and solve it in real earnest.

At present, the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output has been widely implemented in rural areas. The work in the future is mainly to preserve the relative stability of the production responsibility system and to perfect and improve it in an orderly manner. However, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that at present a trend has gradually manifested itself, that is, the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is expanding from the poor and backward regions to other regions and even to economically developed regions, from planting industry to forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery, from agriculture to the various sectors of the rural economy and further expanding from the rural areas to small cities and towns and to commerce, service trades, the industry run by the communes and their subdivisions and to scientific units. Furthermore, proceeding from the objective demands of the development of production and with the advance of the rural economy toward the direction of specialization and socialization, the demands for



establishing various combinations set in different forms are bound to arise, such as the combination of specialized production, that of supply and marketing, that of production, supply and marketing and that of technical services, and some combinations even may break through the limits of the existing communes and their subdivisions. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang predicted in his report to the 12th party congress: "In the not too distant future, there will emerge in our rural areas an improved cooperative economy, with a diversity of form, which will be able to make full use of the advantages in light of the local conditions and facilitate the large-scale adoption of advanced production measures." Moreover, the first starting point of all this is the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. Being full of vitality and in the ascendant, the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output has Chinese characteristics and is thus where our great hopes lie.

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DEVELOPMENT AND PERFECTION OF THE ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM IN  
INDUSTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 17-20

[Article by Zhou Taihe [0719 1132 0735]]

[Text] The economic responsibility system in industry is developed on the basis of the experiments of the expansion of the decisionmaking power of enterprises, which were carried out in selected enterprises after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is an administrative system in production and operation which closely combines responsibility, authority and benefit with raising economic results of the whole society as its objective under the guidance of state planning. At present the enterprises which are carrying out the economic responsibility system constitute more than 80 percent of the industrial enterprises throughout the nation. After 1 year and more of exploration and practice, the vast numbers of cadres and staff and workers of the various localities, departments and on the industrial front have a clearer understanding of the economic responsibility system in their guiding thinking and the contents and forms of the responsibility system have also developed. In particular there have emerged such advanced models as the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company, which set an example for us all. Over 1 year and more, the economic responsibility system has developed in the following ways:

1. Persisted in closely combining responsibility, authority and benefit and given first priority to the responsibilities for which the enterprises are responsible to the state. The economic responsibility system started with the implementation of the financial tasks and for this reason it is called the "contract system plus rewards." Later such units as the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company advanced the guiding thinking for correctly carrying out the economic responsibility system, that is, we must put stress not only on the limits of authority and interests of enterprises but above all also on the responsibilities for which the enterprises are responsible. They put the overall fulfillment of state plans in first priority and looked upon the practice in which the state should receive the largest share in distributing surplus revenue as the most important responsibility of enterprises. Many enterprises support the formulation of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company: the economic responsibility system should take responsibility as its core, set the limits of authority and the size of

benefits according to responsibility and closely combine responsibility, authority and benefit; one should be granted authority the same size as the responsibility which he bears and he is allowed to share interests the same size as the responsibility which he discharges. As a result of giving prominence to the economic responsibility for which the enterprises are responsible to the state regarding the fulfillment of state plans as the basis for the enterprises to retain the share from profit sharing and stressing that the partial and local interests should be subordinated to the overall interests, the sense of responsibility of the enterprises and the staff and workers is heightened and the enterprises are urged to tap the potential in their internal departments and to devote a lot of energy and efforts to boosting production and increasing revenue.

2. Implemented the economic responsibility system down to each level of the internal departments of enterprises in an overall manner so that the economic responsibility system would develop constantly and intensively. Many enterprises have formulated the general objectives including the various economic and technical targets in reliance on the masses of staff and workers and in accordance with the economic responsibility for which they are responsible to the state, transposed them one by one and then implemented them at each level of the internal departments of enterprises and to every workshop, administrative office, production team and group and individual. Some enterprises are developing in the direction of making responsibility a target and of making examination and assessment enter the stage of data. The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company not only transposes the targets and implements the whole professional work and the enforcement of the rules and regulations down to each individual but also implements the practice of each level contracting for state assignments and ensuring their fulfillment between different units and different posts down to each individual and links strict examination and assessment with rewards. The responsible departments and financial departments of enterprises of some places are cooperating closely and have put a stop to the practice of singly examining the profit targets of enterprises and instead are carrying out an overall check-up of output, quality, profits, consumption and costs. All these have played a promoting role in improving the managerial techniques of enterprises.

3. The forms of profit sharing should be suited to local conditions and be flexible and diverse and no uniformity should be imposed in this respect. The enterprises which were involved in the experimental work of expanding the decisionmaking power in 1979 basically practiced a circulatory proportion method of base plus increase. Last year a State Council document stipulated seven different methods. The comrades of the various provinces and municipalities paid attention to constantly exploring and summing up the practical experience and persisted in proceeding from reality and seeking the forms of profit sharing for different trades and enterprises so as to better mobilize the enthusiasm of the enterprises of various types and correctly handle the relationship between the state and the enterprises. Financially speaking, some places adopt the method of retaining total revenue among the responsible bureaus and the latter again practice a form of the profit contract system among enterprises. This method can integrate

the two forms and make up for each other's deficiencies, and the gains are satisfactory. Some places define different forms of profit distribution in light of market conditions, the importance of the tasks of technical transformation and the changes in the production conditions.

4. The scope of the introduction of the economic responsibility system was continuously expanding. The economic responsibility was not only implemented down to the workers on the front line in production but the practices of assessment and of rewards and penalties were also carried out among leading cadres, technical and professional personnel and auxiliary workers on the basis of clear and definite economic responsibility. In some places the economic responsibility system was set up in the responsible industrial bureaus and even in the units at the municipal level. Weifang in Shandong Province has established the economic responsibility system throughout the municipality, ranging from the leading departments and leading cadres to the enterprises and their staff and workers.

5. The link of distribution was turned into that of production and the enthusiasm of the enterprises and of their staff and workers has gradually led to strengthening operations and production, to carrying out technical innovation and technical transformation and to tapping potential in the internal departments of enterprises. The enterprises attach importance not only to production but also to management and technical advances and shift the focus of work from undertaking new construction projects and expanding existing projects to expanded reproduction which gives prominence to intensification. This benign cycle from distribution--tapping potential--increasing revenue to redistribution--retapping potential and again increasing revenue impels the enterprises to continuously raise their economic results and is therefore an important result of the development of the economic responsibility system.

In sum, through 1 year and more of practice, the economic responsibility system has begun to embark on the road of healthy development. At the forum on the industrial economic responsibility system of the five provinces and municipalities convened by the Office for Structural Reform under the State Council and the State Economic Commission, six standards for examining the results of the economic responsibility system were formulated: 1) Whether or not the various targets passed down in state plans are fulfilled in an overall manner (quality and costs in particular); 2) whether or not the economic effect is improved remarkably; 3) whether or not the interests of the state, the enterprises and the individual are taken into account while ensuring that the state should receive the largest share in distribution of surplus revenue; 4) whether or not the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his work is implemented among the staff and workers; 5) whether or not the various rules and regulations and the basic work are established and perfected; and 6) whether or not the various policies and stipulations of the state are observed. Some enterprises which are run well have achieved tangible results in this respect.

However, there are still some problems in our work because it is not too long a time since the responsibility system was introduced, and its

development is still not even. The problems are manifested mainly by the fact that the people still have an insufficient understanding of the essence and great significance of the economic responsibility system: that the economic responsibility system has not yet really been set up in the internal departments of most of the enterprises; that the decision-making power of enterprises in operations and management has not yet been completely implemented; that the enthusiasm for technical innovation and technical transformation has not yet been extensively aroused; that egalitarianism in distribution issue is still serious; that with regard to the relationship between the state and the enterprises, the policy of rewarding those who are diligent and penalizing those who are lazy has not yet truly been embodied, and so on. In order to further strengthen and perfect the economic responsibility system, we hold that the following problems need solutions:

1. We must further deepen our understanding of the economic responsibility system.

The aim for industrial enterprises to carry out the economic responsibility system is to suit the demands of socialized mass production, to further emancipate the productive forces and to carry out partial readjustment of the relations of production. In regard to the relationship between the state and the enterprises, it has put an end to the situation in which in the past, excessive and overrigid control was imposed on the enterprises; all revenue and expenditure were handled by the state in a unified way and everybody was eating "from the same big pot." In the internal departments of enterprises, the previous drawbacks of egalitarianism which were characterized by the fact that no distribution was ever made between those who did a good job and those who did a poor one were overcome and the situation was halted in which particular attention was paid to production at the neglect of operations and management and output and output value were exclusively grasped at the expense of technical advances and economic results. Therefore, for industrial enterprises to carry out the economic responsibility system is an important component part of the reform of China's economic system and will expedite the reform of the administrative system of all enterprises and of the production, circulation and distribution systems. In his report to the 12th party congress, while fully affirming the economic responsibility system, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "To bring the initiative of enterprises and of the working people into play, we must earnestly implement a responsibility system in the operation and management of both state and collective enterprises." "Although industry and commerce are vastly different from agriculture, the application of the economic responsibility system (including the system of responsibility for profit or loss in some state enterprises) similarly helps to implement the Marxist principle of material benefit, to heighten the workers' sense of responsibility as the masters of the country and to promote production." Comrade Chen Yun also said that the transformation carried out in the 1950's allowed to exploitation, that is, the capitalists were not allowed to exploit the workers. In the present reform the people are no longer allowed to eat "from the same big pot" and the reform is aimed at breaking this sort of old conventions, such as the "same big pot" and "iron rice bowls"

and at practicing the principle of more pay for more work, less pay for less work and no pay for no work. The significance of this reform is not inferior to that of the transformation of privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises. These important expositions raise the significance of the economic responsibility system to the higher plane of theory and are of important and guiding significance in deepening our understanding of this issue and in expediting the intensive development of structural reform.

The agricultural production responsibility system has achieved noticeable results. After the economic responsibility system has been carried out really well, it will also have boundless prospects. It must be noticed that the economic responsibility system and the agricultural production responsibility system have something in common. This all started with restructuring the administrative system, readjusting the relations of production, breaking the practice of eating "from the same big pot," overcoming egalitarianism, implementing the principle of distribution according to work done and finding solutions to the issue of the inner dynamic force for developing production. However, it must be also noticed that industry and agriculture are vastly different. First, they are different in the system and ownership and second, the socialization of industrial production is high in degree, different enterprises are closely related, and the development of production are restricted by many external conditions. Therefore, compared with the agricultural production responsibility system, the economic responsibility system in industry is much more complicated. How to do a good job in the economic responsibility system in industry in light of this characteristic has become an important issue which demands greater efforts, earnest study and thorough exploration from us all.

2. We must correctly implement the principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism.

In China's economy, priority is given to the planned economy. As the basic unit of economic activities, an enterprise must comprehensively fulfill state plans and do a better job in the economic activities of the enterprise in accordance with the requirements of state planning. To carry out the economic responsibility system, it is necessary to closely integrate it with state plans and to take the overall fulfillment of state plans as the most important economic responsibility of enterprises. We must not belittle planning just because we stress enlivening the economy and we must also not put enterprises under excessively rigid control just because we stress planning. The responsible departments at various levels must regard the overall fulfillment of state plans as a prerequisite for the enterprises to retain profits from profit sharing and strictly examine the quality of the fulfillment of state plans by the enterprises. At the same time, it is also necessary to implement the limits of authority of enterprises in planning. We must go deep into the realities of production, study new conditions and seek solutions to new problems, study the size of authority in planning which should be given to the enterprises of different

types and study how to bring the initiative of the enterprises into full play under the guidance of the state plans and how to combine the economic responsibility system with planning so that the plans can be substantiated and perfected as required in the course of their implementation.

Being economically responsible, the enterprises must have various degrees of authority in planning on the one hand and must also have a certain share of the power to market their products through their own channels. Under the guidance of planning and the condition that the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism is given full play, the power to market the products through one's own channels functions in two aspects. The first role is to enable the enterprises, through the activities to market their products through their own channels, to keep abreast of the market trends in good time, to ensure direct contact between production and marketing and the integration of production and marketing, to foster a good operational style of thinking about the interests of the users and being responsible for the consumers, to enthusiastically develop new products and to better meet market demands, and the second role is to enable the enterprises, by marketing part of their products through their own channels, to conduct cooperation and to make up for the deficiencies in the planned material supply so as to ensure the normal operation of production. For this purpose, except those products which are not allowed to be marketed through the channels of the enterprises by state stipulations, including the products which are put under state unified purchase and sale and the products which are strained in supply and short in demand, the enterprises should be granted a certain portion of the power to market their products through their own channels. We must, through practice, sum up a set of methods which will both persist in the leading role of the planned economy and fully arouse the enthusiasm of the enterprises and of the staff and workers and raise economic results.

3. We must put the focus of work on the implementation of the economic responsibility system down to each level in the internal departments of enterprises.

Implementing the economic responsibility system down to the internal departments of enterprises should be regarded as the key link of the present overall reorganization of enterprises. In the course of reorganization, it is necessary to transpose one by one the economic responsibilities for which the enterprises are responsible for to the state and implement them down to every workshop, production team, group and individual and set up a set of economic responsibility systems which form a complete set vertically and horizontally and integrate both the higher and lower levels in accordance with the principle of combining responsibility, authority and benefit; it is necessary to strengthen the basic work, establish and perfect the various administration, examination and assessment systems as well as the rewards and penalties. In regard to issuing bonuses, we must not try to top the ceiling of norms and try not to indulge in egalitarianism among units and ensure that there will be increases and decreases in bonuses with regard to individuals. Democratic management must be strengthened and the vast numbers of staff and workers

must be aroused to discuss the major decisions on the production and operations of enterprises, the distribution and utilization of the funds at the disposal of enterprises and the reform of the administrative system and rules and regulations, and then this should be submitted to the staff and workers congresses for examination and approval, and their implementation should be put under the supervision of the staff and workers congresses. It is essential to combine the stringent economic responsibility system with the sense of political responsibility of a high level through painstaking and meticulous ideological and political work. At the same time, it is necessary to readjust the leading bodies well in accordance with the requirements of cadres becoming more revolutionary, younger in age, more knowledgeable and specialized.

4. We must correctly handle the interest-distributing relationship between the enterprises and the state.

The application of the economic responsibility system has put an end to the financial system under which all revenue and expenditure are handled by the state in a unified way, readjusted the relationship among the three--the state, the enterprises and the individual, mobilized the initiative of the enterprises and of the staff and workers and raised economic results. However, owing to diverse reasons, at present the profits which the enterprises ought to hand over to the state have decreased somewhat and there has been a shortage of funds for the key development projects which the state must urgently carry out. In order to attain the strategic objective by the end of this century and ensure the key development projects which have a bearing on the overall situation, in a period of time to come we must appropriately concentrate our financial resources. To do this, the enterprises are urged to further implant the idea of "coordinating all the activities of the nation like moves on a chessboard," uphold the principle that the state should receive the largest share in the distribution of benefits between the state and the enterprises, earnestly arrange well the proportion of profit sharing for the enterprise and perfect the methods for distributing revenue.

We must stabilize and implement our economic policies on the basis of summing up experience. With regard to the seven methods of profit sharing formulated by the State Council, the various localities and departments must proceed from reality and adopt different forms of distributing interests among different types of trades and enterprises in light of local conditions and not find a single solution to diverse problems. Seen from the initial practice of the various localities, the implementation of profit sharing by whole trades will be conducive to making clear the responsibilities of the responsible departments of enterprises, to readjusting the unfairness in the distribution and allocation of profits between different enterprises and to promoting the technical transformation of the internal departments of enterprises. The counties which have abolished the industrial bureaus in the course of the organizational reform may also practice the method of unified profit sharing or profit contracting with the county economic commission as the unit. This will contribute to simplifying the administrative structure and redistributing the amount of profits between



different enterprises. After being approved by the State Economic Commission and the financial departments, large-sized enterprises with strong leading bodies and sound basic work, the tasks of hard technical transformation which accord with the demands of the development of the state are also allowed to practice the contract system of handing over profits to the state progressively on a trial basis and it should not change for some years while it is fixed. A section of small-sized enterprises may introduce the form of handing over income tax to the state and assuming sole responsibility for their own profit or loss. But no matter what form is practiced, a unit can adopt only one method.

While defining the proportion of profit sharing, we must implement the principle of rewarding those who are diligent and penalizing those who are lazy. As for those enterprises which are poorly operated and produce low economic results due to subjective reasons, their proportion of profit sharing should be appropriately reduced; with regard to the enterprises with strong leading bodies, satisfactory operations and high economic results, their proportion of profit sharing should be appropriately increased. At present the practices of violating financial and economic discipline, illegally retaining profits, indiscriminately apportioning costs, repeatedly drawing money and taking a double share of money should be resolutely corrected.

5. We must integrate the perfection of the economic responsibility system with the technical transformation of enterprises.

Doing a good job in the technical transformation of enterprises and promoting technical advances is the key link in steadily raising economic results and ensuring the smooth development of the national economy. At present, the technology and equipment of many enterprises are quite backward, their energy consumption is high, product quality is poor and economic results are low. The introduction of the economic responsibility system demands a year-by-year increase in the profits which the enterprises ought to turn over to the state and an increase in the funds retained by enterprises. This will urge the enterprises to do a good job in technical transformation. At the same time, the funds retained by enterprises will create conditions for and provide possibilities for the enterprises to carry out technical transformation. In order to better lead the enterprises in accelerating the pace of their technical transformation, it is necessary, on the basis of deepening their understanding, to help the enterprises to genuinely use their depreciation funds and funds for production development in the technical transformation and upgrading of equipment of enterprises. At present, some enterprises use the funds for production development and even their depreciation and overhaul funds in building dormitories for the staff and workers and in repaying private debts owed by the staff and workers. Their funds for technical transformation are solved by relying mainly on bank loans. This practice is understandable for a short time but we must not do this for a long time. Otherwise, it will produce a harmful impact on production. We must redistribute and utilize in a good manner the funds for production development and the innovation and transformation funds which are scattered among the various

enterprises. At the same time, a better job should be done in the programs for the technical transformation of the trade, and the technical transformation of the trade and enterprises should be carried out in a planned and good way in key units by stages and in groups. We must carry out the practice of good quality, high prices step by step and encourage the enterprises to continuously improve product quality and to enthusiastically develop new products.

For industrial enterprises to carry out the economic responsibility system is a new task. To steadily develop and perfect it, it is necessary to offer more effective leadership. The various localities and departments must pay close attention to the promotion of the economic responsibility system in industry, put it under overall planning and offer classified guidance to it as we have done in regard to the production responsibility system in agriculture. At present, we must above all do a good job in the perfection of the economic responsibility system of the medium and large-size enterprises. At the same time, we must earnestly grasp typical cases and sum up and spread our experience. We must further consolidate and develop the various ongoing reforms, actively create the needed external conditions for the enterprises and push forward the healthy development of the economic responsibility system.

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FACED WITH A NEW SITUATION AND NEW PROBLEMS, LIGHT INDUSTRY HAS TO TAKE ON A NEW LOOK AND ATTAIN A HIGHER LEVEL

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[Article by Yang Bo [2799 3134]]

[Text] Since 1979, in the light of the policy issued by the CPC Central Committee on vigorously developing consumer goods production, light industry development has been accelerated. The gross light industry output value has increased by 10 percent annually over the past 3 years. The quality of products has improved and we have more varied goods. There was a commodity shortage in the market for a long time in the past. This situation has been basically changed. Formerly, people rushed to purchase goods, but now they are keeping their money and buying selectively.

This is the result of the implementation of the line, principles and policies put forward by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the national economic readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading. It is also an important sign that the national economic situation is getting ever better.

Under this excellent situation, new problems have appeared in light industry production; principally, some light industrial products are overstocked and unmarketable. How can we deal with this problem? Some comrades think that this is the result of a surplus of products manufactured by light industry and that we should cut production. I do not think we should speak in such general terms. At present, there is a small number of products in excessive supply, because these products, such as cigarettes and wine, are manufactured by small factories, not in a planned way. We should cut their production. Generally speaking, we cannot consider that there is overproduction and that light industry has been fully developed. Our light industry has yet to be further developed. Social purchasing power in the last 3 years has increased by an average of 14.7 percent annually, which is higher than the average annual increase of 14 percent of light industry production, and much higher than the 10 percent output increase in factories under the administration of the Ministry of Light Industry. The production of consumer goods falls far short of the requirements of the people, who have more money saved up at home. According to rough calculations, the total yearly output value of factories under the Ministry of

Light Industry is only about 60 billion yuan (including a proportion of means of production and not including textile and other consumer goods), which is about 60 yuan for each person in the country. But the nation's bank savings reached 62 billion yuan by the end of August this year, not counting a prodigious sum of cash kept in people's homes. We should manufacture more products to meet their demands.

But why are some products overstocked and unmarketable? I think that it is mainly because the quality and variety of the goods are poor and cannot satisfy market demand. One reason why commodities are overstocked in some places and out of stock in others, or overstocked in urban areas and out of stock in rural areas, is blocked circulation channels and bad marketing. There was a commodity shortage for a long time in the past. People had little choice when shopping. But now the situation has changed. Production has increased, there are more goods in the shops and people have more money. The "seller's market" has started to change into a "buyer's market." So customers have become more choosy. Formerly, people rushed to buy things the year round. But now they are making seasonal choices. These new problems have surfaced in light industrial production. As customers put it: "I don't want what you offer, but you don't have what I want."

How can we run light industry in the face of this new situation and the problems which have appeared? We should earnestly do a good job in changing this situation and improving product quality, and strive to create a new situation in light industrial production in accordance with the instructions issued by the 12th party congress and with the real situation.

First, to change the situation it is necessary to change the spiritual phenomena of staff and workers, and in particular leading cadres at all levels, and to arouse their enthusiasm in line with the development of the new situation. Second, it is necessary to improve the quality and variety of light industrial products. To raise their standard means upgrading technical and management standards.

Specifically, we should do a good job in the following points:

i. Change the Guiding Ideology in Line With the New Situation

At present, the main changes in guiding ideology should be: 1) We should change the way of stressing production speed and taking economic results highly by combining production speed with economic results. We cannot ignore production speed, but we should stress economic returns and maximize economic results by reducing consumption of labor and materials to the minimum. To attain economic results, we should stress not only the state's interests and the constant increase in accumulated funds for the state; we should also manufacture products which are marketable, with good quality and lower prices, and take care of customers' interests. As Comrade Zhao Ziyang said, we should blaze a new trail of more practical speed, better economic returns, and more benefit to the people. 2) The viewpoint of stressing output value and quantity of products and taking their quality and variety lightly should be changed by seeing their quality as of primary

importance and creating new varieties. 3) The viewpoint of laying stress on production and not paying sufficient attention to management must be changed by doing a good job in production and management, and strengthening marketing, service and market forecasting. 4) The viewpoint of laying stress on urban areas and paying insufficient attention to rural areas must be changed by taking account of the demand of both urban population and even more of the 800 million peasants. All products are to be geared to the needs of the peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong said that the extensive rural areas constitute our principal market. With the development of agricultural production and the increase of peasants' earnings, the market demand in the rural areas will increase constantly. We should be more clear on this point. 5) We should change our viewpoint of laying stress on expanding construction and paying insufficient attention to technical transformation by relying on scientific technology to progress and by stressing the expansion of the existing reproduction, concentrating principally on the technical transformation of present enterprises and tapping the existing production potential in enterprises. 6) We should change our viewpoint from emphasizing present interests and forgetting future ones to tightly grasping the present production and drawing up a long-term plan for development. We should map out a plan for light industrial production, set specific targets and adopt practical measures in line with the instructions issued by the 12th party congress for attaining the goal for quadrupling the total annual output value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century, and lay a solid foundation in the first decade in order to accumulate forces and create conditions for reviving the economy in the second decade.

To realize the above six changes, it is highly important for us to conscientiously change our guiding ideology to one of sincerely serving the consumers. While carrying out socialist production, our task is to serve consumers wholeheartedly. These objects of our service may be summarized by the figures "8, 2, 5, 3, and 6." "Eight" stands for the 800 million peasants who make up the majority of the population. We should constantly take their requirements into consideration by manufacturing products to meet their demands. "Two" stands for the 200 million-strong urban population. Previously, we took this aspect more into account, but not enough. "Five" represents the 500 million women. Why do we talk about the women separately? To speak in general terms, women require a better assortment and style of goods than men. Furthermore, women always take care of or arrange all sorts of things related to the household. So we give priority to the demands of the 500 million women. The figure "3" represents the 300 million children who are our successors and flowers of the motherland. At present while we are encouraging family planning, most of the purchasing power of parents is devoted to their only son or daughter. We should take their all-round demands into account. There are bright prospects for toy manufacturing only. "Six" can be interpreted as the 60 million people from national minorities. There is a great variety of consumer goods they require. Therefore, we should strive to do a good job in production in order to meet their demands. In brief, we are sure that light industry production will further develop if we wholeheartedly serve consumers by adopting all possible measures and blazing a new trail.

## 2. Do a Good Job in Improving Quality and Variety

We have been stressing quality first in production for years. However, this problem has not yet been solved in practice. In the future, we should stress quality and variety in production. This is the key to ensure a new level for light industry production. While talking about the speed and quantity, we should not forget the quality and assortment, and we should not reduce output value and quantity of products alone. What most of our comrades say is true: "Quality is a vital force and assortment will bring a bright prospect." Whether a factory is well run or not and whether or not it will enjoy great prestige among the customers, depends on whether product quality meets market demand. Even an enterprise will experience the same thing. Therefore, we should strive to manufacture high quality, new products of famous brands.

We should map out a plan for creating famous brand, high quality and new products. We should analyze the present status of products manufactured by various trades, arrange the problems in order to importance and urgency and set specific goals for production. All localities should manufacture more famous brand products by enhancing their superior role. We should formulate specific stipulations and adopt specific measures in order to carry out the completed plan within a limited time and to come up to standard. Shanghai and Jiangsu have formulated the "four generations" of production, reserves, research and planning which are worth being encouraged.

The quality of products and assortment of goods should meet the demands of the two markets, namely, the domestic market, which is the principal market, and the international market. The demands of these two markets are different. Domestically, the rural and urban markets are also different. So we should discriminate between them. What comrades in Shanghai say is true: The quality of products and variety of goods for export should be in line with international standards, while those for the domestic market should meet the consumers' requirements. We should take the international standard and market demand into account if we intend to break into the international market with our products, and make them more competitive. Domestically, the standard of all products must also be raised in line with the actual requirements and purchasing power of the consumers.

In order to improve quality of products and increase the variety of goods, it is imperative to grasp technical transformation in existing enterprises. The quality of products can only be improved by advanced equipment. Previously there was a slogan: Manufacture products of the 1970's with equipment manufactured in the 1940's or 1950's. The spirit is good but it is unworkable as a whole. As materialists, we should stress material conditions. To improve the quality of products and increase the variety of goods, we should carry out technical transformation in enterprises, replace old equipment with new, and introduce new means of production, new technical equipment and new technological processes. If we fail to rely on the advanced scientific technology or to grasp technical transformation in existing enterprises, and if we still preserve the old equipment, techniques,

technology and products, then the efforts we made for laying a solid base, accumulating forces, creating conditions for the 1980's and reviving the economy in the 1990's, will all come to nothing.

To carry out technical transformation in enterprises, we should stick to the policy of self-reliance, by depending mainly on our own strength and introducing advanced technology and equipment from abroad. As there are a large number of small and medium-sized enterprises in light industry, which need less investment and produce quick economic results, it is necessary and possible to use a bit more foreign investment for introducing advanced technology and equipment. We should do well in working out a plan and carry it out by stages and in groups devoting efforts to key projects. We should do practical research properly and should not do it on too large a scale or overextend the battle line, and should avoid acting blindly.

To grasp scientific research, we should train scientific and technical personnel and employ them properly. The number of scientific and technical personnel in light industry departments is small compared with other departments. This does not suit the needs of the transformation or the raising of standards. According to statistics, scientific technical personnel under the Ministry of Light Industry of the country make up 1.06 percent of the total number of staff and workers; among these, the technical forces in the Second Light Industry Ministry are even weaker. We should make up our mind to gradually change this situation. First, each enterprise should train technical personnel in a planned way. Second, more scientific and technical personnel should be demanded from the department responsible for the work. Thirdly, help should be sought from fraternal departments. Fourth, talented people who have studied by themselves should be promoted from among staff and workers. Fifth, existing scientific technical personnel should be properly employed and given refresher courses in order to raise their level. We should also earnestly grasp the training of staff members and workers in order to improve their political and technical quality. Now, there are more personnel in various enterprises than required. We should make a point of arranging training courses for them in a planned way. At the same time, we should run more technical schools devoted to raising their technical levels.

We should adjust product mix and resolutely limit and cut the production of commodities which are in excessive demand. Factories like small cigarette factories and breweries must be closed down. We should adopt both the administrative and the economic measures, but, first of all, we should solve ideological problems.

To grasp product structure adjustment, it is imperative to make specific analyses of supply and demand of all kinds of products. Among plans for goods in excessive supply there are goods in short supply and among plans for goods in short supply there are goods in excessive supply. So we organize priorities according to specific conditions. The method of arranging the problems in order of importance and urgency means making comparisons. When Comrade Chen Yun was in charge of economic work, he repeatedly explained this method and pointed out that it is necessary to

make personal investigation, to arrange problems in order of priority, to manufacture products which are in short supply, to cut production of goods which are in excessive demand, to seek truth from facts, to have a good idea of how things stand, to work methodically and to advance steadily. We should earnestly learn from this way of thinking and Marxist work style. As regards existing goods whose supply and demand roughly balance, the product mix should also be adjusted regarding model, specification, quality, variety and type. They should not always remain the same and they should be constantly replenished by other new products. We should adjust product mix because social demand will change frequently. In order to carry out the restructuring of product mix, and to meet the market's various demands, it is necessary to carry out readjustment in some enterprises and their production scale by manufacturing products in small quantity but with different varieties.

While adjusting product mix, upgrading the quality of goods and increasing production of famous brand, high quality products, we should not abandon the production of popular goods of dependable quality and other small commodities. Particularly, we must under no circumstances give up the production of small commodities which are manufactured by the second light industry and are indispensable to the people's livelihood, although they are sold at little or no profit and may even lose money. We should adopt measures and policies to overcome the difficulty in production. We should readjust product mix in line with the national conditions and take the level of purchasing power and the different requirements of our customers into consideration. We should not attend to one thing and lose sight of another.

### 3. Do a Good Job in Enterprise Readjustment, Strive To Improve Management

Apart from a small number of enterprises, the majority of the enterprises in various localities have not been run properly, and economic results are bad because they fail to establish an essential and strict scientific administrative system. Furthermore, the management in a small number of enterprises is confused which has caused great waste because they do not have regulations. It is impossible to change this phenomenon and to upgrade product quality if this situation goes on. Therefore, we should earnestly and really do a good job in straightening out enterprises and raising administrative standards in light of the instructions issued by the Central Committee. At present, we should tightly grasp work in three aspects: First, we should devote a lot of time and energy to straightening out leading groups in enterprises. The key which decides the fate of an enterprise lies in the leading group. We should promote persons who have both ability and political integrity, do solid work and are in the prime of their life, to the leading group. In short, we should encourage sensible people to run enterprises. Second, we should establish and improve the economic responsibility system and popularize the experiences of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company in a planned way in line with the specific conditions of light industry. Third, we should grasp the basic work of an enterprise. There are no means of calculation and measurement, original records or consumption quotas in various enterprises. This has caused great waste of raw material and fuel and naturally fails to bring any good economic results.



While straightening out enterprises, it is imperative to grasp capital construction of enterprises, to establish and to improve regulations which are to be strictly observed. If we fail to do so, the economic responsibility system and the improvement of management will come to nothing.

The restructure of enterprise should be linked with the reorganization of trade and the readjustment of enterprise. All trades should carry out readjustment and reorganization of enterprises in a planned way and by stages in light of professional cooperation and rational economic stipulations in order to make the product mix and the organizational structure of enterprise more rational. Factories producing complete sets of machines or parts, specialized factories, cooperative factories and factories within or outside one complex in the same area or outside an area should be organized in a unified way according to trades and services in order to carry out division of labor, to improve quality, and to increase variety. In this way, we can accelerate speed. We should push forward, promote and develop cooperation and do well in this respect according to unified plan and the principle of division of labor and cooperation, equality and mutual interest of each having a role to play.

In the past few years, light industry production has greatly developed and made initial steps. But we should never be satisfied with the existing state of affairs and should not relax our efforts or slow down our speed. We should arouse our enthusiasm, do hard work, study new situations, solve new problems and work conscientiously for our work in line with the instructions issued by the 12th party congress. We should make more contributions to satisfying the increasing material and cultural needs of the entire people and to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist construction for modernization.

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STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S TIES WITH THE BROAD MASSES OF WORKERS

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[Article by Yu Yannan [2456 3601 0589]]

[Text] The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and a product of combining Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement. The working class is the class foundation of our party. Whether the party is able to maintain close and inseparable ties with the masses of its own class is a question of vital importance which concerns its destiny and the future of its cause.

Our party has a glorious tradition of maintaining close ties with the working class. It was under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and our own "May 4th" movement and from the rising workers' movement that the earliest communist groups emerged before the party was founded. Many outstanding leaders of our party were long engaged in the workers' movements. They were the leaders of these movements and had flesh-and-blood ties with the broad masses of workers. A number of outstanding elements of worker origin were trained in the struggles and became the backbone and leaders of our party. During the period from the birth of our party to the failure of the great revolution, it was with the participation and support of the broad masses of workers and with the coordination of the developing workers' movements that our party developed and became stronger and various fighting tasks of our party were undertaken and completed. Without the support of the masses of workers, the party would not have existed and developed. However, since the new democratic revolution in our country must rely on peasants' armed struggles and must follow the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas, from 1927 to 1949, the focus of our party's work was shifted to the countryside. During this period, although the party made great efforts to maintain its ties with the masses of workers, due to the restriction of conditions at that time, the relations between the party and the masses of workers were also restricted in various aspects. After the victory of the people's liberation war, the party's focus of work was again shifted to the cities. This provided better conditions for our party to establish close ties with all the masses of workers throughout the country. However, quite a few comrades were not fully prepared in ideology for such an important change. To counter some confused ideas at that time, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his report at the Second Plenary Session of the

Seventh CPC Central Committee, raised the question of whom we should rely on in the struggles in the cities. He pointed out that in the cities, we must "wholeheartedly rely on the working class." Under the guidance of the correct line, policies and principles, our party greatly strengthened its work among the workers and its ties with the masses of workers. Since our party wholeheartedly relied on the working class in industrial production and in work in the cities, great achievements were scored in rehabilitating the country's economy, in socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and in undertaking planned socialist construction as well as in the reconstruction of the cities. During this period, the party also paid special attention to building the party among the industrial workers. A large number of workers were absorbed into the party, which provided good conditions for the party to establish direct ties with its own class.

Relations between the party and the working class were seriously damaged during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Since the rectification and consolidation over the past several years, the status of the party has been greatly improved, the party's prestige is increasing and certain aspects of the ties between the party and the masses of workers have been resumed and strengthened. This is the main aspect of the status of our party. Judging from the situation of some large-scale leading enterprises which were investigated recently, most cadres and party member workers are good and comparatively good. They are able to be politically in keeping with the party Central Committee and are working hard and conscientiously. Most comrades have played an exemplary role in politics and in production and have maintained an honest and impartial work style. Quite a few of them have been elected model laborers and advanced workers by the masses of people. Many comrades enjoy high prestige among the masses of workers. They have strengthened the party ties with the masses of workers with their exemplary actions. However, owing to various reasons, there are still some cadres and party members, judging from the overall situation of the whole country, who have more or less divorced themselves from the masses. Some of them have gone too far in this respect.

1. Some party member cadres have taken advantage of their power and position to seek privileges and personal gains. As a result, the party's prestige among the masses of workers has been seriously damaged and the leadership of the party has been weakened.

Through investigation, we find that many workers and staff members are resentful of such phenomena as "unhealthy work style of the party," the "privileges of cadres" and "accomplishing nothing without asking others for help." They have made very sharp criticism against them. This shows that these negative phenomena, which exist in some party organizations and among some party members, are intolerable, and that the rectification of the party's work style and organization, especially the rectification of party organizations and leading bodies in the enterprises, has become an important task for the whole party.

The masses of workers strongly oppose the unhealthy work style of some cadres. One of the most common problems is the privileges of some cadres

in arranging work and allotting houses for their children and relatives. Some cadres have, through various channels, arranged work for their children and relatives or transferred them from posts which require much labor to those which have better working conditions. Some cadres have taken advantage of their power and position to arrange houses for their children or allot more and better houses to them, regardless of the difficulties of the broad masses in this respect. They have thus created a very bad impression among the masses of workers on these problems concerning the immediate and vital interests of the masses. At present, in some enterprises, some workers are not enthusiastic in the forefront of production, especially in those posts which require hard labor. This has much to do with the above-mentioned mistakes of being divorced from the masses committed by some party member cadres. Since some party member cadres have tried to seek more private interests from the masses, the close relationship between the party and the masses of workers has been seriously damaged. Some old workers said: "In the past, the cadres always did as they said, but now, some cadres do not care for the masses. They stretch out their arms to wherever there is profits. How could people listen to them?" There are also some party member cadres who do not practice democracy in their work. They are used to using oversimplified methods, such as deducting bonuses, rebuking people and giving compulsory orders. They do not value the right of workers as masters of the country and have thus seriously damaged the relations between the party and the masses of workers.

2. Some party members do not play an exemplary role and the fighting strength of the party organizations has been weakened.

Some party members, lacking a high sense of the party organization, have mixed themselves up with the ordinary people, or even with those who lack political consciousness. They often pick easy jobs and shirk hard ones while working, but strive to be the first and fear to lag behind in seeking personal gains. They do not keep their minds on the work assigned to them and are often the first to complain. Some party members do not care for the masses around them, saying that "it would be good if I could take good care of myself." They are, in fact, not ready to play the due role of party members. Thus, they have not only created a bad impression among the ordinary masses, but have also affected the activists. Some active workers who once applied for admission to the party said: "Seeing that some party members are behaving even worse than ordinary masses, our enthusiasm for joining the party has also been dampened." Some young workers said: "If people like him can be admitted into the party, I will not then join the party." From this we can see that when a party member does not play an exemplary role, he has not only failed to do his duty, but has also seriously damaged the party's prestige among the masses.

3. Very few party members are working in the forefront of production. This has directly affected the contacts between the party and the masses of workers and weakened the party's fighting strength.

Over the past few years, since large numbers of veteran party member workers have retired and very few young workers have been absorbed into the party, in addition, party members have constantly been transferred from the front line of production to administrative departments, there are very few party members on the front line of production now. This is an abnormal phenomenon. For example, in Shanghai's No 17 Cotton Mill, of the 8,371 productive workers, there are only 397 party members, which accounts for 4.7 percent of the productive workers. Of the 595 productive groups, 307 have not one party member, which makes up 51.6 percent of these groups. Zhengzhou's north railway station, which is under the Zhengzhou Railway Bureau, has 109 productive groups. But 44 of them have no party members, accounting for 40 percent of the productive groups. There are only 20 party member group leaders in these productive groups. In Beijing's No 3 Construction Company, there are 427 productive groups, but only 15 percent of them have set up party groups and 46.1 percent of the productive groups have no party members. There are very few party members, especially young party member workers, working in the forefront of production. In Nanjing Radio Factory, of the 10,023 productive workers who came to work in this factory after the smashing of the "gang of four," there are only 9 young party members, accounting for 0.87 percent of the young workers who came to the factory in the same period. Besides, four of them were admitted into the party during their service in the army. This shows that very few young workers who are working in the forefront of production have been admitted into the party in the past 6 years.

Since there are very few party members in the forefront of production, many problems have emerged and the direct contacts between the party and the industrial workers have been seriously affected. In the past, there were usually more than 3 party members in a productive group consisting of some 20 or 30 workers. A party group was set up to serve as the core of leadership in doing political and ideological work. Now since there are very few party members, the core of leadership cannot be shaped. Thus, the party has lost an important channel in doing ideological work, and the fighting strength of the party has been weakened.

Since there are very few party members in the forefront of production and they have continuously been transferred to the administrative departments, an abnormal phenomena has emerged: More and more party members have been gathered in the administrative departments while there are fewer and fewer party members on the front line of production. As a result, the more arduous the work posts, the fewer the party members are. This must be promptly changed, because this is not merely a question of the distribution of party members, but a question of great importance concerning the class nature and mass foundation of our party. Our party is a political party of the working class. If the party's strength is weak among the productive workers, who are the main characters in social economic life, the party's advanced role can hardly be displayed.

In light of the above-mentioned problems, we hold that at present, it is especially necessary to rectify the party's work style and organization while the enterprises are being consolidated, so that the party's work can

be strengthened in the enterprises and that the phenomenon of being divorced from the masses, which exist, in varying degrees, among some cadres and party members, can be overcome and the ties between the party and the masses of workers be strengthened.

1. It is necessary to strengthen the education of party nature and mass viewpoint among the cadres and party members in the enterprises. Every cadre and party member must understand that our party is a political and vanguard party of the working class. Besides the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of people, it does not have any special interests. Our party is a party which serves the people heart and soul. In the process of leading the masses to realize their immediate and long-term interests, the party must always share the comforts and hardships of the people and maintain the closest of ties with them. No party members are allowed to break away from the masses and place themselves above them. It is necessary to let all party members understand that although our party has become a big party in power, with more than 39 million members, the number of party members among the masses is still very few. The party's tasks can only be fulfilled through the joint efforts of the broad masses of people.

Since many comrades do not possess the mass viewpoint, it is necessary to carry out an education of "winning over the masses" among the vast number of cadres and party members, especially among large numbers of comrades who were admitted into the party after liberation. Since its founding, our party has paid close attention to strengthening its ties with the masses of workers. "Winning over the masses" has always been a most important job for our party and every party member, which must be done most frequently and conscientiously. It is the foundation for our party's work in all other fields. Having close ties with the masses is one of the hallmarks distinguishing our party from all other political parties. It has always been an important policy of our party in the long-term revolutionary struggles and wars to make the greatest possible efforts to win over the masses, to win over the middle elements and to win over all people who can be won over from the antagonistic camps. History shows that this is a correct policy. It has ensured the victory of revolution from one aspect and is still necessary today, for it still has great vitality. At all times, we need to win over more masses and nonparty personages and make them rally around the party and under the party's leadership. However, since our party came to power, quite a few comrades have wrongly held that it is no longer necessary for us to win over the masses, for they have fundamentally changed their position and become masters of the country. Facts have proved this understanding to be wrong. Under the present conditions, we still need to win over and rely on the masses. If we do not win over the masses, or even break away from them and lose their support, we will accomplish nothing at all. At present, since some party members have been seriously divorced from the masses, it is all the more necessary to stress again the importance of winning over the masses. Being Communist Party members, we must never forget that we are servants of the people and must serve the people heart and soul. In a sense, to win over the masses is also serving the people. A Communist Party member can achieve successes in winning over the masses

only when he displays the exemplary role of the vanguard. One can hardly, or can never, win over the masses if one does not overcome one's own shortcomings and mistakes. Winning over the masses and maintaining the party's close ties with the masses are sacred duties for all party members. If we firmly carry out these duties, we will never be defeated.

2. It is necessary to improve the political quality of the party members and give play to their exemplary role. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" and other relevant documents of the party are important documents for carrying out education of how to be qualified party members among the broad masses of cadres and party members. It is necessary to make all party members and cadres understand that all Communist Party members have only the duty to diligently and conscientiously serve the people. They have no right to take advantage of their position and power to infringe upon the interests of the people and to seek privileges. At present, unhealthy tendencies widely exist among the cadres in arranging work and allotting houses for their children and relatives. The masses of workers have a strong aversion to this. In view of this, and in consideration of the continuation of employment and housing problems in the next 5 or 10 years, we suggest that during this movement to consolidate the enterprises and rectify the party, education and examination be carried out among the broad masses of party members, especially party member cadres, to solve these problems in light of the actual conditions in various units. In the future, no party member cadres, especially leading cadres, should be allowed to have a hand in arranging work for their children, which should be rationally arranged by the organization. On the allotment of new houses for workers and staff, the number of houses built, the regulations of allotting houses and the final decisions should be made known to the public. Leading cadres at various levels should not meddle in this matter. Coal mine cadres in various parts of the country have urged their children to return to the pits. This has been effective in encouraging the large numbers of miners to work enthusiastically in the pits. In the future, newspapers, broadcasting services and television must carry on active propaganda of such advanced deeds as well as of the cadres' children working contentedly on the posts of hard labor and advanced deeds of leading cadres in sharing the comforts and hardships of the masses.

It is necessary to carry out education among the broad masses of party members in the industrial and mining enterprises so that they can understand that the masses of workers recognize the party and decide what attitude they will take toward the party and toward labor chiefly through the actual practice of the party members who are working and living with them. In order to correct others' mistakes, one should first be correct oneself. Example is better than precept. We communists must first set good examples in order to influence and educate the masses, to do a good job in mass work and to lead the masses forward. We must set good examples in production, work and study as well as in abiding by discipline and law, in building socialist spiritual civilization and fostering good social atmosphere and in other fields. One can be regarded as a qualified Communist Party member only when one acts in this way, especially when one continues to act in this way in times of difficulty and danger. In order to overcome such phenomena

as the low political consciousness and inactivity of some party members and the weakness and laxity of some party organizations, it is imperative to rectify the work style and organization of grassroots party organizations in the industrial and mining enterprises. During the rectification, those party members who continue to be unqualified after education should be cleared out of the party. Only when the rectification is carried out in such a strict way can the political quality of the ranks of party members be improved, the fighting strength of the grassroots party organizations be enhanced and the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the masses of workers be really established.

Finally, it is necessary to absorb outstanding young workers into the party in an active and prudent manner. In order to solve the problem of there being very few party members in the forefront of production, resulting from the retirement of large numbers of veteran party member workers, much attention should be paid to the absorption of party members from among outstanding young workers. The future belongs to the youths. Our party is a communist political party facing the future. It always attaches importance to absorbing young party members. Now, young workers have become the main productive force. If we fail to timely absorb the advanced youths who have communist consciousness into the party and make them the key force of the party in uniting and educating the broad masses of youths, the party's work will not be able to take root among the youths and the party will not be able to lead the youths successfully forward. At present, the question of how to actively and prudently absorb large numbers of productive workers, especially young workers, who are up to the requirements for party members, into the party in light of the actual conditions of various specific units, must be placed on the agenda (of course, the work to absorb party members from engineers and technicians must continue to be grasped firmly). However, during the investigation, party organizations in many enterprises reported that many activists who have gone through various trials over the past several years, who have been active since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, who enjoy high prestige among the masses and who are up to the requirements for party members, have still not been admitted into the party due to the rigid restrictions on the number of new members. This has, to a certain extent, dampened the enthusiasm of the people, especially young people, who have asked to join the party. We hold that before the completion of the wideranging party rectification, the policy of appropriately absorbing new party members in accordance with the requirements for party members is correct. However, it is necessary to make stipulations of the number of new party members in light of the concrete conditions in various specific enterprises and units. In those units which have good party work style and discipline and which have done well in political, ideological and management work, the productive workers who are up to the requirements for party members must be promptly absorbed into the party.

What needs to be specially pointed out is that the party organizations and party members in many factories, mines and enterprises do not have a good understanding of the characteristics, history and present conditions of this generation of youths, including the broad masses of CYL members, and



are not good at doing work among them. This must be changed. The CPC and CYL organizations at various levels and the vast numbers of party members must more frequently contact young people, be their intimate friends and really care for and help them in the political and ideological fields as well as in study and daily life, so as to discover and train the advanced youths who are qualified to be party members and actively absorb them into the party. Thus, our party will be injected with fresh blood. Our party is now in an important period of cooperation between old and new cadres and succession from the old to the new. We need to discover, train and promote a large number of young and middle-aged cadres. However, we must also notice that before they are promoted, they must usually be trained and absorbed into the party and become qualified party members. At present, due to the retirement of large numbers of outstanding veteran worker party members, the number of party members working in the forefront of production has been rapidly reduced in factories, mines and enterprises. Thus, to absorb young workers into the party to fill the vacancies has become more imperative. We must regard this work, which has an important bearing on the great cause of the working class throughout the ages, as a strategic task and make conscientious study and arrangements.

The situation of the party organizations is closely bound up with that of the working class. When a large quantity of fresh blood is injected into the body of our party, the party's ranks will surely thrive, the ties between the party and its own class will surely be more close and, at the same time, the ranks of the entire working class will also take on an entirely new look.

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THEORETICAL WORKERS MUST TRAIN HARD IN BASIC SKILLS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 30-31

[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] In order to create a new situation in our modernization program in an all-round way, we need a relevant contingent of Marxist theoretical study and propaganda work. Some party and state departments, colleges of liberal arts and social science research organizations have adopted effective measures to strengthen and enrich this contingent. To our delight, many young comrades have joined the rank of theoretical workers in the past few years and we would like to have a chat with them.

When the players of our women's volleyball team were competing for the world championship, hundreds of millions of people were watching the match on television and they were moved by the indomitable spirit of these players. When the masses thought deeply, they could not refrain from asking: What have the players depended on to win the championship on two occasions in the past few years? From our point of view, they have depended first of all on their correct ideology and second on their good basic skills. We cannot but be moved by their strenuous training in grasping basic skills under the guidance and planning of their coaches who trained them highly and strictly. We theoretical workers must also have such a dogged spirit in our training. The great poet of the Tang dynasty Bai Juyi said the following words when he was recalling his career: "Over the past 20 years, I have been busy in collecting taxes in daytime and in reading in the evening and in addition, I have also given courses on poems and consequently I have no time for sleeping and rest. Therefore my tongue and lips become sore and there is a callus on my elbow and although I am still young, my skin and teeth have degenerated." In order to keep his eyes lifelike and vivid, Mei Lanfang released a dove every day and his eyes followed the movement of the dove while Gai Jiaotian fought barehanded with an eagle every day and his eyes were almost pecked out by the bird of prey so as to enable his stage performance of fighting against eagles to be remarkably true to life. They were able to skillfully grasp artistic attainments thanks to their hard training. The young people who have just begun their career as theoretical workers must guard against a showy work style and having grandiose aims but puny abilities and they must in no way be satisfied with a smattering of a subject. Those with these shortcomings are in

general transient figures although they have some talents; only a few of them are successful. Therefore the first task for young people beginning their careers is to work hard in grasping basic skills. This is a simple truth that has been derived from the experiences and lessons accumulated by many people over a long period.

What basic skills should theoretical workers have?

They must read books systematically and in a planned way. Reading is needed to do other work and this is particularly so in doing theoretical work. Without reading we can in no way carry out theoretical work. In order to accumulate experiences and understand the experience of our predecessors, it is necessary to read books conscientiously. As there are numerous books, it is also necessary to work out a plan to decide which are to be read first and which later. First it is imperative to read Marxist-Leninist books and those written by Mao Zedong. Marxism is a branch of science and all parts of this science have their own interrelationship and a process of their historical development. We will not be able to really grasp the Marxist scientific system unless we carry out study historically and in an overall way. In our study, we must in no way adopt a piecemeal approach or rely on others in a bid to save effort because in this way we will not be able to make big achievements. We must read extensively, including books about social sciences, natural sciences and some literary and art works. Marx was particularly interested in reading books by Shakespeare and Balzac. "Read extensively and you will be good at writing" refers to the relation between reading and writing. It is beneficial to read more books as long as the method is correct.

Of course, it is not enough just to rely on reading; we must also profoundly understand history and reality through investigations. The history of socialism in our country is not long and yet it has developed tortuously. The current policies of our party have been defined on the basis of summing up the past negative and positive experiences. If we fail to understand the past, we can in no way profoundly understand today, while to carry out meticulous investigations in a systematic way is the basic method for understanding history and current situations. If we do not understand reality and instead confine ourselves to books, it will be difficult for us to create even though we have read more books. "Investigations" must not be limited to just collecting second-hand materials while "study" does not mean merely ruminating achievements of others; in addition, we must follow the examples of writers to go deep among the masses so that there will be a profound change in our ideology and feelings and consequently we will be able to gain true knowledge and have specific views.

We must accumulate materials and be diligent in our writing. Reference materials are the foundation of theoretical workers and without such a foundation it will be impossible for them to make progress. We must try to gain materials by ourselves and not just rely on "ready meal." No matter how good materials are, they will not become ours without our efforts in digesting them. Theoretical workers must spare no effort in thinking and in writing. Diligence in writing will help to constantly improve

theoretical thinking and the ability to express ourselves so that we will be able to constantly open up and consolidate our spheres of knowledge.

Therefore we must keep on studying unflaggingly and not sporadically. We must have the will to make progress and persist in placing strict demands on ourselves. We cannot resort to trickery, instead, we must study hard. It is not easy to read Marxist books in a systematic way while numerous, arduous and meticulous works are needed in carrying out study and investigations. Marx wrote the book "Situations of the British Working Class" after he carried out meticulous investigations in the filthy workers' district in Manchester. Si Maqian traversed mountains and rivers across a prefecture in ancient times to seek the cultural heritages and anecdotes of his predecessors and consequently he "was able to do desultory reading, run through classic works and his influence has been able to play an outstanding role in the literary world for thousands of years." It was really difficult to do so under such difficult traveling conditions at that time. Tolstoy said: "One can begin to write only when each time he dips in ink he leaves his blood in the bottle of ink." Those who are determined to become theoretical workers will not be able to grasp basic skills unless he has this spirit of fearing no sacrifice and the spirit to "fight" against difficulties.

To grasp basic skills is a slow process and therefore it must be carried out scrupulously and in an orderly way and step by step. Like learning the basic skills of writing, theoretical workers must also learn basic skills by starting from writing "regular characters" and then proceeding to "running hand" and "maturing as calligraphers" and consequently they become lively and vigorous flourishes in calligraphy and they are in a position to freely wield their writing brushes. In this aspect, slowness is for the sake of rapidness. If we are impatient for success before we have acquired the necessary foundation, we will only make waste. We must be content with quietness and daring to "hold a title without any obligation." Our motto should be: "No difficult things in the world and when there is a will there is a way; no easy things in the world and those who are persistent will get them."

We theoretical workers are serving the people and the cause of socialist construction and therefore we must get rid of the shackle of fame and gain and cherish lofty ideology. Marx constantly improved his theory because he considered it was a crime not to provide the best things to workers. We must also consider working hard in grasping basic skills as part of the practice of communism and do this work with concentrated effort.

Basically it depends on individual effort to grasp basic skills. But the high standard and strict requirements of the leadership and help from veteran comrades are also very important. Many facts proved that whether combat capability of a contingent of theoretical workers is strong or not and whether young theoretical workers can be brought up and to produce talents are inseparable from the leadership roles. It is a general truth of various trades that "strict masters bring about skillful apprentices." Strictness represents really good care of all comrades and particularly

young ones. It is irresponsible to see our comrades taking a crooked path and yet we do not mend them. Therefore it is imperative to grasp well the work of training young comrades in basic skills. For these comrades, it is necessary to stress the importance of study, help them work out planning, pay attention to checking and testing their study and to commend and encourage their achievements and progress. It is also necessary to organize and encourage veteran comrades to help young comrades. In this way, we will be able to constantly train new backbones of theoretical workers and rapidly improve the nature and level of the contingent of theoretical workers.

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## HOW TO STUDY THE 'GENERAL PROGRAM' OF THE NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

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[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office]

[Text] The new party constitution passed by the 12th party congress has systematically summed up the historical experiences in the building of the party and reflected the demand of the party in our life. It is an important guarantee for making the party even stronger under the new historical period. The new constitution has a "general program" with relatively rich contents. In fact, this program is the basic program of our party and the criterion for measuring all party activities. Therefore, before studying the new constitution, it is necessary to study well the program.

The "general program" is written concisely and yet is rich in content. In studying this program, we can divide it into four main points.

First, the nature and guiding ideology of the party.

Second, the scientific socialist theory and the goals of the struggles of the party.

Third, the general tasks and basic policies of the party at the present stage.

Fourth, the three basic requirements in party building and the basic principle of the leading roles of the party.

In studying the "general program" we must first understand why it is necessary for the constitution to have a "general program" and also understand the significance of this program in terms of the unity of the party.

A proletarian political party must have a program that is based on the science of Marxism to openly declare its nature, goals of struggles and basic viewpoints and its own duties and principles of action. Engels said that the program of a party "is a flag that is openly hoisted and the outside world judges this party according to this flag." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 31) The "Communist Party Manifesto" is the program written by Marx and Engels for the "Communists Alliance." It has

openly declared the flag of communism throughout the world. It declared that the capitalist system will eventually be eliminated and the communist system will eventually win throughout the world. The "Communist Party Manifesto" remains the basic theoretical foundation for us communists. To review the "Manifesto" in our study of the "general program" will help us understand even deeper the significance of this program and make us even more confident in our struggles for the realization of communism.

Ours is a proletarian political party that is built under the theoretical guidance of Marxism. Since its foundation, the party has had its own program that clearly defined its goals of struggles and its organizational principles. All the constitutions of the party since the seventh party congress has had a "general program." The "general program" of the new party constitution is formed on the basis of summing up in a systematic way the rich experiences of our party in the practice of socialism, including the serious lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has generalized the nature and guiding ideology of the party in a more complete and scientific way, the long-term and intermediate goals of the party, basic demands on party members and organizations by the party and the basic principles by which the party has correctly displayed its guiding roles. It is the basic program for the unity of the party under the new historical period and for the party to march along the socialist road and struggle for communism. Lenin said that the program of a party "is of great significance for uniting the members of this political party and for its consistent activities." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 201) The purpose of a party constitution in demanding each of its members to acknowledge the program and regulations of this party is to guarantee the unity of the whole party and to make party members persist in accomplishing the historical tasks of this party. That is why it is imperative for each party member and all comrades that have applied to join the party to conscientiously study the "general program" so as to understand the basic principles of scientific socialism and the practical experiences of our party, improve the level of their ideology and understanding and raise their consciousness of struggling for the cause of the party throughout their life.

In studying the first point, it is necessary to correctly understand the nature and roles of the party and the vanguard roles of the working class. It is also necessary to profoundly understand the importance of guiding ideology in party activities while the whole party must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The "general program" scientifically and completely expounded the nature of the party: "The CPC is the vanguard of the working class in China, the loyal representative of the interests of the people of various nationalities in the country and the leading core of the socialist cause."

Marxism holds that any political party has its own class nature. The Communist Party is the political party of the working class but it is only a part of this class and this is the advanced part. It is for this reason that the previous constitutions of our party explicitly pointed out: The CPC is the vanguard (or advanced army) of the Chinese working class.

Because of the social and historical conditions in which our party exists, the proportion of workers among our party members has always been low but this situation in no way affects the position of our party as the political party of the working class. It is because, generally speaking, the nature of the party is decided by the party guiding ideology, political line and organizational principles that are defined by the "general program" which have guaranteed that our party will maintain the advanced nature of the working class. Despite the fact that various forms of nonproletarian thinking will be eventually and constantly reflected within the party, this reflection is illegal and it has to be constantly overcome.

The advanced nature of our party is mainly manifested in the fact that the party has gathered together the conscious fine elements of the Chinese working class and of the masses of Chinese people. Our party has armed itself with a scientific world outlook. It is representing the whole interest of the working class and the whole nation and it has always played the roles of the leading core in various stages of the development of revolution. Now the key task of the party is carrying out the socialist modernization program. That is to say, the vanguard roles of the party today are mainly shown in leading the people in building socialism with high material and spiritual civilization and high democracy. Consequently, the "general program" has abolished the concept that the party "is the vigorous and vanguard organization that is leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting against the class enemy" which was defined in the party constitution of the 11th party congress. This move is in line with the current political and economic situations of our country and with the demand of the general tasks of the party at the present stage.

In expounding the nature of the party, the "general program" also contained the sentence that is basically the same as the one used in the party constitution of the seventh congress. This sentence is that the CPC "is the loyal representative of the interests of the people of various nationalities in China." The only purpose of our party is to wholeheartedly serve the people and this purpose is the particular symbol of the political party of the proletariat. The activities of our party in the past 60 years and more never departed from this purpose. The leading position of our party as the ruling political party makes it easy for party members and particularly party cadres to divorce themselves from the masses. The above-mentioned stipulation on the nature of the party in the "general program" is aimed at maintaining the party's political color of wholeheartedly serving the people and of preventing any trend of divorcing themselves from the masses and violating party rules and regulations in seeking personal interest and privileges.

The "general program" stipulated: "The CPC has taken Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guidance of its actions." This is the most basic condition for seeing that our party displays its vanguard roles of the proletariat. Lenin said: "It is only the party that has taken advanced theory as its guide that will be in a position to display the roles of advanced fighters." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 242)



We have won great victories both in revolution and construction under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In our Long March in the future, we will win still greater victories as long as we rely on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is true that some Marxist-Leninist conclusions are no longer applicable today, but the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and its stand, viewpoints and methods still remain the most powerful spiritual weapon for us in undertaking and transforming the world. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution, and is the valuable spiritual wealth of the party. We can in no way deny the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding roles in the revolution and construction of our country just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his advanced years.

Since Marxism-Leninism is the guiding ideology of our party, it is only natural that the party has put forth study tasks for its members. With regard to the obligation of party members, the party constitution stipulated: "Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought," and the basic tasks of party organizations at grassroots levels are to "organize party members in conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought" while, with regard to basic conditions for party cadres, the constitution stipulated that it is necessary to "have theoretical and policy level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." But some party members no longer bear in mind that it is their obligation to study the guiding ideology of the party and consequently they considered that it makes no difference whether they study or not. It is right to work hard to improve one's professional skills, in particular to acquire the specialized knowledge that is required in the modernization program. But communists must be armed with theory because it is not only needed in keeping correct political orientation but is also in the interest of doing a good job professionally.

In studying the second main point, it is necessary to understand: First, it is an objective law of social development to realize socialism and communism; second, the socialist system has the advantages that are beyond the reach of the capitalist system and it is not a "distant and indistinct illusion" to realize communism.

The "general program" stipulated: "The final goal of the party is to realize the social system of communism."

The "general program" expounded the theory and practice of scientific socialism in a big paragraph. Scientific socialism is part of Marxism-Leninism as well as the basic theoretical foundation for our party in defining its goals of struggles. This theory tells us that to realize socialism and communism is a natural trend in the development of world history. The capitalist society is the last social system with exploitation of men by men. The basic contradiction of a capitalist society is the contradiction between socialized mass production and private ownership of the means of production. This contradiction is beyond the reach of the capitalist system itself to resolve and it determines that capitalism will

eventually be replaced by socialism. The proletariat is the most advanced and revolutionary class and it has shouldered the great historical task of burying capitalism and realizing socialism and communism. Our party has taken the realization of the communist social system as its final goal and its party members have sworn to struggle for the realization of communism throughout their life and all these are based on the above-mentioned scientific theory.

The scientific socialist theory formed by Marx and Engels has been tested and proven by the long period of practice in international communist movements and has been further developed in practice. Basing himself on the historical conditions for the era of imperialism, Lenin pointed out more than half a century ago: "Unbalanced economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Therefore the conclusion is: It is possible for socialism to win victory in a few or even a single capitalist country." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 709) This prediction of Lenin's was fully proven by the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The victories of the Chinese revolution and construction have also been won under the guidance of scientific socialist theory which has in the process also been enriched and developed. The development of world history and particularly the establishment and development of the socialist system in some countries have served to prove that the victories won through the proletarian revolution, the replacement of the capitalist dictatorship by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the replacement of the capitalist system by the socialist system represent universal law of the development of society. Various countries have followed this law and taken various forms of revolutionary struggles and socialist construction with their own features.

The "general program" has concisely pointed out the superiority of the socialist system that is beyond the match of capitalist system. Having experienced the situation in which the economy and scientific technology of our country are relatively backward and the standard of living is comparatively low, some people consequently denied the superiority of the socialist system and lost confidence in the future of socialism and communism. This view is based on an objective factor of the damages caused during the 10 turbulent years that have made people passive ideologically, but what is more important is that it is because of ideological understanding. Our country was formerly semicolonialist and semifeudalist, coupled with a backward economy and culture. We began to carry out socialist construction on this basis not long ago and therefore it is impossible to develop the economy and scientific technology considerably in such a short period. It is not scientific simply to compare our country with the advanced capitalist countries that have hundreds of years of history behind them and to do so without making analyses. Furthermore, any development of capitalism is based on the exploitation of the people of the related countries and the plunder of their colonies and although advanced capitalist countries have very high national revenues, most of these revenues fall into the hands of a few capitalists. On the other hand, the greatest advantage of the socialist system is the abolishment of the exploitation system. Under such a social system, people have become true masters of

their own countries and with the passing of the days, they have gradually formed a common ideal, morality and discipline; they have realized the public ownership of the means of production and the system of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work and consequently they are able to develop social productivity in a planned way, proportionately and in high speed, and meet the increasing needs of people's material and cultural life. Following the development of socialist construction and the perfection of various systems, this superiority will be displayed even more fully. It will be contradictory to reality if we fail to see all this, consider that socialist system has no superior and consequently lose confidence in the future of socialism.

Socialism is the preliminary stage of communism. As pointed out by the "general program," the change of socialism to communism must be realized through tremendous development of productivity and tremendous progress in ideology, politics and culture. Such a change is a long process that requires persistent and unremitting efforts for generations to come. But it is natural that socialism will develop into communism and therefore the final party goal of realizing communism is in no way a "distant and indistinct illusion." No matter when and where, we communists must be confident that communism will triumph and we must also believe that socialism and communism will eventually and gradually win victories throughout the world through the ways that are voluntarily taken by the people of various countries according to their specific conditions.

In studying the third main point, we must first correctly understand the important significance of social principal contradictions in defining the general tasks of the party from the point of historical experiences; second, we must correctly understand the relationship between economic construction and the building of spiritual civilization and the development of socialist democracy and understand the party's basic domestic policies and international policies.

The party's general tasks are defined under the premise of correct understanding of social principal contradictions. On the basis of summing up historical experiences, the "general program" clearly put forth the main contradictions of our society in the new historical period and it is on this foundation that the party's general tasks are defined. We have experienced a tortuous path in history and profound lessons in understanding social principal contradictions. Following great victories in socialist transformation, our party convened the eighth congress in 1956. This congress made correct analyses on the social class situation and economic and political situations of our country at that time. It explicitly pointed out that the principal contradiction at home was no longer the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but the contradiction between economic and cultural development and people's increasing needs. It also pointed out that the main task of the whole nation was no longer carrying out class struggle but to concentrate strength in developing social productivity, realizing the industrialization of the country and gradually meeting the increasing material and cultural needs of the people. But because our party did not have enough ideological preparation for overall socialist

construction not all the comrades within the party profoundly accepted the congress' meaning about social principal contradictions and many other correct views and therefore they failed to persist and develop all these in practice. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party resolutely abolished the slogan of "having class struggle as the key," and with firm determination, it shifted key works to carrying out the socialist modernization program and economic construction. Such a move was a strategic policy that was based on past historical experiences and on scientifically reanalyzing the social principal contradiction in our country. This point was included in the "resolution" of the sixth party congress as well as the "general program." Such a measure is of profound significance in unifying the ideology of the party and in concentrating our efforts in carrying out the socialist modernization program.

On the basis of analyzing the social main contradictions in our country, our party has defined the general tasks of the present stage: Unite the people of various nationalities across the country, self-reliance and hard-working, gradually modernize industry, agriculture, national defense and scientific technology and build our country into a socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. The main contents of the general tasks are closely related and they promote each other. Our key tasks are carrying out socialist modernization program and economic construction and they are the foundation for solving internal and international problems. The building of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization condition and determine one another, and we cannot emphasize one aspect at the expense of another; in order to guarantee and promote the building of the two civilizations it is also imperative to spare no effort to develop socialist democracy, perfect the socialist legal system and consolidate and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship.

According to the requirements of the general tasks, the "general program" has defined the basic party policies on the relations of nationality and the patriotic united front; it has also defined the basic stand of the party in international affairs, the relations of our country with other countries in the world and the basic principles of relations of our party with the communist parties in other countries and political parties of other working classes. In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang expounded in an overall way the general tasks and various basic policies of the party and, therefore, in studying this main point of the "general program" we must also study the relevant part of his report.

In studying the fourth main point, we must understand: First, the contents and significance of the requirements of the three basic principles; and second, how to realize the leadership of the party.

The "general program" stipulated that in order to lead the people of various nationalities across the country in realizing the great goal of the socialist modernization program and strengthen the building of the party, it is imperative for the party to become highly unified in ideology and politics, to wholeheartedly serve the people and to persist in democracy, and we must uphold these three basic requirements. During our study, we must also grasp

the main points of these requirements. The main points of the first basic requirement include: First, to guarantee the unified political basis of the whole party; and second, to guarantee the unified ideological line of the whole party. The second basic requirement includes: First, the basic interest of the party is none other than the interest of the working class and the broad masses of the people; second, the party shares weal and woe with the masses and keeps close contact with them; and third, persist in the mass line. The third basic requirement mainly includes: First, carry out high centralization and step up organization discipline on the basis of fully displaying democracy; second, launch criticism and self-criticism in a correct way, uphold truth and correct mistakes; third, implement the principle of equality in party discipline.

These three basic requirements are determined by the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class. Our party is a united and unified combat collective and therefore it will be able to guarantee its unity in the struggle for its common goal with one heart and one mind only when it is able to keep highly unified in ideology and politics. The only purpose of our party is to wholeheartedly serve the people and the basic way for realizing this purpose is to keep close contact with the masses and persist in the mass line. Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of the party and is an important guarantee for displaying the initiative and militancy of the whole party. If the party fails to persist in high unification in ideology and politics and factional activities and strife are allowed, should the party fail in wholeheartedly serving the people and turn to seeking the private interest of individuals or small cliques and should it fail to persist in democratic centralism and turn to allow arbitrary decisionmaking by individuals, it will naturally fail to maintain the color of a political party of the working class and eventually it will become degenerate.

The three basic requirements have concentratedly manifested the fine tradition of our party and were also included in the party constitutions of the seventh and eighth party congresses. The "general program" of the new party constitution has inherited and developed the advantages of the "general programs" of the constitutions of the seventh and eighth congresses with more explicit definitions and therefore this "general program" will play an active role in party building.

These three basic requirements are also based on the summing up of experiences and lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In their effort to undermine our party, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" first undermined the unity and democratic centralism of the party in their bid to change the party into their tools for the seizure of party and political power. The serious effects of these activities have constituted a reason for the unhealthy work style in our party. Seen from negative and positive historical experiences, it is imperative to strengthen the building of the party by strictly following the three basic requirements so as to turn our party into a powerful core in leading the socialist modernization program. It is necessary in our study to find our shortcomings by comparing them with the three basic requirements so that we will become the communists that are up to standard and will strive to basically change the style of our party for the better.

The "general program" finally expounded how to realize the leadership of the party and defined the basic principles for party leadership. It stipulated: "Party leadership mainly refers to political, ideological and organizational leadership." There are three main points for realizing party leadership: First, defining and implementing correct line, principles and policies; second, doing a good job of party organizational work and propaganda and education work and third, display the vanguard and exemplary roles of all party members in all works and social activities. These definitions have pointed out the orientation for doing a good job of the party and strengthening and improving party leadership.

Our party has played leading roles in state works and various aspects of social activities and therefore party organizations at various levels have complicated and arduous works. Because of a long period of historical reasons, the party leading system has yet to be perfected. It is often that "leadership of party committees and party secretaries in command" are emphasized in any work and consequently party organizations have found themselves involved in administrative works, and have even replaced administration and take care of everything. As time passed, this practice consequently became regarded as normal and many comrades have considered this practice as strengthening party leadership. In fact, such practice has resulted in a situation in which the party does not care for its work, the building of the party has been spoiled and party leadership has been weakened. The above-mentioned definition about party leadership in the "general program" is aimed at overcoming the shortcomings of mixing party works with administration and of the party monopolizing everything so that to strengthen the party's political, ideological and organizational leadership, strengthen party building and at the same time guarantee that government departments and enterprises will be able to carry out their works independently and effectively.

The "general program" also stipulated that the "party must carry out its activities within the spheres of the state constitution and legal system" and that it must strengthen leadership over various mass organizations so as to fully display their roles and strengthen its close cooperation with the masses outside the party. All these have been put forth on the basis of summing up the past experiences and are very important in helping the party correctly display its roles.

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WHY IS THE POLICY OF 'UNIFYING WITH, EDUCATING AND REFORMING' INTELLECTUALS NO LONGER IMPLEMENTED?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 37-38

["Answering Questions" article by Cheng Hong [2052 3163]]

[Text] Workers, peasants and intellectuals are the three basic social forces in our country. In carrying out our policy toward intellectuals, we must regard them in the same light as workers and peasants, as forces to be relied upon in the construction of socialism, and give full play to their role. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been no further mention in Central Committee documents or in the speeches of central leaders, of "uniting with, educating and reforming" the intellectuals. This constitutes an important readjustment in the party's policy toward intellectuals.

The kind of policy the party adopts toward intellectuals is decided by the party's tasks and the state of the intellectual contingent during different historical periods. In the early years of the PRC, with regard to the intellectuals left over from the old society, the party continued to conduct the policy of "unity, education and reform" laid down during the revolutionary war years. This was because at that time, since the party's historical task was to thoroughly complete the democratic revolution and carry out socialist transformation, it could rely only on the workers and on the poor and lower-middle peasants, while intellectuals formed a reliable allied army to be united with. At the same time, there was the problem of adapting the intellectuals politically and ideologically to the needs of the new society and transforming their world outlook so that they would turn from serving the old society to serving the new one. Therefore the implementation of this policy was appropriate at the time. By 1956, the socialist transformation had achieved decisive victory, and the CPC Central Committee convened a meeting on the issue of intellectuals, so that the policy on intellectuals would be readjusted in good time. They pointed out that the vast majority of intellectuals now constituted a part of the working class, and decided on the correct principles and policies. But due to the development of "leftist" guiding ideology which followed, this policy readjustment was not upheld. Our country has now entered a new period of historical development; the exploiting classes have been eliminated, and the party's general task now consists of carrying out the gradual modernization of

industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, building our country into a highly civilized, highly democratic socialist state. Under these new historical conditions, it is even more necessary to rely on the intellectuals. At the same time, the ranks of intellectuals themselves have undergone great changes. The vast majority of the present intellectual ranks consist of those brought up after the founding of the PRC. They have received the education of the party and the socialist state, they are engaged in socialist labor, and the great majority of them were born into the families of the laboring masses. The proportion of intellectuals left over from the old society is very small, and these people have worked earnestly for socialism for over 30 years; they have undergone the same experiences and hardship as the party and the people, and have made great political and ideological progress. Therefore, relying as much on intellectuals as on workers and peasants to build socialism is the inevitable result of the development of history. The attitude that the more knowledge someone has the less reliable or even the more reactionary he is, is an ultraleft fallacy created by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk. We should no longer be influenced by it.

"An intellectuals' work is light and comfortable and cannot be compared with that of workers and peasants who work so hard and sweat so much."  
 "Workers and peasants are the creators of a society's wealth, while intellectuals are supported by them; they cannot be on an equal footing." That certain comrades think like this is due mainly to their lack of understanding of the characteristics and function of mental labor. Mental labor is an arduous kind of creative labor. Such phrases as "racking one's brains," and "shedding one's heart's blood" could be said to be appropriate metaphors to describe mental labor. How can it be denied that mental labor is an equally arduous and hard form of labor? As to the role of mental labor in the progress of society, the 12th party congress has clearly indicated that science and technology are the key to the implementation of the four modernizations and education its basis. For instance, the advance of science and technology brings about a massive growth in industrial and agricultural production; and the improvement of economic management results in marked increase in economic benefits. There are thousands of other such examples. The results which intellectuals' mental labor creates are not only able to form or be turned into material wealth, but the role they play in the increasing of that material wealth is often incomparable to simple physical labor. If we break down the narrow-mindedness of the small producer, we will come to realize that intellectuals, who engage in mental labor along with workers and peasants who do physical labor, are all laborers indispensable to the construction of socialism, and should all be forces our party can rely upon.

"Does this really mean that intellectuals no longer have to reform?" This is another piece of reasoning used by those comrades who are unwilling to abandon the slogan "unity, education, reform." The 12th party congress report stated clearly that we must "improve their ideological and political education in accordance with their special characteristics." So we can see that the party has by no means said that we need not educate or reform intellectuals. At present, the lingering poison of the exploiting classes



has not yet been and cannot possibly be eliminated, and foreign capitalism might still influence and corrupt us; so the transformation of world outlook, in its general sense, is the duty of every member of society, and of course of all intellectuals. Since intellectuals bear an important responsibility toward the building of socialist spiritual civilization, they must pay even greater attention to their own ideological building; they must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, identify with the workers and peasants, and become both Red and expert. However, this is a completely different thing from carrying out reform on intellectuals as if they were capitalist intellectuals, as in the past.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Without the participation of the intellectuals, the victory of the revolution will be impossible." In the same way, without the participation of the intellectuals, the victory of the construction of socialist modernization will be impossible. To bring peace of mind to the intellectuals and brace their spirits, so that they may contribute all their wit and wisdom, we must rely on the correct and thorough implementation of the party's policy. Because in the past "leftist" mistakes arose in our guiding ideology, intellectuals were labeled capitalist intellectuals, "unity, education and reform" continued to be stressed, and eventually, with the 10 years of disorder, came the serious consequences of the exclusion, attack and persecution of intellectuals, and the devastation of education, science and culture. This lesson of history must not be forgotten. Over the past few years, as the CPC Central Committee has worked persistently at bringing order out of chaos, it has readjusted the policy toward intellectuals, bringing it back onto the right path. The pressing task now is for the whole party to firmly grasp the work of implementing this policy, and create a new situation in work concerning intellectuals. The breaking of the bonds of "leftist" thinking and the small-producer mentality, the elimination of the erroneous influence of discrimination against intellectuals, and the abandonment of the outdated policy of "unity, education, reform" should be seen as the key to this.

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IS THERE CLASS CHARACTER IN SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 pp 38-39

[Article by Zhang Qihua [1723 0796 5478]]

[Text] Is there class character in spiritual civilization? A simple answer of "yes" or "no" to this question is not appropriate. Only through concrete analysis, can we understand correctly.

The spiritual civilization which we are talking about is socialist spiritual civilization, which, as indicated by itself, is different from capitalist and feudal ones. It is, therefore, not appropriate to talk about spiritual civilization without discrimination. The 12th CPC Congress report clearly pointed out that socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and takes communist ideology as its core. Cultural construction must also be carried out under the guidance of communist ideology and ideological construction determines the socialist character of our spiritual civilization. All this clearly shows that socialist spiritual civilization is absolutely different from all spiritual civilization under the exploiting system with regard to general nature.

However, it cannot be said indiscriminately that there is class character in the content of every item of spiritual civilization. Because spiritual civilization consists of many items, which vary in their specific content. There is class character in some content or some fields of the content but there is no class character in others. Therefore, we must make a concrete analysis of the content of spiritual civilization.

As far as cultural construction is concerned, there is class character in such basic problems as guiding thought and on whose behalf, whether for developing education, science, literature and art, journalism, broadcasting and other cultural causes or upgrading the cultural level of the masses and carrying out cultural activities. Socialist cultural construction must serve socialism, take communist ideology as its guide and march along the direction of communism. For example, the development of educational cause in socialist countries and that in capitalist countries are essentially different whether in educational policies or in direction of development. Such a difference is the difference of class character. It is all the same in literature and art. As social ideology, literature and art is the

product of the reflection of certain social life in the minds of people. In a class society, writers and artists understand, reflect and evaluate life from the viewpoint of a particular class. Therefore, the ideological content of literature and art cannot but bear the hallmark of a particular class. However, this does not mean that there is class character in every field of it. For example, as regards many specific contents of education, the general knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry, languages and logic are the achievements made by mankind in understanding of the world over several thousand years, which should be mastered by people under various different social systems. There is of course no class character to this part of the contents of culture and education. In addition to their general social character, literature and art have their own specific laws. Excellent literary and art works of each age can all pointedly reflect some contradictions of the social life at the time by using vivid and typical images and significantly express some progressive ideas and feelings with skillful techniques and in perfect forms. Such literary and art works can make people of later ages realize the life at the time, understand the progressive ideological content and use the techniques and forms for reference. Such an excellent literary and art heritage also bears the hallmark of a class, but is liked by the broad masses and is the common cultural treasure of mankind. Undoubtedly, to critically inherit this literary and art heritage is indispensable to the development of the socialist cultural cause. As for natural science, it reflects the law of development in nature and has no class character; it can, therefore, be discovered, mastered and utilized by people of different classes. Of course, the purpose of utilization and service of natural science is determined by the class which masters it. This is yet another problem.

On the whole, the contents involved in ideological construction possess conspicuous class character. An ideal is meant for people's expectation and pursuance of the future and has conspicuous social and class character. Different classes in different societies have different ideals. The same may apply to moral integrity. In a class society, all classes extend to their own moral concepts from their specific class status and interest. The basic principle of capitalist morality is bourgeois individualism; but the basic principle of communist morality is proletarian collectivism. Disciplines are also different in different societies. Proletarian discipline is a conscious one and reflects the serious organizational character of the proletariat. This is essentially different from the compulsory discipline established on the basis of the exploiting system. Therefore, there is, on the whole, class character in the content of ideological construction. However, this does not mean that there is class character in all contents of it, because it involves some codes of morality and conduct which all societies must possess in order to maintain normal life. For example, there is no difference between the proletariat and bourgeoisie when it comes to the issues of paying attention to decorum, observing traffic rules and maintaining public order.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT THE 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES' ARE AN IMPORTANT SUPPLEMENT TO THE PARTY CONSTITUTION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 p 39

[Article by Yong Keyang [7167 0668 7122]]

[Text] The "Certain Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life," passed by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, are the party's rules and regulations laid down on the basis of summing up our party's positive and negative experiences regarding its handling of relations within the party, relying on the party building theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The party constitution is the party's basic law; of course, this constitution contains stipulations on certain important questions of principle concerning inner-party political life, nevertheless, it is impossible to state all the specific parts of each principle one by one, so the "Guiding Principles" therefore constitute an important supplement to the party constitution.

The "Guiding Principles" provide a theoretical and practical solution to all the important problems concerning inner-party political life in accordance with the new tasks and situation facing our party. Regarding the party's fine traditions and style, all the divisions between right and wrong in inner-party political life and especially the morals and style essential to a member of a ruling party, the "Guiding Principles" have raised these to the status of party rules and regulations and fixed them there. Moreover, they have systematized and standardized the many successes our party has experienced in solving problems within the party and provided all levels of the party organization and every party member with a clear-cut norm for behavior. Now that we have both the new party constitution and the "Guiding Principles," party organizations at all levels and all party members are even more clear about what they should support and oppose and under various conditions, what they should do, what they are not permitted to do and how they should act. If we earnestly carry out the new party constitution and the "Guiding Principles," we will be able to handle correctly the relations between democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, and unity and struggle within our party; the relations between the organization and the individual, the upper and lower levels; the leadership and the masses, between the members of party committees and between party members; and all the contradictions within the

party. In this way, we will turn the party into a strong militant collective united as one. The "Guiding Principles" crystallize the whole party's experience and wisdom and as a series of important principles to abide by when dealing with inner-party relations, they constitute an important supplement to the party constitution.

Certain specific rules contained in the "Guiding Principles," from the point of view of the corresponding parts of the new party constitution, are also important supplements. The general program of the new party constitution states: In order to lead the whole country and the people of all nationalities to realize the magnificent goal of socialist modernization, the CPC must strengthen party building, foster the party's fine tradition, and enhance its fighting strength; to this end it must fulfill three basic demands, the first of which is "a high degree of ideological and political unity." The first article of the "Guiding Principles" clearly states that "the upholding of the party's political and ideological line is the most fundamental of the guiding principles for inner-party political life." It also states that all party comrades must determinedly and thoroughly implement the party's Marxist-Leninist political line. Furthermore, the "Guiding Principles" also states that "all CPC organizations, departments and members must consciously and resolutely carry out the party's political and ideological line. The duplicitous attitude of open, passive or covert resistance to the party line or its leadership will not be tolerated by party discipline." Some other important stipulations contained in the new party constitution, concerning such things as the system of democratic centralism, party discipline and demands on party members and cadres, are also given more concrete explanations and provisions in the "Guiding Principles." That the "Guiding Principles" have provided specific stipulations on important principles concerning party building means that our party's rules and regulations are even more complete, substantial, and helpful to the struggle against unhealthy tendencies within the party and to the enhancement of the party's fighting strength.

The "Guiding Principles" constitute an important set of laws and regulations and a powerful weapon for correcting party style. They were drawn up mainly in response to the irregularity of inner-party political life, the incorrectness of party style, the damage caused to the party's prestige, and other conditions brought about by the "Cultural Revolution." Moreover, their formulation represents an important measure adopted by the central authorities to rectify the party. Through the hard work of the whole party, it has undergone a marked turn for the better over the last few years and where the "Guiding Principles" have been implemented relatively well, political life within the party has gradually returned to normal. The "Guiding Principles" now form a mirror by which to examine party style and discipline, a criterion for assessing truth and falsehood and a weapon to use in the struggle against unhealthy tendencies. At present our party's style has not as yet undergone a fundamental turn for the better and the problems of impure ideology, work style and organizations still exist; all of this causes serious harm to the party's prestige. Our experience of fighting all kinds of unhealthy tendencies in the party tells us that wherever the "Guiding Principles" are implemented thoroughly and earnestly,

unhealthy tendencies lose their market and the party organizations enjoy high prestige among the masses; in areas where this is not the case, unhealthy tendencies are rampant, the party organizations lose the faith of the masses and all work is difficult to launch. Therefore, from the aspect of rectifying unhealthy tendencies within the party, the "Guiding Principles" again constitute an important supplement to the party constitution. From now on, the "Guiding Principles" will certainly continue to play a positive and effective role in the rectification of party organizations and party work, and the strengthening and improvement of its leadership.

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HOW SHOULD WE UNDERSTAND THE RISE OF THE THIRD WORLD BEING A MATTER OF PRIME IMPORTANCE OF OUR TIMES?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 p 40

[Article by Li Shuqiao [2621 2885 2890]]

[Text] Since the end of World War II in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, nearly 100 former colonial and semicolonial countries one by one have broken from the colonialist fetters of the imperialists and gained political independence. Together with countries that already had won their independence before and a number of other developing countries, these countries have formed a Third World. In the past these countries served as the "rear area" for the imperialists, but now they have become the principal force in fighting against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and are playing an increasingly great role in international affairs. This has greatly changed the features of the whole world.

The rise of the Third World has changed the balance of political forces in the world and ended world domination by imperialists and superpowers.

Ever since the emergence of colonialism and imperialism in the world, the resistance struggle of oppressed nations and people have never ceased. However, for quite a long time in the past, this resistance was carried out in an isolated and dispersed way. After World War I and the Russian October Revolution there was a new upsurge in the struggle of colonial and dependent countries' people for national independence. The victory of the antifascist force during World War II speeded up the revolutionization process in the world.

Through prolonged revolutionary struggle China, a country with about a quarter of the world's population, broke away from the world capitalist system and began to embark on a socialist route. This tremendously encouraged the liberation struggle of oppressed people and nations. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries won their independence during the high tide of the national liberation movement and the old colonialist system of the imperialists collapsed. This dealt a heavy blow to the rule of imperialism over the world and weakened its strength.

After gaining independence, Third World countries can exercise their state power and strengthen their unity and cooperation in fighting against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and, thus command more power to wage their struggles. Since World War II the imperialists have launched many localized aggressive wars, but they have suffered heavy losses in these wars in the face of joint resistance by the countries attacked and other Third World countries. This shows that the Third World countries already have become the main force in countering aggressive wars and safeguarding world peace.

For a long time the United Nations was manipulated by the major powers and did not reflect the interests of many medium and small countries. This began to change after large numbers of Third World countries became members. China's legitimate seat in the United Nations was restored in 1971 by an overwhelming majority vote. In 1974 the 6th special session was called by the General Assembly to discuss the problem of imperialist exploitation and plunder and ways to reform international economic relations. At the end of 1981 a man from the Third World was chosen secretary general of the United Nations. Imperialism, hegemony and expansionism have been condemned repeatedly in many UN meetings. All this shows that the role played by Third World countries in international affairs is increasing steadily. Since its birth, the Nonaligned Movement that has been joined by most Third World countries already has become an important force in world political life. These countries adhere to the principle of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and of opposing imperialists--especially the superpowers--for the power politics of using their great strength to bully the weak, wantonly interfere in other countries' internal affairs and encroach on the interest of people of other countries. They adhere to the basic principles of independence and nonalliance and have played a positive role in international struggle. Many facts prove that since the achievement of independence by a series of former colonial and semicolonial countries and the rise of the Third World the era when imperialism, especially the superpowers, could dominate the world is gone forever.

Economically, the rise of the Third World has weakened imperialist control over world economy to a certain extent.

Since Third World countries gained political independence their national liberation struggle has developed further and delved deeply into the economic spheres. In order to fight against the exploitation, plunder and control of imperialists and the superpowers, break away from the fetters of old unequal and unreasonable international economic relations, develop their national economy and consolidate their political independence with economic independence, large numbers of Third World countries have taken an active part in the struggle to build a new international economic system. Latin American countries took the lead in opposing the superpowers' maritime hegemony and already have won the support of most countries in the world.

Facing long-term control and plunder of their primary resources by the imperialist powers, the Third World's oil-exporting and raw material



producing countries have fought to exercise their rights over their own natural resources and the right to exercise their internal sovereignty. As a result they have safeguarded their national rights and interests and weakened the imperialists' world monopoly over raw materials. The daily increasing surplus funds of oil-exporting countries already have become a financial power in the world. This has weakened the imperialists' control of the international financial market. Some manufactured goods of Third World countries are breaking through layers of barricades and penetrating into international markets and presenting a challenge to the developed countries' prolonged monopoly over the world manufactured goods market.

From the above we can see that the rise of the Third World in the world arena is of great and far-reaching significance in both international politics and economy. We must recognize fully and evaluate this major event of international importance and stand firmly on the Third World's side in opposing imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and in protecting world peace and promoting human progress.

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JEAN-PAUL SARTRE AND EXISTENTIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1. Dec 82 pp 41-48

[Article by Liu Fongtong [0491 2397 2717]]

[Text] Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), French existentialist philosopher, writer and social activist, was one of the most noted personages among contemporary Western thinkers. The influence of his thinking exceeded the confines of the French nation and spread to the entire Western world. Our country has also been affected to a certain extent. What kind of a man was this Sartre? And what kind of philosophy is his existentialism? How should we treat Sartre and his existentialism? This article proposes to offer some crude views on these problems.

I

Sartre was born of a family of the intelligentsia. In his middle school days, he intended to study literature but also began to show an interest in philosophy. The writings of contemporary Western noted philosophers in humanism, a school of antirationalism, such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Bergson, were the first to attract him into the realm of philosophy and had lasting effects on him. In 1924, Sartre entered the famous Ecole Normale Superieure of Paris and formally took up the study of philosophy. In 1929, he received the academic title of middle school teacher of philosophy. In 1933-1934 he took up further studies in philosophy in Berlin's Francis Academy where he did research work under Edmund Husserl, founder of phenomenology, a school of contemporary Western philosophy. He studied the writings of Soren Kierkegard, the vanguard of existentialism, and also the writings of the founders of existentialism in Germany, Martin Heidegger and Karl Jaspers. It was at that time that he was formally initiated into existentialism. In the book "Surmounting Oneself--A Basic Thought in Husserl's Phenomenology--Intentionism" which he wrote at that time he expostulated his basic thought on his existentialism. After the outbreak of World War II, he was conscripted into the armed forces. In 1940, he was captured by the German forces and was put in a concentration camp. In 1941, he was released and continued his teaching profession. For a time, he and his associates formed an antifascist organization, known as "Socialism and Freedom." In 1943, he published his book "Being and Nothingness." This book may be said to have laid the foundation for him to become the most

prestigious representative of existentialism. Beginning in 1944, he resigned from the teaching profession and devoted his time solely to writing books. In 1946, he published the book "Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism." In 1960, he published his long treatise, "Critique of Dialectical Reason (Vol 1)." In addition, he turned out many influential literary articles such as the drama scripts "Flies" and "Intermission" and the fictions, "Wicked Heart," "Roads to Freedom," and so on. In these publications, he expressed in literary form the gloomy and difficult ideological contents of his philosophical writings. In this way, he linked together existential philosophy and literature and further expanded his ideological influence. Sartre's ideological viewpoints differed from each other at different periods. In his book "Critique of Dialectical Reason," he went so far as to advocate the "acceptance" of Marxism. He wanted to "replenish" and "renovate" Marxism with existentialism. In reality, he attempted to existentialize Marxism. In 1975, he published "Self Portrait at Seventy" which appeared in the form of a dialogue with a correspondent. In this book he reviewed and summed up his life experiences and his philosophical and literary thought, in which he made the admission that he was still a firm supporter of existentialism.

Among the contemporary thinkers, Sartre was a comparatively progressive element in the field of politics. He made some revelations concerning the capitalist system and leveled certain criticisms at it. He believed that "this society was immoral, and that it was set up not for the sake of mankind but for the sake of profits." He demanded that this irrational system be reformed. During World War II, he took part in the antifascist struggles and made use of his writings to encourage people also to take part. In the 1950's-1960's, he strongly protested against the invasion of Korea and Indochina by the United States and also the French war on Algeria. He vigorously condemned hegemonism. He expressed his sympathy and support for the Chinese people's revolutionary cause. Throughout his life, he did much work for world peace and mankind's progressive enterprises. He was unlike other Western thinkers who were only after fame and money. He was relatively straightforward. Nevertheless, Sartre was not a thinker of the proletariat, but an anarchist. After the May riots in France in 1968, he said to people: "If people will only read my whole writings, they will understand that deep in myself I have not changed and that from beginning to end I am an anarchist." ("Self Portrait at Seventy")

Sartre's existentialism reflects on one side the spiritual condition of the vast petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia in contemporary Western society. In the years of his activities, Western capitalist society was full of contradictions with dangers lurking everywhere. The two world wars which broke out in succession in the first half of the 20th century caused unprecedented havoc to the material civilization and spiritual civilization of many countries in Europe. They brought innumerable disasters to the vast masses of people (not only the proletariat but also the vast petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia and even a portion of the capitalist middle class) and seriously threatened their liberty, democracy and even their right of existence. This state of affairs was especially marked in France. During World War II, France was under the domination of German

fascism. All that had been taken as sacred tokens such as "freedom, equality and universal love" and all the traditional views on morality became the objects of French mockery. After the war, as in other Western countries, social production in France gradually recovered and developed, great progress was made in science and technology, and the standard of living of the people was also improved. Nevertheless, the various kinds of inherent contradictions and dangers of capitalism were not removed. Besides the proletariat, the vast masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia themselves were hard pressed both materially and spiritually. They had the feeling that the world they lived in was a hostile, gloomy, turbulent and crazy world. They felt that they had nothing to depend upon and that other people and society seemed to be against them. Consequently, they felt depressed, lonely and even hopeless. They felt dissatisfied with reality, sought to resist, and hoped to regain man's freedom and dignity, but they were unable to find a way out. This type of ideology and feelings of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia in contemporary Western societies formed the basic contents of what Sartre discussed and described in his philosophical writings and literary creations. They were also the basic facts of society which he mentioned in his writings. Precisely because of this, Sartre's ideology elicited from among these circles a strong feeling of sympathetic response.

## II

Like other existentialists, Sartre attempted in man's name to oppose all kinds of philosophy which were in search of the world's basis and nature. In his view, these philosophies (be they materialist or idealist) had a common defect in that even before they had acquired a clear understanding of man's existence and nature they proceeded to probe into the world's existence and nature. Materialism chose the outside material world as the starting point whereas idealism used the spiritual nature of certain abstraction as the starting point. In their interpretation, man became some kind of an accessory or appendage; man's special features were ignored, his status was downgraded, and his existence was forgotten. In Sartre's opinion, this kind of philosophy should be abandoned and replaced by a new philosophy, that is to say, existentialism. He announced that existentialism recalled the forgotten man and considered that man's existence should be regarded as the most basic existence and man should be interpreted with man's own existence as the starting point, thus to reveal to the whole world. As he saw it, the problem of man constituted the basic problem of philosophy and philosophy was the "study of man." Sartre said: "Existentialism is a doctrine which aims at making mankind's living a possibility." He was of the opinion that "each truth and each action must embrace therein mankind's background and mankind's subjectiveness." Existentialism "is the only kind of theory which provides man with dignity." ("Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism")

Since Sartre considered the problem of man as the basic problem of the philosophy of existentialism, it may be asked how he understood or interpreted man. He and the other existentialists summed up the real existence of man as the existence of the solitary man. He believed that each and

every person had a unique and special feature that was different from others. This special feature formed man's individuality and nature and formed man's real existence. The real existence of this category of people could only be exhibited when the individual person was separated from other people and from society, that is to say, when he was a solitary being. Naturally, Sartre did not refute man's existence in society. Rather, he admitted that each individual must live in a definite "environment" and must enter into various kinds of relationships with other persons and society. But he believed that when people entered into relationship with other people and society their existence was objective and they were at the mercy of other people and society. They would lose their independent character, unable to keep the initiative in their own hands. In this way, man would be degraded to the lowly status of mere articles or things. This was not man's real existence. To study man with this type of existence as the starting point would not be able to reveal man's individuality and nature. And Sartre took the existence of this type of absolutely solitary individual as precisely the starting point for his entire structure of philosophy. In reality, man at any time cannot be segregated from society and exist solitarily. Man's individuality and nature are closely related to man's social associations of various sorts and are formed in certain definite social associations. Marx pointed out that man's nature is the "sum total of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) Only through studying man's social relations can we really understand man's individuality and nature and understand man's true and real existence. In taking the existence of the solitary individual as the starting point of his "study of man," Sartre, from the very beginning, isolated himself from reality and from truth.

Just what kind of existence is this existence of the solitary individual which Sartre took as the starting point in his "study of man"? To put it in simple terms, this kind of existence is the individual's consciousness, that is to say, the individual's pure and absolute subjectivity. Sartre did not refute man's material existence, but he believed that this type of existence was not man's real existence and also not the basis of man's consciousness. Hence, he thought it could not be taken as the starting point for philosophy nor could it be included inside the scope of studies in philosophy. The individual's existence which philosophy should study and take as the starting point was only the individual's consciousness and subjectivity.

Not only that! Consciousness which Sartre took as the real existence of the individual not only is not the cognition of what materialism calls as material things and their reflection but also not what idealism calls as spiritual substance of derivative materials. In his conception, what materialism and idealism term as consciousness belonged to the realm of the theory of knowledge and had as their logical premise the distinction between the subject and object of knowledge, and may be called dualism. But the consciousness which he took as the starting point of philosophy was prior to the knowledge activities, had no logical premise, and did not include the distinction between subject and object, that is to say, this type of consciousness itself had no content of existence, being only pure conscious

activity, or, pure subjectivity. What is this pure conscious activity, or pure subjectivity? According to Sartre, it is directionalism, or intentionalism, of consciousness. When consciousness surpasses itself to reach the object, it directly "reveals" or "shows" the object, without the aid of any medium. Sartre believed that what he said as this pure conscious activity or pure subjectivity was an extremely outstanding discovery, that it directly merged together subject and object, and that it banished not only materialism but also idealism and had them unified. However, people can readily see that Sartre's pure consciousness or pure subjectivity actually banished only materialism and not idealism and that what he stood for and propagated was intuitionism of a kind of nonrationalism.

After "discovering" this starting point of pure subjectivity or pure conscious activity, Sartre proceeded to base on it to introduce two radically different areas of existence. He termed one "existence-in-itself" or "self-being," and the other "self-made, or self-doing, existence."

The so-called "existence-in-itself" refers to the outside world. Outwardly, Sartre did not negate the existence of the outside world, but rather admitted that the outside world, even before its discovery by people, had already existed "in itself." He even criticized the views of Barclay and others which summed up the outside world as man's sense of feeling. But what Sartre called the outside world was entirely different from what proponents of materialism called the outside world. Sartre believed that the outside world existed in a pure and absolute manner and itself carried no significance, that it was devoid of causality and inevitability, that it lacked initiative, that it was in a confused, accidental and fantastic state, that it has no progress, forever being "oneself equivalent to oneself," that it was opaque, dark and gloomy and that people were unable to understand it either through feeling or rational thinking. In short, as Sartre saw it, it was a world that defied description. However, Sartre felt that when the direction of man's activity of pure consciousness was set toward the outside world, the outside world would become the outside object of the target of consciousness and would be at once imbued with nature and significance. In other words, the outside world could, insofar as man is concerned, possess essence and significance when illuminated by pure consciousness. The essence and significance of things were not their inherent qualities. On the contrary, they were endowed by man and were not objective but subjective.

The so-called "self-made existence" denotes man's self-existence. In Sartre's view, when man's activity of pure consciousness is directed at man himself, man's self-existence is discovered and from this is generated self-conscious activity. He called this self-conscious activity "self-made existence." Different from "in-itself," "self-made" itself has an initiative and active nature. It continuously negates itself and creates itself. "'Self-made' is always what it is not today, and is not what it is today." ("Being and Nothingness")

Sartre believed that although "self-being" and "self-made" basically differed from each other, they could and must be linked together. Without

"self-being," "self-doing" or "self-made" becomes something abstract and cannot exist just as color without coloring and music without high or low tones cannot exist. And "self-being" is revealed and imbued with significance or meaning by the consciousness of the "self-made" man. Without "self-made," "self-being" becomes something without any significance. The two are unified by means of the power of the "self-made." Sartre wrote: "'Self-made' and 'self-being' are linked together by a common medium. The medium is none other than 'self-made' itself." ("Being and Nothingness")

Thus, it can be seen that in reality Sartre wanted to take "self-made," that is, consciousness, as the basis or foundation of the whole world and also the determinant. Although Sartre intended to draw a line of demarcation between himself and the glaringly objective idealists, his viewpoint of unifying the world with man's conscious activities as the basis and the center precisely coincided with the viewpoint of subjective idealism.

Sartre took the discovery of the real existence of man himself as the primary task of philosophy. Just as stated before, he believed that his task was not what man's knowledge could cope with and that resort must be taken to activities of pure consciousness. These activities of pure consciousness were, in reality, psychological experiences of a nonrational nature—in fact, dark and gloomy psychological experiences of a nonrational nature. In this connection, his viewpoint followed the same line as that of Martin Heidegger and other early proponents of existentialism. At one time, Heidegger openly expressed the view that mankind could truly discover their own existence only in such mental circumstances as depression, alarm, or when facing death. Although Sartre appeared to have tried to do away with such dark and gloomy coloring and occasionally had gone so far as to make others think that he was advocating optimism, yet he did not go out of the bounds of the pessimistic and depressed basic ideology of Heidegger and other early proponents of existentialism. He likewise believed that mankind could discover their own true existence only in what he termed as "unfortunate consciousness" such as depression, solitude and despair. He said: "Existence will reveal itself to us through a kind of direct contact such as tiredness, lack of interest, and so forth." ("Being and Nothingness") Sartre took depression, solitude, and despair as man's inheritance and man's basic sentiments. Hence, as he saw it, life is forever in a state of perplexity, confusion and alarm. Given such sentiments to start with, he frequently could see only the world's ugly things and could not see anything good or beautiful. He could see only darkness and not light. Up to a time shortly before his death, Sartre was still saying: "At any rate, the world, as we see it, is wicked and hopeless." ("Hope, Now....")

Summing up the above, the basis and logical premise of Sartre's existential philosophy as well as the starting point for his solution of all problems in philosophy were as follows: That the basic problem of philosophy was man's problem; that man's existence was the existence of the solitary individual; and that the existence of this type of individual was the non-rational activity of pure consciousness; in fact, it was the dark and gloomy nonrational activity of pure consciousness. The subjective idealism and antirationalism of this type of philosophy are especially conspicuous.

Although Sartre repeatedly declared his opposition to idealism, yet, as a matter of fact, he never ventured out of the realm of idealism. At the same time, his philosophy was basically different from what he had announced, that it would help mankind to find a correct road to the restoration of man's freedom and dignity. On the contrary, it could only make man lose his reason and his confidence and entrap him in a mess of confusion and despair. After a big social disturbance and uproar, this type of philosophy can frequently bring satisfaction to a certain degree to people without any ideology and in a state of mental disillusionment. Hence, to a certain degree, Sartre's existentialism is a kind of troubled and hopeless philosophy and at the same time a philosophy which distorts man's nature and lowers man's dignity.

### III

The most important constituent parts of the existentialism which Sartre built, with man's subjective character, that is to say, activity of pure consciousness, as the starting point, are his theory on man's self-accomplishments and freedom.

In Sartre's opinion, in the very beginning man existed in a purely subjective character, with nothingness. The various concrete, special and regulated features were what man himself subsequently created in accordance with his own wishes. "First, man came into being, revealed himself, appeared on the scene and only subsequently introduced himself.... In the beginning, man had nothingness; only subsequently man wanted to become a certain thing and made himself in accordance with his own wishes." ("Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism") Sartre thus summed up this kind of thought as "existence precedes essence." "Existence" here meant that man, in a purely subjective character, "revealed himself" and "appeared on the scene." The so-called "essence" referred to man's concrete special qualities, of a regulated nature.

Sartre believed that different from things in general man was a continuously self-planning, self-scheming, self-selecting and self-making being in existence. The principal criterion of whether a man truly existed or not was not whether or not he was still living but whether or not he was in the process of continuously planning, scheming, selecting and creating for himself. "After all, man is only something of his own creation. This is the first doctrine of existentialism." ("Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism") According to this viewpoint, aside of himself man has nothing else to rely upon; aside of believing in his own planning, scheming and selection, he has nothing else to believe in; and aside of his own decisions, he does not need to obey any other legislation. In other words, what kind of man he becomes is not determined by natural physical endowment, nor by any other outside power, but is entirely the result of his own making and of his own planning and choice. "A coward is of his own making; while a hero is likewise of his own making." ("Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism") In short, man is of his own regulation and of his own making.



Sartre termed as freedom these actions of planning, scheming and choosing according to one's own wishes. He called this freedom man's essence and the standard of man's thinking and conduct. He said: "If existence actually precedes essence, then there is no way of using a fixed and 'ready-made' human nature to explain man's actions. In other words, there is no determinism. Man is free and man is freedom." ("Existentialism Is a School of Humanitarianism") He believed that man's real existence was his freedom and that freedom was not man's ordinary attribute but rather the attribute of his essence. "Man forever is completely free, otherwise he does not exist." ("Being and Nothingness")

Sartre believed that freedom was entirely out of the control of objective things and of other power exterior to man himself and that it would not change in accordance with the failure or success of man's actions. The deeper man fell into the chasm of adverse circumstances and the greater his worries, solitude and despair, the greater would be his freedom. This was because under such circumstances man would realize all the more his true existence and an even greater need to do his own choosing. In 1944, Sartre contributed an article to the LITERARY BULLETIN OF FRANCE in which he wrote: "To be in a state of complete solitude and to bear full responsibility by oneself--does this not reveal the nature of our freedom?" Naturally, he could not refute that exterior conditions might curb this or that concrete type of mankind's freedom, but he believed that freedom itself could not be restricted. In other words, Sartre believed that while exterior conditions could restrict freedom of the individual's body they could not restrict the freedom of the individual's thought. Man's freedom of thought was absolute. Whatever conditions might prevail, man could entirely of himself make his choice. A serf was devoid of his master's status and could not act freely like his master, but he could freely choose a method of running away in defiance of his master. Even though he did not choose to run away, he still had the freedom of choice, that is to say, he chose not to make any choice. "Freedom is the freedom of choice, and not the freedom of not making any choice. In fact, not choosing is a choice of choosing not to make any choice." ("Being and Nothingness") It can thus be seen that what Sartre advocated as the freedom of the individual was supernatural, superhistorical and surpassing all realistic conditions, and entirely something of a kind of subjective imagination.

Sartre said that this type of freedom banished the biased ideas of mechanism, fatalism, and other kinds of arbitrariness. Since freedom was acknowledged as the attribute of man's essence, then man should be free from the control of God or any other absolute authority outside himself, and be in a position to entirely reject and resist the oppression by outside forces on himself. He can think and act in accordance with only his own wishes and plan and determine his own future. "Once freedom explodes its power in man's soul, even God is helpless before it." ("Flies") At the time of the occupation of France by the German fascists, Sartre, in his philosophical and literary writings, actually utilized this viewpoint to encourage the French people not to fear violence or danger but to break through fascist domination and fight for their own liberty. At that time, this did produce a certain actual

effect. Indeed, under the conditions of the freedom of the masses of people being suppressed by reactionary force, this kind of theorizing of Sartre's may perform a certain role of making the masses of people plunge into **resistance** for the sake of their freedom. However, if under certain special historical conditions, this role is unduly exaggerated (and Sartre himself did unlimitedly exaggerate this role), then it may lead to blunders. On the whole, it may be said that Sartre's view of freedom was a kind of theory of idealism and its role was pessimistic and dangerous.

1. Sartre's view of freedom exaggerated the relative freedom chosen by mankind under certain conditions into unconditional and absolute freedom. It negated fatalism and rejected inevitability. In his view, admission of inevitability and knowledge of inevitability carried the implication of man becoming the slave of inevitability and the curbing of his freedom. In reality, refutation of inevitability cannot obtain real freedom. As Engels pointed out: "Freedom does not mean being independent by shaking off in imagination natural laws. Rather, it means knowing these laws and following up with making, in a planned manner, natural laws serve a definite purpose.... Hence, the freedom of will is only that kind of power which can make use of the knowledge of things to formulate decisions." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 153-154) Isolated from the knowledge of objective inevitability, man's actions will invariably be of a blind nature and, under certain conditions, cause man to lose his confidence, become pessimistic and despondent, or, under certain other conditions, to risk all and make a reckless move. Under neither of the above conditions can there be man's freedom.

2. Sartre's view of freedom is a theory of extreme individualism. As mentioned above, he believed that man's real existence could only be his solitary individual existence when segregated from other people and from society. In the same manner, man's liberty could be realized only under conditions of his segregation from other people and society. Other people and society forever imposed certain restrictions on the individual's freedom. Maintaining an individual's freedom would inevitably exclude other people's freedom and even their existence. He said: "Each person has absolute freedom only when opposing other people." ("Being and Nothingness") In many of his literary articles, Sartre described man-to-man relations as hostile relations between them. In his celebrated drama script "No Exit" he even came to the conclusion that "other people represented hell." This kind of description of Sartre's, objectively reflected the actual relations of fighting with each other and deceiving each other amongst people of a capitalist society. While Sartre frequently treated and exposed with disdain relations of this kind, in the last analysis his view of the absolute freedom of the individual performed the role of expounding and proving as well as maintaining this kind of relations. According to this view of freedom of Sartre's, outside the individual's freedom of choice, there does not exist any standard of right or wrong, good or bad. Hence, the capitalist class doing to the proletariat acts of exploitation and oppression and all other fantastic and reactionary acts, may be said to be of free choice and therefore rational. Presumably, this could not have been Sartre's original meaning, but there is little doubt that this is a logical conclusion derived from his viewpoint.

What must be especially pointed out is that this view of Sartre's on absolute freedom which gives a lofty position to the self and places the self in the center provides a theoretical background for extreme individualism and anarchism. This kind of viewpoint, even under capitalist conditions, has a serious passive role and may weaken the struggles for liberation of the proletariat and the working people under a unified revolutionary program and organization discipline. Under socialist conditions, this kind of viewpoint is a corrosive which erodes people's acceptance of correct ideological guidance and impedes mankind's efforts to foster the communist spirit of individual interest obeying collective interest and individual freedom being subservient to the needs of the collective and the people. As for Sartre's views on freedom, we must seriously and realistically analyze and criticize them, so as to banish their evil effects. If not, and if it is allowed to spread freely, then the socialist cause will be endangered.

#### IV

For a long period of time, in foreign countries, certain scholars' evaluations of Sartre and his existentialism differed greatly one from another. This situation is likewise reflected in our own country. Under the influence of "leftist" thought, in the past our country's theorists frequently made a low evaluation of Western theorists like Sartre and his like. They even went so far as to negate them altogether. In more recent years, certain comrades went to the other extreme and gave Sartre too high an evaluation. Sartre's theory concerning man's self-planning, self-making and freedom of choice has been mentioned with relish by people and even approbated as the road to the growth of talented people or the guidance of life. This obviously does not conform with the principles and standard of Marxism. In order to make a correct evaluation of Sartre and his existentialism, the following points are worthy of our attention:

1. We must insist on the use of the viewpoints of historical materialism to analyze the class attributes of Sartre's existentialism and to expose its fundamental difference from the world outlook of the proletariat.

As a philosophical trend of thought, what existentialism reflects is the spiritual condition of people who are perplexed and alarmed because of being surrounded by the various kinds of contradictions and dangers of modern capitalism, unable to find a way out. At the various levels of the capitalist class, representatives of existentialism may be found, but between them vast differences exist. Compared with the existentialism of Heidegger, founder of existentialism in Germany, Sartre's existentialism does represent the trend of thought of the comparatively lower levels of the capitalist society. Of this we should certainly take note. But we must also note that after all, Sartre's existentialism belongs to the ideological system of the capitalist class and that its basic theory and viewpoints are more or less similar to those of Heidegger and his like. Sartre claimed to have belonged to the petit bourgeoisie and this was probably true. However, we must not forget that the consciousness and pattern of the petit bourgeoisie in a capitalist society frequently suffer from the influences of the

capitalist class who are in the ruling position. Hence, we must, from the point of class attribute, draw a demarcation line between Marxism and Sartre's existentialism. We cannot take Sartre's existentialism as a progressive type of consciousness and pattern; nor can we take it as belonging to the proletariat.

2. We must correctly note the difference and liaison between Sartre's political attitude and his philosophical stand.

Sartre's philosophical viewpoints and his political attitude were closely related. In the last analysis, they were determined and controlled by his class position. Indeed, we must not overlook this point. However, we should also note that between Sartre's viewpoints in philosophy and his attitude in politics there was a little contradiction. His existentialism was a kind of idealism in philosophy and we must realistically give it a scientific assessment and evaluation. In the field of politics, we find many progressive expressions, and this we must also confirm. If based on the hard fact that his philosophy of existentialism was a sort of philosophy of idealism we deduce that he was a reactionary theorist and a speaker for capitalism, this would not be correct. Nevertheless, if we fail to note the immense effect his thought in philosophy had on his political attitude, if we overestimate his progressive role, or if we even use it to prove the rationality of his philosophy, then we would be committing an even greater mistake.

Sartre was a person active in vastly different fields such as philosophy, literature, social sciences and politics. His thinking was rather complex and even contradictory. In his writings, many of his discussions and concepts were confusing and not at all clear. Indeed, at different times his viewpoints suffered frequent changes. However, subjective idealism represented the basic viewpoint of his existentialism. This is a point which we must bear in mind if we want to make a correct evaluation of Sartre and his existentialism. If we just look at Sartre at only a certain period, or take note of what he superficially said of certain things but neglect the essence of his thought, or take his words too literally and then come to a conclusion from them, then we shall be far from the truth. Some people made too high an assessment of Sartre's philosophy and even propagated it. This was frequently due to their having a one-sided and superficial understanding of Sartre's philosophy. For example, Sartre's view that existence precedes essence has a materialist element, but some people place it on a par with materialism propounding that matter comes first. In so doing, these people are fundamentally contradicting Sartre's original meaning. What Sartre meant by existence referred to the individual's subjectivity and had an entirely opposite meaning to existence in materialism.

In a word, concerning the category of such Western thinkers as Sartre and the school of the Western philosophy of existentialism, we cannot adopt a simple negative attitude or one of blind worship. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are sharp tools for the analysis and study of all problems. Hence, in studying and assessing Sartre and his existentialism, we must

take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as guidance. Only in so doing can we make a correct evaluation of existentialism and other Western schools of thought and can we effectively resist their passive and corrosive effects on mankind's thought. At the same time, only in this way can we advantageously insist on and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. On such a problem, we should never be ambiguous or uncertain in our stand.

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WELL DONE IN TAKING THE LEAD IN THIS RESPECT!

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 82 inside back cover

[Article by Shi Zhonglai [0670 0022 0171]]

[Text] In the first half of last year, the attendance rate of coal miners throughout the country was low, their work discipline was lax and production plans were not fulfilled as expected. This problem occurs in the workers' contingent. But the fundamental reason was that some cadres failed to exert themselves and failed to correct their unhealthy party spirit. After becoming familiar with the crux of the problem, in the second half of last year, the Ministry of Coal Industry began to rectify the party style and paid attention to cadres going deep among the basic units and working in workshops for a specified period of time. The ministry also persuaded the excavation workers who had come up from the mines because they did not like the work in the mines to return to their position in the mines. By such means their work discipline was strengthened, and remarkable results were achieved.

One of the reasons why production in coal mines under unified distribution could not increase was that a large number of excavation workers had come up from the mines and were not willing to go back into the mines. Those who should not come up from the mines had come up. Why was it so difficult to persuade them to go back to their position in the mines? The situation had much to do with some cadres whose sons and daughters were excavation workers. In persuading the excavation workers who had come up from the mines to go back to their position in the mines, these cadres were the first to be affected. The crux for solving this problem lay in whether those cadres should let their own sons and daughters and relatives work in the mines or whether they should persuade their own sons and daughters and relatives to take the lead in going down into the mines. Under such circumstances, the majority of leading cadres could withstand the test. By overcoming all kinds of pressures, they resolutely persuaded their sons and daughters and relatives to go back to work in the mines, regardless of the resulting rows with their spouse, sons or daughters-in-law or relatives. By the end of June, 994 sons and daughters of leading cadres at headquarter and section levels of coal mines under unified distribution had come back to work in the mines. The exemplary act of these leading cadres was praised by the staff and workers. It brought forward

the development of work in this respect. Some people who had thought of keeping away until the event was over said: "It seems we must really act." With these words, they went back to work in the mines. This shows that doing ideological work well, correcting the party style and the exemplary role of leading cadres have important bearings on a truth of universal significance.

Our party is a ruling party. The party's leading cadres at all levels represent the interests of the party and people and the work on various fronts. The ideology, work style and work attitude of leading cadres at all levels are not merely personal matters. They represent the image of the party and have important bearings on the party's work in various fields, on the relationship between the party and the masses and on bringing into play the masses' initiative for building socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The party is the example of the whole society, and the party's leading comrades at all levels are the examples of the whole party." The role of examples is a silent order. It can become a great material power. If leading cadres at all levels can have strong party spirit and excellent work style; if they can take the lead in doing the things they advocate; if they can absolutely not associate with what they require others not to do; if they can strictly adhere to discipline and be as good as their words, the people will be sincerely convinced. If their work style is bad and their deeds do not match their words, the people will not have ease of mind. As a result, their initiative will not be brought into play, the party's principles and policies will not be implemented and it will be difficult to do our work well.

In our socialist enterprises, to bring into play the initiative of the workers and to change the situation in which discipline is lax, besides establishing a perfect production responsibility system, correctly implementing the principle of to each according to one's work and strengthening management and the sense of organization and discipline, it is important to constantly readjust and improve the relationship between men in light of the actual conditions of enterprises. This is a most important content of ideological and political work. Without man, production cannot be carried out, and men have to make constant contact with each other in production. Here the relationship between men will inevitably emerge. In socialist enterprises, the relationship between men should be a new relationship of the socialist and comradely type. The relationship between leaders and those being led, between workers and management personnel and technicians and between workers themselves is an equal relationship between comrades. They should care for each other, love each other, respect each other and discuss problems with each other. Only in this way can they do their work well. There is only the division of work between them. There is no distinction between the elite and the lowly. If there is any distinction, it should be that Communist Party members and leading cadres at all levels should set examples for others, lead the masses in all kinds of work, care for the masses' sufferings and, under possible conditions, do their best to help solve the masses' difficulties. They should not in the least have any special privilege. So long as the party's leading cadres at all levels can

act according to the requirements of the party constitution, be strict on themselves, play an exemplary leading role in work and strengthen ideological and political work, the socialist consciousness of the masses can be constantly raised. In this way, the masses can have ease of mind and go all out for the four modernizations.

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END