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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 24, 16 December 1982

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No. 24, 16 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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COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S LETTERS AND COMMENTS CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF INVESTIGATION AND STUDIES (APRIL-NOVEMBER 1961)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 2-3

[Text] A Letter to Comrade Deng Xiaoping (25 April 1961)

Comrade Xiaoping:

Please draft a notice for the convocation of a CPC Central Committee work conference and notify the responsible comrades of all the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities and regions to arrive at Beijing on 15 May. The members of the drafting committee of the regulations of work of the rural people's commune (refer to the original sample of Guangzhou for the list of members) to arrive at Beijing on 5 May. The tasks of the current conference are to complete the unfinished work left over by the Guangzhou conference, that is, to collect the opinions of the cadres and masses, revise the 60 points of work regulations and continue to rectify the 5 kinds of unhealthy tendencies. The problem of industry and urban rectification will not be discussed or it may be discussed briefly at the end of the conference. We leave this problem to be discussed at the August conference. For this purpose, all comrades who are to attend the conference must use this period of time to conduct focused investigations on certain key problems in the rural areas (such as the problems of canteens, grain, supply, private plots of hilly land, classified management of mountains and forests, farm cattle, the problem of whether production brigades or production teams should manage farm implements, the overall rectification of counties, communes and brigades of the first and second categories and the resolute returning of unlawfully taken things, opposing the idea of bestowing land as a favor, firmly taking the mass line, consulting the masses, energetically encouraging the practice of conducting investigation and study, restoring the handicraft industry and resuming the supply and marketing cooperatives). It is essential to spend 10 to 15 days making investigations and seeking truth from the masses, so that we can thoroughly complete the above-mentioned tasks at the May conference.

Please find Comrade Tian Jiaying to draft this notice with you. We will talk it over this evening and dispatch it by telegram tomorrow. With best wishes!

Mao Zedong
9 a.m., 25 April

A Letter to Comrade Li Jingquan, c/o Comrade Chen Zhenren (6 May 1961)*

Comrade Jingquan of Sichuan CPC Committee, c/o Comrade Chen Zhenren of Jianyang Pingquan Commune:

I am very happy to have received Comrade Chen Zhenren's letter of 1 May. It will be quite valuable to go to Jianyang once more to conduct an investigation for a week or better 2 weeks. Comrade Jingquan, why didn't you write to me? I was longing for your letter. Did you make any investigation? The CPC Central Committee made a list of investigation items. This was sent to you on 25 April. A further notice was sent on 4 May to postpone the conference to 20 May, so that you could have ample opportunity to conduct investigations and studies and have a thorough understanding of those problems. We hope that the Beijing conference will achieve better results than the Guangzhou conference. In addition, I ask you to do me one more favor: Within these 15 days, I hope the first party secretaries of all the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities and regions will conduct conscientious investigations and studies with great efforts. You can write to me at any time, it can be informal and do not bother about the handwriting. I expect to receive a letter from you within this half month. If you are so kind as to write to me, I will surely reply.

This letter should also be presented to the CPC Central Committee.

Mao Zedong
Shanghai, 6 May 1961

Comments on Transmitting Comrade Zhang Pinghua's Letter (14 May 1961)

This letter is to be transmitted to the party committees of all the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities and regions for reference. Comrade Zhang Pinghua, your letter can be transmitted throughout Hunan and it may well be adopted by the party committees of all prefectures, municipalities, counties and communes. It is imperative to firmly take the mass line. It is also essential to consult and decide all matters with the masses and then formulate policies for implementation. It is forbidden for the party committees at various levels not to make any investigations and studies. It is absolutely forbidden for a minority of people in the party committees not to make investigations or consult with the masses, but make the so-called policies in offices that are subjective and harmful to the people.

Mao Zedong
Tianjin, 14 May 1961

*This letter was also sent to the first secretaries of party committees of all the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities and regions.

Comments for the CPC Central Committee in Transmitting Comrade Deng Zihui's Investigation Report (23 November 1961)

Party committees of all the bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, all provinces, municipalities and regions:

Comrade Deng Zihui's report is well made. We present it to you for reference. This document should also be transmitted to the party committees at prefectural, county and commune levels for reference, because at present, all localities are popularly making experiments. It is the soul of Marxism to conduct conscientious investigation and study and make a concrete analysis of specific problems, rather than making abstract and subjective analyses. We suggest that before 20 December, the first party secretaries of all provinces lead certain numbers of work teams and go down to villages to conduct investigations and studies for 10 days or so by adopting the methods of Comrade Deng Zihui.

The CPC Central Committee
23 November 1961

CSO: 4004/17

STRIVE TO CREATE A NEW SITUATION IN CHINA'S SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 4-10

[Article by Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]]

[Text] Editor's note: On 25 November, Comrade Nie Rongzhen gave an interview to Comrade Xiong Fu, chief editor of this journal. He made an important statement on the issue of striving to create a new situation in our country's science and technology work. In his talk, Comrade Nie Rongzhen mentioned the major experiences that he gained during the period when he was in charge of science and technology work, particularly stressing the party's historical experience on the intellectual problem and the problems we should pay attention to at present in implementing our intellectual policies. He points out that we should teach our broad ranks of cadres and masses to understand the position and role of the intellectuals in socialist modernization, develop a new custom of the whole society respecting knowledge, science and intellectuals and strive to form a friendly alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals. His talk is of great significance in helping all our party members to heighten their awareness and unify their understanding on the problem related to the conscientious implementation of the party's policy on science and technology work and on intellectuals. Here are his remarks.

Ever since the 12th party congress, the initiative of our country's scientists and broad ranks of cadres on the scientific and technical front has been very high. They all hope that our country's science and technology work develops quickly. I can understand this mood. It has been a long time since I left my post of responsibility for science and technology work, but I am still concerned with and will support this work with all my strength. People are all very anxious and so am I.

In my opinion, the present situation is characterized by the fact that in order to fulfill the plan for the development of the coming 20 years, people

throughout the country wish the science and technology work to develop more quickly. Recently, in one of his talks, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the problem of organizing science and technology ranks to tackle major technical problems hurdles, regarding it as a matter of first priority in carrying out the 20-year development plan. It is very clear that developing the four modernizations, making our economy prosper, building up the two civilizations and achieving the magnificent goal of quadrupling all depends on progress in developing science and technology. At present, the key to our modernization lies in satisfactorily developing our science and technology work and giving full play to the role of intellectuals in this field.

Take agriculture for example. We are faced with quite a large number of agricultural scientific and technical problems. How can we modernize the whole country, if we cannot solve the problems related to agriculture? The modernization of agriculture can never be divorced from science and technology. The first character of the "eight-character constitution" for agriculture is soil. Soil constitutes the foundation of agricultural production. China is so vast that the soil in its territory differs widely in its composition, physical, chemical and ecological nature and fertility. In order to develop diversified undertakings that are suited to the local conditions, we must do a large amount of work to investigate the soil conditions in a widespread manner. It will take an even longer period of time to improve our soil. In this respect, we need the joint efforts of the specialists of various fields. In the past, excessive lumbering, the creation of "Dazhai land" and the practice of reclaiming land from lake areas gave rise to serious soil erosion and undermined the ecological equilibrium of nature. We should put to an end forever these foolish practices that go against the objective law. The second feature is water. The establishment of irrigation systems needs the joint efforts of the specialists in water conservation, geology and other fields. In this respect, there is also the problem of taking the local conditions into account. In the north where there is little rainfall, we should not blindly develop irrigated land. Excessive use of underground water in the suburban areas will bring about serious results and may even cause the land to subside. There are also the problems related to pesticide and fertilizers. Some kinds of pesticide seriously pollute the environment and are no longer used abroad, but we continue to use them. We should pay greater attention to using biological methods to overcome pests. The excessive use of fertilizer may destroy the organic composition of the soil. All these problems cannot be solved without science and technology and must be solved through the research of our specialists. The third feature is seeds. Having fine species of seeds is an important means of increasing agricultural production. The popularization of the hybrid rice of high-land type and the No 1 Lu strain of cotton alone has already created more than 1 billion yuan of wealth. There are also the problems related to thick planting and deep plowing. The American Han Ding opposes deep plowing. These problems also should be solved by specialists through research. In short, the solution to all of these problems lies with science and technology or with the efforts of specialists in soil science, water conservation, botany, genetics, entomology and other fields. Now our party's policies are right and since the establishment of

the agricultural production responsibility system, the peasants' initiative has been greatly heightened and agriculture has developed relatively quickly. However, there is a limit to giving play to the initiative of the peasants and a state of "saturation" will be reached some day.

However, the potential for increasing production that science and technology can bring to agriculture is infinite. Our peasants understand this idea and have already tasted the benefits of scientific farming, so they are eager to use science. Now agricultural technicians have already become "gods of wealth" in our rural areas. Our peasants are vying with one another in seeking the advice of these technicians. This is a very heartening phenomenon. This is also true for our industry that also has to rely on the strength of science and technology. For example, cadres in such medium-sized cities as Xiangfan, Changzhou, and Siping understood this idea earlier. As a result, the industrial development in these cities has been quicker and some of the products there have already surpassed Shanghai in their quality. We must realize this trend of development and welcome the arrival of a scientific and technical upsurge in our country.

Now the problem for which the broad ranks of cadres on the scientific and technical front show the greatest concern is how we are to create a new situation in our science and technology work. Let me mention a personal experience. In 1956, I began to replace Comrade Chen Yi as the responsible person for science and technology work. When I was in charge of this work, Premier Zhou and Comrade Chen Yi were leading the formulation of the 12-year national development plan of science and technology. Generally speaking, at that time, the number of our technical and scientific workers was small, their level was low and their working and research conditions were poor. However, because the party Central Committee paid great attention to this work and many major issues were directly handled by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, we made great progress in a very short period of time. In 1964, we succeeded in exploding an atomic bomb and 2 years and 8 months later, we again succeeded in exploding an H-bomb. Many new industrial departments have been developed to fill the gaps of our country's scientific and technical field.

I think that in order to do our science and technology work well, we should do the following:

1. We should be self-reliant. Chairman Mao said that our country is first of all poor and second of all unmarked, but that the largest number of the best pictures could be drawn on a piece of blank paper. We are not afraid of having nothing on the paper. Since there is nothing on the paper, we can draw pictures as we please. In order to satisfactorily build up our country and draw the best and most beautiful pictures, we cannot rely on anybody else. We must rely on ourselves, on our workers, peasants and intellectuals. Our principle of self-reliance can be said to be the consequence of outward force. Khrushchev one-sidedly broke all the agreements and withdrew all his experts without leaving anything, even the blueprints, for us. Since he would not give these things to us, we had to rely on ourselves. This resulted in our success in making the atom bomb and H-bomb and

the development of all sectors. It was a very fortunate thing that we were forced to rely on ourselves. When we succeeded in exploding our first atomic bomb, Chairman Mao humorously said that we had to grant Khrushchev a great medal weighing 1 ton as a token of our "gratitude." Of course, our self-reliance by no means signifies a closed-door policy. We should conscientiously introduce new technology and equipment and purchase patents from abroad. We should learn and take over all those that are useful to us and make them serve our modernizations. We must understand, however, that we cannot buy modernization from abroad with money. The new technology and equipment we have bought should be assimilated through study and then be transformed and developed in the light of the actual conditions in our country. On the problem of introducing things from abroad, we must always be sober-minded. We wish to introduce advanced technology and equipment from some capitalist countries but these countries have publicly declared that they will only sell the second most advanced things and will not sell the most advanced ones. Some people find that it is too slow to develop by ourselves. I say that it is slow in some respects, but it is more reliable. Moreover, to take a long-term view, it is much quicker than the speed we can achieve if we completely rely on imports. Did we not quickly take the fortification of the sophisticated technology of the atom and H-bombs by relying on our own strength under very difficult conditions in the past? Now that we have such favorable conditions, it is out of the question that we can succeed by relying on ourselves. That is why I always advocate self-reliance, consider things from the viewpoint of basing things on development of our national industry, and scientific and technical undertakings and stress raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation. In the final analysis, we have to rely on our own strength. Therefore, self-reliance is our starting point. At the same time, we should pay attention to introducing advanced technology from abroad. We have done this work for decades and have already laid a certain foundation. I agree with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's view on technical transformation and on science and technology work serving economic construction expressed in his report to the recent NPC session. In my opinion, by relying on technical transformation, conservation of energy and the research into, exploitation and development of new technology, we will be able to increase production and promote the development of science. It will not do, if we import everything from abroad, rely on imports for everything or worship and have blind faith in things foreign.

2. We should formulate appropriate plans for the development of our science and technology. Having formulated a plan, we have a destination for our march and a goal to achieve through our striving. In 1956, we concentrated a few hundred scientists and technical workers to spend nearly 10 months in drawing up a 12-year science and technology development plan. Thus we clarified the key projects and persisted in developing scientific research first. This plan took into account the requirement for scientific and technical development of all sectors as well as stressing the 57 key projects. Later, because Khrushchev tore up the agreements, we shifted to stressing, regarding as key projects and organizing all the trades and professions to tackle jet propulsion technology, atomic technology and electronics. Our practice has proved that this kind of science and

technology plan that gives priority to scientific research and combines key projects with common projects can play a satisfactory role in organizing and promoting the development of our country's science and technology.

3. We should organize our ranks well. After we have formulated a plan, we should organize our scientific and technical personnel to realize this plan. At that time, the numbers of our scientific and technical personnel were small, their foundations were weak, their tasks were heavy and the difficulties facing them were very great. For example, we did not know much about jet propulsion technology and atomic energy and we could only buy some materials from abroad to read. However, we could only get a rough idea from these materials because the detailed technical materials were confidential and could not be bought anywhere. What were we to do? According to the unified national plan, we organized five contingents, namely, the research institutions, the higher education institutions, the industrial departments, the national defense science committee and the local scientific research force, and assigned to these contingents clearly defined tasks according to their strong points. Since we had a unified plan, no one could carry out his work at his will without taking into account the work of other people and all people closely coordinated and cooperated by means of division of labor and jointly tackle the major technical problem hurdles. This was a nationwide cooperation and coordination of all the activities of the nation like pieces in a chess game. At that time, all the units were willing to accept whatever tasks were assigned and felt glory in doing them because these tasks were assigned and felt glory in doing them because these tasks were what all our party members, all our army and the people throughout our country wished and trusted them to fulfill. After these five contingents were mobilized, people supported one another. If only the fraternal units have the need, the coordinating units will give all-out support and facilitate things, either in technical know-how or in material supplies. There were no malpractices of shifting responsibility or mutual blockade, therefore the work efficiency was very high.

At that time, our ranks of scientific and technical personnel were small and were to be expanded through continuously recruiting new workers. We paid great attention to the problem of distributing jobs to college graduates and returned students from abroad. If any of them was not assigned a job related to what he had studied, was not properly assigned or had nothing to do through being assigned a job, we had the power to make adjustments and assign him to a new job. As we were in charge of the tackling of the major problem hurdles, we knew what kind of people were needed by which department and how to assign jobs properly. This was done in the manner of a commander in chief directing a battle. He had to know the kind of troops that were needed on which front and how many troops were needed. Having taken the personnel power in our hands, we combined the management of the tasks with that of personnel. As a result, we enabled these young intellectuals to utilize their strong points and get appropriate jobs, thus, they vigorously struggled in the van under the guidance and command of old specialists and played a material role in

tackling the major technical problems hurdles. Now they have already become the backbone force on various fronts.

4. We should strengthen the centralized unified leadership. Modern science and technology differs widely from that in the 18th and 19th centuries. At that time, scientific research was often the result of the independent efforts of individuals and an individual was able to achieve many inventions and discoveries in his life. Things are vastly different now. True, some research of basic theory and technology, such as research in certain mathematical theories, can be done by adopting old methods, but the research of major basic theories and the research and manufacture of major projects and equipment must be done by means of modern experimentation. Therefore, an individual, unit or even a whole trade or local area does not have sufficient resources to carry this out and we have to concentrate the strength of the whole nation in doing it. In manufacturing guided missiles, atom bombs, airplanes, warships and computers, we needed many new-type materials and sophisticated apparatuses and precision instruments. At that time, these things were not available either at home or abroad. We organized our own force to produce them by division of labor and cooperation and fixed a deadline for the fulfillment of the tasks. At that time, we needed more than 13,000 kinds of new materials and none of these materials had ever been produced at home. Because of the centralized and unified leadership and the vigorous coordination and cooperation, however, we succeeded in testing all these materials in a short time which all satisfied the prescribed state quality standards. To satisfy the need of the development of science and technology work, we organized the force of the whole nation to test produce the "nine major equipments" for making the special types of materials that were of particularly great thickness, thinness, breadth and length. It was a pity that the "Great Cultural Revolution" put an end to all these efforts; otherwise, the technical level of our country's industry would have reached a higher plane. This was an obvious example of science and technology promoting industrial development. If we had not concentrated our science and technical force and did not have the centralized command of our scientific and technical personnel, we would not have fulfilled such magnificent tasks even if we had wished to. These centralized efforts resulted in successes in making products of highly sophisticated technology, the corresponding development of many new industrial sectors and the corresponding establishment of many new branches of learning. People call this period the "golden age" of our country's scientific and technical work. This tells us a truth that in doing all our work we have to proceed from the needs of the state and that this is the starting point for us in considering and handling problems. As long as the state has the need, we should take up the management. We should not be apprehensive of managing too many things. We should manage the personnel, finance and materials because the state needs us to take them up in our management. It is also because of the state's needs that we demand centralized and unified planning, the mobilization of the five contingents and their coordination in solving the contradictions that have emerged. Thus we will be able to bring about the greatest return for our limited resources of labor, materials and funds and avoid the dispersion of the work force and duplication of scientific research projects.

At that time, we called this method of tackling major technical problems hurdles under centralized and unified leadership "developing branches of learning through the processes of fulfilling tasks." This is a good method of developing science and technology. Of course, this is not the only method. Modern science and technology is very complicated, so we should adopt many ways of developing it and should not seek a "uniform" method. We must not discriminate against the research of basic science. Basic science and applied science supplement one another. We should be more far-sighted and should not look down upon basic scientific research because it does not bring along any tangible economic results in a short time. Basic scientific research is the foundation of applied scientific research. Therefore, it is impossible to carry out applied scientific research without a certain amount of basic scientific research. Our principle must be "strengthening applied scientific research while paying attention to basic scientific research" as was pointed out in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th party congress. Premier Zhou expounded on this problem in the past and recently so has Comrade Zhao Ziyang, time and again.

The 12th party congress has already formulated a magnificent plan for socialist modernization and the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC will soon examine, discuss and approve the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The prospects of socialism are as beautiful as a silk embroidery. Now the problem is the earnest implementation of the policies related to our intellectuals. Recently, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that in order to actually achieve the 20-year development plan, in order to complete the construction of a large number of major key projects and in order to tackle major scientific and technical problems hurdles, "the first thing we should do is soundly solve the problem related to the management and employment of our scientific and technical labor force." He said that "in order to break the boundaries of departments and localities, and rationally employ this force, we must unify its management. This will be impossible, if we do not have a strong authoritative organ." I fully agree with this opinion. Now, we have a scientific and technical labor force of more than 5.7 million people. This is not a small technical force. We have some fundamental scientific research equipment and a larger amount of funds. These conditions are much more favorable than those when I was in charge of this work. Now, we are speeding up the development of integrated circuits, especially the development of highly condensed ones with extremely great speed and also the new generation of computers. This is of tremendous significance in promoting the development of science and technology. As long as we overcome decentralism and departmental selfishness and strengthen our centralized and unified leadership, as long as we put an end to the malpractices of shifting responsibility to one another and of mutual blockade, but on the contrary, exercise unified planning, coordinate all the activities of the nation like pieces in a chess game, carry out a rational division of labor, support one another and carry out nationwide cooperation and as long as we give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, we will be able to create a new situation in our country's science and technology work and bring along a new "golden age" in this work.

The key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology. In order to achieve the modernization of science and technology, we should rely on the intellectuals who master modern science and technology. Without intellectuals it will be impossible to achieve either the four modernizations or the magnificent goal of quadrupling. This idea has recently been repeatedly propagated in our press. However, some people are still not convinced, and think that the party has gone too far in implementing its policies related to the intellectuals. This is a very erroneous viewpoint and is very harmful to the socialist cause. We must teach these people to correct their views and to treat this problem with a strategical view. The prejudice of looking down upon knowledge and science and discriminating against intellectuals was originally the reflection of ignorance and backwardness. As a legacy of the old society, it has been of long standing in our society. This prejudice also has its influence in our party. Aggravated by the influence of the "leftist" ideology, various kinds of prejudice of looking down on and discriminating against intellectuals have emerged in the minds of some of our cadres. This also has a very long history. During the period of the Red Army, the medical and telecommunications personnel came from KMT troops. This work could only be done by employing these people because the worker and peasant cadres were not capable of doing it. With the education of the party, these people quickly became our technical cadres and some of them became ministers of our government after the founding of the PRC. They have played a very satisfactory role in our revolution and construction. At that time, they were paid salaries of money, while our commanders in chief and political commissars received their payments in kind instead of money. They led a better life than us. However, some people did not think this was right and complained. During the war of resistance against Japan, we had our base areas, field armies and border area governments and needed to set up hospitals and industrial enterprises and arsenals to make and repair weapons. Moreover, we had to carry out radio telecommunications and establish newspaper offices and broadcast stations. Thus we needed a larger number of intellectuals to join the revolutionary ranks. However, there were obstacles and the intellectuals suffered discrimination. Therefore, in 1939, the party Central Committee issued the "Resolution on Recruiting a Large Number of Intellectuals." Since then, a large number of intellectuals came to the liberated areas.

This problem was not solved after the liberation of the whole country and there have always been conflicts on it. In 1956, the party Central Committee held a national meeting on problems related to the intellectuals, in which Premier Zhou gave the "Report on the Problems Related to Intellectuals." He pointed out that at that time, the main tendency in our party on the problems related to the intellectuals was factionalism, an underestimate of the tremendous progress in politics and in their work of our intellectual circles, an underestimate of the intellectuals' important role in our socialist cause and an ignorance of the fact that the intellectuals were a part of the working class. He emphatically expounded on the position and role of the intellectuals in our socialist construction. He said: In the final analysis, the reason why we should build up a socialist economy is to satisfy, to the greatest possible extent, the constantly increasing material and cultural demands of the whole society. In order to achieve

this aim, we must continuously develop a social productive force and raise labor productivity and must constantly increase and improve socialist production on the basis of a highly developed technology. Therefore, during the period of socialism, we have a demand even more urgent than in any other period for fully raising our technology of production and for fully developing science and utilizing our knowledge of science. Therefore, apart from the necessity of relying on the conscientious labor of the working class and the broad ranks of peasants, it is necessary for us to rely on the conscientious labor of the intellectuals. In other words, we must rely on the close cooperation of manual and mental labor and the fraternal alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, thus the problem was initially solved. However, a reverse tendency emerged in 1957 and 1958.

At the national scientific planning conference and the national conference on theatrical creation held in Guangzhou in 1962, many scientists, writers and artists again aired their views on intellectual policies. Consequently, discussions on an intellectual issue were added to the agenda of the Guangzhou conference. Premier Zhou personally attended the conference. Premier Zhou, Comrade Chen Yi and I, as well as Comrade Guo Moruo, discussed this issue on several occasions. We held that intellectuals are not an independent class. They can serve the bourgeoisie and they can also serve the proletariat. We have engaged in socialism for many years and most of the intellectuals have been trained by us since the founding of the PRC. How can we say that they are bourgeois intellectuals? We proposed to "remove the label from the intellectuals and provide them with a halo" by removing the label of bourgeois intellectuals and proclaiming them intellectuals of the working people. Premier Zhou, Comrade Chen Yi and I spoke at the meetings. Premier Zhou delivered the first speech. He expressed his heartfelt pleasure at the growth and development of the ranks of our intellectuals. The generation of old intellectuals had succeeded in training a generation of new intellectuals, both of them forming socialist intellectual circles. They had made tremendous progress after 12 years of transformation and trials. Like the workers and peasants, most intellectuals love the motherland. The premier said, we were greatly moved by your great love for the motherland. This was the pride in our intellectuals!

Before his return to Beijing, Premier Zhou asked Comrade Chen Yi to deliver a speech announcing the removal of the label of bourgeois intellectuals. Comrade Chen Yi first transmitted to the scientists, writers and artists attending the conference Premier Zhou's words that they were the intellectuals of the people, revolutionary intellectuals, and mental laborers who served the proletariat and should be freed of the label of bourgeois intellectuals. "The workers, peasants and intellectuals are the three component parts of the Chinese working people." He emphatically said: "We should no longer put the label of bourgeois intellectuals on all intellectuals after 12 years of transformation and trials." Comrade Chen Yi made it fairly clear by saying, "They are still uncomplaining, are still willing to follow us and still do not lose confidence in the Communist Party after 12 years of transformation and trials. We can at least see a person's heart. If the Communist Party still fails to test or distinguish a person in 8, 10 or 12 years, the Communist Party does not have foresight!" "Did

Marx, Engels, Lenin or Chairman Mao ever say that the Communist Party does not respect knowledge and science? No one has ever made such a remark. Ignorance is a great enemy. Imperialism is an enemy, feudalism is an enemy and ignorance--with hundreds of millions of people having no knowledge and no scientific knowledge--is also a great enemy."

After being "freed from the label and provided with a halo," the broad section of our intellectuals felt warm to the bottom of their hearts. Pleased and active, they were quick in attaining many achievements in scientific research. This is the fundamental reason for the emergence of the "golden age" in our scientific and technological work.

If we look through history, we can see that we did the work of "removing the label from the intellectuals and providing them with a halo" as far back as in 1962 during the Guangzhou conference. The conclusion affirming that the intellectuals are socialist laborers and a part of the working class was reached at that time. However, the emergence of the "Cultural Revolution" overthrew all this. Under the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," intellectuals were again labeled as "bourgeoisie," "reactionary authorities" and "the stinking ninth category." They were severely hit and humiliated and were unable to stand up. It was necessary for the leading comrades of the party at various levels to actively create good working conditions for the scientific and technical personnel and take good care of them politically and in their livelihood. During the difficult period, in an effort to care for the scientists, I called in the aid of the navy for some fish, in the aid of the Beijing and Guangzhou Military Regions and the Xinjiang Military District for some meat and in the aid of some other localities for some soybeans and edible oil. In the first place, their labor was a very arduous one, and they shouldered a very important task of tackling key problems. The party should take good care of them. However, right and wrong were confounded during the "Cultural Revolution." All this was regarded as the "revisionist line" and was criticized until it was "discredited." They criticized what they called "scientific and technical fish" and "scientific and technical meat." The "leftist" errors developed to a very high degree. This not only subjected the intellectuals to great humiliation but also China's scientific and technological undertakings and even the entire social undertaking to great damage. In the late 1950's, we marched toward the modernization of science and other new branches of learning, with such modernizations as transistors, calculators and lasers. At that time, some Western countries had also just started at the beginning. Twenty years later, the gap between foreign countries and us is greater. This is a fact known to all. Therefore, judging by the history of our party, it has never been able to dispense with intellectuals, either in its revolutionary or construction cause. Whenever we pay attention to intellectuals and adopt a correct policy toward them our cause makes progress and develops. On the other hand, whenever we discriminate against intellectuals and adopt an erroneous policy toward them our cause suffers a setback. This is particularly true in the period of socialist construction.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has, in the course of setting things to rights, reexamined and established the party's policy toward the intellectuals, reaffirming that, by and large, the intellectuals constitute a component part of China's working class. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has delivered many speeches on this issue. Consequently, the intellectuals throughout the country are pleased and have peace of mind for being able to stand up. They have made great contributions by actively working on various fronts. The party has now made clear its policy toward the intellectuals and has issued repeated injunctions on its implementation. The "Revised Draft Constitution of the PRC" submitted to the current NPC for consideration has also made clear in its preamble that in building socialism it is imperative to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals. That is to say, the workers, peasants and intellectuals are the three main social forces in our country and form the principal part of our people. It is necessary to tell the broad section of our cadres and masses to fully understand the position and role of the intellectuals in our socialist modernization.

There are some people who say that "our evaluation of intellectuals is exaggerated" and that intellectuals are "cocky once again." These words are groundless. At present, our implementation of the policies related to the intellectuals has just begun and the resistance we are encountering both within and outside our party is not small and can be regarded as being quite stubborn. I had a talk with a GUANGMING RIBAO reporter in August of this year. Most people approved of this talk when it was published in the newspaper. There were also people who opposed this talk, criticizing the comrades in the GUANGMING RIBAO office for speaking on a bourgeois stand. I have indeed offended some people on this issue. However, what is to be done? We must continue to fight for the interests of the party and state, for the four modernizations and for the overall implementation of our intellectual policies.

On the question of implementing the policy toward the intellectuals, it is still necessary for our press and press institutions to make a loud appeal to the public. It is no good to talk about it in general terms; it is necessary to make a public criticism. It is also no good to make a mild criticism; it is necessary to make a sharp criticism. Sometimes it is even necessary to conduct some struggles. Neither Marx nor Engels said that all intellectuals are reactionary. They always made a concrete analysis of intellectuals and gave different evaluations to different intellectuals. Both Marx and Engels fully affirmed and highly evaluated the contributions to human progress made by such great scientists as Newton, Galileo and Darwin. Engels also specifically said that even under the capitalist system, it is also possible to turn out from among the university students "a king of proletariat who engages in mental labor" and who fights shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal workers engaging in manual labor. For this reason, it is necessary for us to conduct ideological education through various means to enable the broad section of cadres and masses to understand the idea that in developing modernization, making our economy prosper, carrying out the construction of the two civilizations and achieving the

goal of quadrupling by the end of this century, we cannot dispense with scientific and technical progress and we cannot dispense with intellectuals.

At present, we have to pay particular attention to giving play to the role of middle-aged intellectuals. The middle-aged intellectuals ranging from 40 to 50 years old are a generation of new intellectuals who grew up under the direct cultivation of the party. They are a generation serving as a link between the past and future, carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. They love the motherland, socialism and the party and they never change their original intention, even under adverse circumstances. Having laid a relatively solid foundation in professional knowledge, they have made great contributions in the field of science and technology to the cause of China's modernization program. These middle-aged intellectuals are the backbone on all the fronts. The heavy task of developing modern science and technology, building both material and spiritual civilization and raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation rests on their shoulders. This is a glorious mission entrusted to them by history. They have a heavy work load and have made great contributions. However, their salaries are low and they have a lot of difficulties in their livelihood. The party's policy toward the intellectuals has not been completely implemented among them. In many departments and localities, they have not received their due respect and good care. The problems related to their working and living conditions have not been solved in a satisfactory manner. This merits the attention of our leading comrades at various levels, particularly the leading comrades in factories and institutions. The academic ranks and titles of intellectuals should be solved in a satisfactory manner. However, there is also the problem of pay and conditions that should be gradually solved by adopting various specific measures. In short, improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals has become a very urgent issue. Marx said long ago that mental labor is a complicated one that should receive relatively better remunerations. We should considerably increase their salaries. We should practically solve this problem by overcoming the egalitarian mentality in our ranks. It is necessary to free the intellectuals of their trouble at home so that they can wholeheartedly engage in the four modernizations.

The advanced deeds of Comrades Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu publicized in succession recently by GUANGMING RIBAO and GONGREN RIBAO are very touching. The communist spirit of these two Communist Party members is worth our learning. They had bright prospects in the first place because they had high consciousness and made great contributions to the state. Comrade Wang Daheng, director of the Changcun Optical Machinery Research Institute where Comrade Jiang Zhuying worked before his death, is a noted Chinese optician. He had made a great contribution to the optical cause of our country. Comrade Jiang Zhuying was precisely a student of his pride, to whom he was going to hand over the future task. It was a pity, however, that Comrade Jiang Zhuying died while he was "tackling key problems." This constituted a loss for the state. Such intellectuals as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu are excellent representatives of the contemporary Chinese intellectuals and are a valuable treasure of the party and state. We all deeply regretted

their unfortunate early deaths. What is more important, however, is that the leading party and government cadres at various levels should take good care of and show great concern for thousands upon thousands of living Jiang Zhuying's and Luo Jianfu's. We should draw lessons from the early death of these middle-aged intellectuals. Have the leading comrades of our party and government organizations at various levels failed to do what they ought to have done and take better care of them? It should be noted that, as far as our country is concerned, our scientific and technological personnel are not many but are few. Those scientists and technical experts who love the motherland, work diligently and conscientiously and have real ability and training are our national treasure. Naturally, the intellectuals also have their shortcomings and not all intellectuals are competent persons. I hope all intellectuals will study hard, strive to make progress, overcome their shortcomings, raise their professional standards and strive to become both Red and expert and make more contributions to the motherland.

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EDUCATE THE PARTY MEMBERS IN THE NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION, MAKE IDEOLOGICAL PREPARATIONS FOR PARTY RECTIFICATION

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[Speech by Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522] on 19 November 1982 at the national conference on educating party members]

[Text] Comrades, this national conference on educating party members is an important meeting for implementing the 12th party congress spirit, studying and making arrangements for education of party members in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution, and preparing for party rectification. I now want to give some views.

I. The New Party Constitution Is the Best Since the Founding of the Party

The new party constitution since its promulgation has drawn a strong response inside and outside the party and at home and abroad. Many comrades hold that the new party constitution "is the quintessence of the party's historical experience and of the wisdom of the whole party" and is "the weapon for rectifying and building the party." The new party constitution affirms in charter form the correct line since the third plenary session, and there are great prospects for our party and our cause.

A number of foreign publications and press agencies have also held that the new party constitution is "sober and realistic in tone," "expresses the resolve to refurbish the party work style," and has laid down a "Chinese-style path for building socialism."

How should we judge whether a communist party constitution is good or not? There can only be one criterion and that is whether it is solved well or not the question of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of a country's revolution. I will now apply this criterion to analyze the question of why we say that the constitution of the 12th party congress is the best since the founding of the party.

1. The new party constitution meets the needs of the governing party. Ours has been the governing party for more than 30 years. The constitution of the eighth party congress touched on this question. However, as the state had not been in existence long at that time, the conditions for solving this

question were not sufficiently ripe. The constitution of the 12th party congress takes full consideration for the position of the governing party and has appropriately made a series of specific regulations for ensuring that the organizations at all levels of the governing party and all its members have rules to follow. The party constitution includes for the first time the stipulation that "the party must conduct its activities within the framework of the constitution and the law." Ours is the governing party that leads political power in the whole country. The party's line, principles and policies are the concentrated expression of the common interests and will of the people of all nationalities throughout the land. Through the constitution and the laws formulated by the state organs of power, our party's leadership of the people of the whole country is also the concentrated expression of the common interests and will of the people of all nationalities throughout the land, and has also become the will of the state. Hence, under our socialist system, the will of the people, the state and the party are identical. For Communist Party members, no matter what post they hold, practicing and adhering to the constitution means carrying out the will of the party. Any tendency of setting the constitution and the law against the tasks of the party, of weak concept of law and discipline, or of failure to observe the law or to strictly enforce it will weaken the position of the governing party. All such tendencies are intolerable. Everyone still remembers the incident that occurred a few years ago: The masses asked us "whether the constitution or the county CPC committee is the greater." This is a simple question and also a sharp criticism. The new party constitution has now made a totally unequivocal reply to this question. The position of the governing party poses new demands not only on the framework of the party's activities but also on the party members and cadres. The constitution of the 12th party congress lays down regulations suited to the position of the governing party with regard to the rights and obligations of party members, the basic conditions for party cadres, and the tasks of the party organizations at all levels. The new party constitution demands that the party members "always be ordinary members of the laboring people," that "party cadres are the people's servants," that "apart from individual interests and work duties within the framework stipulated by the system and policy, no party member may pursue any private interest or special powers," and that "the party's leading cadres at all levels, whether they were democratically elected or appointed by the leading organs, do not hold their posts for life, and all of them can be transferred or relieved of their posts." The appearance of these stipulations in the new party constitution shows that our party has become a mature governing party.

2. The new party constitution meets the needs of bringing order out of chaos. Many of the clauses of the new party constitution can be described as correcting the mistakes of the 10 years of internal disorder and consolidating the results of bringing order out of chaos. The new party constitution gives a complete and scientific outline of the party's ideological line: "Proceed from reality in everything, link theory with reality, seek truth from facts, and test and develop the truth in the course of practice." This is a summation of the party's positive and negative experiences in ideological line for a long time in the past, and is also the ideological

weapon for continuing to bring order out of chaos in all respects in the future. The new party constitution stipulates that "the party prohibits any form of personality cult." This shows that our party has absorbed the serious lessons of indulging in personality cult in the past and is resolved to establish correct relationships between the leadership and the party and between the leadership and the masses in accordance with the historical materialist viewpoint. The new party constitution also stipulates that "no party member, no matter how high or low his post, may decide himself on major issues." This has always been our party's consistent principle. It has also been put forward in the light of the serious damage suffered by the party in the past as a result of the individual autocracy with "one person having the say" that appeared in our party for a time in the past.

3. The new party constitution suits the needs of socialist modernization. In accordance with the main contradictions in Chinese society, the party's general task in the present stage, and the focus of party work, the new party constitution gives prominence to socialist modernization. This is the first time that a party constitution has assigned such an important position to the task of modernization. The new party constitution also stipulates that "party leadership is mainly political, ideological and organizational leadership." This has thus solved in principle the major question of how to uphold party leadership in the cause of China's socialist construction, and has prevented lack of division of party and government and of party and enterprises, with low work efficiency, from continuing to affect the progress of the cause of socialist construction. The new party constitution stipulates that the rank of party cadres must be revolutionized, younger, better educated and more specialized, that the party cadres must "undergo party training, investigation and examination," and that the leading cadres at all levels must meet six basic criteria. The party's cadres are a backbone force in the socialist modernization cause, and building a high-quality cadre force is precisely a stipulation of strategic significance that our party has laid down in order to meet the needs of the new period.

4. The new party constitution suits the needs of building socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. Enhancing the masses' communist awareness, so that the people will genuinely become the masters of the country, is an expression of the superiority of socialism, and is also an historic task shouldered by the party. The new party constitution points out in its general program: "While leading the people to build a high degree of material civilization," the party "leads them to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization," and it must "lead the people to develop socialism, put the socialist system on a sound basis, and consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship." The new party constitution therefore puts forth a whole series of specific demands regarding the stipulations on the tasks of party members, party cadres and party organizations at all levels.

5. The new party constitution suits the needs of achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party work style. The three basic demands put forward by the new party constitution regarding a high degree of ideological and political unity, wholehearted service for the people, and the upholding of democratic centralism express in concentrated form the strong will of our party to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in its work style. In order to fulfill the three basic demands in party building, the new party constitution lays down a whole series of regulations in the chapters on party members, party cadres, the party's organizational system, the party's grassroots organizations and the party's discipline.

The five "suitings" mentioned above show that the reason why the new party constitution is good is because it fully embodies a high degree of integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, and a high degree of integration of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the vanguard force of the proletariat with the practice of party building. The entire contents of the constitution's 10 chapters and 50 articles are closely linked to our target of endeavor, to the destiny of the state and people, and to the tasks of revival and reform facing us. Engels said that the value of the resolutions of a party congress depends on their scientific nature. The five "suitings" we have spoken of as properties of the new party constitution are precisely the outstanding hallmarks of the scientific nature of this party constitution.

Engels was one of the writers of the "Communist Manifesto." Throughout his life, he took part in revising, examining and approving many party constitutions and programs. In this respect, he gave some very pithy expositions. He once held the viewpoint that the history of a party is the best exposition on the party's constitution. In our previous passages, we evaluated the party constitution approved by the 12th party congress from the angle of its scientific nature. Now we are going to use this viewpoint of Engels' and proceed from the evolution of the party's history and of its previous constitutions to look into the question of whether the 12th congress' constitution is one of the best party constitutions since the founding of the CPC. During the 61 years since the founding of the CPC, it has formulated 12 party programs and constitutions (all are party constitutions, except the one approved by the first party congress which was called the "Program of the CPC"). In the 24 years from the founding of the party to the time before the seventh party congress was held, six party programs and constitutions were formulated with the direct assistance and guidance of the Comintern. This was a result of the international and domestic political conditions at that time. The constitution of the seventh party congress was the first party constitution that was independently formulated by our party after the dissolution of the Comintern. It was an exercise in integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's revolutionary practice and was a party constitution that facilitated the prosperity and development of the party and guided the revolution in vigorously developing until nationwide victory was achieved. The constitution of the eighth party congress was the first party constitution that was formulated after we seized state power. It inherited the strong points of the seventh congress' constitution and put forward new requirements for the party in order to make sure

its position as a party in power. What is especially valuable was that the report on the revision of the party constitution given at the eighth congress fully expounded on the question related to the personality cult. The eighth congress' constitution was a good one. It was a pity that some of the regulations of this constitution were not carried out. The constitutions of the 9th and 10th party congresses reflected our party's mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The 11th congress' constitution was formulated not long after the smashing of the "gang of four." As the party was not sufficiently mentally prepared for the overall elimination of the "leftist" mistakes, this party constitution was not free from the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, though it had played some positive roles. It was precisely through drawing on both the positive and negative experiences of the previous party constitutions and through making further developments and improvements on the basis of the 7th and 8th congresses' constitutions that the constitution of the 12th congress was formulated through 3 years of collecting the wisdom of the whole party. Compared with all the previous party constitutions, the 12th party congress' constitution deserves to be regarded as being the best one since the founding of the CPC.

A recent report reflects the idea of some people that regarding the 12th congress' constitution as the "best party constitution since the founding of the CPC" will lead to negating the history and give rise to difficulties in evaluating the party constitution of the 13th and 14th party congresses. This idea is wrong. By regarding the 12th party congress' constitution as the best one, we mean that it inherits the previous constitutions and facilitates further development. Since it inherits the previous ones, it certainly does not negate the past nor the party's history. On the contrary, it scientifically confirms the history of the party. Since it facilitates future development, it has not yet been 100 percent perfect and should be tested in practice. If it is found that some of the stipulations of this constitution are not suitable or need additions, the 13th and 14th party congresses must and can revise it, add something to it and develop it in order to improve it. These comrades' apprehension for negating the party's history precisely proves that they are not familiar with the party's history and their fear of a harmful influence on precisely evaluating the future shows that they do not really understand our infinitely bright future.

II. A Good Party Constitution Is Formulated To Be Implemented. Therefore, We Must Act in Accordance With the New Party Constitution

"A step of actual action is more important than a dozen programs." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 3) This well-known saying by Marx tells us that we should not pay attention only to the formulation of the program but fail to practice it. It is very relevant to use these words of Marx to explain the importance of implementing the new party constitution. Since the founding of the CPC, 12 party constitutions have been formulated. None of the victories of our revolution could have been achieved if our party had not formulated and implemented its correct constitutions.

Since its promulgation, the new party constitution has been unanimously well received, both at home and abroad. However, there are some people who have expressed their worries that some of the stipulations in the constitution cannot possibly be carried out. These worries are not completely groundless. Quite a few of the correct stipulations in the eighth party congress' constitution have not been satisfactorily carried out and soon after the congress there emerged the movement of fighting against rightist deviation and then the 10 years of civil disorder caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution." Should we allow, then, people's worries to continuously exist? No, we should not. We have to do some work in order to establish in people's minds confidence in the unquestionable implementation of the 12th party congress' constitution. We should tell people that the implementation of the 8th congress' constitution was hindered because of certain historical conditions. These historical conditions were: 1) dogmatism and personality cult seriously fettered the party's ideology; 2) the "leftist" tendency seriously existed in our party; 3) the inner-party political life, especially the political life of the high-level leading stratum, was abnormal and democratic centralism was undermined; and 4) though the shift of the emphasis of the party's work had been put forward, it could not have been carried out because of the "leftist" mistakes in the theory and practice related to the problem of class struggle. Now all these problems have been sorted out and resolved. First, ideologically speaking, we have broken away from the longstanding serious fetters of dogmatism and personality cult and have reestablished the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism. Second, we have already sorted out and eliminated in an overall manner the "leftist" mistakes arising during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Third, inner-party democratic life has already embarked on a route of normal development. In this respect, the CPC Central Committee has taken the lead in setting an example. Fourth, we have already carried out a systematic criticism of and eliminated the erroneous theory of "regarding class struggle as the key link" and "carrying on the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" that was put forward during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

The emphasis of the party's work has already been shifted on socialist modernization. The new party constitution and all other important documents of the 12th party congress were formulated by the party after profoundly summing up its historical experience, comprehensively analyzing the actual conditions and evaluating all the favorable and unfavorable conditions. Our full confidence in the implementation of the new party constitution is scientifically based. In my opinion, if we clearly explain to these comrades the above-mentioned reasons, they will be confident rather than worried about the implementation of the new party constitution.

As for a few others, they have confidence neither in the implementation of the new party constitution nor in any of our causes and communism. Often these people cannot be convinced by mere reasoning. We should allow them to watch for 1 year or several years and then let them use facts to correct their mistakes in understanding by themselves. However, this only applies to the people outside the party. Our party members are not allowed to spread any erroneous ideas that may injure the serious nature of the new

party constitution. Nor are any of our party members allowed to refuse to implement the party constitution on the excuse of lacking confidence. This is the discipline of the party.

The implementation of the new party constitution begins on the day when it was approved, that is, 6 September 1982. This is effective on a large scale for every party organization and member. It cannot be delayed until confidence is established or until the party rectification is carried out. Our publicizing and implementing of the new party constitution is aimed at laying a foundation for the party rectification next year. We should first carry out education and then examine the results. At a later time after education we will evaluate whether a party member is qualified or unqualified and criticize him for his shortcomings, and thus we will be able to make them gladly accept criticism and evaluation. When we were in Yanan, we rectified the party work style first and then held a party congress. After the party rectification, we unified the thoughts of the whole party and formulated a correct line. As a result, the seventh congress became a congress of unity and victory. This time, we held the 12th party congress first and then began to carry out party rectification. Our party is such a big party that in order to satisfactorily carry out party rectification, we have to spend some time in publicizing and educating people on the party constitution after the congress was held before we carry out an overall party rectification. We must very carefully do all the preparatory work and must pay extremely close attention to this work. It is wrong to think that this work can be delayed until next year when the party rectification has begun and thus slacken our efforts at present. Of course, during and after party rectification, we should continue to study and publicize the new party constitution. We must clearly explain this to all the comrades of party committees at all levels and to comrades of the propaganda, organization and discipline inspection departments of these committees.

III. In Order To Implement the New Party Constitution, We Should First Grasp Education

In order to implement the new party constitution, we should conscientiously pay attention to educating our party members. In the document concerning the strengthening of education among party members, a very comprehensive stipulation has been made on the requirements of educating party members in the party constitution. The problem now is to satisfactorily carry out this stipulation.

Our party has more than 39 million members who are organized into more than 2 million basic party branches. To carefully, vigorously and soundly organize party members to study and implement the new party constitution is a very arduous task.

We all know that our ideological education and our work of education among the party members is still a weak sector. In other words, we have a lot of outstanding work in this field. It is precisely for this reason that we have to make great efforts to lay a foundation for satisfactorily doing this work. Otherwise some party members will remain ignorant of the

stipulations of the new party constitution a few months, or even 1/2 or 1 year after the new party constitution came into force. As a result the instances of violating the party constitution will frequently occur and even become a common practice. This will actually aggravate some people's doubt about the possibility in carrying out the new party constitution.

The joint investigation report on the situation in the education among party members in 19 provinces, municipalities and regions that was made by the organization and propaganda departments of the CPC Central Committee in June and July of this year has raised a question that calls for deep thought: Why have our party members failed to play the same great role that they did at the initial period after the founding of the PRC, since the proportion of party members in the national population now is 1 to 25, which is 4 times the 1 to 100 proportion of that period? In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Yaobang answered this question. He said that this was because we have as yet failed to completely eliminate the pernicious influence of the 10 years of civil disorder, because under the new conditions the corrosive influence of the various kinds of ideology of the exploiting classes have aggravated the situation and because the problem still exists of impurity in ideology, work style and organization in our party. The document on strengthening education among party members points out that the actual reflection of this problem tells us that in order to create an overall new situation in our socialist modernization, we should first create a new situation in our party building and in educating our party members.

In this article, we are going to recommend a good experience of satisfactorily carrying out education among party members. This is the experience of the Hunan Changling oil refinery in developing the education movement of "becoming qualified party members." Through careful investigation, the party committee of this factory has learned of the problems among the ranks of party members there. How should these problems be solved? After repeated analysis, they found through repeated discussions an idea that made a breakthrough. This idea is that they should put an end to the previous practice of paying attention only to the people at both ends and neglecting education among those people who are in the intermediate state, and instead, they should pay attention to educating those party members who are in the intermediate state and who form the majority of the party members. They organized party members to study the documents about party building and systematically expound for them on the basic knowledge about the party. Then every party member compared what he had studied with his own behavior and found what requirements he had satisfied and what requirements he had failed to satisfy, and then fixed a goal for him to make further efforts to achieve. During the process of study and comparison, the cadres of the party committee and branches engaged in heart-to-heart talks with the party members and consciously helped those whose work performance, work style and thoughts were in an intermediate state to catch up with the advanced. Then they carried out the evaluation and comparison movement of "becoming qualified party members." After this educational activity, 1,000 of the 1,100 party members who were in an intermediate state in the factory remarkably raised their level of awareness and 300 of

them caught up with the advanced party members. The change in the intermediate party members greatly shocked the originally backward party members. The old "isolation of the advanced" has already been put to an end and the practice of "vying with one another to become advanced" has greatly developed.

This factory has, furthermore, extended the movement of "becoming qualified party members" and turned it into an education movement of "becoming four qualified," that is, "becoming qualified cadres," "becoming qualified CYL members" and "becoming qualified workers." The change in party work style has brought a change in the general mood in the factory and the erroneous idea of "looking for money in everything" has gradually lost its market.

To be effective, education among the party members should be relevant and should be carried out in the manner of being particular about methods. There is still a great deal of the remnant influence of "leftism" in our methods of ideological and political work. In one of his speeches, Comrade Yaobang pointed out that in exposing, criticizing and investigating, many localities still adopt the old methods of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Are there now any old fetters and conventions of old ideology in the methods of some of our people in considering problems, inspecting people and doing ideological work? I think there are. For example, some areas are still using the "leftist" methods of indiscriminately carrying out criticism in an unfair and exaggerated manner. Of course, we must oppose the liberalist practice of keeping on good terms with everybody and maintaining peace at the expense of principle. The combat effectiveness of ideological and political work lies in its relevance, but maintaining its relevance is aimed at effectively stirring up rather than injuring the initiative of our party members. In carrying out education among party members in some localities, there has emerged a practice of calling some people party members of the "Great Cultural Revolution." This depressed the comrades who joined the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and hurt their feelings. The party members who joined our party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" constitute 40 percent of our party's total membership.

Indeed, there are some of them who were abruptly admitted into the party, but we should not indiscriminately say that none of them is qualified or indiscriminately call every one of them a rebel. There are indeed among them many good party members. Of course, there are also some who have committed mistakes, some even serious ones. However, these mistakes were committed under the historical conditions at that time. If only they are not the "three kinds of people," we should not hold them individually responsible for these mistakes. These comrades should be helped and educated with meticulous care, both in the educational activities of studying the new party constitution now and in the party rectification next year. Thus, we will make them feel the warmth of the party organizations' concern and become more close to the party organizations. As for those who joined the party before the "Great Cultural Revolution," during the educational activities of studying the new party constitution, we should tell them that the longer one has been educated by the party, the better

one should take the lead in implementing the new party constitution. We should make them understand that "qualified party members" cannot always remain unchanged and that a qualified party member of the past may become an unqualified one under the new conditions if he fails to make efforts to study and implement the new party constitution.

IV. The Key to the Implementation of the New Party Constitution Lies in Cadres

By treating cadres as the key to the implementation of the new party constitution, we mean that party cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, must pay attention to and be good at educating party members. Moreover, they should set examples in taking the lead in implementing the new party constitution.

Reflected in the sphere of party building, the tendency to neglect ideological and political work means neglecting education among party members.

Seeing that the 12th congress documents stress ideological and political work, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the education among party members, some cadres have put forward the question of "policy and education, which is more powerful"? What they mean is that since we have the policies of enlivening the economy at home and opening to the outside world and the various policies related to politics, culture, education and cadres, it is enough to rely on giving play to the force of these policies and there is no need to stress ideological and political work or education among party members. This is, of course, an incorrect view. Indeed, correct policies are powerful. However, the implementation of these policies depends on the ideological and political work publicizing and explaining these policies. This is the first point. The second is that ideological and political work shoulders an even more important task than publicizing the current policies. This task is to train people to foster communist ideology. Comrade Mao Zedong said that political work is the lifeline of all economic work. The political work he meant here is ideological and political work that is also very powerful. Both the view of regarding policies as being so powerful as to enable us to dispense with ideological and political work and that of regarding ideological and political work as being so powerful as to enable us to dispense with policies are one-sided views. We suffered quite a lot in the past because of these two one-sided views. Now we must be vigilantly on our guard against them. There has been yet another view that holds that ideological and political work is weak by nature and therefore we cannot rouse people to pay attention to it in spite of our emphasis on it. This, in fact, misunderstands ideological and political work. Comrade Zhou Enlai once sharply criticized the practice of looking down upon ideological and political work. He said: "It is never a fault of the political work itself that our political work becomes empty talk. The blame lies in our political workers' failure to carry out genuine revolutionary political work." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 93) This has made a point for us that our cadres should not only pay attention to ideological and political work and to the education among our party members, but should also learn to be good at doing this

work and do this work very effectively. Have we not said that we should "strike a chord in people's hearts"? When our ideological and political work and our education among party members can strike a chord in people's hearts, this work and education can be regarded as highly effective.

The report to the 12th party congress points out that the construction of socialist spiritual civilization relies on four contingents: the contingents of ideological and political workers, cultural workers, scientific workers and educational workers. The education among the party members relies mainly on the contingent of ideological and political workers. According to a rough calculation, this contingent consists of more than 3 million people. This is quite a large number, but the trouble is the insufficient political quality of this contingent. The responsible comrade of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee has gone down to investigate the situation. He has found that some party committee secretaries could speak quite a lot about the production, but could not give any clear idea about political work or education among party members. He called these comrades "directors of factories in the true sense, but false secretaries." I think that this is a reasonable criticism. Of course, a director of a factory should also do ideological and political work. It will not do for a "director in its true sense" to fail to do ideological and political work. It seems that some people have a few muddled ideas on the problem of being professionally competent. Originally, our advocacy of being professionally competent meant that our cadres should be experts in their jobs. This means that those who take charge of management should be management experts, those who undertake horticulture should be expert horticulturists, those who engage in education should be education experts and those who do ideological and political work should be expert ideological and political workers.

If a secretary of a party committee or a director of the propaganda or organization department does not understand the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, is not familiar with the history of the party, does not have basic knowledge about the party, does not know how to talk with the masses, give party lectures or do ideological and political work, he cannot be regarded as being professionally competent. This should be included in future evaluation regulations. We should gradually form an idea that ideological and political work and the work of education among party members is a type of science. It is a science for running the party and the state. The millions of cadres holding posts in this work should strive to become versed in this science, and thus a large number of them will become experts in doing ideological and political work and will be able to fulfill the task assigned them in the new period.

The idea that the key to the implementation lies in cadres has another even more important implication, that is, our cadres must take the lead in observing and implementing the new party constitution. For a long time, some of our comrades had a kind of erroneous idea. It seemed to them that the ideological and political work meant only how to educate the masses and it seldom struck them that this also meant that leading cadres must first of all receive education. This had already been made very clear in Comrade

Yaobang's article entitled "On the Problem Related to Ideological and Political Work." We must correct this erroneous idea. In the northeast, there is a county called Sunwu County where a loud cry for changing the party work style was raised for a long time. But no substantial results were achieved. Later, the criticism of the masses made the comrades of the county CPC committee see their errors. The masses said that the committee spoke loudly about changing the party work style, but it was "anxious only in words and slack in deeds and it only blew the bugle but never began its march a step forward." In accordance with the masses' criticism, the county CPC committee first rectified itself. It sorted out and corrected one by one all the unhealthy practices of the leading group of the committee in the past few years, including using public funds to give banquets, embezzling public property and shifting the rural residence register of their relatives into nonrural residence registers. The committee published all this, making the news available to the whole county. The leadership disclosed without reserve to the masses all its unhealthy practices and how these practices were being corrected and requested the lower levels and the masses to supervise it. This showed a Marxist's breadth of vision and was also the best method for education. By doing this, the leadership, in fact, called on the lower levels and the masses as if saying "I have corrected my errors, now what are you going to do?" However, this time the call was no longer given in vain because it was not a call criticized by the masses for being loud in words but slack in deeds. This method is very effective. Now in Sunwu County, a new situation in party work style and the general mood of the people has already emerged.

Some comrades who have studied the ideological and political work have given the following viewpoint: The argument that can teach people is half formed by words and half formed by deeds. I think that this is a correct viewpoint and it conforms to the argument that those who educate others in Marxism must themselves receive education first. If an educator acts in a way different from what he orally advocates, he criticizes the people from the platform, but is criticized by them behind his back, what right does he have to teach the others? Here I should furthermore mention that the cadres whom we regarded as being the key to the implementation of the party constitution are not only the cadres in charge of ideological and political work, but are also all the cadres, especially the leading cadres of the party at all levels. In July this year, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee held a forum of fine party members. At this forum, Comrade Ding Shie, a well-known Shanghai opera actress, presented a very moving idea. She said: "First, I must treat myself as a party member and I should not treat myself as being an artist first," thus I will be able to overcome the tendency of treating myself as being special and becoming self-important. Here, she has put forth a very poignant question: Should our party members who are engaged in theoretical, educational, scientific and technical or literary and art work, or who hold leading posts, treat themselves first as being party members or first as being experts, well-known personages or leading cadres? Indeed, this question is worth the deep consideration of some of our comrades. In this activity of education in the new party constitution that is being carried out throughout our party, we should remind those comrades who do not observe the party constitution and disregard party

discipline that the criteria for a "qualified party member" is the same for any party member and that our party welcomes those of its members who are brave to correct the mistakes they have committed, but will not allow any special party members, who cling to refusing to implement the party constitution, to remain in the organization of the pioneers of the proletariat.

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SAFEGUARD THE CONSTITUTION'S DIGNITY, ENSURE ITS ENFORCEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 17-18, 33

[Editorial]

[Text] Being deliberated and approved by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, the Constitution of the PRC has been officially promulgated. This is a great event in the Chinese people's political life. This is another great achievement in the building of a high degree of socialist democracy and a high level of socialist civilization, with things being set to rights since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The new constitution has won the warm support of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Its enforcement will inevitably guarantee the further consolidation of the political situation in China, guarantee the development of socialist democracy and the improvement of the socialist legal system, and guarantee the smooth development of our socialist modernization.

By carrying forward and developing the basic principles of the 1954 constitution and overcoming the drawbacks of the 1978 constitution, the new constitution has summed up the rich experiences of developing socialism in China over the past 30 years and more and has concentrated the will of the people of all nationalities. Both the current situations and future prospects have been taken into account in the new constitution. It is really a Chinese-style constitution that tallies with the needs of socialist modernization in the new historical period and it will remain unchanged for a long time to come. The new constitution adheres to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the CPC and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is formulated with the four basic principles as the general guideline. It prescribes the general task in the new historical period and lays down principled stipulations on China's system of the people's democratic dictatorship, the socialist economic system, socialist spiritual civilization, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, the state structure, the unifying of the nation and the unity of nationalities and the independent foreign policy. For example, the restoration in the new constitution of the formulation that China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship is not a simple restoration of the formulation and its contents in the 1954 constitution; instead, it accurately states the present condition of the classes in China

and the broad basis of our political power. It truly reflects the fact that a socialist economic system has been established in our country and that it is growing ever stronger, affirms socialist public ownership of the means of production as the basis of our socialist economic system and the individual economy of the working people in urban and rural areas as a complement to the socialist public economy, and also stipulates that the planned economy should play a dominant role while the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism should also be brought into play. It restores the principle of the 1954 constitution that all citizens are equal before the law and stipulates citizens' fundamental freedoms and rights as well as their basic duties to the state and society. All contents and stipulations in the new constitution reflect the achievements in the work of setting things to rights since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, represent the fundamental interests of the people and embody the uniformity of the party's decisions and the people's will. Thus, they are in conformity with our country's conditions and people's wishes. The new constitution is a good statute for administering our country in the new period. It is the state's fundamental law, which has the highest legal authority, and functions as the foundation for general legislation. Thus, its legal authority is higher than other laws. As Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out in his speech at the closing meeting of the NPC session, the promulgation and enforcement of the new constitution will certainly push the building of our socialist democracy and legal system to a new phase and will certainly push our modernization construction to a new stage.

It was through more than 2 years of work under the guidance of the party's correct line and through the nationwide discussion which pooled the wisdom of the masses that the new constitution was formulated in a time when our country was experiencing a great historical change. The course of formulating the new constitution was in fact a course in which the people of all nationalities fully exercised their democratic rights. Ours is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute the three basic social forces and are the masters of the country. All power in our country belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the NPC and the local people's congresses at different levels. The people administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law. The people not only have the right to participate in the discussion and formulation of the nation's fundamental law, but also have the right to supervise its enforcement. This is a fundamental sign of socialist democracy. Our socialist democracy is enjoyed by most people and is characterized by the people being the masters of the country. Thus, it is a high degree of democracy. The bourgeois democracy can never compare with it.

Once being promulgated, the new constitution came into effect; it now has a universal binding force. The new constitution stipulated: "The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in

the country must take the constitution as the basic norm of conduct, and they have the duty to uphold the dignity of the constitution and ensure its implementation." This is to say, all political parties and organizations, all departments and units, all groups and individuals should resolutely act in accordance with the constitution and no person is allowed to violate it. The NPC and its Standing Committee have the function and power to supervise the enforcement of the constitution; local people's congresses at all levels have also the function and power to guarantee that the constitution is abided by and implemented in their respective administrative areas. It should be noted that there are now many favorable conditions for the enforcement of the new constitution. Our party has successfully completed its task of setting the guiding ideology to rights. Developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system are our party's unswerving principles. After drawing a deep lesson from the 10 years of domestic turmoil, the party and the people have all realized the great importance of the constitution and other laws in maintaining our nation's unity and stability and in the development of our cause. Through the propaganda work and education in the socialist legal system in recent years, the vast number of cadres and masses have been strengthening their awareness of the legal system. If all our 1 billion people have the idea and habit of abiding by and safeguarding the constitution, this will constitute a huge strength. All kinds of obstructions will inevitably be overpowered by this strength. We should have full confidence that the new constitution can be complied with and implemented well.

To effectively guarantee the implementation of the new constitution, we must do a good job in three areas, namely, making it known to everybody, abiding by it and safeguarding it. To make it known to everybody, we must do a great deal of propaganda and education work in a planned, methodical and systematic way so as to let the masses understand the constitution. Party committees at all levels should take the propaganda and education work in this field as a matter of importance. In general, the people in our country, including cadres at all levels, are less aware of laws and legal knowledge. This is particularly the case for the vast number of youths. Now we should strengthen education in the legal system through the study and publicity of the new constitution. Leading cadres should take the lead in the study and should personally explain the constitution to other cadres and the masses. It is necessary, through all kinds of media and means of propaganda, to publicize the principled spirit and specific stipulations of the new constitution and to make them known to every household so that the new constitution can strike root in the hearts of the people. Through propaganda and education, we should improve cadres' and the masses' sense of responsibility in being masters and strengthen their awareness of the socialist legal system so that cadres and the masses can all consciously comply with the new constitution and guide their actions with it, thus being citizens who have lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

Abiding by the constitution is the sacred duty of every citizen. Party organizations, leading cadres and all party members must abide by the new constitution and be the models of implementing the new constitution. A

qualified party member or cadre must first be a qualified citizen or a model citizen. Our party is the party in power. It not only leads the people in formulating the constitution, but also leads the people in putting the constitution into effect. Only when the party requires its organizations at all levels and all its members, and particularly leading cadres, to set examples with their own conduct and play an exemplary role in complying with the new constitution can other social organizations and the masses be required to follow suit in complying with the new constitution. Cadres in our party and state, no matter in what positions they are situated, should never regard themselves as special citizens who need not confine their conduct within the limits of the constitution and laws, still less can they utilize their functions and powers to seek private interests for themselves or to gain profit for themselves by bending the law. The whole party must follow the stipulation in the new party constitution that its activities must be carried out within the limits of the constitution and laws. People's governments and judicial departments at all levels must act strictly according to law and ensure the enforcement of the new constitution.

By safeguarding the constitution we mean that we must safeguard its dignity and dare to struggle against all illegal and criminal activities. We should cultivate a prevailing custom that people always dare to protect good people and good things and dare to oppose evil people and evil things. We should create a strong public opinion that abiding by discipline and law is the most glorious thing while violating law and committing crimes is the most ignominious thing. We should encourage the revolutionary spirit of not hesitating to dedicate one's life to safeguarding the dignity of the constitution. All fronts should energetically commend and support good people and good deeds that consciously comply with the constitution, guard state secrets, cherish public property, abide by labor discipline and public order, respect social morality and resolutely struggle against evil people and evil things. People who disregard law and discipline and sabotage the socialist legal system should be exposed and punished. In particular, we must expose and crack down on the hostile forces that undermine the socialist cause. All actions in violation of the constitution and other laws must be dealt with according to state law. No lawbreakers should be allowed to escape the net of justice.

Every one of us must understand that the people are the masters of our country and society and that the constitution is the fundamental norm for the people to exercise their duty as the masters. According to the constitution, no persons in our country can be free from being supervised by other people and no person can give up his duty of supervising others. This represents both the right and the duty of being a master. Every one of us should fully exercise this right and faithfully carry out this duty, being both a model in abiding by law and a brave fighter in defending law, so that we can certainly ensure the thorough implementation of the constitution.

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A PLAN TO LAUNCH THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ON A PATH OF HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT--ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SIXTH 5-YEAR PLAN

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[Article by Fang Weizhong [2075 4850 0022]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The Sixth 5-Year Plan for China's economic and social development has been examined and approved by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC. It is thus the second quite well-conceived 5-year plan following the First 5-Year Plan, a plan which is fairly comprehensive in content and relatively appropriate in target terms.

Since the carrying out of our economic construction in a planned way in 1953, China has executed five 5-year plans altogether. Except the First 5-Year Plan which had a fairly comprehensive plan and was successfully fulfilled, the remaining four 5-year plans had merely suggested quotas or plan outlines and moreover, due to the impact of the "Great Leap Forward" movement or damage during the decade of domestic turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution," coupled with the influence of "leftist" thinking, some of the plans characterized by impetuosity and rashness and excessively high targets failed to be smoothly implemented and even brought about serious setbacks to the development of the national economy. The Sixth 5-Year Plan has appeared before the people with a brandnew look. It is characterized not only by its comprehensive contents but still more by its unique style, that is, it has conscientiously summed up the positive and negative experience of the prolonged economic construction in the past, embodied the strategic plan for the economic development in the coming 20 years charted by the 12th party congress and the new principle for developing the national economy defined by the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC and taken a new path of socialist modernization.

The report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan delivered by Premier Zhao Ziyang at the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC profoundly expounds the basic tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, sums up the implementation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan in the first 2 years and formulates the key measures for the overall fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. This report indicates that the plan is a well-conceived and worthwhile one based on actual conditions under which production targets will be carried out in an orderly manner and step by step

and that the measures adopted to fulfill this plan are geared to actual circumstances and are firm and effective. This report substantiates and enriches some correct principles formulated in the past and significantly subjectivizes them, thus bringing the people of the whole country tremendous confidence and power to fulfill this plan.

Such being the case, in what aspects do the characteristics of the Sixth 5-Year Plan find expression?

/First, decide the plan targets in accordance with the existing conditions rather than by wishful thinking./

In the previous five 5-year plans, some targets were decided by wishful thinking, not in accordance with existing conditions. The gross error of the "10-year program" formulated in 1978 was that the tasks of the plan were incorrectly defined. Just when there were serious disproportions in the national economy and life was extremely difficult for the people due to damage during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," readjusting the economy and allowing the people to rest and build strength should have been decided as the principal tasks of the plan but at that time, ignoring this basic situation and proceeding from wishful thinking, some people demanded that a new leap forward should be organized. This resulted adversely in worsened imbalances in the economy and the aggravated difficulties in economic life, and alterations of the original plans had to be made.

The reformulation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan started with a serious analysis of the economic situation. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council have repeatedly pointed out that thanks to the endeavors to bring order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the economic readjustment carried out in 1979, great achievements have been scored in various aspects. However, longstanding accumulated problems cannot be completely solved in a brief space of time. Since no fundamental turn for the better has been achieved in the state's financial and economic situation, the task of the Sixth 5-Year Plan is therefore to continue to implement the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading, make further efforts to seek solutions to the various problems left over from the past which hamper economic growth, win decisive victory in achieving a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation and lay a better foundation or create more favorable conditions for economic and social development in the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This formulation of basic tasks is entirely in conformity with the present economic conditions and with the objective law of economic development.

By mentioning that the longstanding accumulated problems have not been completely solved and no fundamental turn for the better has been achieved in the financial and economic situation, we mainly refer to the following facts: No fundamental turn for the better has been achieved in the fairly irrational enterprise organizational structure and in the chaotic situation in operation and management; there exist a variety of problems in industrial structures and product mix; economic results are still very poor in such

fields as production, construction and circulation and the waste is quite amazing. All this has resulted in the fact that under a situation in which the state has greatly increased its expenditure on the improvement of the well-being of the people, state financial revenue has increased slowly or even decreased due to poor economic results, which has made it hard to strike a balance between state financial revenue and expenditure. Therefore, in order to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation, that is, to achieve a balance between financial revenue and expenditure on condition of ensuring a gradual increase in the funds for economic and social development and a gradual improvement in the people's living standards, we must conscientiously carry out the overall reorganization of existing enterprises, gradually rationalize the industrial structure, the product mix and the enterprise organizational structure, and continue to reform the economic administrative system in an orderly manner so as to achieve a marked improvement in the economic results of such fields as production, construction and circulation. All these tasks cannot be accomplished altogether during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period but various measures should be adopted to make some significant headway in these fields and to win a decisive victory in achieving a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation. Practice has proved that doing a good job in the readjustment and reorganization of existing enterprises and in the restructuring of the economic administrative system, eradicating the various malpractices existing in the economy, harmonizing proportionate relations and putting the relationships of the various quarters and sides concerned in proper order can yield good results and bring about high speed. This is the best preparation we should make for the economic development during and after the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. If we do not concentrate our efforts on this matter and the features of operations and management remain unchanged, to accelerate the development of the economy is fundamentally out of the question. On the contrary, the financial and economic difficulties will go further from bad to worse.

Of course, to lay a sound foundation and create conditions for economic development during and after the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, a lot of work should be done in material conditions, science and technology and in the training of qualified personnel. If we fail to pay close attention to the work in these fields, it will also be impossible to speed up the development of the economy.

Continuing the implementation of the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading is a matter of overall importance which has a bearing on whether or not we can, in the 1980's, lay a sound foundation for the economic rejuvenation in the 1990's. The Sixth 5-Year Plan, with the continued implementation of this policy as its basic task, has thus seized the principal contradiction and the main tasks. In this matter we must preserve a high level of political consciousness and strictness and carry it out with great attention and in a down-to-earth manner.

/Second, with the improvement of economic results as the center, strive for a steady increase in the economy./

The biggest disaster we suffered in the prolonged economic construction in the past was caused by the policy of concentrating on the growth rate of output and output value and on high targets at the expense of economic results. We suffered in 1956; we suffered a great loss during 1958 and 1960; and we again suffered quite a few disasters over a long period of time after 1970. In order to realize unrealistic targets, we had to work out a high rate of development. Excessively high targets would invariably give rise to all sorts of problems and result in more haste, less speed. They can seriously dampen the initiative of the masses of the people rather than arouse and protect the enthusiasm of the masses of the people for labor.

In the course of drawing up the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council advanced an important principle, that is, we should not seek high goals in economic affairs any longer, and pointed out that the growth rate for the Sixth 5-Year Plan should be a growth rate devoid of exaggeration but with staying power; an active growth rate which allows some leeway; and a growth rate which has as its prerequisite the attainment of better economic results rather than vice versa.

The growth rate devoid of exaggeration we have mentioned here demands that targets should be practical and reliable, product quality should be up to standard, product varieties and designs should meet the needs of society, the consumption of materials per unit-product should be substantially reduced and that we must not indulge in exaggeration and not concentrate on speed at the expense of product quality, material consumption and product marketability. Such practices are bound to lead to the emergence of the phenomenon whereby "in industry, good news is announced while in commerce, bad news; in warehouses, there is overstocking while in finance, there are only nominal increases" and must not strive for undeserved reputation, a practice which invites real harm.

The so-called active plan which allows some leeway demands that the various departments and localities should make energetic efforts to tap potential, devote a lot of energy and effort to improving quality and reducing consumption, and increase production while practicing economy rather than accept the status quo and drift along. Once a plan target is worked out, we must guarantee its fulfillment and strive to exceed it in its implementation. A growth rate devoid of exaggeration which allows some leeway means a growth rate with staying power. So long as quality is really improved and consumption reduced, a benign cycle will take shape and a steady increase will be achieved in industrial production.

The "Sixth 5-Year Plan" stipulates that industrial and agricultural production will increase at an average annual rate of 4 percent and that efforts should be made to bring the figure up to 5 percent in the course of carrying out the plan. This is a good embodiment of the above-mentioned principle. It is a growth rate which lays emphasis on better economic results and strives for higher efficiency rather than a growth rate which blindly strives for increases in output and output value at the expense of economic results. Considerable efforts will have to be made to attain this plan and

a marked improvement in economic and technical targets is a must in this respect. For example, during the Sixth 5-Year Plan the average annual growth rate of energy will be 1.4 percent and the growth rate of industry will be 4 or 5 percent. This demands that the energy consumption rate in industry must reach 2.6 to 3.5 percent a year. This plan gives full consideration to the various possibilities and can be attained so long as efforts are exerted. The results of the carrying out of the 1980 and 1981 plans surpassed their scheduled requirements. This has proved that this plan is appropriate.

The 12th party congress demands that the whole of economic work should be shifted to the path with the attainment of better economic results as its center. To meet this demand is not an easy job and a lot of painstaking and meticulous work should be done in this respect. However, we must act as required by the party Central Committee and first bring about a serious change in our guiding ideology and set strict demands on ourselves in our practical work.

/Third, exercise strict control over the volume of total investment in fixed assets, concentrate funds, hasten the completion of key development projects and actively promote the technical transformation of existing enterprises./

Historical experience has indicated that high targets invariably cause over-extension of the scale of our capital construction. Blindly undertaking new construction stalls and going in for starting more new projects regardless of building costs and construction cycles is the most serious malpractice which has existed for a long time in our capital construction. The several major setbacks which have occurred in our economic construction since the founding of the PRC are all closely related, economically, with the extension of the scale of our capital construction. Capital construction projects sprang up all over the country in 1958 and we repeated this mistake by rushing without forethought into a lot of capital construction several times after 1970.

Overextended and excessive capital construction and too many construction projects have brought about dire consequences in two aspects: On the one hand, many construction projects were started in haste due to lack of proper prior preparations and all kinds of problems emerged in the process of construction; as a result, construction projects had to be carried out in an intermittent manner, with their designs being revised while construction was under way. Many production projects had to stop working awaiting the supply of raw materials from lack of material and equipment supply. As a result, huge amounts of funds and materials were overstocked in the process of capital construction and failed to come into play as soon as possible. On the other hand, many funds including the renewal and transformation funds of enterprises were diverted to capital construction. As a result, the equipment of large numbers of enterprises failed to be updated and their technology failed to be transformed, their equipment became worn out and useless and labor productivity was decreasing day by day. This state of affairs has brought about a vicious circle: The more new

construction projects were undertaken, the more serious the damage to old construction projects would be. The more often people failed to speed up the production of old enterprises, the more anxiously they wanted to extend the scale of production and in addition, the larger the scale of production, the poorer the returns from investment would be. Cutting flesh to cure a boil can only make both sides suffer. The overextension of the scale of capital construction caused disproportions in the national economy, interrupted the balances of the national economy, interfered with the smooth progress of existing production and affected the commodity supply on the market. While it was proved hard to sustain any longer, some readjustments had to be carried out and large batches of projects had to be suspended or discontinued. Capital construction has suffered grievous losses from this kind of large-scale construction and discontinuation.

While drawing up the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have time and again stressed that we should not repeat this mistake and demanded that we should resolutely curtail the total volume of investment in capital construction so as to make it correspond with national capabilities and at the same time, the funds for the renewal and transformation of enterprises should be increased. The total volume of investment in the whole fixed assets should be put under the unified management of the State Planning Commission, that is to say, we must ensure investment in key energy and transport projects on the one hand and in technical transformation of existing enterprises on the other and resolutely slash ill-considered projects launched so as to increase the capacity of the ordinary processing industries. In light of this spirit and in accordance with the plan, the total investment in capital construction throughout the country in the 5 years will be 230 billion yuan of which the state-budgeted investment will be 118.2 billion yuan, constituting 20 percent of the total state expenditure. This is very much lower than the 35 percent in the "Fifth 5-Year Plan" period. Altogether 890 large and medium-sized projects will be undertaken in these 5 years--far fewer than during the previous 5-year period. Funds earmarked for updating equipment in the existing enterprises and for their technical transformation are more than during the previous 5-year period, amounting to 130 billion yuan in the 5 years and averaging 26 billion yuan a year. The proportion of such funds in the total investment in fixed assets is increased from the previous about 20 percent to 36 percent in the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

Of the total volume of investment in capital construction in the 5 years, the investment in energy and transport projects will be 88.4 billion yuan, accounting for 38.5 percent. With the increased investment in these aspects, the capacity of construction of coal, electricity, petroleum, railway and water transport will also increase. For example, the total production capacity of China's coal industry in the 5 years will be 220 million tons and in addition to a production capacity of 80 million tons to be made available before the end of 1985, the production capacity to be carried forward into the Seventh 5-Year Plan will be 140 million tons. This figure is almost 70 percent higher than the production capacity of 83 million tons which was achieved by the end of 1980 to be carried forward into the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The total electric power in the 5 years

will be 36.6 million kw. Of this figure, 12.9 million kw will be available before the end of 1985, while work on the remaining 23.7 million kw will continue in the "Seventh 5-Year Plan" period. This figure is bigger than the electric power capacity of 184 million kw which was closed in the end of 1980 and to be continued in the "Sixth 5-Year Plan." The exploration of oil in the western regions of the country and the exploration of offshore oil will be speeded up. In communications and transport, on the one hand, the technical transformation of some of the present railways must be accelerated and on the other, several new major trunk railways for transporting coal and additional deepwater berths of coastal harbors will be constructed. Completion of these tasks will provide the development of the national economy with better energy and transport conditions.

Seen from China's financial and material resources, the total volume of investment of the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" is by no means small, and in particular quite a few medium and large-sized projects have been scheduled. Putting these investments to effective control and use can play a great role. We must learn from the lessons in the past, concentrate strength on doing a good job in the construction of the projects within the plan, strive to shorten production cycle, cut down building costs and thoroughly put an end to the phenomenon in the past whereby construction was undertaken in so blind and unplanned way that "making an investment became a bottomless pit and construction projects were carried out in a marathon manner."

Renewal and transformation funds must also be put to effective control and use and be really used in updating old equipment and adopting new technologies and new techniques rather than using them in expanding the production capacity of ordinary industries with old techniques. In order to enhance the existing enterprises' capacity to renovate and transform, the State Council has decided that in light of the possibilities of the state financial strength, the depreciation rate of the equipment of enterprises should be steadily increased.

Whether or not the scale of investment in fixed assets during the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" period can be brought to a rational level and whether or not key development projects and major technical transformation can be ensured as required have a bearing on the success and failure of the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" and on whether or not the national economy can increase in a sustained way on the basis of steady growth. Therefore, we must pay strict attention to management in this aspect and not slacken our vigilance or treat it casually. Once the situation is improving, on no account must we "have a relapse."

/Fourth, put science and technology and the training of qualified personnel in an important strategic position./

In the previous several 5-year plans, no proper importance was ever attached to the development of science and technology and the training of qualified personnel. The expansion of production depended mainly on extending the scale of production and on undertaking capital construction rather than depending mainly on technological advance; work in science and technology

was not sufficiently combined with economic construction. Educational undertakings made slow progress and the level of the education the people have received and of science and technology and culture was remarkably low. This resulted in a situation in which the level of our production techniques had been in a stalemate for a long time and our work in many aspects still remained at the levels of the 1950's.

In the course of drawing up the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council demanded that science and technology and the training of qualified personnel should be placed in a strategic position. The modernization of science and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. If we do not lay stress on the study of science and technology or promote technological progress, we cannot possibly realize the task of quadrupling the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural production by the turn of this century or narrow the gap in science and technology between ourselves and the economically developed countries. Moreover, the development of science and technology depends, in the final analysis, on training qualified personnel and on fully organizing the present scientific and technical force and bringing their initiative into full play. Therefore, particular importance should be attached to educational work and to the training and rational use of qualified personnel.

The Sixth 5-Year Plan has begun to pay attention to putting the development of science and technology and education in an important position. The funds scheduled by the plan for developing education, science and technology, culture and public services will be 96.7 billion yuan, an increase of 68 percent over the 57.7 billion yuan appropriated in the Fifth 5-Year Plan. The total state expenditure during this period will be only 17 percent more than that during the "Fifth 5-Year Plan." The proportion of these funds in total state expenditure will increase from 11 percent during the "Fifth 5-Year Plan" period to 15.9 percent. A large portion of the increased financial revenue during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period will be appropriated for education and scientific research. Because the problems left over from the past are many, the funds allocated for these undertakings now are admittedly insufficient, but appropriations for these undertakings will gradually increase along with the future growth of our economy.

In science and technology, the present scientific and technical force should, under the Sixth 5-Year Plan, be rallied to take part in all planning work, in tackling key problems in the major theoretical problems raised in the course of the modernization program and in the technological deliberations and prospecting and designing of major construction projects. We must create a situation in these aspects and strive for useful achievements. Along with this, we must, in light of the technical transformation of enterprises, introduce from abroad a large batch of advanced production techniques and key equipment in a planned way and enthusiastically do a good job of digestion and assimilation work.

While energetically expanding research in the natural sciences, we should also attach importance to studies in the social sciences. We should do our best to expound and solve the major theoretical and practical problems raised in the course of our socialist modernization.

In the training of qualified personnel, it is scheduled according to the plan that on the premise of improving quality, we should develop higher education and increase the number of newly admitted full-time students in institutions of higher education; continue to restructure secondary education and set up more new secondary vocational schools of different types. We should strive to make primary school education universal or almost universal by 1985 in most counties and to make junior middle school education universal in the cities and vigorously eliminate illiteracy among young and middle-aged people.

In order to raise the ideological and political level and the level of modern science and technology and production skills of the broad masses of cadres, technical personnel and workers, we will widely run various kinds of regular universities and colleges, regular schools and training courses in rotation so as to put the education of staff and workers on a regular basis in a relatively short time.

Putting science and technology and the training of qualified personnel in an important strategic position is a remarkable change in the state's guiding ideology in economic construction. We must realize the great significance of such a change and make energetic efforts to adapt ourselves to such a change, achieve genuine unity in thinking and put it into practice in real earnest.

/Fifth, combine development of the national economy with social development and pay attention to both the building of material civilization and that of spiritual civilization./

Our plan in the past was mainly a development plan of the national economy. Although it contained the content of social development, the latter was quite incomplete and furthermore the content of the building of socialist spiritual civilization was insignificant. One important reason for this state of affairs is that there existed a serious one-sidedness in our guiding thinking; that is, we excessively chased the rate of increase of production and construction at the expense of the improvement of the well-being of the people and the solution to social problems; we attached great importance to the planning of material production to the neglect of the planning of the production of man and the rational use of manpower; and we devoted much attention to the building of material civilization but underestimated the importance of the building of spiritual civilization and more and more social problems piled up as a result.

In the course of drawing up the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council instructed that we should bring social development into line with the plan, correct the erroneous idea of underrating the importance of cultural development and ideological education and give consideration to creating fine standards of social conduct. Economic growth is indispensable to social development. Otherwise, it will become aimless and lose its social guarantee. Material civilization provides an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization which, in its turn, gives a tremendous impetus to the former and ensures its correct

orientation. In all economic work, we must not only give consideration to the expansion of production but also to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and to the bringing up of generation after generation of socialist new people. With the establishment of the socialist system, we already have the possibility to and still must develop social production in a planned way and at the same time, promote social development and build spiritual civilization in a planned way. The Sixth 5-Year Plan has changed the tendency of not attaching importance to social development planning. This is a great change and a big step forward.

The part on social development in the Sixth 5-Year Plan includes plans for population, labor employment, the income and consumption of the residents in urban and rural areas, urban and rural construction and social welfare undertakings, cultural undertakings, public health and physical culture, environmental protection and preserving good public order. At the same time, it demands that in the various economic construction undertakings, we should strengthen ideological education so that more and more staff and workers will become working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline, overcome all sorts of unhealthy practices, strike resolute blows at the serious criminal activities in the economic and other spheres and at other serious criminal activities and create a general improvement in public order and order in production and other work for the realization of the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

From the above-mentioned contents we can see that the Sixth 5-Year Plan is a 5-year plan which continues the implementation of the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading and launches the national economy on a path of healthy development and a 5-year plan which takes a new path of socialist modernization in light of China's existing conditions. This is the result of bringing order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the crystallization of implementing the party's practical and realistic line. Earnest implementation of this 5-year plan will significantly raise the level of the whole of economic work, help the national economy steadily grow in the course of readjustment, help the modernization program move forward a step further and help continue to improve the people's livelihood. Provided we successfully fulfill the Sixth 5-Year Plan, we can be certain that the growth rate for the Seventh 5-Year Plan will be higher than that of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Proceeding from this basis, the growth rate for the eighth and ninth 5-year periods is certain to be still higher. In this way, we will have the possibility of realizing the magnificent objective of quadrupling the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, significant improvements have been achieved in China's planning work. The formulation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan has made a degree of progress in many aspects compared with the previous ones. However, this is only a beginning. Owing to the complexity of economic life and the restriction of the level of planning work, though earnest efforts have been made to conduct investigation and study and to achieve an overall balance in preparing the plan, there may be points needing further deliberation, which will be readjusted as required and handled properly in accordance with concrete conditions in the course of its implementation.

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COMRADE SUN YEFANG'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECONOMIC THEORIES

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[Article by He Jianzhang [0149 1696 4545] and Zhang Zhuoyuan [1728 0587 0337]]

[Text] Comrade Sun Yefang is a famous economist in our country. In his theoretical research activities over the past decades and particularly in the past 30 years, he based himself on Marxist basic theory and put forth major questions according to the practice of our socialist construction. He conducted deepgoing and intensive studies, boldly created new things, dared to argue, continually challenged erroneous traditional concepts, and put forward a complete system of socialist economic theory embodying his original views. Particularly noteworthy is that, based on the results of his own scientific research, he has put forward a whole series of bold and richly enlightening suggestions and ideas on the reform of China's financial and economic management systems and on the major problems encountered in the practice of China's socialist construction. Recently, although gravely ill, he has remained greatly concerned for socialist construction, and wrote an excellent article entitled "There Is a Technical and Economic Guarantee as Well as a Political Guarantee for Quadrupling in 20 Years," which dealt with the idea that it is necessary to rely mainly on technical transformation in order to quadruple total industrial and agricultural output value and consequently he was praised by leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee and the State Council.

The theoretical activities of Comrade Sun Yefang have created a good example for the broad masses of theoretical workers in overcoming difficulties and in daring to climb the peak of science. His socialist economic theory is characterized by giving prominence to economic efficiency and it is based on the law of saving time or the law of value as it is termed by him. This theory is opposed to the theory of natural economy and the theory of will but on the other hand it pays very much attention to the important significance of technical progress in developing social production, stresses the importance of the broad masses as masters of their land and advocates that enterprises should play their roles as independent economic accounting units. He began by studying the double nature of products and daringly probed into the question of reforming socialist political economic system from the simple to the complex aspects through analyzing the process of

direct production, the process of circulation and the whole process of social production. The following is a brief introduction to the important significance of his economic theoretical views in the implementation of socialist modernization program in our country today.

I. Gaining the Greatest Results From the Least Spending Is the Supreme Principle in Socialist Economic Activities

In early 1960, the sphere of economics was generally subject to the influence of "leftist" ideology. Textbooks of political economy stressed the importance of class struggle with political slogans replacing economic analyses. At the same time, in actual economic life, economic law was replaced by objective will, coupled with making rash advances blindly and giving no consideration to economic efficiency, and all these resulted in serious losses and waste. But Comrade Sun Yefang rose against the tide and put forth his famous concept that the supreme principle in socialist economic activities is to gain the greatest results from the least spending. The Economic Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, which was then under his management, followed the directives from the CPC Central Committee and organized all research personnel to compile the book "On Socialist Economy." Disregarding opposition from some people, he insisted that the book must give prominence to the importance of seeking economic efficiency. He said that the textbooks of political economics must pay attention to economy. What is economy? The answer is to gain the greatest achievements with the least spending. We must prove through analyzing the relationship of socialist production that the relation of socialist production is in a better position than capitalism to gain bigger achievements with least spending and consequently to promote the development of the social economy.

Comrade Sun Yefang time and again stressed that political economics must have a value economic category. He sharply criticized a wrong view that "'spare no expense' seems to represent boldness of spirit in carrying out socialist construction." According to his view, under the socialist system, value decision still plays a governing role in the distribution among various forms of production whether in the readjustment of labor time or in social labor. He stressed that it is necessary in a socialist economy to respect the role of the law of value so as to enable the "backward, medium and advanced enterprises constantly to engage in competition for the purpose of decreasing the average labor needed by society" and he said that this is a socialist "broad road for developing production and social prosperity."

But this demand of seeking economic efficiency in all economic activities and the theory of respecting the law of value were termed as being in opposition to putting proletarian politics in command and denying class struggle. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," this concept was even labeled as "counterrevolutionary revisionism." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has spared no efforts in eradicating "leftist" mistakes both in theory and practice. It demanded that we must take a new road for developing the national economy and the core of this task is to seek economic efficiency

in all economic activities. Practice has proved that Comrade Sun Yefang's view of taking economic efficiency as the supreme principle in socialist economic activities is totally correct.

II. Attaching Very Great Importance to Economizing and Making Rational Use of Socialist Capital

It is an actual problem that we lack capital for our socialist modernization program. Therefore the question of economizing and making rational use of limited capital are closely related to the question of whether our construction can be carried out smoothly. As early as the 1950's, Comrade Sun Yefang was aware of the importance of economizing and making rational use of construction funds. He proved this view theoretically and put forth some practical suggestions.

In order to check the results in using the capital, he advocated the use of capital profit rate as a comprehensive norm for checking the results of business and management of enterprises and production costs, and the basis for defining prices of products. This view was put forth during the debate around 1956 on the question of whether the price of heavy industrial products should be decreased or not. He was opposed to a decrease in the price of heavy industrial products on the grounds that although the profit rate of such products was relatively high, the capital profit rate was low. He said: We made tremendous investments in our heavy industrial enterprises with the capital accumulated by the broad masses of workers and peasants throughout the country through their blood and sweat; why cannot these enterprises make profit? To judge the price of products through capital profit rate means that it is imperative to economize and rationally use socialist capital, pay attention to the efficiency of using the capital and to check capital profit rate.

It was once a commonly held wrong view to mix the profit of socialist enterprises with that of capitalist enterprises and oppose paying attention to socialist profit and checking capital profit rate; it was under such conditions that in 1963 Comrade Sun Yefang wrote a research report entitled "The Profit Norm of the Socialist Planned Economic Management System." In this report he advocated that it was imperative, according to state planning, to "define the orientation of production and the relations of coordination, strictly implement supply-production-sales contracts and observe planned prices while the amount of profit represents a comprehensive norm to show the standard of an enterprise's technical level and its business management level. The social average capital profit rate is a level that has to be reached by each enterprise; those that have exceeded this rate are advanced enterprises and those that are lagging behind this rate are backward enterprises."

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," these views of Comrade Sun Yefang were labeled by Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the "gang of four" as "putting profit in command" and criticized. But he did not make a self-criticism. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," he wrote the first important thesis under the title of "Boldly Grasp Socialist Profit." According to his

view, each socialist enterprise must persist in socialist orientation and under the premise of implementing party principles and policies, create more profits through technical reform and improvement of management. He has always advocated that the enterprises with more state capital should have the obligation to hand over more profits to the state. One of the important parts of the current reform of the economic management system in our country is to gradually get rid of the capital supply system and change possession of capital without reward to the one with reward; in defining the prices of various categories of products, it is necessary to consider the funds possessed by these products; encourage enterprises to make more profit for the state and enable them to combine the results of their business, including the amount of profit, with their own economic interest. All these views of Comrade Sun Yefang are of practical significance for us today in reforming the economic management system.

III. Actively Advocating the Reform of the Economic Management System

As early as 1956, Comrade Sun Yefang began to write articles in which he advocated the correct handling of the relationship between the planned economy and the law of value, and the reform of the socialist economic management system. In June 1961, he wrote a research report to the CPC Central Committee for internal reference in which he suggested the position of the system in socialist political economics and pointed out the necessity theoretically of reforming the current economic system and a series of the measures for carrying out the reform.

Comrade Sun Yefang pointed out: The core central issue of the financial system is the autonomy of enterprises, their responsibilities and their relations with the state, and all these mean the management autonomy of the enterprises. According to his view, it is not difficult to solve other problems in the system such as the relations between the central and local governments and the relations between rules and regulations and departments once the autonomy of enterprises is resolved. Following the tortuous path traversed over the past 20 years, we eventually began reforming the economic management system of our country by starting from expanding the autonomy of enterprises and up to today we have made considerable achievements in this aspect through practice. When we recall the above-mentioned views expressed by Comrade Sun Yefang in his research report at that time, we can see even more clearly the value of his views.

Comrade Sun Yefang held that under a socialist system, enterprises must become independent accounting units. Of course, enterprises with the ownership by the whole people only have the right to possess, use and control state finance and the state is the owner of this finance. Therefore the independence of socialist enterprises is relative. But since enterprises are independent accounting units, it is within the rights of the enterprises to sign contracts on supply and sales among themselves, and to discuss the volume of supply and sales and the specifications of products according to the original production orientation and within the original sphere, and the state and localities have no right to interfere with this. Some people worried that with their autonomy expanded, the

enterprises would be bent solely on profits. But Comrade Sun Yefang argued and pointed out that when enterprises are able to improve their management and constantly improve their technology, individual labor consumption will be lower than the average necessary labor volume and such benefit is gained mainly through the objective effort of the staff and workers of the enterprises. Therefore we cannot limit such benefit. On the contrary we must encourage it because it is in the interest of improving labor productivity and developing social production.

Comrade Sun Yefang has also defined the theory and the limit of the autonomy of enterprises. Enterprises have "small autonomy" over the management of the capital value of simple reproduction. The state, on the other hand, has "big autonomy" over the capital value of the expansion of reproduction such as investment on new enterprises and the expansion of old enterprises and all these must be put under strict control by the state. If the state includes those matters that should be managed by enterprises under its control, then the control over enterprises will become too rigid; as a result, the state itself will be busily engaged in routine work and it will relax its control over major plans of state long-range construction and comprehensive balance work of the national economy. Contrarily, if the right over the amount of capital value of the expansion of reproduction is totally handed down to enterprises, it will easily give rise to duplicated construction and production and spoil the balanced development of the national economy.

To enable the hundreds of thousands of enterprises to display their initiative and creativity, Comrade Sun Yefang made a series of proposals for reforming the systems of planning, finance, goods and materials and price.

IV. Holding That Doing a Good Job in Circulation Is an Essential Condition for Developing Socialist Socialized Mass Production

Comrade Sun Yefang is the first economist in our country that has been opposed to regarding socialist economy as natural economy. Over the past decades, there existed a wrong view in economic theory and economic practice in our country that regarded the socialist economy as having no process of circulation. In fact, such a "theory of no circulation" advocated the management of the socialist economy with the methods used in managing a self-sufficient economy, a method characterized by a system of rationing of goods and blockading regions from each other. Such a theory seriously hinders the development of production socialization and the development of the production and exchange of socialist commodities. Comrade Sun Yefang pointed out that such a theory confuses the functions of exchange and distribution and attempts to replace exchange with distribution. In fact, without exchange and distribution, there would be no way to develop socialized mass production. At the same time, the "theory of no circulation" confuses the division of technical work within enterprises with social division of work, improperly regards the economy with the ownership by the whole people as a big factory and in this factory in which there exist only division of technical work among various workshops and sections and not social division of work. In fact, the socialist economy with the ownership

by the whole people is composed of hundreds of thousands of enterprises with independent accounting and among these enterprises there exists social division of work. If enterprises do not carry out exchange of commodities among themselves, it would not be possible for the whole society to carry out reproduction smoothly.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's, Comrade Sun Yefang pointed out that Volume 1 of "Das Kapital" has more contents than the other two volumes suitable for us today in organizing and managing the socialist economy. It is only recently that this view has been accepted by more comrades and this situation has been proven by the fact that since last year, the broad masses of cadres who are responsible for economic work and theoretical workers have in general begun to study Marxist theory of reproduction.

Comrade Sun Yefang has always opposed the system of rationing and advocated that the circulation of the means of production be included in commerce so that production can be directly linked with sales. According to his view, it is not necessary for state planning bodies and economic management organizations to directly control supplies and sales that should be resolved by the hundreds of thousands of the relatively independent enterprises directly through contracts. The state must control only how to balance the difference. He also held that it is unnecessary to redistribute goods every year. Is it necessary for a husband and wife to hold a wedding ceremony every year? The state work of achieving overall balance must be based on contracts for production, supply and sales made by grassroots enterprises and must be carried out from bottom to top.

According to Comrade Sun Yefang's view, the socialist economy is termed a planned economy because following the introduction of public ownership, the production within each enterprise is carried out in a planned way while the production-supply-sales relations among various enterprises, that is the process of circulation and marketing, are organized in a planned and unified way. Comrade Sun Yefang particularly agreed with the following view of Comrade Liu Shaoqi: Circulation is the most sensitive; all the various problems in production are reflected in circulation and therefore in carrying out the study of economics it is imperative to pay attention to circulation.

At present, a number of problems have cropped up in the activities of the national economy because we did not organize circulation well. There are unsalable products and stockpiling of goods because production is carried out without directly linking it with sales while some other products are also unsalable because of regional blockades; some enterprises have failed to meet demand or have suspended production due to lack of materials, and the service of exclusive business of certain units has also dropped. All these things show that it is an urgent and very important task to solve the problem of socialist circulation by combining theory with practice.

V. Attaching Importance to Technical Progress and the Technical Reform of the Existing Enterprises

Comrade Sun Yefang always advocated the study of the relations of production by relating them to productivity and he was against carrying out the study without connecting it with productivity. He paid very much attention to the role displayed by technical progress in promoting production and its great influence in social economic relations. He held that under the socialist system, there also exist invisible losses and he resolutely opposed the management method over equipment that is characterized by freezing technical progress and "duplicating antiques." He said that enterprises must mainly depend on constantly improving technology in increasing economic efficiency, labor productivity and profits.

Comrade Sun Yefang pointed out that in developing both industry and agriculture, it is necessary to rely on both planning and scientific technology. The task put forth by the 12th party congress to quadruple the annual gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century and particularly the task of industrial departments to more than quadruple their annual gross output value must mainly be grasped through the technical reform of the more than 400,000 existing enterprises. In developing production, we can no longer follow the old road of resorting to capital construction and building new enterprises, nor can we expand productivity on the basis of the original equipment, technology, raw materials and products. While the number of newly built enterprises is very limited, existing enterprises are very great in number. If, in developing production in the future, we are able to rely not only on the very limited new enterprises but also mainly on technical reform of the majority of the existing enterprises, we will consequently be able to develop production even faster and with higher economic efficiency and unified speed and efficiency. In the past decades, industry in the Soviet Union developed slowly and so did our industry in the past 30 years and consequently there appeared a wrong feeling that industry had "big basic figures and slow speed." In fact, the important reason for this situation is that the related economic management system hindered the technical reform of the existing enterprises and the transformation of the enterprises themselves. As a result, the majority of the old enterprises have failed to develop production and by solely relying on some newly built enterprises it is only natural that production is developing more and more slowly.

In order to enable the hundreds of thousands of existing enterprises to carry out technical reform in a planned way and step by step, Comrade Sun Yefang suggested increasing the depreciation rate of fixed assets. He suggested that in the first step, the depreciation rate may be increased from about 4 percent to about 10 percent and depreciation funds may be handed down to enterprises for renewing their equipment. He also suggested that measures must be taken through economic management so that enterprises will have both motive force and pressure to carry out technical reform.

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Comrade Sun Yefang has his own original system of socialist economic theory and his own incisive ideas on socialist construction because he persistently links theory with reality, engages in bold probing and dares to uphold the truth.

He paid very much attention to the study of Marxist theory. In the mid-1920's, he studied Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union, and later was responsible for interpreting courses on political economics with his rich theoretical experiences. In the 1940's, he was working with the party school in central China and he found that within the party there existed a tendency of empiricism to neglect theoretical study. He wrote a letter to Comrade Liu Shaoqi in which he stressed the significance of theoretical study in guiding the Chinese revolution to victory. This view was fully affirmed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Following liberation, he was posted in leading positions in professional departments and research departments and in these departments he time and again stressed that theoretical study was perfecting "basic skills." He also attached great importance to studying and investigating economic life and from these activities he made theoretical summaries to direct practice. In the early 1930's, he used Marxism as guidance to study and investigate the economy in China and particularly the rural economy. Thanks to his deep investigations, he was able to correctly analyze the nature of the society in China, refute the fallacies of Trotskyist faction and popularize the party principles and policies about democratic revolution. The above-mentioned views and suggestions were made possible after he grasped numerous reference materials from reality. He suggested that research departments must establish contact with professional departments and demanded that the Economic Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences be put under the leadership of both the CPC Central Committee and the State Planning Commission. In this aspect, he was supported by Comrades Zhou Enlai and Li Fuchun. He actively suggested research units to build "experimental fields" in factories, shops and rural areas. He led a number of research personnel to stay in selected factories to help improve their work and gain firsthand experience for guiding overall work. He has also consequently written a number of research reports with rich contents and particular views. In short, Comrade Sun Yefang has been able to fully demonstrate the party's fine style of study characterized by linking theory with practice.

Another outstanding character of Comrade Sun Yefang is that he has the courage to uphold the truth and conduct criticism and self-criticism.

During the revolutionary war, Comrade Sun Yefang heroically fought against the enemy no matter whether in his secret fight when he was carrying out risky underground work or in the battlefield. When he was responsible for economic theoretical work following liberation, he also boldly opposed traditional wrong concepts. His motto is a sentence from a poem by Dante once quoted by Marx: "As at the entrance to hell, at the entrance to science we must make this demand: 'Here, all hesitation must be eradicated and here any cowardice is helpless.'" In the early 1960's, he was labeled by Kang Sheng and Chen Boda as "the biggest revisionist in China"; he was criticized and dismissed from office. But Comrade Sun Yefang declared: "I

long ago realized the nature of this question and the argument that might occur. But it is very risky to try and solve this case that has been pending for decades." He was jailed during the 10 turbulent years. There were neither magazines and newspapers nor pen and writing paper in the prison cell. Nor was he allowed visitors or access to news reports. In spite of all this he did not give up. He said: "After I was put into prison, I did not feel sorry about dying, nor was fame important to me. But my views on economics that I had been studying for a long period could in no way be discarded; had I died I had to leave these views for the masses to understand!" On the second day following his imprisonment, he began to recall the draft for the book "On Socialist Economy" which he intended to write many years ago. Excluding the preface, the book has 22 chapters and 183 sections. During the 7 years and 5 days when he was deprived of freedom, Comrade Sun Yefang worked out in his mind the draft of the whole program on dozens of occasions. He also used the pen and paper that were given to him for writing "letters of confession" to write an article entitled "My Argument With Some Persons in the Economic Sector" in hundreds and thousands of characters to refute the fallacies of Chen Boda and the "gang of four." Such is his character of refusing to yield to any pressure and even imprisonment. No matter how bad the situations were, he unremittingly fought for the truth. In the first half of April 1975, Comrade Sun Yefang was bewildered when he was suddenly released but at the same time was forced to write the "three correct treatments." But he openly declared: "I will not change my will, my profession, my views!" Following the downfall of the "gang of four" and particularly since the measures taken by the CPC Central Committee to restore order, the criticism of "leftist" mistakes and the advocacy of reforming the economic system have helped to prove that many of Comrade Sun Yefang's viewpoints are correct. But amid praise, he said: "My theoretical viewpoints are not and cannot be '100 percent correct.'" He acknowledged that in the past, under the influence of the "communist wind," he denied the award system and the system of profit retention by enterprises and said that this view "is 'leftist' thinking." Such an attitude of daring to make self-criticism is as valuable as his courage in upholding truth.

Comrade Sun Yefang is a veteran communist, with his membership dating back to the 1920's. He is an acknowledged authority in the sector of economics in our country. But he remains modest and open-minded. He sticks to the principle that all are equal before truth and he respects differing views, including the views of the comrades under his leadership. Time and again he ordered the editorial department of JINGJI YANJIU to give priority to carrying the articles that express views different from his own. He conscientiously replies to letters to editors. He suggested the holding of open discussions and stressed the importance of protecting the right of those criticized to debate. He said that criticism and struggles are not dreadful and that the agony is to have been deprived of the right to debate. He advocates clear-cut viewpoints, no matter how sharply expressed they are. He never cares about personal gain and loss and he never bears personal grudges. Some of the members of the group that is now helping him in writing books held different views with him in the past and yet he treats them equally, is concerned with them and is also training them.

These comrades, on the other hand, have also been completely convinced by his correct theoretical viewpoints and his lofty character and they have become his competent assistants.

Comrade Sun Yefang's incisive academic views and strict attitude in study have a considerable influence in economic circles in our country; they are generally respected and have also become famous in economic circles abroad. As his students, we want to follow his example, work hard on the economic theoretical front and make our contributions toward implementing the socialist modernization program of our country.

CSO: 4004/17

THEY ARE THE MOST LOVABLE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 31-33

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Recently, from newspapers and journals to radio and television broadcasts, from street corners to numerous families and households and from urban to rural areas in the vast socialist motherland, the two glorious names of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu are being transmitted and eulogized. Their stirring deeds and lofty characters have touched and inspired the hearts of the people, and they can hardly refrain from tears. People simply do not know what words can be used to express their esteem and love for these two comrades. We should say: They, and people such as them, are our most lovable people today!

In talking about most lovable people, people will call to mind the volunteers of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. During the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the volunteers were generally acknowledged to be the most lovable people by all patriotic compatriots. Among them were heroes like Huang Jiguang, who blocked the enemy's machine gun with his chest and paved the way to victory for his comrades-in-arms; great fighters like Qiu Shaoyun, who strictly observed the law of ambush and remained motionless until his death although his body was on fire; and such internationalist fighters as Luo Shengjiao who gloriously gave up his life to save a Korean youth.

Every period has its own most lovable people. Such people as Zhang Side, Liu Mulan and Dong Cunrui were the most lovable people of the revolutionary war years. Precisely because of their struggle and sacrifice new China was born. Peacetime construction was also a battle in another form. In the battle of the 1960's, we had such most lovable people as Jiao Yulu and Lei Feng. Today, in the battle to create a new situation in socialist modernization, we have such most lovable people as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu. Their names should be inscribed in golden characters in the heroic history of the great practice of our communist movement.

In former years the fighters on the Korean battlefield, who endured all kinds of hardships and persisted in fighting with the motherland in mind, lived on only mouthful of fried wheat flour and snow. How simple and

beautiful their words were: "We are eating snow here precisely so that the people of our motherland will not have to eat snow. They can sit in their clean, bright and spacious houses, brew pots of tea close to their small stove, eat what they want and do as they please." Must not such most lovable people as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu battling on the forefront of building material civilization and spiritual civilization also nurse the same aspiration? "The needs of the state are our responsibility. How can a scientific worker stand by with folded arms when practical problems crop up?" This was what Jiang Zhuying said as well as practiced. "In science, the important thing is the 'result' of research and not 'individual' researcher." This was what Luo Jianfu said as well as practiced. For years they diligently worked and created under conditions similar to "mouthfuls of fried wheat flour and snow," willingly served as "paving stones" and were always ready to offer the most valuable scientific research materials they had mastered to others. People could not help associating their character with that of the telephone operator who used his own body as a cable to ensure the smooth function of the communication network on the Korean battlefield in former years. Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu were indeed worthy of the title of most lovable people!

The most lovable people on the Korean battlefield in former years were the indomitable fighters made of special stuff. Although seriously wounded, they nevertheless gritted their teeth, stuffed the intestines back into their abdomens, covered the wounds with their broken hands and continued to give battle. Today, we have the case of Luo Jianfu who, when his chest was bloated by tumors and his skin was burning with intense pain, still refused to take pain-killing injections or sleeping pills because that would interfere with his continued investigation and manufacture of the "Type III" graphic generator. Likewise, Jiang Zhuying also bravely bore the pain of numerous illnesses and continued his battle until his final breath. How faithful and loyal they were to the cause of the party, the people and the motherland! Like candles, they burned themselves up and gave all their heat and light to the socialist cause. This kind of spirit is on the same plane as that of such heroes as Huang Jiguang and Qiu Shaoyun. To call them most lovable people is not at all excessive!

As in the case of the tens of thousands of most lovable people from among the workers, peasants and intellectuals who appeared on the Korean battlefield, there are also tens of thousands of advanced elements who selflessly give their all for the country, for society and for the people in every field of socialist construction. They came from among the workers, the peasants, the PLA and also the intellectuals. Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu were the representatives of advanced intellectual personalities. There are still many more advanced personalities like them among the intellectuals. Wang Jiyong has been praised as a "living Jiang Zhuying," Zhang Tongxing has been praised as a "living Luo Jianfu," and famous economist Comrade Sun Yefang is still giving counsel in creating a new situation in socialist construction despite his serious illness. They all are this kind of advanced personality. They radiate the bright light of communist ideology and they are the reappearance of the proletarian revolutionaries with communist spirit of the war years under new historical conditions. They

understand science and have the knowledge, and furthermore, they also keep on seeking and exploring and use their knowledge to provide the most effective service for socialist construction. They have made so many contributions to the party, the motherland and the people, but they are still not satisfied and feel that they have not done enough. In material life and treatment, they ask almost nothing from the party, the motherland and the people, but they always feel satisfied and refuse what is actually extremely rational consideration. They freely and unconditionally dissolve themselves completely into the socialist cause of the people. Their greatest happiness is dedicating their all. For the sake of struggling to uphold the truth, they are never the slightest bit disloyal or half-hearted no matter under what kind of conditions. "The road may be long and far, but I will keep on searching from top to bottom." "As this is also what my heart dictates, though I may die nine times I still have no regrets!" They are the best offsprings of the party and the most precious wealth of the people. "What they eat is grass and what they give is milk and blood." These words are also most appropriate when applied to them. Our people, our nation and our socialist motherland should take pride in them. They are also the examples people throughout the country should emulate.

The deeds of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu have also most clearly showed that they are indeed worthy to be called the outstanding vanguards of the working class. Their deeds have also manifested the spiritual features of intellectuals trained, tempered and tested for more than 30 years. Facts have shown that most of our intellectuals have ideals, aspirations and capabilities. They are imbued with the sense of responsibility of developing China. They have inseparably bound their destiny with the destiny of the workers, the peasants and the socialist motherland. They have indeed long become a component of the working class. They are one of the three basic social forces of socialist modernization. Our socialist construction must rely on the creativity and labor of the workers and peasants. At the same time, we also absolutely cannot be short of the efforts and struggles of the intellectuals. Without a powerful contingent of intellectuals, we will not be able to rely on the forces of science and technology and the forces of the intellectuals to promote the development of productive forces, and we will also not be able to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and educate the people to become disciplined workers with ideals, ethics and culture. Without intellectuals, the task of quadrupling production cannot be fulfilled, and the building of the two civilizations will become an empty phrase. Before liberation, our country was an economically and culturally very backward semifeudal and semicolonial society, and we had actually very few intellectuals. Since liberation, along with the development of cultural and educational undertakings, we have more intellectuals trained by the working class; but because of the fetters of "leftist" ideology and the concept of small production, the growth and expansion of the contingent of intellectuals have for a long time been suppressed. During the 10 years of internal disorder of the "Great Cultural Revolution," large numbers of intellectuals were prosecuted and this widened the gap between our science and technology and those of the advanced contemporary international level. At present, the broad masses of intellectuals in our country have shouldered the glorious and arduous

mission of carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future, as well as invigorating and developing our scientific, cultural and educational undertakings. Their tasks are extremely arduous; but their family burden is heavy, their living and working conditions are poor and the state of their physical condition is rather serious. This kind of condition is also particularly noticeable among middle-aged intellectuals such as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu. All these have more clearly manifested the importance and urgency of implementing the policy toward intellectuals and giving full play to the role of intellectuals.

However, even now, the mentality of belittling and despising intellectuals still finds a certain market. Some comrades still do not acknowledge that like the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are a reliable force for building socialism. Some comrades have remained indifferent to the fact that the treatment for intellectuals is inclined to be too low, and even resented improving the treatment and working conditions of intellectuals. Some comrades have assumed airs as representatives of workers and peasants and raised objection to the all-round implementation of the policy toward intellectuals. In their eyes, it seems as though putting the stress on knowledge and intellectuals means negating the value of physical labor and the role of the workers and peasants. This viewpoint of setting the intellectuals against the workers and peasants is extremely wrong and runs counter to the opinion of the workers and peasants working diligently and conscientiously on the frontline of production. The working masses understand best the role played by science and technology in production as well as in lightening and protecting labor. They also clearly see the gap between the contribution and treatment of scientific and technical personnel. They fully understand the need for closely integrating physical labor with mental labor and the fact that the workers and intellectuals cannot be separated from each other. After the practice of the production responsibility system, the broad masses of peasants have a strong desire for scientific knowledge, and it is no longer news that technicians have become targets whom the peasants are competing for. This mentality of not acknowledging that complicated labor is worth more than simple labor, not acknowledging the fact that mental labor requires certain working conditions and therefore not agreeing to improving the working conditions of intellectuals to heighten and enhance the efficiency of mental labor, is detrimental to the development of productive forces and to the early realization of modernization, and therefore, also does not conform to the basic interests of the workers and peasants. The workers and peasants have all along regarded the intellectuals as indispensable members of their own working class. They call upon all units with intellectuals to correct their understanding and attitude regarding intellectuals, conscientiously implement the party's policy toward intellectuals with a high degree of consciousness and fully trust and protect the intellectuals. In particular, they must pay attention to taking care of and cherishing the group of outstanding intellectuals, who are hardworking like Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu and have genuine ability and learning, let them boldly put their ideals and aspirations for building socialism to use and bring into play all their wisdom and strength.

Let us emulate our most lovable people and protect our most lovable people! We must work hard at our posts with the zeal of "moving with the speed of a shooting star and taking two steps of the stairs at the same time" of Comrade Jiang Zhuying to offset the loss caused by his premature death. In particular, party committees at all levels must consciously use this kind of drive to implement the party's policy toward intellectuals and to avoid further losses. This is the most fitting way for us to commemorate such most lovable people as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu!

CSO: 4004/17

MAKING SERIOUS INVESTIGATIONS AND STUDIES IS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR THE
THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS OF ALL PARTY CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 34-36

[Ideological commentary by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] Today, when reading the series of letters and comments written by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1961 on investigations and studies, we still have a feeling of freshness and closeness. One should proceed from reality in doing everything. He who has made no investigations has no right to comment. This should become the guiding principle for the thoughts and actions of party leaders and comrades of the whole party.

Making investigations and studies is the basic means of Marxism. No matter what we do, and what we work at, it is necessary to bring the subjective to meet the objective and thoughts to actions in order to reach the expected goal. If they fail to meet with each other we will run into a stone wall and meet with failure, which goes contrary to our wishes. Why is subjectivism wrong? Because it does not proceed from reality but from subjective desires. Comrade Mao Zedong said: The Marxist spirit is to make serious investigations and studies on specific problems and to make concrete analysis instead of abstract and subjective analysis. Marxist philosophy is both dialectic materialism and historical materialism. It guides people to have an accurate understanding of the true colors of the objective world. Whether it is making revolution or doing construction, no success will be achieved unless we proceed from the realities of our country and integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country. And the course of integration is also the course of investigating realities and learning the objective law. It is not simply a matter of working style to go deep into the realities of life, make investigations and studies, to get hold of the large amount of reliable material and then draw forth the correct strategies, but it is a matter of upholding Marxist epistemology and the party's ideological line. If one keeps oneself from the colorful and concrete perceptual knowledge and away from the base and source of recognition, how can one achieve a correct understanding? Some comrades stick to the old habit of having no contact with reality which was formed over years, and some are used to copying word for word the instructions from senior authorities when issuing orders. Instead of taking into consideration the concrete situations of one's own local area and unit,

suggesting new methods and blazing new roads, they either seek uniformity regardless of real conditions or give vague and general instructions. The problem lies in the fact that their thinking is detached from reality. A great number of facts in real life have shown that whoever goes investigating among the masses, his thinking will be liberated and he will be able to create a new situation for the work. Whoever fails to make investigations and studies, his thinking will be rigid and he will get nowhere. Therefore it should always come first to uplift our spirit, do a harder job in making investigations and studies and straighten out the ideological line.

If we only recall history, we will come to realize that whether we make investigations or not has a direct bearing on the prosperity and success of the course of revolution and construction. In the years of revolutionary warfare, owing to subjectivism which did not make investigations and studies, and which did not proceed from realities, our party suffered great losses, most of the revolutionary bases collapsed and over 90 percent of the revolutionary forces were lost. Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the road of having the countryside encircle the urban areas, and a whole series of principles and policies on new democratic revolution. The fact that they could lead the Chinese revolution to victory is simply because Comrade Mao Zedong did not copy exactly the experiences of other countries, but through investigations and studies he got to know the national conditions of China and then concentrated the wisdom of the whole party and made concrete use of Marxism to bring things into conformity with the realities of our country. After the founding of our country, we had similar experiences and lessons. In any period that attached importance to investigations and studies, such as the early fifties and early sixties, party principles and policies were relatively in conformity with the objective realities and the various items of work got on very well and the achievements were remarkable. In some other periods, the guiding principles and policies were seriously separated from reality. This gave rise to great losses. One of the important reasons is that few or no investigations were made. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the party's 11th National Congress, the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed seeking truth from facts, liberating one's mind and proceeding from reality. Resuming and encouraging the fine tradition of making investigations and studies has again brought the various principles and policies in conformity with the realities of our country as well as with the aspirations of the party and the people. As a result, our party is once again full of vitality and prosperity just as in the times of Yanan and the period just after the founding of the country. Historical experiences have proved that the rise and the decline of the party's course is closely related to the growth and the disappearance of the style of making investigations and studies. It is at a great cost that our party has come to realize the importance of making investigations and studies.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: Making investigations and studies is extremely important. There are three conditions to doing a job: 1) To have a clear picture of the situation; 2) great determination; and 3) right methods. Among these three, to have a clear picture of the situation is the basis.

Only if one has a clear picture of the situation can the resolution one makes be correct. The stronger the right resolution, the better can one do the job. On the contrary, if one makes up one's mind before making sure of the situation, it might be resolution to do a wrong action, and the stronger is this resolution the worse the matter might turn out to be. These kinds of examples are not uncommon. To have a clear picture of the situation is the precondition of correct methods. An important reason for our winning battles in the past is that our warfare tactics--the deployment of army forces, the selection of breaches, the confirmation of the time of attack--met with realities. Correct deployment could only come from previous thorough reconnaissance and studies of the situation. In 1936, Comrade Peng Dehuai led the Red Army to attack Shanxi. He made surveys by himself for a week in order to decide when to cross the Yellow River. In 1949, in attacking Taiyuan, we had over 200,000 troops yet he still could not set his heart at ease. He again led the scouting officer round Taiyuan himself and investigated the place for 4 days. Now we should create an overall new situation. The problems that are waiting to be solved are much more complicated than fighting battles. The tasks are even harder. They are badly in need of "commanders" at various levels, commanders who will personally go investigating at the front line.

At present, the situation is developing at a rapid pace. New experiences, new creations, new situations and new problems in different spheres and respects keep emerging. Under this situation, being a leader should not just mean having one's own thinking keep up with the development of the situation but should also mean making a timely summary of the masses' experiences and creations and then raising them to a higher level, which in return might further guide the masses' practice. Furthermore, leaders should foresee the trend of development of matters and stand in the front to guide them. From the laws of cognizance, once the events and conflicts that people face are more complicated and variefied the change will be faster, with that, the more should we take care to avoid simple, one-sided and rigid recognition and the more need we go deep into reality to make investigations and studies. At present, there are some comrades who do not have much determination in doing things. They lack confidence and means. One important reason is that they have stayed in the office for too long a time and have made too few investigations and studies of realities. We are dialectic materialists, not idealists. Our determination and confidence do not come from subjective imagination which has no factual basis, instead, they are built on the basis of knowing the realities and the objective law. When we have a thorough understanding of a certain matter or a certain job and find the law, we will naturally be filled with determination and confidence.

The same thing applies to methods. The various conflicts in social production and social living mostly take place and are exposed at the grassroots level. It is the cadres at the grassroots level and the masses who know every detail of the various contradictions. Inexhaustible wisdom is buried deep among them. There are many wise and capable persons who have rich practical experience. Every day they deal with different kinds of contradictions. They are all there analyzing and solving contradictions,

therefore they are also good hands at solving different kinds of contradictions. There are many problems that we could not find solutions to by racking our minds in the office. Once we have had discussions with the masses and the cadres at the grassroots level, there will be solutions. Any leaders who have boldness and means, who can make a breakthrough in the working situation despite complicated contradictions, are leaders who are good at discovering, summarizing and spreading the experiences and creations of the masses from investigations and studies. Different forms of systems of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output have been created by the masses. The party Central Committee discovered this creation and encouraged it. This has given rise to a great readjustment in the relationship of production in our country's rural areas. As a result, the development of productive forces has been vigorously pushed forward. Comrade Mao Zedong always said in Yenan that sometimes he was uncertain about something and felt upset, but once he got in touch with reality and with the masses and cadres at the grassroots level, he would know what to do. Even a leader like Comrade Mao Zedong with a high level of Marxism, profound learning and rich experiences had to get his ideas and methods by learning from reality and the masses. Should not we do just the same?

Some comrades think that they can have a clear idea of things and give working instructions by listening to reports and reading written reports brought to them from grassroots units. Of course this method is necessary, yet it is quite insufficient. A more important and basic means to grasp reality is if the leaders take a direct part in making investigations and studies. Only by so doing can they obtain basic knowledge about various problems as well as a wealth of firsthand material. Only by doing so can they listen directly to the voices and opinions of the masses and have a better understanding of their experiences and creations. Things and happenings found out in such a way are more authentic and reliable than material retold or written down by some other people. For they are facts seen and heard by the leaders themselves when they make their personal appearance at the forefront of practical activities. They find out the facts directly from the participants of the event on production and work, therefore they are vivid and concrete, true to life and original as well, whereas items in written reports are generally polished. They are naturally influenced by the thinking method, level of understanding, analyzing ability and writing skill of the report writers. Some might add inflammatory details to the account, changing one to two things; some might be poor at summing up, making analysis and expressing themselves, so as a result, some very good experiences are not properly presented. Even though what the leaders read are reports written after making serious investigations, (this is of great use) yet to the leaders themselves they are still indirect experiences though they are something of direct experience to other people. Therefore, it is still necessary for us to make investigations ourselves. Self-acquired firsthand material is the base, and some other written reports and data are then referred to. As far as our horizon and insight are concerned, it will make a lot of difference if we have not looked into the matter. Having done so, it will enable us to grasp the main contradictions, experiences and problems. Furthermore, it will enable us to analyze,

select and make use of the material in the written reports on a higher plane. Finally, we can combine them with what we find out in our investigations, from which we might come to some essential conclusions which we take as our guiding principles.

The purpose of making investigations is to solve problems and to bring the subjective in conformity with the objective. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt an honestly scientific attitude in making investigations. This is a basic demand on making investigations and studies. In 1932 Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "One of our slogans is that he who has made no investigations has no right to make comments. The other is that he who did not make proper investigations has no right to make comments either." The second slogan can be said to be a development of the first one. This shows that the method of investigation encouraged by our party does not mean any kind of investigation, but the right investigation. Any investigation that goes against objective reality such as sticking to first impressions, seeking proof, especially for oneself, with bias, or investigation which does not speak the truth though knowing only too well there is falsehood will not only be unable to reach the right conclusion but the label of "making investigations and studies" might do a lot of harm. We have learned not a few lessons in this respect. We should be on our guard against that. No matter under what conditions, we should make a comprehensive analysis and summing-up of our investigation material. We shall not be cheated by various false phenomena, nor should we be satisfied with observation that are isolated, one-sided, and that might shut our eyes to the law of development of matter. Nor shall we be afraid of listening to different opinions. Above all, we should not be afraid that the judgment and decision we have already made might be toppled by the trial of practice.

Making investigations is something of significance. Responsible leaders of the party committees at various levels should personally set the ball rolling. Some comrades have emphasized that they are too busy with their work to go to grassroots units. It is a fact that they are busy and they need to squeeze in time to go down. Leading comrades of the party Central Committee are occupied with a myriad of state affairs every day. Doubtlessly, they are the busiest of all. However, they still squeeze in time for making investigations and studies in the four corners of the country. We should learn from their examples. Here, making investigations and studies and improving the style and method of leadership are closely related and help each other forward. If we do not make investigations and studies the more easily will our leading energy get trapped in trivial affairs; as a result, the less time we will have to get to basic units. In order to change this vicious circle, we should begin with making investigations and studies. Leading organizations at various levels, especially the main leading comrades, shall take the lead in changing their leading style and improving their method of leadership. Seize a major period of time and go deep into the realities of life. This will not only help one do one's own job as a leader well, but can give the juniors an example to follow. Similarly, this might well create conditions for the junior organizations to change their style and improve their working methods.

There is a giant in Greek mythology called (Antai), the son of the sea god Poseidon and the earth goddess Gaia. When fighting, he can continuously absorb strength from his earth mother and therefore be incompatible on the condition that his body does not leave the earth. We can say that the people and the masses are the mother of us communist people. As long as we do not keep ourselves away from the masses and reality, and make investigations and studies, and seek truth from facts, as long as we proceed from reality in doing anything, we can incessantly absorb inexhaustible strength from the mother. Our course will surely be to win one victory after another.

CSO: 4004/16

WHAT COUNTS MOST IS TO SOLVE IDEOLOGICAL, UNDERSTANDING PROBLEMS OF LEADING BACKBONES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 37-39

[Commentator's article]

[Text] At present, cadres throughout the country are studying the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and this vigorous mass drive is developing in depth. The gains of this study campaign are notable. The majority of cadres have more or less gained the same understanding of the program, principle and policies formulated by the 12th CPC Congress and have begun to solve some ideological problems. However, it must be realized that this is merely a good start and the achievements are still initial ones. There are still many problems both in the intensity and scope of study which require us to develop this study drive in depth. However, the leading bodies of some localities and units do not quite understand this. After leafing through the pages once, they thought they had "already studied" the documents and grasped their essence "sufficiently well." Thus, they slackened their efforts in study. In reality, they have not grasped the essence of the documents. They have not found out, in relation with their actual thinking, the principal ideological obstacles to the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress in all fields of work and conscientiously solved the major problems of understanding in the leading bodies. This method of study will invariably affect the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress.

In order to truly master the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, deepen our understanding and bring our thinking into line with the tasks, principles and policies formulated by the congress, it is first necessary to unify the ideology and understanding of the leading bodies at all levels, particularly the leading backbones at and above the county level. Practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee shows that how fast a locality, department or unit can develop depends on whether or not the leading body follows a correct ideological line, whether it has achieved unity in ideology and understanding and whether it is truly at one, politically speaking, with the Central Committee. Where a good job has been done in studying and grasping the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, the political awareness of the leading backbones is high and no time has been lost in emancipating the mind, things will develop swiftly and there will be

a new situation in all work and rapid progress in production and other fields of construction. On the contrary, if the leading cadres of a locality or unit are slow in becoming politically awakened and adopt a wait-and-see attitude, the initiative of the masses of cadres and people will not be brought into full play and work and production will lag behind. Therefore, in the present drive to study the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, leading cadres at all levels must learn from this experience, avoid "going through the motions" and concentrate first on solving the problems of ideology and understanding of the leading backbones. Leading backbones must pay special attention to this task and we must pay special attention to the leading backbones. Each level must keep an eye on the other and it is necessary to grasp the work down to the grassroots level. This is the key to mastering the documents of the 12th CPC Congress.

The guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress are the development and improvement of the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In linking with one's actual thinking, it is first necessary to lay stress on linking with one's actual thinking since the 3d plenary session and gain a deeper understanding of the line, principles and policies since then. Leading backbones at all levels must earnestly review the party's principles and policies since the 3d plenary session and find out which of these have been implemented quite well and where they fall short and why. They must also find out if there are ideas in their own locality or department which are inconsistent with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. On the basis of review and sorting out, they will be able to find out the principal ideological obstacles to the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, seize on some major problems of ideology and understanding and work out specific solutions. For example, a small number of cadres, including some leading cadres at and above the county level, feel uneasy about some of our present policies and fear that these policies "show deviations" and are "inclined to the right" because they have not thoroughly rid themselves of the "left" ideological influence. They welcome diversified economic undertakings in practice but are not convinced on a theoretical level. In particular, they are still skeptical about the socialist character of the production responsibility systems instituted in the countryside. Some of them think that we are drifting farther and farther away from communism. In the past, undertakings were "large in size and collective in nature." Now they are "small in size and private in nature." For another example, some cadres are one-sided in their understanding of the relationship between economic construction and the building of spiritual civilization. They think that once production and the people's standards of living have gone up, spiritual civilization will be built as a matter of course. They fail to understand the importance of ideological and cultural education and the fact that education and science are one of the strategic priorities of economic development. They think that these are "light tasks" that can be dispensed with. Some of them still entertain "left" prejudices about intellectuals and refuse to recognize that intellectuals, like workers and peasants, are forces we must rely on in building socialism. They think that "intellectuals were subjected to too much criticism in the past but are too lavishly praised now." They even ask: "With the intellectuals becoming so popular,

what will become of the Communist Party?" In dealing with this kind of major problem of ideology and understanding, leading backbones at all levels must bravely say what is on their mind, be bold in appraising oneself and consciously expose contradictions in ideology and in work with the spirit of rectification of work style. They must earnestly unfold criticism and self-criticism and overcome "left" and right errors in ideology and understanding which are inconsistent with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. Only in this way will it be possible to remove the obstacles to the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress.

In emphasizing that we must now lay stress on linking with actual thinking, we are not talking in generalities and it certainly does not mean that we are not going to solve actual problems of work which can be solved now. Rather, we must bear in mind the party's central tasks and try to do a better job in solving major problems and tackling formidable tasks in actual work on the basis of unified thinking. For example, the organizational reform, reforms in the economic system, party rectification and so on which we are carrying out now or will carry out in the future are all formidable tasks involving complicated problems and a strong policy bearing. In order to smoothly accomplish these tasks, leading cadres at all levels must first of all conscientiously study the documents, deepen their understanding and overcome incorrect ideas. If they are content with their half-baked knowledge and do not conscientiously study the guidelines of the documents, they will not be able to fight these tough battles well.

As the situation develops, our party will continuously put forward new tasks to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. For example, the new constitution adopted by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC and the Sixth 5-Year Plan are more concrete, enriched and developed than their corresponding sections in the documents of the 12th CPC Congress. We must study these documents well in order to continuously deepen the drive to study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress.

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A GOOD EXAMPLE IN USING MATERIALIST DIALECTICS TO SUM UP EXPERIENCE AND GUIDE CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 pp 38-42

[Article by Zhang Jing [4545 4544]]

[Text] A very important feature of the report to the 12th party congress is that in summing up experiences in the past or in expounding a series of major questions in socialist construction, this report has followed the principle of seeking truth from facts and the scientific ideological method of materialist dialectics. This view is, in fact, what has been desired by the whole party and the whole nation in the tortuous path they traversed over the past many years and it represents a key for guaranteeing the prosperity of the socialist cause. We must not only conscientiously read and study each part of this report but must also understand the whole content so that we will be able to understand the scientific ideological method represented in this report.

Materialist dialectics is a theory that is within our reach to understand. This Marxist ideological method requires us to understand things according to their objective nature and their inner law, without any subjective and metaphysical elements. Things themselves are complicated and multifaceted and therefore our understanding must not be simple and lopsided, nor can we use our lopsided view to study the overall nature of things. Things are constantly moving, developing and changing and therefore our understanding must not stagnate. As things themselves include contradictions, it is necessary for us in analyzing and handling problems to constantly study the movement of the contradictions of these things and grasp the dialectical relations of the unity of opposites of the two sides of contradictions. The root cause of our failures in the past was mainly that ideologically we parted from materialist dialectics and the law of the unity of opposites and that in some major questions, we seriously committed the mistakes of subjectivity and lopsidedness. In their attempt to seize party and political power, the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing pushed this subjectivity and lopsidedness to their utmost and consequently subjectivity and metaphysics were rampant. Measures have been taken since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to restore order and basically correct subjectivity and metaphysics ideologically and restore the scientific ideological method of materialist

dialectics. The reason for the report to the 12th party congress containing scientific nature and tremendous convincing power lies in the fact that this report has followed and practiced the demand of materialist dialectics.

These features of the report are first demonstrated in analyzing and expounding such questions of major principle as social principal contradictions and the party key works on the relationship between economy and politics.

We suffered setbacks in the past primarily because we did not proceed from reality in handling such major questions and we handled them with subjectivity and lopsidedness. After the exploiting class was eliminated as a class, we still regarded principal contradictions as class struggle and stressed the importance of taking "class struggle as the key" while under the situation in which economic construction has become our central task, we still stuck to the past practice of emphasizing such slogans as "giving prominence to politics" and "putting politics in command" and launched political movements one after another. Such practice not only delayed the shift of key work but also did harm to cadres and the broad masses of the people and confused normal relations among mankind. As a result, some comrades became used to "taking the road they are familiar with," that is, they became used to undertaking political struggle and political movements. However, some comrades were indifferent to politics and they were sick of political struggle. This is why, in the process of restoring order taken since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some cadres have failed to totally rid themselves of the influence of the past "leftist" mistakes and intentionally or not have taken the old road of "class struggle as the key." Some other comrades have disregarded proletarian politics, opposed the "left" with the "right" and even doubted and denied the four basic principles. In the final analysis, these two tendencies were caused by people's understanding that departed from reality, by objectivity and by failures in summing up experiences and lessons well and correctly understanding the changes in social principal contradictions, shift of key work and the dialectical relations between economy and politics. An important contribution of the report to the 12th party congress is that following the "Resolution on Some Historical Questions Within the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," this report has further and basically resolved these problems that are concerned with the whole situation. This report not only points out that class struggle is no longer the social principal contradiction and the key work of the party and the state has been shifted to economic construction but also dialectically expounds the relationship between the principal contradiction and other contradictions and the relationship between economy and politics following the shift of key work. It puts the socialist modernization program in the first place, but at the same time it in no way neglects the importance of socialist political building and the party ideological and political work; it has completely corrected the "leftist" mistakes of "class struggle as the key" and yet it also points out the necessity of carrying out class struggle that still exists within a certain sphere. The whole report is characterized by the spirit of economy being the key, politics the guarantee and

that the modernization program we are implementing is socialist modernization. Thus, under the new historical period, the report correctly handles the dialectical relationship between economy and politics. By following the orientation pointed out by the report, we will be able to prevent subjectivity and lopsidedness and avoid the past lesson of going from one lopsidedness to another and from one extreme to another.

Second, the features of the report are shown in a series of guiding ideology and principles and policies with regard to economic construction and political building.

Economically, the report includes a very important guiding ideology of paying attention to dialectically unifying speed with efficiency. When referring to the strategic goal of quadrupling annual gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century, the report particularly stresses the importance of "constantly improving economic efficiency" as the premise; it also stresses the importance of defining strategic keys and strategic measures while the arrangement of the various tasks during the period of the Sixth and Seventh 5-Year Plans must also be centered on improving economic efficiency so as to create conditions for unifying speed with efficiency still better in the future. The report points out that in realizing strategic goals it is imperative to follow the four major principles: concentrate funds for key construction and constantly improving people's life, persist in the leading position of the state economy and develop various forms of economy, persist in planned economy as the main and market regulation as the supplement and persist in self-reliance and expanding economic and technical exchange with foreign countries. In fact, these four principles represent the four pairs of contradictions that are related with the whole situation in carrying out socialist economic construction, the four pairs of the dialectical relationship of the unity of opposites and the result of deeper understanding of the law of socialist construction. For quite a long period in the past, there was "leftist" lopsidedness in these aspects and when we were correcting this lopsidedness, some people slid down to another extreme. We must acknowledge that in handling these relations, lopsidedness may easily happen because people have different ideological levels and positions. But when we have grasped materialist dialectics and we are good at carrying out investigations and consider and analyze problems dialectically, we will be able to see that the two sides of contradictions contradict and oppose each other and at the same time to see that they are related to each other and they penetrate each other. Consequently, we will be able to raise our ideological level, we will not be limited by our positions and we will be able to decrease lopsidedness considerably.

Politically, the guiding ideology and principles and policies for building socialist spiritual civilization and developing socialist democracy mentioned in the report are also characterized by materialist dialectics, objectivity and comprehensiveness. The general guiding ideology in building spiritual civilization is that the building must be carried out simultaneously with the building of materialist civilization (because these two aspects condition and are aimed at each other), while in building spiritual

civilization it is necessary to simultaneously grasp the building of culture and ideology (because these two aspects penetrate and promote each other). Theoretically, the report has made new developments and contributions in its profound presentation of the dialectical relations of the unity of opposites of these two aspects and therefore it enables us to understand and carry out in an overall way the socialist construction and the building of spiritual civilization and avoid lopsidedness in doing so. For example, the system of our country is the system of the dictatorship of the people's democracy. On the one hand, this system guarantees that the broad masses of the people are masters of their land while on the other, it guarantees to exercise dictatorship over the few antagonistic elements and these two aspects are dialectically unified. We are determined to develop socialist democracy but it is not permitted to give the antagonistic elements that are harmful to society the freedom to carry out sabotage activities. We are determined to exercise dictatorship over the few antagonistic elements but we can in no way confuse the enemy and ourselves, nor is it permitted to harm the people's right of freedom. Another example is that the building of socialist democracy must be combined with the building of a social legal system. Without a legal system based on democracy there will be no legal system to manifest the will of the people. Democracy without a legal system is neither dependable nor in a position to guarantee democracy. The right of the people to become the masters of their land must be legalized and systematized. In addition, it is the obligation of each citizen to observe and implement law. The party has led the people in working out the constitution and law while the party itself must carry out its activities within the range permitted by the constitution and the law. All these supplement each other and are dialectically unified. Another example, the implementation of the open-door policy and the policy of activating economy in the new historical period must be combined with the move to crack down on serious criminal activities in economic, political and cultural sectors. "It is wrong to pay attention to the latter aspect and doubt the former one and it is dangerous to stress the importance of the former and neglect the latter." These two policies are apparently scientific and dialectical.

Third, the features of the report are shown in the art of leadership and in working method.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the leading work of the CPC Central Committee has once again been characterized by the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts. No matter whether in restoring order, in working out and implementing principles and policies or in handling actual problems, attention has been paid so that in overcoming one wrong tendency we will not neglect another wrong tendency and we will be able to correctly launch ideological struggle against a "leftist" or rightist line. In these aspects, one of the most typical and the most educationally significant is that mentioned by the report. That is to say, in the process of restoring order, we have overcome the obstacles from the "left" and the right. The "leftist" obstacles affirmed everything and opposed clarifying and criticizing the "leftist" mistakes that had existed for many years and the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his late

years. The rightist obstacles denied everything in the process of clarifying and criticizing, thus "in throwing away the bath water, they also threw out the baby too." In treating these two lopsidednesses, our party did not resort to a simple method of oppression; it relied on the collective wisdom of the broad masses of cadres and people and gradually solved these problems through education and enlightenment. As a result, while the past mistakes were analyzed and criticized, we have also been able to protect the fine party traditions, the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought and the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong. As mentioned by the report, over the past few years, our party has been able to oppose the "leftist" tendency that attempted to restore the wrong theory and policies to those during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution"; at the same time, it also opposed the rightist tendency of bourgeois liberalism that doubted and denied the four basic principles. In this aspect, our party is not only firm in its clear-cut stand but is also good at carrying out persuasion and education and making the best use of the circumstances. It has thus shown excellent art of leadership and scientific working method.

How to estimate situations and treat difficulties is a common problem in the process of revolution. These problems have become even more prominent following the serious setbacks suffered by the party and the state during the 10 turbulent years. In this aspect, the report has also resorted to the objectivity and comprehensiveness of materialist dialectics in overcoming certain subjectivity and lopsidedness in certain understanding and consequently it has been able to help people clarify vague ideology and encourage them to make progress. For example, the analyses and comparison made in the first part of the report about the historical changes that happened twice during the democratic revolution and the present historical changes are helpful in guiding people to treat situations and difficulties dialectically. The analyses made in the sixth part of the report about the dominant aspects and dark sides in the situations of the party are helpful in guiding people to correctly treat party rectification and consequently in increasing people's confidence in striving for a better party style of work; the analyses made in the conclusion of the report about how Marxists should treat difficulties are also dialectical and convincing. All these represent the party's scientific art of leadership and working method.

Our party has become good at summing up experiences and guiding construction according to materialist dialectics; this ability has been achieved following the tortuous path taken by the party over the past two decades and more; this ability is based on deeper understanding of the law of socialist construction and it represents an important mark, showing that the party has become more mature in carrying out leadership.

During the democratic revolution, our party began to understand objective law after it experienced a tortuous path for more than two decades prior to the seventh party congress and overcame serious subjectivity and lopsidedness ideologically. Thus, the party has been able to place a series of principles and policies on the scientific basis of materialist dialectics. History will not repeat itself but it often has similarities. Our party's understanding of the law of socialist construction also became

overall, profound and firm after the tortuous path that lasted for more than two decades prior to the eighth party congress.

We cannot but acknowledge that we have paid a high price for the difficulties we met since the eighth party congress. But it is not necessary to regret tortuous paths in history. It is very seldom that people understand the law of development in a plain sailing way and to experience a tortuous path in this aspect is more in line with materialist dialectics. Like the situations in the period of the democratic revolution after the 6th party congress, the tortuous development and the repeated comparisons of victories and failures in the more than 20 years following the 8th party congress have profoundly educated the party. As a result, we have deepened our understanding of the law of socialist construction, our party has become more mature and it has been able to base its guiding ideology, principles and policies and leading method on materialist dialectics even more firmly. In this aspect, we can say that the significance of the 12th party congress is similar to that of the 7th party congress. That is to say, while the 7th party congress was able to guide the revolution to victory, the 12th party congress will guide the construction to victory.

An important feature of the report to the 12th party congress and an important content of general guiding ideology is that the party is good at summing up experience and guiding construction by making use of materialist dialectics. If we spare no effort to understand how to use materialist dialectics in summing up experience and in guiding construction, we will eventually be able to considerably improve our ideological level and leading ability. If we do not work hard to improve our way of thinking and overcome subjectivity and lopsidedness, we will not be able to profoundly understand and grasp in an overall way the principles and policies of the party Central Committee although they are scientific and dialectical and consequently we will not be able to carry out these principles and policies correctly and we may even make mistakes.

The report to the 12th party congress deals with general guiding ideology and some major principles and policies and therefore in studying this report, we must relate these guiding ideology and principles and policies to our own thinking and practical experiences so as to see what kind of thinking and ways of working are in line with materialist dialectics and should be persisted in and developed and what are contrary to materialist dialectics and should consequently be overcome and corrected. The report deals with the whole and general situations while the situations, experience and practice of various fronts, regions and units are partial and individual. To understand the whole situation and the general spirit is in the interest of studying partial situations and analyzing individual situations; on the other hand, in linking with partial situations and individual situations we will be able to understand the whole situation and the general spirit still better.

Some comrades considered the study of materialist dialectics to be the business of philosophers. According to their view, it is the "business of the above" or the "business of the CPC Central Committee" to use materialist

dialectics in summing up experience and guiding construction and this work has nothing to do with them. But it is not so in reality. As a universal law of nature, society and ideology, materialist dialectics exists everywhere and all sectors belong to this sphere. As scientific ideological methods, materialist dialectics is the soul of all methods and in the final analysis, any leading method and working method cannot but take materialist dialectics as their core.

Take the economic work situation for example. A major feature in major and masses production is that various departments, enterprises and links are closely linked and they condition each other. They are constantly moving and changing and in the process of their development there exists dialectical relationships of various contradictions and various unity of opposites. These relationships include those between industry and agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, accumulation and consumption, planning and freedom, centralization and decentralization, quantity and quality and speed and efficiency. This situation demands that in studying economic problems and guiding economic work, we must resort to the scientific thinking of materialist dialectics, consciously study the movement of contradictions in the economic sector and correctly handle various dialectical relationships of the unity of opposites. Some advanced regions and units have been able to develop production vigorously and develop economy rapidly and naturally they have good experiences that merit our studying. If we carry out meticulous study, we can find that the most basic reason is that the comrades who are responsible for leading production are good at considering economic problems dialectically and that their ways of thinking and working accord with materialist dialectics and the law of unity of opposites. For example, the experience of the so-called "coordinated process" in industry in fact represents a correct handling of the relations of the unity of opposites between specialization and coordination while the experience of "united body of scientific research and production" represents a correct handling of the relations between production and scientific research (the so-called production provides the subject and scientific technology writes the article). Another example, the success of the introduction of production responsibility system in rural areas is that because this system has correctly handled the dialectical relations between individuals and collective and between collective and the state. On the other hand, the reason why the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot" obstructed the development of production is that it opposes the dialectical method in economic life.

Is it possible to carry out management and define policies without resorting to materialist dialectics? Comrade Chen Yun said: "In studying problems, defining policies and deciding planning it is necessary to compare various schemes"; "it is necessary to consider problems from various angles and study various conditions and feasibilities." These words represent a consciousness in using materialist dialectics. A book about management said: "Correct policies can be achieved from among positive and negative opinions." This view also accords with dialectics.

The situations are the same in other works. Our forefathers said these words in talking about writing articles: "The method of writing articles is combining flexibility and rigidity" while in creating works, artists resort to the method of "strength and grace" and "images and appearances." All these mean using materialist dialectics in summing up experience and guiding creation consciously or unconsciously. Any sector that has achieved good and successful experience is in line with materialist dialectics. Any work has its own relations of the unity of opposites but as long as we are able to handle well these relations, we can promote our work and reach and surpass advanced standard.

The report to the 12th party congress points out: "In the new historical period, it is one of the greatest creative project of mankind to build an originally backward country in both economy and culture such as China into a modern and powerful socialist country." To finish such an arduous and complicated project it is even more important to grasp the scientific ideological method of materialist dialectics than any other creativity. Should there be any doubt over this question?

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WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM,
IDEOLOGY AND MOVEMENT?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 p 43

[Article by Lu Chen [7120 1057]]

[Text] In the report to the 12th CPC Congress, three concepts have been used in connection with communism, namely, the communist system, the communist ideology and the communist movement. What are the differences and relations between them?

The authors of Marxist classics used the term "communism" in different contexts. First, as a social system in the higher phase of development of human society. Marx and Engels scientifically brought to light the objective law that capitalist societies will invariably develop into socialist and communist societies. They also put forward a number of scientific assumptions regarding the future of communism as a social system. In their opinion, communist society must go through the socialist and communist phases in its development. In communist society, which is a higher phase of development, the productive forces are highly developed, the means of production are publicly owned by the whole society, class distinction and social inequalities are completely wiped out and the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is implemented. It is the most advanced, the most reasonable and the best social system in the history of mankind. Therefore, the authors of Marxist classics often used the term "communism" to show the ultimate objective of communists. Second, as a scientific ideology or theory that guides man in his struggle for communism. Engels once said: "Communism is teaching concerning the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." This teaching is the theory of scientific socialism established by Marx and Engels. It provides the proletariat with a powerful ideological weapon for winning their emancipation. Third, as a movement toward the goal of communism. Marx and Engels held that the realization of communism as a social system in any country involved a protracted course of practice and required the relentless efforts and struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. Therefore, communism is more than just a social system. It is above all a movement. Marx and Engels said: "We call communism a real movement which abolishes the present state of things."

The above shows that the communist ideology, the communist movement and the communist system are interrelated. First, without the guidance of the communist ideology, there will not be any communist movement. Only by educating the working class in communist ideology can we make the workers see the essence of the exploitative relations of capitalism, understand the historical mission of the working class and organize their own political party--the communist party. It is only under the leadership of the communist party and with the guidance of the communist ideological system that practical activities with the realization of the communist system as their ultimate objective--the communist movement--can take place. On the other hand, the communist ideology is established by Marx and Engels; but it is not an immutable, ossified dogma. It is a revolutionary theory constantly enriched and developed through practice in the communist movements of various countries. The communist ideology must be integrated with the concrete practice of the communist movements of various countries before it can truly guide the proletariat and the working people in their struggle for emancipation.

Communist ideology, the communist movement and the communist system are also inseparable because it is impossible to set a movement apart from its objective. Communism as a social system can definitely be achieved. This is an inexorable law of the development of human society. However, this does not mean that the communist system can spontaneously emerge in a capitalist society. It must first go through a socialist revolution involving the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat and also the building of socialism. This is also the course of development of the communist movement. The communist movement has the communist system as its ultimate objective and the communist system can only be realized in full through the constant development of the communist movement. It is precisely in this sense that the report to the 12th CPC Congress emphasized that "communism is above all a movement." China has now entered the first phase of communism--socialist society, and communist ideas and actions have long been part of our actual life. Therefore, the view that communism is but a "dim illusion" and that it is no longer necessary to publicize communist ideas is wrong.

However, while recognizing their interrelations, we must not lose sight of their differences. Although the communist movement has the communist system as its ultimate objective, we must not equate one with the other. The communist system can only be realized when the social productive forces are highly developed, when all members of the society have greatly heightened their awareness of communism and when science and education have been greatly developed and become universal. This requires the protracted efforts of several generations. Therefore, the communist movement is divided into stages according to different historical periods, and different stages have different historical missions. We must not mix them up. Although we now stress communist ideological education and the extension of the communist movement, it does not mean that we must now practice the future social system of communism. We must use communist ideology to guide our socialist construction and fulfill our tasks in the historical period of socialism. We must also set demands on the CPC members, CYL members and

all advanced elements according to the communist ideology and moral ethics and, through them, to educate and influence the broad masses to work for a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Besides, the different policies followed by the party at different historical periods are worked out under the guidance of the communist ideology in the light of actual conditions. In order to fight for communism, we must carry out the party's policies for different historical periods. At present, we must carry out the party's policies for the period of socialism, such as the policy of to each according to his work. Therefore, it is completely wrong to confuse the differences between communist ideology, the communist movement and the communist system and not to conscientiously carry out the party's policies for the stage of socialism.

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'IGNORE THE STRONG POINTS AND BRING INTO PLAY THE WEAK ONES' AND 'DEVELOP THE STRONG POINTS TO OFFSET THE WEAK ONES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 82 inside back cover

[Article by Jiang Xia [3068 7209]]

[Text] Our forefathers said a lot about the philosophy of employing people. Some of the more sensible theories were that we must "make use of the strong points and ignore the weak ones" and must not "ignore the strong points and bring into play the weak ones" or "employ a person to do something which he is not skilled in." Some people even came up with this extreme comparison: "If everyone develops his strong points to offset the weak ones, there will not be a single person under heaven who is unfit to be employed. If everyone ignores his strong points and brings into play the weak ones, there will not be a single person under heaven who is not to be rejected." This highlighted the importance of appropriately handling people's strong and weak points.

We often come across sayings to this effect in "Zhenguan Zhengyao" [6297 6034 2398 6008] ["Political Records During the Reign of the Taizong Emperor of the Tang Dynasty"], "Zizhi Tongjian" [6327 3112 6639 7003] ["A Synopsis of History"], "Guwen Guanzhi" [0657 2329 6034 2972] ["The Best of Classical Writings"] and even in some poems. These sayings give equal weight to reasoning and analogy. They are vivid, incisive and enlightening. However, although their reasoning and analogy show keen insight, they also reveal certain weak points. For example, "the employment of persons" is often simply likened to "the use of tools," "a carpenter's choice of wood," "the picking of a horse" or "the buying of a piece of jade." Without knowing, they obliterate the characteristics of personnel matters and turn people into things. Thus, man's dynamic role disappears and his strong and weak points become innate and unalterable. This gives rise to corrupt practices.

In "Qingshi Biecai Ji" [3237 6108 0446 5932 7162] ["Selected Poems From the Qing Dynasty"], there is a poem by Gu Sixie [7357 0843 0588] entitled "Zaxing" [7177 5281] ["Miscellaneous Thoughts"]. The poem says: "A fine horse can undergo adventures, but it cannot be compared with a cow in working the fields. A firm and solid cart can carry heavy things, but it cannot be compared with a boat in crossing rivers. If we ignore the strong points and bring into play the weak ones, even a wise man will be at his wit's end."

What makes our production tools useful is that they serve our needs. We should take care not to be overcritical." The idea of this poem is no doubt correct insofar as "employing a person according to his skill and ability" is concerned. However, things are not that simple when we consider the needs of the situation and changes in the development of human resources.

No one knows everything and no one can do everything. In this connection, it is metaphysical, unpractical and even a breach of common sense to "ignore the strong points and bring into play the weak ones," demand perfection and try to make somebody do something which he cannot do. However, some of man's weak points are just signs of neglect, narrow-mindedness or one-sidedness. If these are not properly overcome and offset, they will hinder the full development of the strong points. At a time like this, "bringing into play the weak points" becomes our starting point in "offsetting the weak points." If we indiscriminately reject "bringing into play the weak points," we are not far from "shielding our faults." People who "shield their faults" are unwilling to know their weak points and to make an effort to improve. How can these people begin to talk about progress and advancement!

Some people quote this saying by our forefathers every time they are assigned tasks which they do not know much about: "If we try to make everybody do things which he cannot do, we will find that there are not many capable persons." They make it quite plain that they are unwilling to do the job or are merely working with great reluctance or in a slapdash manner. They do not understand that when we start an undertaking, there is no way to avoid unfamiliar territory. People have dynamic power. They have the ability to learn new knowledge and grasp new skills. As long as we make a conscientious effort to study and to temper ourselves, our "weak points" can be turned into "strong points" and "things we cannot do" will become "things we can tackle with ease." If we retreat every time we come across difficult problems, how can we master new skills and special knowledge?

In the final analysis, the strong and weak points of a person are by no means innate (the idea of "my ability is bestowed by heaven"). They are shaped by the history of society and the needs of the times. When new historical events arise, a series of changes will take place, both in the overall structure of the strong and weak points of human resources in society as a whole, and in the established state of the strong and weak points of the individual. Some strong points and special skills may continue to be useful and some weak points and shortcomings need to be offset. Nevertheless, the bulk of the work is to cultivate new skills according to new needs. At a time like this, we must answer our cause and do or learn things which we are not skilled in at the moment. This may appear to be "bringing into play the weak points" or "demanding perfection," but actually it is the only way to advance our cause and to develop human resources.

At present, we are endeavoring to create a new situation in socialist modernization. There is now a much greater need for qualified persons in all

fields. Qualified persons in different fields also have more opportunities and occasions to put their ability to good use. Society has an endless need for qualified persons. Under such circumstances, it seems that while continuing to pay attention to the policy of "ignoring the weak points and bringing into play the strong ones," we also have to lay stress on "developing the strong points to offset the weak ones" on the question of employing human resources. We must serve the needs of the development of our cause and cultivate, through training, new strong points which were lacking in the past but are particularly needed now.

"Bringing into play the weak points" and "demanding perfection" are not to be tolerated. Similarly, "shielding one's faults" and "noninterference" are also not to be tolerated. Our cause needs and is bringing up all kinds of qualified persons. Qualified persons in all fields must serve the needs of our cause and actively push our cause forward. This is probably the gist of the question of human resources.

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END