

JPRS 74294

2 October 1979

# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 8, 2 August 1979

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE	1. REPORT NO. JPRS 74294	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle CHINA REPORT: RED FLAG No. 8, 2 August 1979		5. Report Date 2 October 1979	
7. Author(s)		6. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
15. Supplementary Notes Translation of HUNG CH'I (RED FLAG), monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Beijing.		13. Type of Report & Period Covered  14.	
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)  The report contains information on political, sociological and economic developments in the People's Republic of China, focusing on Mao Zedong Thought, and articles and speeches by members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.			
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors  PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA Political Sciences Sociology Economics Culture (social sciences) Central Committee Chinese Communist Party Mao Zedong Propaganda  b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms  c. COSATI Field/Group 2, 5C, 5D, 5K			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 153
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Peking. Passages between slantlines printed in boldface type.

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## A GREAT ARMY-BUILDING PROGRAM--RECALLING THE GUTIAN CONGRESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 2-15

[Article by Xiao Ke [5618 0344]]

[Text] The 42d anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has aroused my memories of the brilliant fighting course our army traversed and my deep memories of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation like Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De who founded the army. I wrote this article on the Gutian Congress to commemorate this historic, red-letter day. Some 50 years have passed since the ninth party congress of the 4th Army of the Red Army (also known as the Gutian Congress), an important event in the histories of our party and army. History has clearly shown that the Gutian Congress resolution drawn up under Comrade Mao Zedong's guidance was entirely correct in laying the foundation and charting the orientation for the building of our army. It still shines brightly today and is of real significance in guiding the shift in the focus of our party's work. However, out of their criminal purpose to usurp party and state power, the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" racked their brains to distort, tamper with and fabricate the history of this period and openly and shamelessly trumped up charges against Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi. We have felt boundless indignation against this. As a veteran who participated in the Gutian Congress, I am obliged to make a brief review of this part of history and restore its true features.

### I

The earth-shaking great revolution ended in failure in 1927 because Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the bourgeois democratic revolution and Chen Duxiu pushed a rightist capitulationist line. This bitter lesson made the Chinese Communist Party see more clearly the utter importance and urgency of firmly grasping the army and waging an armed struggle. On 1 August 1927 Comrade Zhou Enlai, together with Comrades Zhu De, Ho Long, Ye Ting and Liu Bocheng, led the Nanchang Uprising, thus firing the first shot at the Kuomintang reactionaries and hoisting the first clear-cut banner of armed struggle. After the

Nanchang Uprising, the party Central Committee called the "7 August" emergency meeting, which ended Chen Duxiu's erroneous leadership and confirmed the general policy of continuing the agrarian reform and putting up armed resistance to the Kuomintang's reactionary rule. Thereupon the center of the revolutionary struggle was shifted from the cities to the countryside, and peasant uprisings broke out one after another in many parts of the country. In September Comrade Mao Zedong led the Autumn Harvest Uprising in Hunan, advanced to the middle section of the Luoxiao mountain range and built a revolutionary base in the Jinggang Mountains. At that time the Guangzhou Uprising, the Southern Hunan Uprising and the armed uprisings at Hailufeng and Huangma and in northeastern Jiangxi, the western parts of Hunan and Hubei and in the Honghu Lake area broke out one after another. With the center of the revolutionary struggle shifted, the form of struggle also changed from a regular war of driving straight in to take the major cities, as was done during the Northern Expedition, to guerrilla warfare in the countryside. The broad masses of peasants were mobilized to wage an agrarian revolutionary war, establish a soviet government, build guerrilla forces and Red Guards, reinforce the Red Army, found revolutionary bases and form an "independent armed regime of workers and peasants." This was all done to gradually create the strategic situation in which the cities were encircled by the rural areas.

The 4th Army of the Red Army came into being in this situation.

At the beginning it comprised two principal forces: One was made up of the force of the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the other of the force left behind from the Nanchang Uprising led by Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Chen Yi and the peasant armed forces which participated in the Southern Hunan Uprising. On 28 April 1928 Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Chen Yi led their men to the Jinggang Mountains, victoriously joining forces with Comrade Mao Zedong. On 4 May a general meeting was held at the township of Longshi, Niggang County. The 4th Red Army was formed, comprising three divisions, eight regiments and one special task battalion. Its 28th Regiment consisted of the principal force left behind from the Nanchang Uprising. Its 31st Regiment consisted of the principal force left behind from the Autumn Harvest Uprising. Its 32d Regiment consisted of the local armies in the Jinggang Mountains led by Yuan Wencai and Wang Zuo. The 29th, 33d, 34th, 35th and 36th regiments consisted of peasants who had participated in the Southern Hunan Uprising. The special task battalion comprised the Shuikoushan workers uprising contingent (which also participated in the Southern Hunan Uprising) led by Comrade Song Qiaosheng. The 4th Red Army had Comrade Zhu De as its commander, Comrade Mao Zedong as its party representative, Comrade Chen Yi as director of its Political Department and concurrently commander of its 12th Division, and Comrade Wang Erzhuo as its chief of staff and concurrently commander of its 28th Regiment. The 10th Division was commanded concurrently by Comrade Zhu De and had Wan Xixian as the party representative. The 11th Division was commanded by Zhang Ziqing and had

He Tingying as the party representative. The 4th Red Army gained great fame and enjoyed high prestige at that time. The warlords regarded "joining forces to wipe out" the Red Army as an important event. Lu Diping, a warlord of Hunan, lamented: "We have wasted a great deal of money in wiping out bandits in past years." Wang Jun, a warlord of Jiangxi, cried out in alarm: "They have 20,000 men and 5,000 rifles." Actually, we only had 3,000 rifles and some 10,000 men. Grain supplies ran so short and rifles were so scarce in the Jinggang Mountains that the southern Hunan peasant regiments, with the exception of the 29th, soon afterward went back to Hunan. In July the 29th Regiment also went to southern Hunan and was defeated. Eventually only three regiments were left--the 28th, 31st and 32d. Since its founding, the 4th Red Army had waged arduous struggle for more than half a year in the Jinggang Mountains. To open new revolutionary bases, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De led the 28th and 31st regiments (the 32d remained in the Jinggang Mountains) to set off from Ciping on 14 January 1929 to fight guerrilla wars in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian. In early February these regiments came to Xiangshan near Jitan in southern Jiangxi and were reorganized into two columns. Coming to Doggu, they were again reorganized into three columns to conduct guerrilla warfare more conveniently. When they came to western Fujian they recruited the local armed forces to form a fourth column. By the time of the Gutian Congress, the 4th Red Army had four columns (a column was a regiment comprising two detachments plus a special task company, totaling 1,100 or 1,200 men). It had already gradually grown into a revolutionary army with great political influence throughout the country. The masses of people rejoiced, but the landlords, local gentry and reactionaries were frightened on hearing of the arrival of the Red Army led by Zhu De and Mao Zedong.

The 4th Army of the Red Army was different from the old-type army chiefly because it was led by the party and had a good foundation of political work. The political work of the Soviet Red Army led by Lenin had a very great influence on us at that time. During the war in Guangdong and the Northern Expedition, the Communist International's representative participated with the Chinese Communist Party, and the army had a party representative and a political organ to carry out revolutionary political work. Thus, on the whole there was unity between officers and men and between the army and the people. This was something which had never existed before in the Chinese Army. Comrade Zhou Enlai took charge of political work at that time. He was a forerunner in doing political work in our army. Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi were able to lead the remaining armed forces after the failure of the Nanchang Uprising to participate in the Southern Hunan Uprising, and Comrades Dong Lang and Yan Changyi were able to lead a defeated contingent after the Nanchang Uprising to participate in the agrarian revolutionary movement led by Comrade Peng Pai in Hailufeng mainly because party organizations and the party's leadership existed in the army and political work was carried out in the armed forces. Comrade Mao Zedong



highly appraised this: In the 1924-1927 period "a fresh spirit prevailed among these forces; on the whole there was unity between officers and men and between the army and the people, and the army was filled with a revolutionary militance. The system of having party representatives and political departments, adopted for the first time in China, entirely changed the complexion of the armed forces. The Red Army, which was founded in 1927, and the 8th Route Army of today have inherited this system and developed it." ("Interview With British Journalist James Bertram") In September 1927 Comrade Mao Zedong led the armed forces of the Autumn Harvest Uprising in marching toward the Jinggang Mountains. On the way the well-known "Sanwan reorganization" took place. In the armed forces, party organizations were set up and strengthened. A squad had a party group, a company had a party branch and a battalion or regiment had a party committee. Party representatives and the party's front committees were at company level and above. At the same time many revolutionary measures were adopted, such as abolishing the system of hired labor and establishing a system specifying democracy in the army and political equality between officers and men, requiring officers and men to share weal and woe in daily life, and so forth. During the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Mao Zedong also established the "soldiers committee" and stipulated that, in addition to fighting battles, the Red Army had to raise funds, carry out propaganda among the masses and observe the "three main rules of discipline and six points of attention." These creative revolutionary measures helped establish the party's absolute leadership over the army, preserve our army's proletarian nature and lay the foundation of a new type of people's army.

The party's leadership and political work had been strengthened in the 4th Red Army, and an essential change had come about in the condition of the troops. However, the Red Army had only recently been established and was in a transitional stage. It mainly comprised mercenary troops of the Northern Expedition Army and large numbers of peasants and soldiers who had come over from the other side. For this reason, the style of the old army and various kinds of nonproletarian ideas were invariably reflected in the Red Army. A salient feature was the existence of a purely military viewpoint, the roving-rebel idea and the remnants of militarism. For example, some cadres were not accustomed to and felt restricted by the system which specified that problems should be discussed and decisions made by the party committee or party branch. They preferred the practice of "what the senior officer says is final." Other cadres held that the army only took care of fighting. They liked "going from one place to another." They had a weak concept of political power, paying little or no attention to establishing soviets, peasant associations and party organizations in guerrilla forces and rural areas. They were not enthusiastic about doing mass work. Still other cadres suggested upholding the idea of so-called army discipline. At that time army discipline meant chiefly the regulations copied from drill books of Western countries and of the old army. These were leftovers from the bourgeoisie and the feudal army. Beating and

swearing was rather prevalent in the army. If a company commander or platoon leader beat a soldier one day, a soldiers committee meeting would be held 2 days later. That company commander or platoon leader would then be penalized by being beaten on his palm or backside. The brutal measure of executing a deserter by shooting was still being followed when our army came to the Fujian-Guangdong-Jiangxi borders. All these things showed that before the Gutian Congress some cadres did not deeply understand how to build a genuine army of the people under new historical conditions.

During the more than 2 years from the Nanchang Uprising and the Autumn Harvest Uprising to the Gutian Congress, the 4th Red Army had gone through revolutionary wars and accumulated rich experiences. With the revolutionary situation continuously developing, it was highly necessary to sum up these experiences, solve the problems concerning the building of the Red Army and improve the political quality of the Red Army so that it could shoulder new revolutionary tasks. During the seventh party congress of the 4th Red Army in June 1929, Comrade Mao Zedong wanted to sum up these experiences. However, the conditions were not yet ripe at that time, and it was necessary for us to grope about in the dark and improve on our experience. A democratic election was held during the seventh party congress. Comrade Mao Zedong was not elected to be secretary of the Front Committee. Later he left the 4th Red Army and went to western Fujian to recuperate his health. Not long afterward an enemy division led by Liu Heding attacked western Fujian. The Front Committee decided to leave the 1st and 4th columns behind in western Fujian and dispatched the 2d and 3d columns to central Fujian to hit at the armed forces of the local inhabitants. The 2d and 3d columns set out and initially won two battles. However, party organizations and a mass base were lacking in central Fujian, which had unfavorable natural conditions. The columns had to retreat to western Fujian, because it was the rainy season and a high mountain stood in the way. After their retreat they attacked and captured the city of Shanghang and wiped out more than 1,000 men of the armed forces led by Lu Xinming. As a result, the soviet area in western Fujian was consolidated and expanded. However, the base had to be further consolidated, and large numbers of soldiers who had come over from the other side needed to be educated. At that time the party Central Committee reported in a letter to us that a new clash had broken out between the warlords of Guangxi and Guangdong. It wanted the 4th Red Army to take this opportunity to carry out activities in the East River basin. We engaged in battle with the forces led by Jiang Guangnai and Cai Tingkai in the East River basin. However, we did not fight well and had no alternative but to retreat to western Fujian. During that period Comrade Mao Zedong was away from the 4th Red Army. Comrade Chen Yi went to the party Central Committee and reported on the weakening of party leadership and political and ideological work in the 4th Red Army. During and after the "eighth party congress" of the 4th Red Army the broad masses asked Comrade Mao Zedong to come back. On the day we marched from Jiaoling to Meixian in late

October, Comrade Chen Yi came back from Shanghai after reporting to the party Central Committee. He brought a letter with him carrying instructions from the party Central Committee to the Front Committee of the 4th Red Army. Both positive and negative experiences educated the cadres and the masses. In this situation, conditions were ripe and the time was mature for summing up the previous 2 years of experiences in building the Red Army.

Following the instructions of the party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong, in the company of Comrade Chen Yi, returned to the 4th Red Army on 26 November 1929 to preside over its work. At the enlarged meeting of the Front Committee of the 4th Red Army held in Changding on 28 November, a decision was made to convoke the ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army. The Front Committee, chiefly Comrade Mao Zedong, did a great deal of preparatory work to convoke this congress. Making use of the intervals between battles, he called meetings of the local masses and joint meetings of party representatives to companies and columns and had chats with some cadres and fighters. He carefully probed into existing problems in the armed forces and the party, listened to the opinions of all sides and studied, together with other people, the causes of problems and the ways to solve them. On the basis of the contents of the letter from the party Central Committee and the actual conditions of the 4th Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong drafted a resolution for the congress. The ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army was held in Gutian Village, Shanghang County, Fujian Province, at the end of December. During this congress Mao Zedong delivered a report and spoke on many occasions; Comrade Zhu De delivered a report on military affairs; and Comrade Chen Yi read a letter from the party Central Committee and spoke against the shooting of deserters. The congress discussed the instructions of the party Central Committee, summed up experiences and lessons, reelected the Front Committee and unanimously adopted the "Resolution of the Ninth Party Congress of the 4th Army of the Red Army." Because conditions were ripe and essential preparations had been made, this historic congress concluded in triumph after a session of a few days.

After the congress, its resolution was printed and circulated among the rank and file for study and implementation, thereby straightening them out ideologically and organizationally. At that time we took this resolution as teaching material for party lessons, rules to be observed by the Red Army and the criterion for testing and evaluating our work. Our armed forces later marched to the middle section of the Wuyi mountain range and to southern Jiangxi. They were better disciplined and more united and fought more competently. In the February 1930 battles in the Shuinan and Zhixia areas southeast of Jian, they defeated at a single blow the independent 15th Regiment led by Tang Yunshan, which had been newly equipped by Chiang Kai-shek, wiping out half of it and capturing more than 10 heavy machineguns. This was the largest number of heavy machineguns captured since the founding of the Red Army. Thereafter our armed forces completely changed their outlook.

The Gutian Congress resolution was written by Comrade Mao Zedong by applying basic Marxist principles concerning the political party and the army of the proletariat, following the guidelines set by the party Central Committee in its September letter, taking into consideration more than 2 years of practice and experience in building the Red Army and pooling the wisdom of all. The resolution comprised nine sections and was very rich in content. The most important part was the first section "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." It was the core of the whole resolution, stressing the necessity of establishing proletarian ideas, overcoming nonproletarian ideas and building the Red Army into a new political, ideological and organizational type of people's army.

/Politically, it is necessary to establish a firm concept of political power and of the masses./

Under the leadership of the Front Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the 4th Red Army paid attention after its founding to preventing and overcoming the purely military viewpoint, preserving the proletarian nature of the Red Army and serving the proletariat's political tasks in all its actions. While founding the revolutionary base in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De led us to fight battles, raise funds and do mass work. At that time, whenever we captured an area, we took advantage of the new situation created by military occupation, aroused the masses to fight the local bullies and divide up the money taken from them, and to form peasant associations and Red Guards, and set up a soviet government. In places where there were no party organizations, we helped build them and carried out extensive mass work, thereby changing the former situation in which "the Red Army was coldly received by the masses wherever it came." This played a major role in founding, consolidating, developing and expanding the revolutionary base and persisting in the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains. However, because of the lingering influence of the concept of the old-type army men and the influence of peasant thinking, some cadres of the 4th Red Army neglected the importance of mass work. Some one-sidedly stressed the role of the army in battle and were reluctant to do mass work. Some were not enthusiastic about sparing part of the forces to protect the autumn harvest and fight the pacification guards, fearing that they did not have enough forces to deal with emergencies. Some were reluctant to give guns, or to give the good ones, to the local armed forces and were also reluctant to transfer good cadres to local organs or guerrilla forces. To most comrades this was a question of ideological understanding. On the other hand, it was also a question of whether they were capable of doing mass work. In light of the purely military viewpoint existing in the 4th Red Army, the resolution further pointed out: "The Red Army does not fight merely for the sake of fighting but to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them and help them establish

revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting will lose its meaning, and the Red Army will lose the reason for its existence." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party") Thus, it drew the basic political line between the Red and White armies.

The ideology of roving rebel bands emerged in the Red Army because the proportion of vagabond elements was large when it was founded. This ideology found expression chiefly in a weak concept of political power. Establishing an independent armed regime of workers and peasants and building a revolutionary base was the starting point from which Comrade Mao Zedong wanted to lead the Chinese revolution to countrywide victory. This idea came into being gradually in the practice of struggle. At a meeting of the Front Committee called in the township of Wenjiashi in Liuyang County after the Autumn Harvest Uprising had suffered a bitter defeat, Comrade Mao Zedong made an analysis of the situation of the forces of the enemy and ourselves, changed the plan for attacking Changsha and suggested shifting our army to the middle section of the Luoxiao mountain range where the enemy forces were weak and using it as a foothold. Later, when Zhu De and Mao Zedong joined forces in the Jinggang Mountains in April 1928, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed building a political regime in the middle section of the Luoxiao mountain range. In October of the same year he again put forward the idea of a "worker and peasant armed independent regime." The practice of persisting in the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains made us understand that with a base as the last resort the Red Army could not in any way undergo protracted, ruthless revolutionary war, solve the land problem which the peasants eagerly wanted solved--not to mention persuade large numbers of peasants who had profited from the agrarian revolution to join the Red Army--carry out military education and training well, and organizationally bring up large numbers of cadres to greet the countrywide victory. Within the Red Army there were two diametrically different methods of work regarding the question of whether revolutionary bases were necessary: One was the correct method of establishing base areas and systematically setting up political power, as adopted by Zhu De, Mao Zedong and Fang Zhimin; the other was a wrong method of belittling the bases and conducting mobile guerrilla warfare. People advocating this method of going from one place to another, recruiting new men, hitting the enemy and running away did not see the importance of establishing a revolutionary political power and developing the local armed forces. They believed that they could turn "proletarian" by fighting this way. Lin Biao appreciated this method of mobile guerrilla warfare very much. He advocated fighting here today and there tomorrow, like a traveler on the road. A couplet written on scrolls is often found at the door of an inn: "Night is falling. Where will you go?" and "The cock crows. I won't keep you." How could a base be established in this way? In his letter entitled "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," Comrade Mao Zedong acutely pointed out the danger of Lin Biao's erroneous thinking.

The ideology of roving rebel bands was in essence a rightist political trend. The chief manifestations of Lin Biao's rightist thinking were: First, he pessimistically estimated the revolutionary situation and did not believe that a countrywide revolutionary upsurge would come soon. In the Jinggang Mountains the Front Committee studied the plan to send the principal forces to carry out guerrilla warfare and build revolutionary bases in southern Jiangxi. Lin Biao agreed to come down from the mountains, but he started from the rightist idea, believing that life was very arduous in the Jinggang Mountains and that it would be impossible to support the armed forces if they stayed there. At a meeting of the 28th Regiment and another meeting of the Front Committee, he said: Conditions in the border areas are very difficult. Eating only coarse rice and pumpkins will not do. We cannot support ourselves if we do not come down from the mountains and fight our way out. Not long after our army had come down from the Jinggang Mountains, the warlords got entangled in wars against each other. The situation in Jiangxi was very favorable for the development of the Red Army. However, Lin Biao objected to Comrade Mao Zedong's plan for seizing Jiangxi. He had cherished this rightist idea long before that. He deserted when our forces were shifting to southern Hunan after the failure of the Nanchang Uprising. Second, he did not see the seriousness of the question of the Chinese peasants and the importance of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them. He did not know that in old China the peasants made up more than 80 percent of the country's population and that large numbers of peasants had to be aroused to join the revolutionary movement so that the working class could lead the Chinese revolution. He only agreed to the idea of conducting guerrilla warfare in the Fujian-Guangdong-Jiangxi border area and did not have a profound concept of building a Red political power in these areas. He only thought of extending political influence by mobile guerrilla warfare and building a political power after winning over the masses all over the country. His idea was to make the Red Army give up its strenuous work of arousing, organizing and arming the masses in the countryside. If his idea had been followed, it would have been impossible to build a firm revolutionary base. It would also have been impossible to strengthen our guerrilla forces in the revolutionary bases, build a powerful Red Army and turn the guerrilla forces and the Red Army into the most important factor for promoting the revolutionary upsurge.

Putschism was a serious problem in the Red Army when it was founded. In its social origins this ideology was a combination of lumpen-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology. It would eventually sidetrack the party and the Red Army into divorcing themselves from the masses. Our party and army learned an impressive lesson from the losses caused by the putschist line in the winter of 1927 and the ensuing spring. During the Southern Hunan Uprising more than a million people were aroused in five counties, and the situation was excellent. Because the putschist line was followed, indiscriminate burning and killing became an important cause of our withdrawal from the guerrilla areas

in southern Hunan. A serious incident took place in Chengzhou County at that time. The Chengzhou County party committee suggested burning down a row of houses 5 li long on each side of the road so that the enemy troops would have no houses to live in when they came. However, the peasants firmly objected to this suggestion. Instigated by reactionaries, they killed 9 of the 10 party committee members. Would you say these comrades were no good? They were good comrades who firmly carried out revolution but were ruined by putschism. This putschist policy did not attract close attention at that time. The representative of the Southern Hunan Special Committee arrived in Ninggang in March and criticized us for having leaned to the right, for having done too little burning and killing, and for having failed to carry out the so-called policy of "turning the petty bourgeois into proletarians and then forcing them into the revolution." This putschist policy was later rectified gradually. By 1929, however, remnants of putschism still existed, and there were blind acts in disregard of subjective and objective conditions. Some other policies also were not carried out properly. The expropriation of the middle merchants in towns and the collection of compulsory contributions from small landlords and rich peasants in the countryside were rigorously enforced. In some places the county or area government offices and the residences of leaders of the pacification guards were burned. These phenomena were mentioned, their social origins pointed out and the methods of correcting them suggested in the Gutian Congress resolution.

/Ideologically, it is necessary to uphold the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and to oppose subjectivism, individualism and egalitarianism./

After the founding of the 4th Red Army, the party paid attention to educating its cadres and fighters in Marxist-Leninist theory and teaching them to establish a proletarian world outlook. At that time, however, the party and the Red Army did not have a high level of Marxism-Leninism and were not good at applying dialectical materialism in observing and analyzing the political and military situation and guiding routine work. Therefore, subjectivism existed to a serious degree among some party members; this did the Red Army harm which could have been avoided. For example, in 1928 the ruling class in Hunan was in a period of temporary stability, with Lu Diping, a local warlord, holding power with a large army. However, the Hunan provincial party committee at that time described Lu Diping as "utterly wavering" and "terribly scared." This one-sided estimate led to political putschism and military adventurism. The armed forces of the Jinggang Mountains were asked to launch uprisings in townships in southern and eastern Hunan. The Hunan provincial party committee sent its representative Tu Xiujing to the Jinggang Mountains to urge us to go to southern Hunan. Our 28th and 29th regiments went to Chenzhou and were defeated in battle. The 29th Regiment was dispersed. Rightist tendencies also emerged. The revolution was at a low point in early 1929. In its 9 February letter to the

4th Red Army the party Central Committee underestimated the army's capabilities and gave it erroneous guidance. It wanted to divide the Red Army into a few detachments, each comprising 200 or 300 men and acting on its own. It also wanted Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De to leave the Red Army for Shanghai. They disagreed, and the comrades under them also did not want them to leave. Not long after that a war broke out between the Chiang Kai-shek army and the Guangxi army. The Red Army took this opportunity to force its way to Dingzhou. We quickly made advances in western Fujian and southern Jiangxi. This was attributable to the party Central Committee's ignorance of the "doctrine that everything has two aspects" and to its subjective estimate of the enemy and ourselves. When the ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army was in session, Comrade Mao Zedong deeply felt the great importance of ideological education in Marxism-Leninism. At the Gutian Congress he wrote a passage on opposition to subjectivism in order to attract public attention.

The Chinese Worker and Peasant Red Army was a revolutionary armed force led by the party. It came from the people and served them. It fought for the interests of the majority of the people. At that time the Red Army was frequently engaged in battle and lived under very difficult conditions. Its conditions were a little bit better after it had come down from the Jinggang Mountains. Most of the comrades were accustomed to this kind of hard life, found happiness in it and took it as an honor. However, a few comrades were tired of the long struggle. They wanted to leave the army and cherished the "employee" mentality and the idea of seeking pleasure. Some hoped their units would march into cities (small townships at that time), not because they wanted to work there but because life was better there. Some petty-bourgeois intellectuals asked to be transferred to work in White areas or to be sent to the Soviet Union to study in order to get away from the arduous struggle. Or they wanted to take up local posts because they felt they could work freely there. Lin Biao was one of them. After our army marched into Shanghang, he had a quarrel with the party representative of a column. Taking this as an excuse, he wrote a letter to the army committee asking for permission to go to Shanghai and to study in the Soviet Union. He wrote such letters one after another!

Absolute egalitarianism became quite serious in the Red Army at one time. Many of its manifestations were mentioned in the Gutian Congress resolution. This ideology was the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy. The living standard was very low at that time. Army commanders and soldiers ate the same food, wore the same uniforms and got the same pay. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Fortunately we are inured to hardships. What is more, all of us share the same hardships; from the commander of the army to the cook, everyone lives on a daily food allowance of 5 cents, apart from grain. As for pocket money, everybody gets the same amount, whether it is 20 cents or 40 cents. Consequently, the soldiers have no complaints against anyone." ("The Struggle in the



Jinggang Mountains") In the situation prevailing at that time, relative egalitarianism was necessary in order to persist in the protracted, hard struggle and to boost morale. It was good for achieving unity among our men and winning over the soldiers of the White army. On the contrary, absolute egalitarianism would bring harm. Therefore, the Gutian Congress resolution pointed out that absolute egalitarianism beyond reason must be opposed because it impaired internal unity and hindered revolutionary struggle.

/Organizationally, we have a sense of responsibility to the party, observe the iron discipline of the proletariat and obey orders in all our actions./

Democracy was extensively developed in the Red Army. All party members freely aired their views, criticized each other and made self-criticisms. They frankly spoke what was on their minds. Soldiers committees were set up in companies or higher-level units. Comrade Chen Yi was once secretary general of the soldiers committee of the 4th Red Army. With soldiers committees the soldiers had an opportunity to speak. At meetings they could criticize a cadre by name. The soldiers committees might punish a platoon leader or company commander who had beaten a soldier or violated discipline. Democracy was also well developed in economic affairs. Accounts were made public, and savings, if any, were distributed periodically, thus arousing the enthusiasm of the soldiers. At the beginning, however, democracy in the Red Army was impaired by the disregard of organizational discipline and by ultrademocracy. Disregard of organizational discipline manifested itself as criticism made without regard to organizational discipline and as failure of the minority to submit to the majority. As the Gutian Congress resolution pointed out, when a minority found its motion voted down, it did not sincerely carry out the party decisions or showed reluctance in various ways to carry out party decisions. This inevitably weakened or even undermined the party's fighting capacity as well as impaired party unity. This was greatly disadvantageous to the revolutionary struggle and even led it to partial failure. This had a most important bearing on the defeat which the 29th Regiment of the Red Army suffered in southern Hunan. After coming to the Jinggang Mountains, the peasants of this regiment who were from Yizhang wanted to go back to their hometown. These peasants could have raised their understanding through education. However, instigated by Du Xiujing, a representative of the Hunan provincial party committee, they were more anxious to go home. In mid-July 1928 we fought our way to Ling County, Hunan. One evening the soldiers committee of the 29th Regiment ordered all battalions and companies to get up for breakfast at 0300 and assemble to set out at 0400. I went to battalion headquarters and asked the party representative about this. He replied: "This is not true! The regimental command has not given such an order." Then I sent someone to regimental headquarters to clarify the matter. The answer was the same: "We have not received such an order from army headquarters." The armed forces were assembled the

next morning. We said: "How can we set out without an order from army headquarters?" Some commanders and party representatives also wanted to go back to southern Hunan, but they still had a high sense of organizational discipline, so they dared not leave without an order from army headquarters. The soldiers could not leave by themselves, either. Army Commander Zhu came and said loudly: "The revolutionary situation on the Luoxiao mountain range is excellent. We will stay here!" However, some people insisted on leaving. Army Commander Zhu repeated: "If you want to make revolution, you must obey orders of the army commander." Some soldiers shouted: "Army commander, take us back to southern Hunan and Yizhang!" At that moment Army Commander Zhu asked: "Can you go by yourselves without the 28th Regiment?" The 29th Regiment was comprised of peasants and was not so confident without the 28th Regiment's support. Pointing to the special task company, Comrade Zhu De said: "You, the special task company, are very obedient. You leave first and go back to Miandu." The special task company really was very obedient. It departed as the advance guard. Some people in other units began cursing. Despite all this, they also set out for Miandu. Actually, it was possible to take advantage of this matter to educate the rank and file. However, Du Xiuqing continued to sow dissension and instigate the soldiers to go back to Yizhang. The army committee called a meeting, at which Du Xiuqing insisted on going to southern Hunan. Thus, it was impossible to educate the peasant soldiers. We had to make a compromise. After one day's stay we continued our advance to southern Hunan. That was why Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains" that "Du Xiuqing encouraged the 29th Regiment in their mistaken ideas." In my opinion, this defeat was chiefly a product of the combination of the peasants' thinking and the Hunan provincial party committee's military adventurism.

Ultrademocracy existed for a long time in the Red Army. Some comrades one-sidedly emphasized democracy at the expense of centralism. They demanded "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top," which required that all matters, important or trifling, "first be discussed by the lower levels and then decided by the higher levels." This was a manifestation of the petty-bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. This characteristic was seriously harmful to the fighting capacity of the party and the army. Without centralized organization and strict discipline, the proletariat and its revolutionary army could not shoulder the tasks of brutal and intensive fighting against the class enemy. The Gutian Congress resolution dwelt on the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism. It advocated democracy under centralized guidance and centralism based on democracy and opposed the tendencies toward ultrademocracy.

In a word, the Gutian Congress resolution was very rich in content and summed up experiences in a highly principled and very concrete way. It not only pointed out the wrong tendencies in the Red Army but also suggested methods for correcting them. There was no mistaking what it

was aimed at. It suggested methods of eliminating incorrect ideas. It was written in simple language and did not indulge in empty talk. The principles and many of the concrete rules it embodied are of real significance even today.

### III

Marx said: "The proletarian army is the most important requirement of the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Commemorating the Seventh Anniversary of the International," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 443) Though the Soviet Union's Red Army set us an example of how to build such an army, its experience did not fit in with the concrete practice of building a Chinese revolutionary army. The ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army called under Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership shouldered this historic task.

The Gutian Congress resolution combined the Marxist principle of army building with the concrete practice of the Chinese armed struggle and developed the Marxist military theory. It was a great program for building our army. It summed up the practical experience of army building in the more than 2 years after the Nanchang Uprising, drew a basic line between our army and the old-type army and established the theory, line and principle for our army's political work, thereby laying the foundation for that work. It was also of epoch-making significance in the building of our army and in the development of its political work. As Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out in the 1978 All-Army Political Work Conference: "From the Gutian Congress until today, our army's political work has made tremendous progress, but its basic principles and its foundation were laid down at the Gutian Congress." Over the past decades our army acquired and carried forward its new experiences of struggle on the basis of this resolution, so that it became more and more consolidated politically, ideologically and organizationally with each passing day, was always invincible in battle and was able to withstand tests in protracted, rigorous struggles. Enemies at home and abroad wanted to split, disintegrate and destroy us, but all this was in vain. Careerists and conspirators in the party attempted to use the army to realize their schemes. Their attempt also was futile. Our army has proven itself to be the people's army led by the proletariat.

Why was the resolution of the ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army drafted and adopted smoothly? My view differs from that held by Lin Biao and his ilk: First, Comrade Chen Yi's report to the party Central Committee and, in particular, the party Central Committee's letter to the 4th Red Army played a major role in guiding this congress to success. Second, Comrade Mao Zedong adhered to principle, advocated unity and did a great deal of political and ideological work. He patiently taught comrades and talked with them whenever he could spare the time. When you criticized him in a meeting, he would try to convince you by reasoning things out. Third, through its action in the preceding

6 months, the Red Army acquired a great deal of new experiences, especially by negative example, which enabled its leaders and cadres to further increase their understanding through practice. Many of those who did not vote for Comrade Mao Zedong at the seventh party congress of the 4th Red Army then felt that his return was good for the army. This showed that they had made progress. Fourth, summing up experiences and making criticisms and self-criticisms is an excellent method of solving party problems. The Gutian Congress resolution helped solve many problems which had existed in the Red Army for more than 2 years. At that time, thinking was rather free. One could speak freely, criticize anyone else in person and comment on any problem at any time. This fully manifested the party's principle of democratic centralism. We should say that the Gutian Congress resolution was not created by a genius but was a crystallization of collective wisdom.

Here, special mention should be made of Comrade Chen Yi's report to the party Central Committee and of the correct guidance given by the party Central Committee.

At the end of June 1929, that is, after the seventh party congress of the 4th Red Army, Comrade Chen Yi went from the soviet area to Shanghai to make a report to the party Central Committee. Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Li Lisan were then presiding over the work of the party Central Committee. Comrade Chen Yi gave the party Central Committee a factual report on the revolutionary struggles waged by the 4th Red Army in the preceding 2 years, especially on the proceedings of the seventh party congress of the 4th Red Army. Besides giving Comrade Chen Yi detailed verbal instructions, the party Central Committee sent him a letter on 28 September which was nearly 10,000 characters long. This letter was rich in content, dealing with questions on nine aspects. It analyzed the current political situation and gave concrete instructions on the tasks of the 4th Red Army. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "In accordance with the spirit of the September letter of the Central Committee," the Gutian Congress "pointed out the manifestations of various nonproletarian ideas in the party organization in the 4th Army, their sources, and the methods of correcting them, and called upon all comrades to eliminate them thoroughly." ("On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party") The main contents of this letter were: First, it analyzed the current situation at home and abroad, pointing out the political situation in China following the end of the wars between Chiang Kai-shek's army and the Guangxi army and Feng Yuxiang's army. Superficially, the Nanking government manipulated by the Chiang Kai-shek clique was victorious. Far from being resolved, all the contradictions causing the wars were actually sharpening with each passing day. Because of imperialist instigation and the hastening of China's economic bankruptcy, the large armies needed money to support themselves. As a result, they tried to seize spheres of influence and financial resources. This deepened the crisis of war between the warlords. The Red Army took this opportunity to strengthen and develop

itself. Only by closely relying on the broad masses of people and using the forces of the workers and peasants in an uprising would it be possible to wipe out the war between the warlords. The party Central Committee's letter pointed out that on the road of the Chinese revolution there had to be a Red Army in the countryside before political power could be established in the cities—such was a characteristic of the Chinese revolution and a product of China's economic base. This instruction confirmed the road of establishing the "worker and peasant armed independent regime" and of encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing them. The party Central Committee pointed out in its letter that the basic task of the Red Army was to arouse the masses to wage mass struggles, carry out agrarian revolution, establish a soviet regime, conduct guerrilla warfare, arm the peasants and simultaneously expand itself organizationally and extend its guerrilla areas and its political influence throughout the country. The letter instructed the Red Army to overcome the purely military viewpoint and avoid turning all its actions into purely military ones. It pointed out that the Red Army should develop in places where there was room for mass struggle and should make efforts to deepen the local revolutionary struggle. It said that the Red Army would weaken its political significance if it stood still. It instructed the Red Army that it should in no way engage a superior enemy force with a small force in life-and-death combat. Instead, it should concentrate forces to wipe out a small enemy force. Fighting a tough battle would not benefit guerrilla warfare. It pointed out: All the Red Army's actions naturally have either a political or a military aim. However, the Red Army should in no way neglect the problems the masses meet in their daily lives. Instead of simply putting forward ordinary political slogans, it should carefully ascertain the daily needs of the masses and draw their attention to political and armed struggle. The masses need such a struggle—one that is not waged by purely regular forces or directed by a few brave men but which will rally the broad masses around the party. In its letter the party Central Committee raised questions on six aspects to which the Red Army should pay attention while doing mass work. It also pointed out that the Red Army was not an organization like the workers union or peasants association but a militant organization often engaged in bloody fighting against the enemy. It should issue centralized commands, place democracy under centralized guidance and not allow unrestricted ultrademocracy. After analyzing the causes of various nonproletarian ideas in the 4th Red Army, it attributed them to the low theoretical level and lack of party education and suggested corrective measures. It pointed to the need to conduct political education to arouse the soldiers of the Red Army to make progress and thoroughly rectify incorrect tendencies. It also stressed the need to terminate corporal punishment. In the last part of the letter it instructed all commanders and fighters of the Red Army to firmly follow the leadership of Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Mao Zedong, heighten their prestige among the masses, unite with all comrades in arduous struggle against the enemy and accomplish the tasks assigned to the Red Army. It also announced that Comrade Mao Zedong remained secretary of the Front Committee.

The 4th Red Army was very happy to receive this letter from the party Central Committee, because it had deep confidence in it. This letter conveyed the experiences of revolutionary struggles in other areas all over the country which were compatible with the realities of the 4th Red Army. A great deal of the contents of this letter were included in the Gutian Congress resolution.

Relying on the power they had usurped, the antiparty clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for a long time monopolized the right to explain the Gutian Congress. Under the pretext of publicizing the Gutian Congress resolution, they went all out to conduct factional activities to oppose the party and create confusion in the army, make malicious remarks against Comrade Zhu De and Chen Yi, sing nauseating praises of Lin Biao and distort and tamper with the Gutian Congress resolution in a very despicable way.

The Gutian Congress resolution was a complete summary of the practice of revolutionary struggle during the preceding 2 plus years; in particular, it summarized the experiences in building the party and army. It was not a product of the two-line struggle. The congress went very smoothly, was a great success and was devoid of any controversy over principles. The controversy in the seventh party congress of the 4th Red Army was only in the difference of opinion over the method of leadership work. For example, some people suggested putting all matters in charge of the party or party branch. However, some cadres who were intellectuals imbued with ideas of the old-type army and influenced by the force of habit felt that such a move would restrict them. Thus, they expressed their dissatisfaction, saying: If the party takes charge of all matters, will it also take charge of bowel movements and urinating? The comrades who suggested putting all matters in charge of the party replied: Of course. When soldiers have loose bowels, should the party not look into the matter? Some people put forward such questions as these: Who ranks higher, the army commander or the government leader? And which is higher, the army command headquarters or the government organ? The controversy over such questions persisted for some time. Reviewing this congress now, we cannot call this controversy a struggle between the two lines. These questions showed that the Red Army was young at that time, had to grope about in the dark in handling many questions and had not yet formulated a set of rules and regulations. For an ulterior political purpose, Lin Biao insisted on summing up the Gutian Congress resolution as a struggle to determine whether to put political or military work in the prominent position. This was not only a wanton alteration of history but also a fundamental distortion of the relationship between political and military work. Politics is the commander, the soul. However, it must have concrete content. When Lin Biao manipulated the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, he neglected military training, made no effort to improve arms and other military equipment and abolished all institutes for military commanders. Thus, how could we defend our country once war broke out? What would the

army be used for if it could not defend the country? Would the army be of any significance then? Giving prominence to politics in this way meant using bourgeois politics to strike at proletarian politics. Ideologically, it was metaphysical. Politically, it was aimed at usurping party and state power.

Lin Biao disguised himself as a representative of the correct line, put Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi on the opposite side and accused them of representing the wrong line. He talked about "restoring the old order" and criticized the old marshals every year. As we all know, Comrade Zhu De was one of the founders of our army, and Comrade Chen Yi made great contributions to the founding and development of our army. Under their leadership, some of the armed forces which had been left behind after the failure of the Nanchang Uprising fought from Sanheba in Dongjiang to southern Hunan, encountering great hardships on their way. At the important conference of armymen at Xinfeng, Comrade Zhu De persuaded everyone to continue the revolution and not to disperse. He cited the example of the Russian revolution of 1905, pointing out that, although it had failed, Lenin continued and won the October Revolution. Without the 1905 failure there would not have been the victory of the October Revolution. He added: The Nanchang Uprising has failed, but we will win if we continue the revolution. Striking his chest in a gesture of reassurance, he said: Those who are willing to continue the revolution follow me. Those who are not may go home. I will stay! Thus, he strengthened the fighting will of all. His farsightedness and boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause fully manifested that he was an outstanding Marxist. Comrade Chen Yi actively assisted Comrade Zhu De and encouraged all to continue the revolution and act bravely in the face of defeat. During the Sanwan reorganization, Comrade Mao Zedong reorganized the armed forces which had participated in the Autumn Harvest Uprising. This reorganization was of a very high level. Comrade Zhu De and Chen Yi did similar work to consolidate the party and CYL organizations, promulgated rules regarding relations among army leaders and revolutionary discipline and assigned some party and CYL members to work in the companies, thereby strengthening the primary organizations. They also waged uncompromising struggle against those who were pessimistic and wavering or wanted to desert. They punished some elements who had seriously violated the rules and regulations of the army. As a result, the party played a greater role in leading the army. To remove the obstacles barring their path to usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and his ilk tried to impress the masses wrongly that the Gutian Congress resolution was a product of the struggle against Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi. This was a most vicious trumped-up charge. Of course, as others did, Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi made progress in the course of drafting and adopting the resolution. For example, Comrade Chen Yi spoke at the congress against shooting deserters. He had never spoken on this topic before. His speech was very impassioned and sensible. He must have learned the truth in the long course of struggle. The listeners were convinced. We had formerly made mistakes but would no longer shoot

deserters. The number of cases of beating soldiers also fell greatly. Everyone made progress.

Lin Biao and his ilk lied in saying that only Lin Biao supported the Gutian Congress resolution and Comrade Mao Zedong. They wanted to cheat others. Those who ponder the problem will ask: If there had been 100 representatives and Lin Biao alone had supported Comrade Mao Zedong, could a resolution have been formulated? Could this resolution have been adopted by two votes from Comrade Mao Zedong and Lin Biao? This congress had been prepared by the Front Committee, which had Mao Zedong, Zhu De and Chen Yi as its core. Comrade Chen Yi was secretary general and a member of the Front Committee. Comrade Zhu De was also a member of the Front Committee. They separately made preparations after consultation. The congress was called after necessary preparations had been made. Lin Biao raised his hand in agreement, as did others at the congress. After the congress, however, he acted against the resolution. Before we departed from Gutian he shot a soldier who had taken a pair of cloth shoes from a civilian without paying for them. The local party and government personnel disagreed with this. Lin Biao neither reported this to the army committee nor handed the case to the party committee of his column for discussion. He acted arbitrarily. He really was like "a heavenly horse flying through the skies, free and alone." He took a question concerning discipline among the people as a question of hostility. He went on practicing warlordism. He was seriously imbued with the ideas of warlordism. While in the Jinggang Mountains he once said that an army commander "must be kindhearted but ruthless in action." This was a remark made by Zeng Guofang, the murderer who suppressed the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement. Lin Biao read the book "Enlarged Edition of Military Quotations From Zeng Guofang and Hu Linyi," revised by Chiang Kai-shek. He often treated the revolutionary comrades as the warlords did.

Of course, the deceptive, despicable deeds of Lin Biao and his ilk were just like a notorious short play. They could do no harm to the great image of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. They could not blur the splendor of the Gutian Congress.

#### IV

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. The history of the past five decades shows that the Gutian Congress resolution is a brilliant Marxist-Leninist document capable of standing the test of history. A question now facing us is: Under the new conditions of the times, what should we do to take over and carry forward the spirit of the Gutian Conference and carry out political and ideological work well in the course of achieving the four modernizations?

This involves two attitudes: One is to take the resolution as the guide in our action, combine it with the current developing and changing



situation, adopt a scientific approach in making complete and correct explanations of it, and solve practical problems by adopting its stand, viewpoint and method. This is the Marxist style of study consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. The other is to take the resolution as rigid dogma, hold all articles, speeches and decisions by the leader as absolutely correct and quote them willfully, indiscriminately and non-analytically. This is against Marxism.

A materialist conception of history tells us that revolutionary leaders are human beings and not gods. They are revolutionaries born in the midst of the flames of revolution. They have strong revolutionary fervor and outstanding talents and actively lead the masses to perform the urgent tasks put forward by the times. They speak for the interests of the masses and are good at pooling the wisdom of the masses to create revolutionary theories. Their theories and the policies drawn up and decisions made under their guidance take shape, come into being, develop and continue to improve in the course of the revolution. However, it is not strange that their theories may comprise mistakes of one sort or another when they take shape and develop. It is unimaginable that their theories are not drawn up in this way. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were imbued with feudalism and metaphysics. They babbled that in the leader's writings and speeches "every sentence is truth" and "one sentence is as good as 10,000 sentences spoken by others." They went completely against Marxism.

Why have there been mistakes in the theories drawn up by the revolutionary leaders and in the policies formulated and decisions made under their guidance? The causes are many. The chief ones are: First, the current situation of the struggle is strained and complicated, rich and all-round data are lacking and a decision has to be made urgently. All this gives rise to some impractical conclusions and decisions. Second, because inner-party struggle is complicated and because of the interference and sabotage by opportunists, careerists and conspirators, some false reports are made and taken as true. The consequences are often very serious to a ruling party, especially under the conditions of blindly strengthening the dictatorship. Third, human knowledge is idealist in nature, and the power of cognition is subject to certain limits. Therefore, knowledge may sometimes be one-sided. As Lenin said: "Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line; instead, it follows a curve which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral. Any fragment, segment or section of this curve can be transformed (transformed one-sidedly) into an independent, complete straight line which then (if one does not see the wood for the trees) leads into a quagmire." ("On the Question of Dialectics," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 715) If we heed and trust only one side (and not both), this fragment, segment or section of a straight line will invariably lead us to trust only one side. Fourth, because of its complicated and diversified nature, an objective matter cannot be grasped easily before its essence is exposed. In this way, it takes some time to gradually deepen

the understanding of a matter. This course of deepening may meet with setbacks, come to a standstill or even be inconsistent. In addition, one's mental outlook may affect this course. One may be old and afflicted with illness. Especially when treacherous officials manipulate power for personal ends, one cannot directly contact the masses and the loyal and honest cadres and can hardly be able to learn about the real situation. In addition, when one is old and one's mind is failing, one will not be as sharp as before in contemplating matters, thus giving rise to some shortcomings and mistakes of one sort or another which will adversely affect some policies and decisions. (Of course, inner-party democratic centralism and state laws may be defective and may have been sabotaged. This will also create a very serious problem.) The above is just an example. It should be seen that the personal characteristics of a leader or a great man and the influence of social environments in one place may differ from and vary greatly from those in another place. The above situation does not exist in all places.

The above problem concerns theories and writings. Another problem concerns how these theories and the words in these writings are carried out. This involves time and geographical factors. In most cases the leaders formulate theories and policies and, in particular, draw conclusions and make decisions on some concrete problems by taking into consideration the objects in a certain period of time. As time changes, these theories and policies are either not applicable or not completely applicable to the objective situation which has also developed. Some theories are formulated for some particular sphere, such as a state, a nation or an area. They are not applicable or are not completely applicable to another state or nation. Take the Gutian Congress resolution, for example. Some of its specific rules and regulations have now become pointless. For instance, criticism of the ideology of roving rebel bands was leveled at the weak concept of political power and the idea of waging roving guerrilla actions. Following the countrywide liberation, proletarian political power was established amid a relatively stable environment. Therefore, this viewpoint no longer has a concrete aim under the new historical conditions. The current problem is that some people are reluctant to move, and some cadres find it difficult to arouse others to action. How, then, can there be the ideology of roving rebel bands? We must adopt a scientific attitude toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must not idolize revolutionary leaders and take their writings, speeches and decisions as stereotypes. If he had done so, Lenin would not have arrived at the theory that the socialist revolution would triumph first in one country or a few countries when laissez-faire capitalism had entered the stage of imperialism. In addition, there would not have been the October Revolution, and Comrade Mao Zedong would not have arrived at the theory of encircling the cities from the countryside and capturing political power when China was in a semifeudal and semicolonial stage. Thus, it seemed that Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong really had "chopped down the red flag." Quite to the contrary, it was they who were really holding high the great banner

of Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong did not assess Stalin according to the common international appraisal and say that he was entirely correct; he did not act as Khrushchev and his ilk did and say that he was entirely wrong. Instead, he adopted the method of one dividing into two. He made an all-round study of Stalin's history and held that he had more merits than demerits and that 70 percent of his deeds were good and 30 percent bad. On the one hand he held that Stalin was a great Marxist who should be protected. On the other hand he held that Stalin had made mistakes which should be criticized. He was the one who really protected Stalin when an anti-Stalin movement was under way in the international sphere in 1956. Therefore, it is necessary to completely change the wrong method of regarding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a set formula and applying it everywhere and the wrong idea that whatever is written in books cannot be changed and whatever is not written cannot be mentioned. The prestige of great men came into being in the great practice of revolutionary struggle. These great men played an active role in promoting historical development and are therefore recognized and supported by the people. Because they are great men, they will correct their shortcomings and mistakes once they discover them. If they cannot correct them in time, the younger generation should do so realistically while being responsible to the people and the revolutionary cause. At the same time the younger generation should seriously accept the experiences of their ancestors, take them as a warning and guard against the recurrence of a historical tragedy. If the younger generation is restricted by a specific conclusion drawn up by the old generation, adopts a dogmatic viewpoint in applying the resolution of the ninth party congress of the 4th Red Army and other classical works, resolutions or decisions and takes no heed of the current situation and developments, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will become lifeless and thinking will be ossified, fine traditions ruined, society unable to progress and the revolution sidetracked. Therefore, vigorous efforts must be made to emancipate the mind and encourage creation. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought came into being in the course of practice and must be tested and continuously enriched and developed in the course of practice. A conclusion which is found to be incompatible with the new conditions should be corrected. It should be amended when new things are discovered in practice. In this way Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can maintain its boundless vigor and vitality. Of course, basic Marxist principles should not be violated, because violations will lead to mistakes.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist. He was one of the principal founders of the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese People's Army was also founded under his guidance. After protracted struggle, feudalism, which had existed in China for several thousand years, and the aggression and suppression of imperialism, which had also existed for more than a century, were overthrown. An independent and free socialist state was established. Comrade Mao Zedong's great feats can never be obliterated. He is a brilliant banner for our great age. We must apply the fundamental spirit of the Gutian Congress resolution today in determining

how to carry out political work under the new current situation. We must teach the people of the whole country to uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the course of achieving the four modernizations.

/It is necessary to give play to politics as the commander and political work as the guarantee./ Politics is the commander, the soul. Without political work to guarantee the party's absolute political, ideological and organizational leadership over the army, the army will become lifeless. Without political work to resist the erosion by bourgeois and various nonproletarian ideas and to guarantee unity within and without the army as well as organizational purity and consolidation of the army, it would have been impossible to defeat the hostile campaigns waged by the antiparty cliques of Zhang Guotao, Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Without political work to arouse the proletarian consciousness of cadres and fighters and to guarantee strict observance of military and political discipline, it would have been impossible for our poorly equipped army to defeat the well-equipped enemy forces. The third plenum of the 11th party Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the whole party's work to socialist modernization. This was a strategic change of vital significance. Similarly, powerful political work is needed to guarantee this change. We are trying to achieve the four modernizations under conditions in which we are lagging behind economically and technologically, the socialist system needs to be consolidated, class struggle and the force of old habits still exist and Soviet revisionism and foreign reactionaries are threatening us. Without powerful political and ideological work, we shall go astray. The four modernizations are the greatest political work in the new period of revolutionary development. The main part of this political and ideological work is to mobilize and organize the masses so that they will have a firm determination and enthusiastically sacrifice themselves for the four modernizations. Without this main part, political work will be empty talk. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used to carry out reactionary political work or political work devoid of substance. They suspected and overthrew everything, went in for an all-round civil war and vigorously advocated that "politics may strike at everything else," thereby bringing the national economy to the verge of collapse. According to the Marxist viewpoint, economics is the basis of politics while politics is a concentrated expression of economics. In a class society there has never been politics divorced from economics. There has also never been economic activity divorced from politics. The two rely on each other and cannot be separated. A commander leads the soldiers in battle. Without them a commander is nobody. Without a commander the soldiers will lose their bearing and will not be able to achieve their military goal. Of course, the soldiers should not strike at their commander. And why should a commander strike at his soldiers? Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held that "provided that class struggle is firmly grasped, a factory can do without turning out a single product, and no harm will be done even if not a single drop

of grain is reaped." This kind of "politics" divorced from economic construction cannot solve the problem of feeding the people, not to mention build a powerful socialist country.

/To serve the four modernizations, political work must not be carried out formalistically and divorced from reality as in the past; instead, it must be carried out more purposefully, promptly and militantly./ A few years ago, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" abused political work. Formalistic and scholastic things spread unchecked, a political campaign was launched to replace regular political work, and political reports and political lessons were substituted for in-depth, meticulous political and ideological work. As a result, political work missed its mark. Some comrades have still not been liberated from these fetters. They hold that without a political campaign and without being given plenty of time they have little political work to do. These comrades have forgotten the fine tradition of our party and army in seeking truth from facts. Although the Gutian Congress lasted only a few days, it was able to play a tremendous role and solve many problems, because it proceeded from the reality of the 4th Red Army and there was no mistaking what it was aimed at. At that time all meetings and all regular political work were conducted within a short period of time and had a definite objective in view. The strategic policy of strengthening the defenses, clearing the fields and luring the enemy in deep, as well as the eight major requirements for victory, were brought up for discussion during the first countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression." This major problem was made clear within a couple of hours. A few slogans in light of reality were publicized in the morning and evening. Fine results were produced. These are still fresh in our memories. During wartime a few minutes of mobilization work and a few effective slogans could bring good results. At that time political and ideological work was conducted simultaneously with all tasks. The cadres were one with the fighters. They knew clearly what the fighters were thinking and doing. They readily solved the problems the fighters met. Thus, the revolutionary fighting spirit remained high among the rank and file, and a guarantee existed for accomplishing all fighting tasks and routine work. If the purpose of political work was to guarantee victory during the war years, then the aim of current political work is to guarantee the accomplishment of all concrete tasks aimed at the four modernizations. In this sense, arousing the peasants to reap more grain is political work among the peasants; arousing the workers to turn out more products is political work among the workers; telling the armymen the purpose of war and teaching them military skills, strategies and tactics is political work in the army. In this way, people in all trades and professions will do their work well, political work will be carried out with good results, and our party's greatest political work, that is, the four modernizations, will be accomplished. We must carry forward the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts as we did during the war years and let political work infiltrate all our concrete tasks which are aimed at the four modernizations. We should no longer waste time doing our work with great fanfare and in a formalistic way as we did in the past.

/The key to doing political and ideological work well during the new period lies in leadership. High- and middle-ranking cadres should especially play an exemplary role./ To attain this goal we must first overcome bureaucratism, refrain from seeking privileges, take the lead in fighting amid hardship and oppose pleasure seeking. During the war years the officers and men shared weal and woe, as did army men and civilians. All worked with concerted efforts. That was why we won victory. However, our fine traditions were ruined by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Lin Biao was seriously imbued with the ideas of seeking privileges and pleasure. During the Red Army period he deserted once and asked for permission to leave the countryside for the cities. After the Pingxingguan campaign he wanted to go abroad for a rest. After liberation he always pleaded illness. After taking the post of defense minister, and especially after assuming the title of deputy supreme commander of the PLA, he wallowed in luxury, built villas wherever he liked and spent money like water. The "gang of four" were jackals of the same lair with Lin Biao. Flaunting the flag of "holding high" and singing the tune of "the most, most, most," they practiced favoritism and led an extravagantly decadent life. By contrast, Comrade Zhou Enlai, who was premier for 27 years, and Comrade Zhu De, who was the PLA's commander in chief for some 20 years and NPC Standing Committee chairman for more than 10 years, always thought of the people's needs and constantly preserved the good style of plain living and hard work. This comparison shows who were genuine and who were sham revolutionaries. Could a revolutionary squander the money which the workers and peasants had earned by hard work? Could he be heedless of the people's needs and sufferings? In the past few years some comrades, especially high-ranking leading cadres, were influenced by poor styles and bad habits as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They seldom displayed the spirit of preceding others to do hard jobs and enjoying comfort after others as they did during the war years. They not only sought pleasure themselves but also extended their privileges to their friends, relatives and children. Our country is not rich and the people's living standard is still very low. If our leading cadres lead a life above the standard set by the state (judging by our country's current economic level, the state has been treating high-ranking cadres quite well) and seek personal "modernization," can they lead the masses to fight against hardships and to work arduously to achieve the four modernizations? Here I want to shout at them: Comrades, what are you concerned about, the four modernizations or your own privileged life?

Leading cadres should also adopt a democratic style and listen to the voices of the masses. They should respect the right of a party member to criticize another as laid down in the party constitution. They should not retaliate against those who criticize them. They should not do their work by exploiting their offices according to their wishful thinking. Especially in applying a policy and appointing cadres they should combat subjectivism and the mountain-stronghold mentality. They should not be cocksure and take their own words as final. A blind

mountain-stronghold mentality existed in the army in the past. It was consciously eradicated afterward. After the Great Cultural Revolution started, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" set up factions and practiced factionalism, spreading pernicious influence extensively and doing people great harm. Some leading comrades appointed cadres neither in accordance with the party's cadre policy nor by taking their merits into consideration. On the contrary, they did so by proceeding from their own likes and dislikes. They only appointed those whom they liked. Without making investigations, others exploited their offices and shielded and appointed those who had been involved in serious cases of the two-line struggle. They put great distance between themselves and the masses. The masses of people pay attention not only to the party's program, principles and policies but also to the things happening around them. They also watch how leading cadres are behaving. Countless facts show that wherever and whenever leading cadres seek privileges and neglect democracy, unhealthy practices will prevail, these leading cadres will not enjoy high prestige, political work cannot be carried out well and the enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused. Therefore, to carry forward the spirit of the Gutian Congress and carry out political and ideological work well during the new period, leading cadres must go to the fore and set fine examples to unite with all people. In this way our party, country and army will become more prosperous.

CSO: 4004

## THE PROBLEM OF REFORMING THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 16-24

[Article by Xue Muqiao [5641 2550 2890]]

[Text] I. It Is Necessary To Reform Our Structure of Economic Management

After establishing socialist public ownership of the means of production, a socialist state must set up an economic management structure which corresponds to this system of ownership. In his comments on a Soviet textbook on political economy in the early 1960's, Comrade Mao Zedong said: After completing the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production, we have to solve the question of management. We must not think that the socialist system will demonstrate its superiority once we have completed the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production. A correct method of management will promote the development of production, but an erroneous method of management will hinder the development of production.

The superiority of the socialist system is seen mainly in two ways: First, with public ownership of the means of production the state can use the country's manpower and material and financial resources in a planned way, put all kinds of economic activities under its unified control and avoid the anarchy of the capitalist economy and the great waste of manpower, material resources and money resulting from such anarchy. Second, since the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished and all working people have become masters of the country and managers of their own production, the state can bring into play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the central and local authorities, enterprises and individual laborers, quickly bring about an upswing in the national economy and avoid the capitalist phenomenon of harming others to benefit oneself. These two aspects of the superiority of the socialist system are at once united and contradictory. If we oversimplify the state's unified leadership over the national economy as centralized and unified management and weaken the management power of the local authorities and enterprises, we will make our economic life rigid and stiff and will be



unable to bring out the enthusiasm and creativeness of the local authorities, enterprises and individual laborers. This will hinder the development of the productive forces. If we put undue emphasis on democratic management and weaken unified leadership, we will also put our economic activities in an anarchist state and follow the same old disastrous road that capitalism did.

Our present economic management structure is basically modeled on a method adopted in the Soviet Union in Stalin's days. The special feature of this structure is its undue emphasis on centralization and unification. Plans and targets worked out by the Central Committee are transmitted to the lower levels in the form of directives, and all localities and enterprises must carry them out whether or not they are suited to their specific conditions. The good point of this structure is that the state can concentrate all funds and resources on key projects which have a bearing on the economic lifeline. Its weak point is that it does not make allowance for the special needs of the localities and enterprises. Thus, the localities and enterprises cannot make rational use of their manpower, material resources and money in the light of their specific conditions. This is not conducive to achieving the maximum economic results with minimum consumption. If our plans go against the objective law of economic development, imbalances in the national economy may appear.

In restructuring our economic management we must consider the following two principles:

First, we must follow the socialist road. The state must bring the activities of various branches of the national economy into line with the unified economic plan and insure that the economic activities of various departments, regions, enterprises and collective economic units can develop in a well-coordinated way under the guidance of the state plan through direct or indirect means. At the same time we must recognize that, since our productive forces (especially our agricultural productive forces) are still low and our socialist production relations are still immature and far from perfect, there must be relative unity and some degree of flexibility in our planned management. We must adopt different methods of management toward the two different types of ownership. The economy under collective ownership should have greater decision-making power than the economy under ownership by the whole people. Moreover, the differences between various sectors of the economy under ownership by the whole people also make it impossible for us to achieve complete unity. We must bring into play the enthusiasm and initiative of the local authorities and enterprises and give them a free hand to do things which are within their capability. To fully bring into play the enthusiasm and initiative of the local authorities and enterprises, we must give them a fair amount of authority and combine the interests of all four, that is, the central and local authorities, enterprises and individual laborers.

Second, with the modernization of industrial and agricultural production, we must develop our economic management structure step by step in the direction of coordination among specialized departments to meet the needs of socialized mass production. In this respect the developed capitalist countries have a lot of useful experiences which may be of reference value to us. Since China's agriculture remains a partially self-contained economy, it is necessary for us to make allowances for present conditions. However, we must advance in the direction of coordination among specialized departments in the future, particularly in our farm mechanization. At present our socialized industrial production still remains at a pre-World War II level by international standards, and our economic management structure is not conducive to catching up with and surpassing advanced world levels. The method of carrying out management through administrative channels, both vertical and horizontal, is not in keeping with the principle of achieving coordination among specialized departments, because it cuts off the ties between different trades and regions. Therefore, we must step by step set up multitrade and multi-regional economic organizations to replace this system of management. We may also set up integrated supply, production and marketing organizations which combine agriculture with industry and commerce. We may even break down the barrier between the two types of ownership and set up integrated organizations between the state sector of the economy and the collective economy.

Because of these principles, it is imperative that we tackle the following two tasks in the present reform of our economic management structure: First, we must reform the management of enterprises (including collective economic units) so that the enterprises will truly become basic-level management units. Second, we must reform the management of the national economy to make it better correspond to the needs of socialized mass production and remove the obstacles on the road of socialist modernization. Since the methods we are now using have been in force for years and many people have grown accustomed to them, particularly since any change in these methods will affect the interests of many sectors, we are likely to be tied up by traditional ideas and run up against all sorts of resistance. We must emancipate our minds, have the courage to blaze new trails and boldly put forward different ideas. However, we must also seek truth from facts, proceed from the actual conditions in our country and advance steadily in actual work.

## II. Reform of the Management of State Enterprises

State enterprises are basic-level management units in the economy under ownership by the whole people. Under the guidance of the state plan, they should have the power to decide how to budget their money, material resources and manpower and should strive to achieve the maximum economic results with minimum consumption. In the past, however, our management of state enterprises was based on the method of "eating from the same pot," under which revenue and expenditure were controlled by the state

and all expenditures were reimbursed. The staff and workers these enterprises would only be promoted but not demoted and would only be assigned to one place or unit but not another. This was commonly known as the "iron rice bowl" practice. Many comrades erroneously interpreted this as the "superiority" of socialism. In fact, this was a carryover of the "supply system" practiced during the years of revolutionary war, and it has now become a major obstacle to socialist modernization.

In capitalist countries, each enterprise is responsible for its own profits and losses and has full power to manage its own affairs. To scramble for markets, these enterprises constantly compete with one another by improving their production techniques and management methods and by striving to economize on manpower, material resources and money in their own units. Their aim is to make maximum profits with minimum investment. Considered on a national scale, the capitalist system lacks planning and organization and causes great waste. Within a capitalist enterprise, however, everything is carefully calculated, planned and organized. There is much in their method of management, which is shaped by experience accumulated over the past centuries, that we can use. If our socialist enterprises do not change their backward method of management based on the practices of "eating from the same pot" and the "iron rice bowl," they can never create labor productivity higher than that under capitalism and consequently triumph over capitalism.

To improve the management of enterprises, it is necessary to give the enterprises the power to decide what to do with their manpower, material resources and money and to handle their own supply, production and marketing.

First, it is necessary to set up enterprise funds and change the former practice of unified revenue and expenditure. If our enterprises turn in all profits and do not have any money at their own disposal, they will not be able to carry out simple reproduction and will find it hard to expand reproduction. They will only be able to maintain the existing technical level and will find it hard to carry out technical renovation, much less start reconstruction and expansion projects. If we stick to this system, it will be impossible for us to quickly bring about a modernized economy. To set up enterprise funds and award those that have done well in management, we must resolutely implement the system of allowing the enterprises to retain a certain percentage of the profits. Since conditions vary between departments and enterprises, the percentage should be fixed in the light of specific conditions. After this system is put into effect, the advanced enterprise will be able to develop quickly because they have more funds, while the backward enterprises will be able to develop only slowly because they have limited funds. This method of awarding the advanced and spurring on the backward has more advantages than disadvantages. Of course, it is possible that some backward enterprises may possess conditions for renovation and transformation but are unable to do so due to the lack of funds. Under

such circumstances, the state may offer them short-term bank loans which are to be repaid within a given period of time from surplus profits.

Since the system of letting the enterprises retain a certain percentage of their profits involves complicated questions, we must adopt different economic measures and make modifications. There are subjective as well as objective reasons why some enterprises make more profits and some make less. Surplus profits derived from subjective factors (such as having done well in management) should be given to the enterprises as a reward, but those derived from objective factors belong, in principle, to the state. The so-called objective factors include:

1. Differences in the prices of products. The obvious difference between the price and the value of many of our products has now become an important determinant of profits. To practice the system of letting the enterprises retain a certain percentage of their profits, we must first readjust prices by bringing them closer to their value. When prices cannot be lowered (for example, on products like tobaccos and wines), surplus profits should be handed over to the state in the form of commodity taxes. In this way, all trades and professions will be able to make reasonable profits under normal management conditions.

2. Differences in the resources of mineral products. For example, some oil wells can produce only a few tons of oil a day, while some can produce several dozen tons or even several hundred and several thousand tons. The state should levy taxes in the light of specific resource conditions. Those coal mines which have been running at a loss for a long time due to poor resources should be subsidized by the state and should be allowed to retain a certain percentage of the amount of state subsidy saved as a result of good management.

3. Differences in labor productivity between factories caused by differences in the condition of machinery and equipment. These are due chiefly to differences in the amount of investment by the state, not to subjective efforts made by the laborers. To solve this problem, the state may adopt the practice of collecting charges for fixed assets to offset differences in profits that have resulted from differences in labor productivity caused by technical equipment.

After adoption of the system of letting the enterprises retain a certain percentage of their profits, a large portion of such funds should be spent on technical renovation, even reconstruction and expansion where conditions permit; the rest should be spent on improving collective welfare facilities and issuing bonuses to the staff and workers. The actual proportions should be determined in the light of the specific conditions of various enterprises. In enterprises which have more funds, the proportion for the former should be bigger and that for the latter should be smaller, so that the payment of labor will not differ too much between enterprises.

Second, it is necessary to change the relation of enterprises to fixed assets and circulating funds. In the past the state supplied the enterprises with fixed assets without asking for any return. An enterprise had to seek approval and appropriations from the state to get additional machinery and equipment and carry out technical renovation. It did not have any money of its own and did not have the power to get additional machinery and equipment and carry out technical renovation. When the supply system based on unified revenue and expenditure was practiced, the enterprises were reimbursed for every sum they spent. Thus, they not only failed to live up to their name as a management unit but failed to live up to their name as an economic accounting unit. This resulted in a serious drain on state funds. The enterprises often asked for more investment from the state than they needed, even though this meant that they might let some funds lie idle. On the other hand, they could not get the additional machinery and equipment necessary for tapping potentials, renovation and transformation on their own strength and were often turned down when they applied for state appropriations. If this system is not changed, it will pose a serious obstacle to the modernization of the national economy.

Our fixed asset depreciation system also needs to be changed. With the advancement of modern science and technology, the capitalist countries have already shortened the time limit for the depreciation of fixed assets to 5 years. In our country, however, the time limit is still 25 years in most cases. The capitalist countries encourage technical renovation; we encourage making do with whatever is available. Our enterprises are required to turn in a large portion of their depreciation funds and can only retain a small portion for overhauls. They have to obtain approval and appropriation from the state for the replacement of equipment. When overhauling or replacement is called for, the state not only does not encourage the use of advanced techniques but imposes restrictions on their use. If a unit wishes to adopt advanced techniques, it must obtain approval from the higher authorities just as it must for all capital construction projects. Approval is not easily granted. Therefore, Comrade Sun Yefang described our work of replacing equipment as "reproducing antiques."

To change the foregoing conditions, we must establish a system of compensatory use of fixed assets. State investment in capital construction should be managed by the bank and turned into fixed assets before being given to the enterprises for their use. After necessary auditing, fixed assets originally owned by the enterprises should also be put under bank management. The enterprises must pay for the use of fixed assets on schedule. Huge sums of capital construction investment should be appropriated by the state through finance departments. Ownership of such appropriations belongs to the state and management is entrusted to the bank. Payment is to be made to finance departments. Small sums of capital construction investment can be applied directly from the bank in the form of loans, and the recipient enterprises should repay both principal and interest to the bank on schedule.

Similarly, all circulating funds should be applied for from the bank in the form of loans in accordance with the system of compensatory use. The interest rate for sums within the quota should be lower than those for sums above the quota. This will prevent the enterprises from overstocking materials. If the goods are not properly disposed of, it will be a waste of money and will give rise to manmade tension in commodity supplies.

After enterprise funds have been set up, the state should allow the enterprises to retain the entire amount or a portion of the depreciation funds for their own use and should not impose restrictions on them. Moreover, it should encourage the enterprises to use their depreciation funds for the purpose of tapping potentials, renovation and transformation and should permit them to apply for short-term loans from the bank for this purpose if necessary. Since there must be necessary material guarantees for the use of these funds, the state should include them in the state plan and do everything in its power to provide the guarantees. Before undertaking reconstruction and expansion projects or starting new enterprises, we must draw up plans and submit them to the state departments concerned for approval to keep commodity supplies balanced.

Third, it is necessary to reform the personnel management system. Besides insuring the rational use of financial and material resources, we must also insure the rational use of manpower with our system of enterprise management. To this end, we must organize our own contingents of staff and workers in complete accordance with production or operational needs and insure that every person can play his role. The "iron rice bowl" practice under which workers would only be promoted but not demoted and would only be assigned to one place but not another must be changed. The constitution of our socialist state stipulates that every able-bodied citizen has the right and duty to work. In principle, the labor force of the whole country should be put under the unified arrangement of the state. Since the work needs of various enterprises are very complicated and working ability differs from person to person, there must be unified state arrangement as well as free choice for the enterprises, plus some degree of personal choice, if we want to tap everyone's potential to the full.

At present the majority of the staff and workers of our enterprises and government institutions have proved equal to their tasks and can give play to their ability. However, there is also a small number of people who are either not well qualified or are unable to give full play to their ability. The state should establish systems for assessment and promotion and assign those staff and workers who cannot give full play to their ability to other suitable posts. An enterprise should have the power to demote staff and workers who have been proved incompetent at work. In particular, it should have the power to dismiss, after consulting with the trade unions, the handful of staff members and workers who have a history of bad performance or have committed serious mistakes

and yet refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition. These people should either be assigned other jobs by labor organizations or left to find their own work. For years many of our enterprises and government institutions have been overstaffed and had loose discipline. To quickly change this state of affairs, we must streamline the administrative structure, strictly assess the past performance of each staff member and worker and decide who should be promoted, who should be demoted and who should be taken off the payroll. This will enable us to greatly raise working efficiency and overcome the fairly common phenomenon of slackness at work. Staff members and workers dismissed as a result of streamlining should be assigned to suitable posts. The young ones may be organized to resume their studies, and the old ones may be advised to retire. We must place these people properly so that they will not become destitute and homeless like their counterparts in capitalist society.

To fully bring the role of scientists, technicians and other skilled workers into play, the state should give these people the right to choose their work post under given conditions. At present some labor and personnel departments act in a bureaucratic way and assign jobs carelessly without considering individual ability. Some research organizations do not assign their scientific and technical personnel to suitable jobs and refuse to release these personnel needed by other units. Some scientific and technical personnel have nothing to do in their own units, but when they have found a suitable post elsewhere they cannot get transfer approval from the personnel department. Some scientific and technical personnel who returned from abroad some 20 years ago find that they have wasted their valuable time, because they can neither make more contributions to the state nor further their studies as much as they desire. Some outstanding Chinese scientists and technicians are unknown to the public at home but make the news outside the country. Such a waste of talent is not to be tolerated in a socialist country. We cannot allow such a talent-wasting labor management system to continue, particularly now that the people of the whole country are striving for the four modernizations.

Fourth, it is necessary to reform the leadership system of enterprises. After strengthening the management power of the enterprises, it is necessary for us to reform their leadership system and establish the system of division of responsibility under collective leadership. In the early 1950's Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the "system of one-man leadership" in view of the overconcentration of authority in the leading bodies of Soviet enterprises and adopted the system of division of responsibility, with factory directors taking charge under the leadership of party committees. However, the party committees of many of our enterprises often monopolized everything and curtailed the rightful authority of the factory directors, chief engineers, chief accountants and the like. In many enterprises there was no division of responsibility among individuals in the leading organs. Work efficiency was low and

bureaucratism was serious. These characteristics are incompatible with the realization of the four modernizations. Commonsense tells us that party committees should resolutely implement the "system of division of responsibility, with factory directors taking charge under the leadership of party committees," and should let the factory directors assume unified leadership over administrative work. Instead of assuming direct control over vocational work, they should grasp political and ideological work necessary for the four modernizations, insure the implementation of the party's principle and policies and leave the actual vocational work to the factory directors, chief engineers, chief accountants and other staff. We must also rigorously enforce the system of personal responsibility in our enterprises, examine work from time to time and replace those who are incompetent or irresponsible. To this end, it is necessary for us to establish a democratic system of management in our enterprises and government institutions and try out the system of electing leading cadres at all levels, so that the staff and workers will have the power to supervise and check on the leading cadres.

### III. Reform of the Structure of Economic Management

The management of enterprises must be reformed, and so must the structure of economic management. To restructure the national economy, we must first clearly define the competence of the central and local authorities in accordance with the principle of "unified leadership and management by levels." A prominent issue in the relationship between the central and local authorities is the question of reforming the financial management structure.

In the past the tax payment and profits of various enterprises were amassed in the hands of the finance departments under the central authorities through the finance organizations at all levels. The Ministry of Finance outlined the budget for various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions after consultation with the local authorities. The small amount of revenue retained by the local authorities was only enough to cover necessary administrative expenses and a little bit of construction and operational expenses. All capital construction investments were allocated by the Ministry of Finance to various ministries under the central authorities and then to various provinces and enterprises. Every appropriation was earmarked for a specified purpose. Likewise, most of the operational expenses were also allotted by various ministries under the central authorities to various provinces and enterprises for specified purposes. If the local departments, enterprises and other units duplicated and wasted the money earmarked for construction and operations, or used the funds elsewhere, the ministries under the central authorities would take control. For this reason, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions often showed indifference toward revenue and expenditure and did not strive to increase income or cut expenses even though they were able to do so. Even if they discovered that there was duplication and waste in spending, they did not have the power to make readjustments.



To reform its structure of economic management, Jiangsu Province tried out a system of fiscal responsibility several years ago. "Under this system, which is to remain in force for a period of 3 years, a unit plans expenditure in light of its income, retains a percentage of overall profits and takes full responsibility for these funds." After the introduction of this system, Jiangsu's income increased markedly and continued to go up when the country's revenue dropped in 1976. When national revenue picked up in the following year, Jiangsu again considerably increased its income on the basis of achievements made in the previous year.

The Central Committee recently decided to try out the Jiangsu method on a national scale next year. At the same time it also planned to implement, where specific conditions permit, a method of "specifying revenue and expenditure and making each level take full responsibility." Under this method, the power and jurisdiction of the central authorities and various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions over matters of revenue and expenditure are clearly specified (for example, which part of the tax revenue belongs to the central authorities, which part belongs to the local authorities and which particular level has claim to profits handed in by enterprises at various levels). A unit with a larger income can spend more, but a unit with a smaller income must spend less. It is the duty of every unit to balance its own income and expenditures. This method will give the local authorities greater fiscal power.

After the division of fiscal power, the central authorities will still be responsible for the unified allocation of investments for major construction projects (such as the 120 key projects), with the local authorities undertaking construction to serve these key projects. Local revenue should be used primarily in aiding agriculture, then in tapping the potential of existing local industries, renovating and transforming them and building necessary factories and transport facilities, and lastly in the construction of schools, hospitals, stores, living quarters and other collective welfare facilities. In the past the local authorities were unable to undertake the construction of water conservancy works, tap the potential of the large number of existing enterprises, renovate and transform them, carry out necessary urban construction and improve the people's livelihood due to a lack of revenue. It has been proven by facts that locally initiated projects generally require less investment and produce quicker results than projects undertaken with state investment, because local potentials are brought into play. Therefore, we must fully make use of the existing strength of various localities and integrated enterprises by entrusting to them the task of building medium-sized and small construction projects for general purposes. In this way we can achieve the goal of cutting investment and reaping quick results.

Of course, we cannot solve all problems simply by dividing the fiscal jurisdiction of the central and local authorities. In this connection, numerous contradictions remain to be resolved. For example, due to the fact that local financial and material resources were still lacking, Jiangsu Province could only take care of its own needs after implementing the system of fiscal responsibility on a trial basis and partially enlarging the power of the local authorities. This could possibly weaken Jiangsu's capacity to supply the needs of other regions. With its fairly well developed machine-building industry, Jiangsu should be able to supply many kinds of products to other provinces. To satisfy the needs of other provinces, there must be increased investments; after investments are appropriated by the higher authorities, the problem of securing the supplies of raw and semifinished materials, fuel and power necessary for the production of goods needed by other provinces must be solved. This means that obstacles could still crop up in regional cooperation. There used to be close economic ties between Sunan Prefecture (made up of Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou municipalities) and Shanghai. Many municipal and county industries, even some commune-run industries, often accepted processing orders placed by Shanghai's big factories. Planned management with localities as the basic units could easily cut off the former cooperative relations and destroy the practice of coordination among specialized departments which was being carried out between these regions and Shanghai. Obviously this is not conducive to socialist modernization.

For another example, there is a great difference in the degree of industrial development between various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The industrially backward regions badly need the support of the industrially advanced regions in their economic construction. For this reason, contradictions exist not only between various ministries under the central authorities on the one hand and various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions on the other, but also between one province, municipality or autonomous region and the other. On the whole, the industrially advanced regions want greater decisionmaking power, whereas the industrially backward regions want unified management and allocation by the central authorities. Similar contradictions also exist between the production and consumption areas of important products (like rolled steel, timber and coal). The production areas demand greater local jurisdiction, but the consumption areas need unified allocation by the central authorities. Thus, despite the fact that the question of reforming the structure of economic management has been repeatedly discussed by the state economic management organs, it is difficult to reach an identity of views.

The root cause of these problems lies mainly in the contradiction between the administrative structure and the objective needs of economic management. Management of the economy through administrative channels and according to administrative levels and divisions was the main feature of our former economic management structure. These manmade

vertical and horizontal divisions were not in conformity with the objective laws of economic management and could not fully make use of the role of the market mechanism and the law of value to serve the socialist economy. Thus, in the present reform of our economic management structure we must solve the problems concerning the relationship between the central and local authorities and between vertical and horizontal administration. What is more, we must break the shackles of vertical and horizontal administration, enlarge the power and responsibility of the enterprises and try as far as possible to replace management through administrative organs with management through economic organizations. No department or locality is allowed to sabotage the socialist unified market by means of administrative "separation." Specialized and integrated companies established to suit the needs of coordination among specialized departments may conduct economic activities, involving a number of trades and regions, between different enterprises of a company or between one company and another without first getting the approval of the leading body at a higher level.

To solve this contradiction, it is necessary to organize integrated companies which involve a number of trades. For example, the integrated iron and steel company not only exercises unified management over the manufacture and use of iron and steel machinery but also runs the related research and design institutions and organizations handling the supply of raw and semifinished materials, the installation and repair of machinery and equipment and the sale of commodities. Under the iron and steel machinery company a number of specialized companies may be set up to handle the manufacture of different types of metallurgical machinery. For another example, the integrated chemical industry company also has to manage the affairs of research and design institutions, chemical engineering machinery plants, chemical fertilizer, chemical fiber and petrochemical plants, as well as companies handling the supply of raw and semifinished materials and the sale of commodities. Research and design institutions should be managed as enterprises in the same way that companies, factories and supply and marketing organizations are and should accept research and design assignments from various companies and factories on a paid basis. To encourage people to carry out technical renovation, develop new techniques and trial-produce new products, the state should offer them patent rights and a larger bonus, so that they can gain something for themselves after covering necessary research and trial-manufacturing expenses. By adopting this method we will be able to quickly put the new techniques and new products into actual production with the help of the integrated and specialized companies and overcome the present phenomenon in which many research and design institutions, staffed with a large number of scientific and technical personnel, never achieve any results for years after spending huge sums of money.

Coordination among specialized departments must be carried out not only within the industrial sector but also among the industrial, agricultural and commercial sectors. For example, the Yizhong Tobacco Company founded

by British merchants in old China not only monopolized the manufacture of cigarettes but developed a number of bases for the cultivation of tobacco and carried out the work of collecting and curing tobacco itself to insure the supply and quality of raw materials. We can also adopt this method. Companies handling the spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, silk and flax (chemical fertilizers as well, now) should concern themselves with the production and purchase of cotton, wool, silk and flax and may organize large-scale chainline coordination among specialized departments. Factories responsible for the production of export commodities should establish ties with suppliers of raw materials and with export agencies. The present practice of putting agricultural departments in charge of raw materials, industrial departments in charge of production, and commercial departments in charge of sales is disadvantageous to improving the quality of products and suiting varieties and patterns to market needs. Thus, we must make a determined effort to change the present management structure and set up specialized or integrated companies which combine supply with production and marketing.

In the past the functions of the industrial and commercial departments were strictly divided. The commercial departments were responsible for the unified purchase and distribution of manufactured goods. This method created disharmony between production and needs. Following the Central Committee's recent call on commercial departments to select and buy only the best products, the contradiction between industry and commerce grew more pronounced. In an effort to reduce stocks, commercial departments were reluctant even to replenish the stocks of goods needed on the market. Besides, they forbade the factories to sell their products themselves, with the result that light industrial production dropped in many places. That is why selective purchasing by commercial departments and marketing by industrial departments must go hand in hand. Some factories and industrial departments may set up their own marketing agencies to sell products not selected by the commercial departments. With some kinds of products it is better to follow this practice, because damaged goods can be repaired by the marketing agencies. This makes things more convenient for the users. On the whole, it is better for a factory to promote its own new products, because in this way it can ascertain market needs and make improvements. In foreign trade we must change the practice of relying solely on the foreign trade departments for negotiations with foreign businessmen. Production units not only should take part in negotiations with foreign businessmen but should take part in signing contracts, share foreign exchange earnings with the foreign trade departments and shoulder the responsibility of fulfilling contracts together with the foreign trade departments. With the approval of the higher authorities, some production units may directly enter into cooperation with foreign businessmen. For example, they can accept orders for processing buyers' materials. The foreign trade departments should provide guidance and should not monopolize everything.

With a view to reforming the structure of economic management, many of our comrades are now discussing the question of regulation by planning and regulation by the market and the question of managing the economy through administrative means and managing the economy through economic means. Since it is very difficult to explain their differences in words alone, I would like to cite a few actual examples for illustration.

As regards capital construction investment, several methods can be adopted. The first is a purely administrative method. Under this method, all financial appropriations are given gratis, and all expenses are reported for reimbursement. The second method combines administrative means with economic means. Under this method, all financial appropriations are managed by the bank, and repayment is required. The third method is to rely wholly on economic means. Under this method, all investments come from the bank in the form of loans, and the recipient units have to repay both principal and interest. We adopted the first method in the past. In the future we may adopt the second method when we undertake capital construction on a relatively large scale and apply for bank loans when we want to carry out technical renovation or need small investments.

As regards the circulation of products, there are also several methods we can choose from. Under the first method, the means of production are to be allocated under unified state planning, and the means of subsistence are to be purchased and marketed exclusively by the state. This is an administrative method. Under the second method, as far as the means of production are concerned, products controlled by the unified allocation department are to be supplied in fixed quotas, and the consuming units are to purchase them from the specialized companies according to the quotas assigned to them; general products can be purchased freely. As far as the means of subsistence are concerned, important commodities are to be purchased and marketed exclusively by the state and rationed to the consumers; general commodities can be purchased freely by the consumers. Under the third method, quota and rationing systems are to be abolished and the consumers given a free hand to purchase and select what they want. Since many important products are still in short supply, we cannot adopt the second method and abolish the quota and rationing systems at present. All we can do is to gradually narrow the scope of products under quotas and rationing. Only when we have a fairly great abundance of products and are fully capable of insuring supplies can we switch to the third method, that is, make full use of the role of the market mechanism and regulate the market mainly by means of tax, price and credit policies when supply and marketing are not balanced.

As regards the planning of production management, we have direct and indirect plans, that is, imperative and reference plans. In the past, direct planning was adopted in the economy under the ownership of the whole people. Indirect planning was, in principle, to be adopted in the

economy under collective ownership, but in practice this was often replaced by direct planning. In the future, no cultivation plans should be imposed on the economy under collective ownership. As for the economy under the ownership of the whole people, we may step by step change direct planning into indirect planning in many fields and insure the fulfillment of the state plans through consultation and the implementation of economic policies.

Can we abolish administrative organs which handle economic work after replacing the practice of issuing administrative orders with management by economic means? No, we cannot. Since the administrative organs will no longer handle vocational affairs, we may greatly streamline their structure and reduce the number of personnel. However, they will still shoulder an arduous leadership task. The state will only make them shoulder more leadership responsibility, not less.

Planning committees at all levels are still responsible for drafting long-term and annual plans for the national economy and striking a comprehensive balance in the national economy. The switch from direct to indirect planning does not mean that the implementation of these plans is optional. Plans must be implemented. The only difference is how we are going to implement them. In other words, we must implement our plans through consultation and by making use of economic measures, the market mechanism and the law of value and run economic affairs according to economic laws. The implementation of indirect plans is far more complicated and difficult than the implementation of direct plans and requires a higher theoretical level and a more profound vocational knowledge on the part of economic workers.

Economic and construction committees at all levels and departments in charge of production are responsible for coordinating the economic activities of various trades, companies and enterprises (including capital construction units), helping these units link production with supply and marketing, guiding their development and bringing them in line with the requirements laid down in the state plans. Planning, economic and agricultural committees should work out economic policies and economic measures jointly with the finance departments, banks and organs in charge of pricing to insure the fulfillment of the state plans.

Finance departments and banks should attend to capital turnover and money circulation throughout the country, exercise their functions and powers to check on and supervise the economic activities of various enterprises, especially their income and expenditure, and rationally distribute funds between different regions. Organs in charge of labor and commodities should conduct research on the rational use of manpower and material resources to prevent waste.

In short, all economic management organs must act in accordance with economic laws and contribute more ideas to improve economic management.

With the new situation and new task of speeding up the realization of the four modernizations before us, we must study the new circumstances and questions and adopt new measures. We can no longer stick to conventions and remain in a state of inertia. It is extremely wrong to think that we can let our economic activities take their own course.

#### IV. Readjustment of the National Economy and Reform of the Structure of Management

To bring about socialist modernization in the economy, we must first readjust the proportions for the various branches of the national economy and reestablish economic order so as to lay a solid foundation for the realization of the four modernizations. Next, we must reform the structure of economic management and run economic affairs according to economic laws in order to create favorable conditions for the realization of the four modernizations. Readjustment and restructuring must go together. Unless we do a good job of carrying out economic readjustment, we cannot proceed boldly with our economic reform. A few essential reforms will enable us to proceed more smoothly with our readjustment. However, readjustment and restructuring also conflict. Readjustment calls for a temporary strengthening of centralized and unified management over the economy, but restructuring calls for devolution. To resolve this contradiction, we must put readjustment before restructuring, carry out restructuring in the course of readjustment and make readjustment in the course of restructuring.

The restructuring of economic management demands that we establish a system of responsibility in the enterprises, implement the principle of material benefit and make the enterprises assume some responsibility for their own profits and losses. However, due to the present imbalances in the national economy, many enterprises are short of supplies of raw and semifinished materials, fuel and power and are sometimes forced to suspend or cut production. An enterprise should not be held responsible if it fails to fulfill its production plan, reaps fewer profits or even sustains losses because of these external factors. Thus, unless the problem of the supply of raw and semifinished materials, fuel and power is solved, it is very difficult for us to assess the work of an enterprise and give material rewards according to its production results and profits.

At present our pricing work is in a state of confusion, and the prices of many products are far removed from their value. The prices of products urgently needed by the state (such as grain and coal) are low, but the prices of products not urgently needed are often very high. The prices of raw and semifinished materials are low, but the prices of processed goods are high. If we make the enterprises assume sole responsibility for their own profits and losses, the production of raw and semifinished materials and fuel will drop or even come to a standstill, while the processing industries will thrive. This will aggravate the present imbalances.

The present tax system is copied from the old and is not conducive to readjusting the direction of development of various trades and enterprises. Some products which are urgently needed by the state and are in short supply are taxed more heavily than overstocked products not in immediate need. This is detrimental to running economic affairs according to economic laws. In those industries which are governed by natural conditions (particularly the mining industry), there is a great difference between the profits made by one enterprise and another. For example, there is a great difference between the profits made by the Daqing and Yumen oilfields because the conditions of their resources are different. If we want to make a success of the system of letting an enterprise retain a certain percentage of its profits, we must adopt different tax rates (such as levying a tax on resources).

Some enterprises have high labor productivity because they have better equipment and more investments from the state, but some are quite the other way around. If we continue to adhere to the principle of gratuitously appropriating fixed assets, we cannot properly implement the system of letting an enterprise retain a portion of its profits. To enforce the system of collecting charges for the use of fixed assets, we must first carry out inventory-taking and auditing throughout the country. This is an extremely arduous task which cannot be completed in just a few months.

In short, to reform the structure of economic management, we must not only do a good job of carrying out economic readjustment but also carry out overall planning and advance step by step in our reform in various fields, because these reforms are interconnected. Some comrades look at the work of reform in an oversimplistic way and think that it can be accomplished with the issuance of a few state decrees. This is unrealistic.

CSO: 4004



**DEVOTE EVERY EFFORT TO FIGHTING THE FIRST BATTLE WELL**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 25-28

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] More than half a year has elapsed since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided to shift the focus of the whole party's work to socialist modernization. It is also over a month since the successful conclusion of the second session of the Fifth NPC, which turned this great historical policy decision into a program guiding the common action of the people of the whole country. Every Communist Party member and every cadre, especially leading cadres at various levels, should seriously check whether the focus of our work has really been shifted to socialist modernization. How can we really concentrate on promoting the four modernizations?

To carry out socialist modernization in a planned manner and achieve the four modernizations within the current century is a strategic policy deciding the fate of our country and people. Only this should be the focus of our work now and for a fairly long historical period to come. All other work must revolve around it and never be separated from it. All of our comrades must consciously concentrate their energies on the four modernizations. We must think of the four-modernizations effort, study ways and means to promote it and work on it. This is the greatest demonstration of politics now and for a fairly long historical period to come.

Devoting 3 years beginning this year to properly readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy is the first battle in achieving the four modernizations. Launching an extensive and penetrating increase-production and economy movement to insure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the national economic plan for the current year is the first round of this highly important battle. Therefore, concentrating energies on promoting the four modernizations, as things now stand, means devoting every effort to readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the increase-production and economy movement.

We must begin with readjustment in the readjusting-restructuring-consolidating-and-improving effort. This is the main point of the current problem. To seriously do a good job of readjustment we must make certain comrades change their attitude toward readjustment--an attitude marked by passivity, waiting and watching on the sidelines. They must correctly understand the great significance and urgency of readjusting the national economy, look far ahead, take the work of their relevant areas, departments or units as part of the whole and make the part serve the whole.

The current readjustment is unlike that in the early 1960's. Due to reduced agricultural output, disrupted industrial production efforts and a serious shortage of daily necessities at that time, we were compelled to take drastic measures, stopping certain capital construction projects, closing or converting certain factories and transferring some workers to the countryside. The aim was to gradually redress a serious imbalance in proportional relations. Under such conditions, people felt the need for readjustment, and there was relatively little resistance. Now things are different. Our economy once suffered serious interference and sabotage from Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and was on the verge of collapse; however, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, a 3-year effort to grasp the key link in running the country well has brought substantial results since the smashing of the "gang of four." The economy has greatly revived and developed. Given great economic progress, why should there be readjustment? Many comrades have lagged behind the times ideologically. The current readjustment involves both expansion and curtailment, progress and retrogression. But in the final analysis it is an effort toward progress rather than retrogression. Some comrades do not understand why this is so. Therefore, those units that should be curtailed still seek expansion. Those that should be expanded use "readjustment" as an excuse to request fewer assignments. These ideas reflect a lack of an overall awareness of readjustment. Without solving the problem of awareness, we cannot do a good job of readjustment. Without doing a good job of readjustment, we cannot achieve the speedy development of the national economy in a sustained and proportionate manner.

Experience in economic construction over 30 years tells us that the rapid development of the national economy cannot be separated from proportionate development. During the First Five-Year Plan the proportional relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and between accumulation and consumption were relatively balanced, so that the pace of economic development was relatively fast. A few years after the Great Leap Forward in 1958, various proportional relations showed a serious imbalance. Economic development slowed down. Only after readjustment did it improve. At a time when we suffered serious interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the whole national economy was in a state of semianarchy. The proportional

relations among various branches of the national economy were seriously disrupted. The pace of economic development slowed down. There was just no progress at all for a few years. We paid a heavy price then for disproportionate relations. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our economy has revived and developed and achieved substantial results. However, the serious imbalance in the national economy has not been completely redressed. This manifests itself chiefly in agriculture falling behind industry, light industry falling behind heavy industry, raw materials falling behind processing, the fuel and energy industry falling behind other industries, and consumption falling behind accumulation. If such a situation is not changed, the pace of economic development cannot be quickened. Even if there is progress, it cannot be sustained. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We have made many detours. But mistakes often lead to correctness." ("Reform Our Study") We have already had 30 years of both positive and negative experiences that have been very valuable. To speed up the realization of the four modernizations, enable the national economy to develop in a rapid and sustained manner and avoid the repetition of serious fluctuations, we must learn from previous lessons. We must be determined to readjust the national economy well and combine restructuring, consolidation and improvement with an effort toward an overall balance. We have many years of a planned economy behind us. Many comrades do not really understand what an overall balance is. For instance, for a long period one-sided attention was paid to iron and steel production in industry, with the result that light, textile and other industries were neglected. This affected the life of the people. The iron and steel industry also did not show rational and rapid development. In agriculture, one-sided attention was paid to grain production, with the result that other economic crops and forestry, livestock breeding, fishing and so forth were neglected. Grain also did not show the development it should have. In formulating plans, too much stress was laid on people's subjective activism, and no proper attention was paid to achieving an overall balance. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. We must be good at discovering and testing truth through practice, so that our subjective thinking can be relatively compatible with objective reality and our plans can also be better geared to objective economic laws.

This year's national economic plan is one for readjustment. It is of great significance in successfully readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. Almost 7 months of the year are now gone. It remains a very arduous task to fulfill or overfulfill this year's plan in an overall manner. To accomplish this we must extensively arouse the masses and penetratingly unfold an increase-production and economy movement. Some people lack an adequate understanding of the great significance of the increase-production and economy movement and even put it in opposition to the readjustment of the national economy. They therefore fail to tackle the job in a serious and down-to-earth manner. This is completely wrong. Such a phenomenon must be quickly changed.

The increase-production and economy movement is a fundamental guideline for socialist construction. For our country, with its vast area, large population and weak foundation, socialist construction must be carried out chiefly by relying on our own strength and by persistently relying on our own resources and fighting amidst hardship. To extensively and penetratingly unfold an increase-production and economy movement allows us to give full play to the socialist activism and creativity of the masses and to not only tap new sources of revenue but also husband existing resources. We can thus insure the smooth development of various fields of endeavor in socialist construction. Since the founding of the state we have launched many increase-production and economy movements, effectively stimulating and insuring the triumphant advance of the socialist cause. In socialist modernization today we must unfold an increase-production and economy movement more extensively and penetratingly.

Increasing production and practicing economy is inseparable from the readjustment of the national economy. With the unfolding of an increase-production and economy movement, the output of products is increased, their quality improved, their variety enlarged, their material consumption lowered and financial income raised. Various proportional relations in the national economy can thus be readjusted relatively easily. Difficulties encountered in various fields can also be solved with relative ease. If we readjust the national economy in the absence of an increase-production and economy movement, we will lack a mass basis and encounter still more difficulties. Similarly, if we launch an increase-production and economy movement without readjusting the national economy, we will lose our bearings and will hardly be able to make it last or achieve relatively satisfactory economic results. Only by linking the increase-production and economy movement with the readjustment of the national economy can we give better play to the role of the increase-production and economy movement in readjusting the national economy and fulfilling this year's plan.

The increase-production and economy movement must be guided by a clear-cut objective. Since the beginning of this year our industrial and communications fronts have done a large amount of work and achieved a great deal as regards the quality of products, variety, material consumption, and so forth. However, the situation marked by the poor quality of products, little variety and heavy material consumption has still not been fundamentally reversed. Progress has been made in making up deficits and increasing surpluses. Such work as stocktaking and clearing storehouses of unwanted stocks. However, progress has been slow. In the whole country, the deficits of one-third of the provinces, municipalities and regions are still increasing, with no reductions at all. Their unwanted stocks of rolled steel, machines and electrical and other products have registered a constant increase. As a result, the profits realized by industrial enterprises throughout the country have fallen behind the growth of output value, which affects the financial

income of the state. All this is unfavorable to the readjustment of the national economy. In unfolding an increase-production and economy movement centering on high output, fine quality, more variety and lower material consumption, various units must pay attention to investigation and study, closely link reality with the formulation of effective measures and launch a mass socialist labor emulation drive and a campaign to put rational suggestions forward. They must achieve a higher production level and a higher financial income on the basis of better quality, more variety and lower material consumption.

In the increase-production and economy movement we must take special measures to stimulate the development of light industrial products. Light industry has a direct bearing on the life of the people, the worker-peasant alliance, foreign exchange earnings and reserve funds. For a long time there has not been much of a change in the situation of light industry falling behind other industries. This is a weak link in the current national economy. If we do not try to relieve shortages in this regard, we cannot basically redress the imbalance in the national economy. We must also note that in the second half of this year, with an increase in the income of peasants and workers, there will be a relatively large gap between social purchasing power and available supplies of commodities. More light industrial products, textile goods and electronic products are to be turned out. Various areas must take resolute measures to make available more funds, fuels and raw materials--especially coal, electricity and oil--to meet the needs of the development of light industry. Meanwhile, heavy industry and war production departments must make full use of their own production capacity and of odds and ends and accumulated stocks of materials to produce industrial products for everyday use or something close to handicraft articles to meet market needs.

To speed up the development of light industry, we must seriously establish proper connections between commerce and industry. The process of socialist reproduction involves such links as production, distribution, exchange and consumption. If any of these links is not taken care of properly, the development of production will suffer. Commerce and industry must support each other and cooperate closely. Industrial departments must be guided by market needs in organizing production and keep commercial departments adequately supplied with things that are needed. Commercial departments must help industrial departments in arranging production. They must procure what is produced by industrial departments in a planned manner. Those products not purchased by commercial departments and trial-manufactured new products should be made available to the relevant factories, so that they can sell such goods on their own account or on a trial basis at prices based on the state's pricing policy. In light industry, collectively owned undertakings account for a great percentage of the total. In the past, due to interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people had many erroneous ideas about collective ownership practiced in cities.

Now is the time to turn chaos into order. Both collective ownership and ownership by the whole people belong to the socialist economy. They exist side by side in the period of socialism. We cannot stress ownership by the whole people to the neglect of collective ownership. We must put the collective economy on the same footing politically, and economically we must carry out the principle of more pay for more work. All collectively owned enterprises that are run well and have a good income should be allowed to add to their workers' wages and collective welfare schemes after allowing for taxes and reserve funds, or even to carry what is added beyond the limits of enterprises owned by the whole people in the same trade. In no way should we freely impose exacting demands on collectively owned enterprises. Still less can we freely use "transition" as an excuse.

The increase-production and economy movement depends mainly on the ability of existing enterprises to tap their own potential and on their restructuring and improvement work. Existing enterprises provide the basis for the realization of the four modernizations and are the starting point in readjusting the national economy. Our country has built a relatively complete industrial system with over 300,000 enterprises. We must make full use of the existing industrial foundation, apply existing advanced technology to the technical transformation of old enterprises, combine the introduction of advanced foreign technology with reliance on our own efforts in the technical transformation of old enterprises, make up the deficiencies of old enterprises, overcome weak links, make comprehensive use of available resources, unfold a mass movement to put rational suggestions forward, and insist on technical innovation and transformation. So long as we do this, we can use the minimum of funds to achieve the maximum of economic results and use old equipment to achieve a new level for the 1970's. This is a way to develop industrial production with greater, faster, better and more economic results. Production and construction plans in industry and communications should be arranged in the order of production, tapping potentials, reform and transformation, and capital construction. Production must precede capital construction. Old enterprises must first tap their own potential and reform and transform themselves before building new factories.

The increase-production and economy movement must also be linked with the restructuring of economic management systems and the consolidation of enterprises. In economic management we must combine the interests of the state and enterprises with the individual interests of workers in correctly carrying out the principle of distribution according to labor and solving the problem of enterprise workers getting the same pay for more or less work, the same pay for a good or bad job and the same pay regardless of business results. The aim is to give full play to the enthusiasm of enterprises and workers. To do economic work well we must direct efforts toward restructuring economic management systems. Sichuan Province has granted over 100 enterprises the right to self-determination on an experimental basis this year. Conspicuous results

have been achieved: 1) Production has developed with an increase in profits; 2) the quality of products has shown a marked improvement; and 3) the pace of technical transformation has been accelerated. We should promote the spirit of being bold in practice, make reform our goal, and continue adding to these experimental points to achieve still more results in increasing production and practicing economy.

In reforming systems we must develop specialized cooperation in a planned and systematic manner and organize specialized companies or enterprises, joint companies and factories to change the backward production organization pattern of being "big and comprehensive" and "small and comprehensive" and create new social productive forces. No effort should be spared in consolidating enterprises. Improving the management level of enterprises is an important link in increasing production and practicing economy. Facts show that all those enterprises that have been consolidated well and are marked by good results in learning from Daqing have a revolutionary leading group and a dynamic worker contingent, show stability and unity, follow orderly production and work patterns and display the enthusiasm of marching toward modernization; they thus achieve quick progress in production. We must continue to consolidate enterprises well, strengthen ideological and political work, do a good job of scientific and democratic management and learn how to ask for higher production out of management and more savings out of management.

The readjustment of the national economy and the continuous unfolding of an increase-production and economy movement are practical actions in achieving the four modernizations. To concentrate energies on achieving the four modernizations, we must first enthusiastically unfold an increase-production and economy movement. Time is pressing and the task is arduous. We must devote every effort to developing industrial and agricultural production and developing the national economy. The first battle in the four modernizations must get off to a good start as we greet the 30th anniversary of the founding of the state!

CSO: 4004

PROPERLY HANDLE FARMLAND CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION IN A DOWN-TO-EARTH MANNER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 28-30

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] In his government work report at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "To modernize agriculture by stages it is necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm and creativity of 800 million peasants, develop the superiority of the collective economy, continue to foster the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and strive for sustained, large-scale increases in agricultural production." The development of agriculture, the foundation of the national economy, is a task of primary importance during the 3-year period of national economic readjustment. To accelerate the pace of agricultural development we must continue to implement the principles and policies adopted by the third plenum of the party Central Committee. Many difficult tasks have to be completed. One important task confronting us today is that of concentrating our efforts on developing farmland capital construction as rapidly as possible. With this end in view, the party Central Committee and the State Council recently convened the National Conference on Farmland Capital Construction to unify understanding of specific policies and make proper arrangements. In upholding the spirit of this conference and on the basis of summarizing our experience in agricultural development, we must be prepared ideologically, organizationally and materially to organize a new upsurge in farmland capital construction across the land beginning this winter and through next spring.

Since the founding of the PRC 30 years ago we have gained abundant experience in agricultural development. The proper handling of farmland capital construction is an important experience. Farmland capital construction has been developed by stages following the introduction of collectivization and after hundreds of millions of peasants freed themselves from the shackles imposed by the old relations of production. With the development of farm production, the scale of farmland capital construction has constantly expanded, and new methods of farmland improvement have been adopted. More and more localities have proceeded to transform and utilize hills, rivers, fields, forests and roads on an



overall basis instead of embarking on any one project in isolation. As a result of improving farming conditions, large areas of stable, high-yield fields have been assured regardless of waterlogging and drought. Throughout the country there are now more than 84,000 reservoirs of different sizes, irrigated and drained by machinery and equipment using 64 million horsepower and benefiting more than 5,200 farms of at least 10,000 mu in acreage. Nearly half the country's arable land is under irrigation, while two-thirds of the fields threatened by waterlogging and another two-thirds with saline soil have either been improved or corrected. The initial improvement of farming conditions has contributed significantly to greater resistance to the havoc caused by natural disasters and to expanded reproduction. Despite last year's serious drought, the country's total grain production exceeded 600 billion jin, breaking the peak record achieved in the past. This was an increase in output whose match was rare since the founding of the PRC and is closely related to the farmland capital construction program. This fully demonstrates that the vigorous and proper handling of farmland capital construction is an important measure in promoting the development of our country's agriculture. Where farmland improvement has been properly handled, resistance to the onslaught of natural disasters tends to increase. This will speed up agricultural development and maintain stability in the countryside. This is as true for any one commune or production brigade and team as it is for any one county or province. It is impossible to accomplish farmland capital construction in a year or so; it must be undertaken doggedly year after year until effective results are achieved.

To handle farmland capital construction in a more down-to-earth manner, it is necessary to summarize our experience in farmland improvement. After many years of practice it is safe to say that the experience we have gained from many communes and production brigades and teams as well as from some counties and prefectures has been augmented by that gained from other larger units. Such experience is to be highly treasured. At the same time, it is obvious to everyone that because of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and as a result of shortcomings and mistakes in management, there are cases in which those in charge of programs have adopted measures that are against natural and economic laws. We should draw lessons from these problems and guard against their recurrence. By earnestly and realistically summarizing both positive and negative experiences and refraining from resting content with our accomplishments and from being overcautious after an unpleasant experience, we will be able to confirm our achievements, correct our shortcomings, keep advancing and achieve good results.

We should affirm that farmland capital construction is part of our country's current commitment to modernizing agriculture. The modernization of agriculture must be based on China's characteristics and proceed from its actual conditions. Our country has a large population and limited arable land. There is not much wasteland that can be reclaimed, and

natural disasters occur frequently. As a result, farming conditions are unstable. Generally speaking, besides reclaiming wasteland in a planned way, we must properly handle farmland capital construction over a fairly prolonged period through hard work and diligence and by relying on the country's 300 million farm laborers. This is aimed at improving farming conditions and raising per-unit yield. By following the tradition of close planting and meticulous cultivation, it is possible for high-yield regions to give still higher yields and for low-yield areas to increase their resistance to the onslaught of natural calamities and to give stable, high yields regardless of drought and waterlogging. Some comrades believe that the modernization of agriculture does not require the diversion of massive efforts to improve farming conditions. This is an erroneous view. The modernization of agriculture calls for the mechanization and electrification of farming, the production of chemical fertilizers, the building of irrigation works, the nurturing of fine seeds and the afforestation of large tracts of land. Enlarging irrigation facilities, improving soil, planting trees and building grasslands are important parts of farmland capital construction. If these problems are not solved, even the mechanization of agriculture, the production of chemical fertilizers and the nurturing of fine seeds will be of no avail as far as their effective applications are concerned. The modernization of agriculture therefore must depend on farmland capital construction to improve farming conditions. The two are interrelated and interdependent and complement rather than contradict each other. To put the modernization of agriculture in opposition to farmland capital construction is not in keeping with actual conditions.

To properly handle farmland capital construction it is necessary to respect objective economic laws and earnestly implement the party's specific policies. Improving farming conditions has a bearing on the relationships among the state, the collective and individual commune members. Only by firmly implementing the party's specific policies will it be possible to fully mobilize the enthusiasm and initiative of commune members. It is necessary to correctly handle the proportionate relationships among agricultural departments, between production and construction and between consumption and accumulation so as to achieve unified planning and overall arrangement. While farmland capital construction serves current production programs, it is aimed at accumulating labor for later expanded reproduction. For the sake of long-range interests, more should be accumulated as far as possible without overtaxing the capabilities of communes and production teams, and not at the expense of current production tasks and the daily necessities of commune members. Experience gained in various localities shows that sufficient labor should be reserved for current production tasks. About 30 percent of labor should generally be allocated to seasonal construction work, while 5 percent should be set aside for year-round construction teams. Naturally, consideration should be given to differing conditions that exist in the north and south, in mountainous regions or plains, populated areas with less arable land or less populated areas with abundant land, as well as areas where farming conditions differ.

Since a production team is small, cooperation on a wider scale is called for in many engineering projects that are to be undertaken within the framework of farmland capital construction. Judging from past experience, what is important in coordination is to uphold the principle of voluntary participation, the promotion of mutual benefits and the exchange of equal values. Respecting the rights of self-determination of communes and production teams and strengthening coordination among participating units are also important in properly handling the relationships among the groups. Projects that can be undertaken by communes, brigades and teams which will benefit from their completion should not as a rule be built with labor from communes, brigades and teams which will receive no benefit. Projects that can be constructed, section by section, by the participating production brigades or teams should follow as far as possible "unified planning under which the production teams fight battles for their own benefit, carry out construction at nearby sites and return home for dinner." However, without coordinated efforts between production teams and communes and between counties, it is impossible to undertake farmland capital construction projects conceived on a larger scale, such as harnessing rivers and building reservoirs. In organizing such efforts it is necessary that the ownership rights of communes, production brigades and teams as well as their rights of self-determination be fully respected. Consideration should then be given to promoting the communist spirit and properly handling socialist coordination. Finally, importance should be attached to implementing the principles of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and exchange of equal values so as to achieve democratic consultation and a rational division of responsibilities among those who are to benefit from a generally acceptable distribution. The appropriate period for reaping such benefits should be about 3 years. Production brigades and teams which work on such projects but do not benefit from them should be compensated with workpoints or in other ways. In improving farming conditions in many areas in the past, some brigades or teams followed the practice of contributing labor or money in support of other brigades or teams without receiving any benefits in return. We should give these units, particularly poor brigades or teams, vigorous support and special consideration to help them increase farm production. As long as we persist in doing this, the masses will welcome this mutually beneficial form of coordination, which will obviate the need for egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfers of manpower, land, draft animals, farm tools, funds, and so forth.

Improving farming conditions is like battling with nature. In this great struggle we should act according to circumstances and emphasize results. The natural world has its own objective laws which are based on complex factors. We must respect natural laws and seek truth from facts in integrating our revolutionary drive with a scientific approach. If things are not done scientifically and if a subjective approach and reckless direction are resorted to, not only will people be harassed and money wasted but harmful effects will result. For many years various

areas have drawn profound lessons from this experience. Agriculture must be developed in conjunction with the biological environment to achieve an overall ecological balance. Under no circumstances should this balance be upset in improving farming conditions. In transforming and utilizing hills, rivers, fields, forests and roads on an overall basis, particular attention should be paid to the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, sideline production and fishery. In developing forestry as fully as possible we should be mindful of such factors as water and soil conservation, planting trees over large tracts of land and expanding the forest cover. To develop livestock breeding as far as possible it is necessary to improve irrigation facilities in pastoral areas and strengthen construction of the grasslands. To develop fishery on an extensive scale it is necessary to preserve and tap new water sources and build more fish ponds. It is also necessary to build small hydroelectric powerplants in the rural areas according to local conditions, explore new water sources and use them to increase power supplies for agricultural purposes. To improve farming conditions in some areas, reckless actions have often been taken to reclaim wasteland by destroying afforested and pastoral areas and to convert lakes into fields. As a result, the ecological balance has been upset. In terms of initial results, this practice may bring some temporary benefits, but in the long run dire consequences will result. Eventually, punishment in the form of natural disasters will overtake us, so we must not repeat these mistakes.

Working out a scientific, practical scheme on the basis of objective reality is of paramount importance in properly handling farmland capital construction in a down-to-earth manner. Our country's natural conditions are very complicated, and there can be great differences within one province or even within a county. If there is no planning, or if the plans that have been drawn up are not practical, embarking recklessly on construction projects will result in losses. All provinces, prefectures, counties, communes, production brigades and teams must integrate their efforts to improve farming conditions with agricultural zoning and basin planning. They should ascertain the principal contradiction in developing agriculture adapted to local conditions in order to determine the direction of their efforts. They should also give consideration to rearrangement plans worked out on an overall basis, embodying both short-term and long-range goals. The formulation of a scientific, practical plan is helpful in mobilizing and concentrating manpower, material and financial resources on projects that will be completed and put into operation in the same year construction starts or as soon as possible. During the 3 years of readjustment, plans should stress continuation of existing projects requiring matched ancillary works and consolidated bases, so the engineering projects can become productive as quickly as possible. The goal in the next 3 years is to build a number of stable, high-yield fields regardless of waterlogging and drought. Water conservancy projects must strictly follow capital construction schemes. In this respect, professional work and operational guidance must be

strengthened. It is imperative that particular attention be given to the proper management and use of existing engineering installations. Management organizations run on a sound basis should be set up, with responsibility determined at each level, to insure the safety of the installations and their optimum effectiveness. Since this is particularly needed in currently developing agricultural production, we must insist on achieving practical results in our work.

To speed up agricultural development as far as possible and by a big margin, we must have fortitude and drive and do more effective work in farmland capital construction. Along with the peasant masses, rural cadres have contributed significantly to transforming the country's natural features, its mountains and rivers, and developing agriculture. Leading cadres at all levels should go to the first line of agricultural production, participate in labor, conduct investigation and study and direct battles for production. They should also help the cadres and masses summarize experience and solve problems in a timely way. Guided by correct policies and supported by the state and other quarters, we can fully tap our country's manpower and material potentials and do more effective work in farmland capital construction in a more down-to-earth manner. In modernizing China's agriculture, farmland capital construction will assuredly demonstrate its role.

CSO: 4004

## JUDICIAL WORKERS MUST FIRST STUDY LAW TO CARRY OUT LAWS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 31-34

[Article by Jiang Hua [3068 5478]]

[Text] The second session of the Fifth NPC examined and approved the organic law of the local people's congresses and the local people's governments, the electoral law for the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses, the organic law of the people's courts and the organic law of the people's procuratorates, the criminal law, the law of criminal procedures, and the law on joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investments. Rarely has the NPC at one session examined and approved so many important laws, including such basic laws as the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure, in the 30-year history of the building of our legal system. Our country has taken a big step forward in strengthening and improving the socialist legal system. This is a great event in the political life of our people. After this session, the NPC Standing Committee will quicken the pace of legislation and continue to make various laws so that the socialist legal system can be gradually perfected. Thus, the building of our socialist legal system has entered a new stage.

At this great turning point in history, when the focus of the whole country's work has been shifted to modernization, the formulation and promulgation of these seven laws was needed to consolidate and develop the proletarian state system, forestall the restoration of counter-revolution and insure the realization of the four modernizations. This is a concentrated manifestation of the people's desire for stability, order and law. By grasping these legal weapons, our judicial workers can better handle future contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, wage struggle against counterrevolutionaries and other criminal elements, protect the personal, democratic and other rights of citizens and exercise dictatorship over the enemy. This is cause for jubilation for our judicial workers.

The promulgation of these laws has given judicial work a big boost. In particular, our people's courts have been given laws as a basis and rules

and regulations as a guide. However, it should be noted that actual conditions on our judicial front are not in line with the demands of a strengthened socialist legal system and those of the people of the whole country. This is a noteworthy problem. Subjectively speaking, our judicial force has long been limited in number and short on quality. Especially during the 10 years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, the people's courts suffered serious organizational sabotage. Serious internal injuries were also inflicted on the judicial force. This aggravated a situation marked by a small judicial force of poor quality.

As far as the judicial contingent is concerned, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to its growth. In a closing speech at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Chairman Le Jianying emphatically pointed out: "It is imperative to further strengthen the judicial front." "We must transfer an adequate number of fine cadres to reinforce the judicial department." Therefore, we must now pay particular attention to the poor quality of the judicial contingent. Poor quality is reflected in two fields: First, the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftist line has still far from been eliminated among our judicial contingent. Factionalism, anarchism, and so forth are still exerting their influence in many areas. Secondly and more importantly, with idealism long dominating the scene and "metaphysics spreading unchecked," some people have not followed a sufficiently correct line. The appearance of certain erroneous ideas in reviewing trumped-up charges and wrong verdicts is a concrete manifestation of this incorrect line. With an incorrect ideological line, we cannot see a situation in its true perspective. Nor can we carry out policy resolutely. When we suffer the first setback, we are likely to lose our bearings and our confidence. With an incorrect ideological line, we cannot keep up with the times. Nor can we head for the front unencumbered to join the new expedition undertaken under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. With an incorrect ideological line, we cannot study law well. Nor can we carry out laws well. Simply put, the ideological line means the persistent seeking of truth from facts, combining theory with practice and taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. We must strengthen reeducation among judicial cadres and especially give proper additional lessons about the discussion of the criterion of truth. We must further unify the thinking of judicial cadres and policemen in line with the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

On the other hand, certain judicial workers do not completely understand law and fail to handle cases strictly according to the law. Of the existing judicial workers, about two-thirds have been assigned to courts since the Great Cultural Revolution. Many do not have systematic legal knowledge and lack experience in judging cases. Some even make a practice of ignoring existing laws. This erroneous approach to law has developed as a result of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Another one-third of the judicial workers have become rusty in their legal knowledge after 10 troubled years, even though they have many years of judicial work behind them. The drive or enthusiasm that some comrades displayed in studying legal matters in the 1950's has almost spent itself. Moreover, the phenomenon of some judicial workers not understanding law and not acting according to the law did not begin with the Great Cultural Revolution. We just cannot ignore the law now in handling cases, as we did in the past. The litigants and the masses will otherwise find grounds for complaint. They have the right to demand that we try cases according to law. To basically change such a situation and considerably raise the professional level of the whole body of judicial workers and improve the quality of trying cases, the leading comrades at all levels must be determined to exert every effort and adopt drastic measures. Only in this way can we achieve results.

The development of the objective situation has made both exacting and urgent demands on our judicial workers. By exacting demands we mean the demands imposed on the judicial workers by the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, that is, "be guided by existing law, be strict in enforcing it and bring to justice anyone who breaks it." In his closing speech at the second session of the Fifth NPC, Chairman Ye Jianying also made very exacting demands on us: Law "must have stability and continuity and great authority." The courts "should be absolutely faithful to state laws and systems and to the truth of facts and carry out judicial work independently." "Cadres of judicial organs must maintain close ties with the masses, strengthen investigation and study and become fair, impartial and brave judicial fighters." It must be noted that to maintain the great authority of laws we must rely not only on the 900 million people to consciously observe laws and supervise their enforcement but also on our judicial workers to strictly handle cases according to the law and correctly apply the legal weapons to protect the people, strike at the enemy and punish criminals. Thus, we are urgently required to really understand the few laws that have been promulgated and grasp their spiritual essence. Only in this way can we handle cases according to the law. It should also be noted that in trying cases independently the court often meets with interference from some influential people. What should be done about this? The answer depends on whether our judicial workers really understand law, obey it instead of bowing to pressure and have the capacity and courage to eliminate any interference and the courage to sacrifice themselves to justice. It can be seen that, to do a good job in observing the law, enforcing it, bringing any lawbreakers to justice, maintaining the great authority of law and insuring the court's independence in trying cases, we must have judicial fighters well suited for the job. We must have an adequate understanding of this. We must deeply understand the historical mission with which we are charged. We must deeply realize that the party and the people have fervent expectations of us.



The urgent demands of the objective situation are also not difficult to understand. Of the seven laws promulgated this time, those most closely related to the people's courts are the organic law of the people's courts, the organic law of the people's procuratorates, the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure. These several laws will take effect on 1 January next year. In less than half a year our courts must make the necessary preparations to enforce these laws. The time is really pressing. The leading comrades of people's courts at various levels must act immediately, take special and decisive measures, rely on the help of party committees and the masses, and do all the work that is necessary to implement these laws in a planned and systematic manner.

There is a lot of preparatory work to do. However, the most important and urgent of all is the matter of raising the understanding of the whole body of judicial workers of the importance of strengthening the legal system, so that everyone will study law hard and really try to understand it. Some judicial workers do not study law or understand it and encounter many problems in judicial work. They have even been the cause of many ridiculous things. They fail to distinguish between what is a crime and what is not, between a crime and a mistake, and between political mistakes and ideological problems. How can they exercise any judgment? The appearance of large numbers of trumped-up charges and false accusations in recent years has mainly been the result of the disruption of the legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But this also has much to do with the failure of some of our comrades to study law, understand it and act according to it. Meanwhile, we must not only study law and professional matters but study well and try to understand the communique of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the documents of the second session of the Fifth NPC, "Certain Criteria for Political Life in the Party" formulated by the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline and other documents in order to keep in touch with reality, sum up experiences and lessons, unfold criticism and self-criticism, eliminate the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," follow the correct ideological line and insure the proper enforcement of laws.

To study and understand law, we must turn chaos into order ideologically and remove all ideological obstacles.

1. Failure to take law seriously. Ours is a country which was long ruled by feudalism. Though we have scored a thorough victory in the new democratic revolutionary movement followed by a great victory in socialist revolution, the influence of feudal despotic thinking and patriarchal practices still exists and will exist for a fairly long time to come. The deep-seated historical or social reason for this is that people look down on the law. In old China the Kuomintang's "The Complete Volume of Six Laws" and its judicial system were the people's shackles. The people naturally hated and opposed such laws. With the founding of the new China, the bogus constitution and bogus laws were thoroughly abolished.

In the judicial reform we further criticized old legal viewpoints and old legal practices. Such a way of smashing the old state machinery and eliminating the legal viewpoint of the exploiting class is an important and very necessary part of our socialist revolution. However, some people have developed certain wrong ideas. To them it seems that, with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, laws only "bind our hands and feet" and are "a source of trouble" and "something nonessential." They also think that "policy can take the place of law." The advocate of such a wrong idea of legal nihilism confuses the difference in principle between two kinds of law that are basically different in class nature and fails to understand their different roles in history. The capitalist state's laws are naturally indispensable in maintaining and developing the capitalist system. How, then, can our socialist state's laws be nonessential in maintaining and developing the socialist system? Was it not true that Lin Biao and the "gang of four," doing as they wished and trampling upon the legal system, availed themselves of the imperfection of our legal system and the people's weak concept of the legal system? The people now want peace and law. The four modernizations need legal protection. It will be especially wrong if our judicial workers should continue to take law lightly.

2. Becoming fearful at the mention of law. In the 30 years since the founding of the state, the building of our legal system has been marked by an extremely tortuous road. When the party's correct line was carried out, legislative work boomed and judicial work showed remarkable results. When the party's correct line suffered interference and disruption, legislative work, like all other fronts, showed an obvious state of chaos and stagnation. For instance, some comrades who stressed maintaining the solemnity of law were accused of "putting law above everything" and "using the law to oppose the party." They became so confused that they did not know what to do. Also, some comrades who did what a lawyer should and must for their defendants in their sole capacity as lawyers were accused of "compromising the class stand," "favoring the defendant" or "shielding counterrevolutionaries." They suffered politically from serious attack and could not lead a normal life for many years. Certain comrades, who did not yield to the incorrect views of individual leaders in matters of judgment or exercised the necessary legal restraint on fraternal departments out of a revolutionary sense of responsibility, were accused of this or that and victimized. In addition, many others were implicated. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, the principles clearly set forth in the constitution about independent trial and equality of everyone before the law were criticized, to say nothing at all of what was done to victimize judicial workers. All these comrades suffered precisely because they persisted in trying cases according to the law. Other comrades also became ideologically confused and could not distinguish between right and wrong. Thus, for a fairly long time everyone equated law with the bourgeoisie and felt that without understanding law we could handle cases just the same. It also seemed to everyone that if we understood law we would only

be prone to make mistakes. We should now conduct widespread publicity and education about the legal system and foster the social practice of studying and discussing law and observing it. Among the judicial workers, we should especially demand a comprehensive grasp of legal knowledge and strict compliance with the law in trying cases. Some comrades who were framed and victimized in carrying out laws should be exonerated. In the future we must take legal knowledge as an important criterion in assessing judicial workers.

3. Obeying what others say rather than the law. By obeying what others say we mean basing ourselves on the words of those leaders who have power and who can put direct pressure on judicial workers. Why should we obey the subjective and dogmatic orders of individual leaders that are unrelated to party policy and state law, rather than the laws made under the leadership of the party Central Committee that represent the will and the greatest interests of the people of the whole country? Subjectively speaking, is this not out of fear of offending certain individual leaders? In the final analysis, this is an ideological line problem. Without ridding ourselves of the idea of obeying what others say rather than obeying the law, we just cannot become fair, impartial and brave judicial fighters. Of course, we should obey what a leader says. However, obedience depends on whether his opinions on judicial work correspond with what party policy and state laws say. If his opinions do, we should obey them. If they do not, then we should not obey them blindly. We must adhere to principle and correct mistakes. In handling cases we should be absolutely faithful to state laws and systems and to the truth of facts. This is to say that we must insist on living up to the principle we often mention: "Take facts as a basis and laws as the criterion." To handle cases in line with formulated laws under the leadership of the party, conduct independent trials and obey nothing but the law is a concrete manifestation of obeying party leadership on the judicial front.

Only by removing these ideological obstacles can we accept the matter of studying law and understanding it. Otherwise, even if we cry still louder about the need to study law, we will run the risk of doing nothing concrete to enforce it.

To study law, judicial workers should set themselves still more exacting demands. To correctly enforce the law in handling cases, they must not only understand the concrete rules prescribed by law but know the essence of law. It is imperative to observe the law in trying cases. Only by really understanding law can we combine trials with reliance on the masses to investigate, study and closely analyze different complicated matters and their relations to the case concerned and achieve the aim of correctly handling cases.

To achieve this aim we must further consolidate and strengthen the judicial contingent and reeducate the cadres during the readjustment

of the national economy. Beginning this year, the higher people's courts at provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels must strive to give cadres at and above the level of assistant judges rotational training within a period of around 3 years. Apart from training cadres in political science and law according to original plans, institutes of political science and law in various areas must do their best to give rotational training to certain numbers of cadres at and above the levels of assistant judicial workers and assistant procurators in people's courts and procuratorates in various areas. Those who cannot immediately get away from their jobs to study must work and study at the same time. We must also pay close and proper attention to the study efforts of large numbers of cadres transferred to work on the judicial front.

To study and understand law is to enforce it. We must now pay particular attention to the following several problems:

1. We must establish and improve various judicial systems and procedures according to the stipulations in the law. An open trial is the core of judicial activities. Except under three sets of circumstances prescribed by the law, we must conduct such trials universally. All practices contrary to the law must be given up. Extorting confessions as a basis of punishment and other similar methods of trying cases in particular must be resolutely banned.
2. In convicting people of crimes and passing sentences, we must act strictly according to the law. We cannot defy the stipulations about crimes prescribed in the criminal law, drawing a line of distinction between what is a crime and what is not according to our own wishes. Nor can we ignore the proper sentences prescribed in the criminal law, passing heavy or light sentences as we like. Where the principle of reasoning by analogy prescribed in the criminal law is applicable, we must also act according to its stipulations.
3. The various rights of litigants stipulated in the law must be safeguarded in a practical way. We must pay particular attention to safeguarding a defendant's exercise of his own rights in criminal cases. If he persists in defending himself, we cannot accuse him of "adhering to a reactionary stand" and "refusing to confess." Still less can we thus impose a heavier sentence. The proper demands and legitimate interests of litigants in civil cases must also be safeguarded.
4. The rights of investigation, prosecution and trial in criminal cases must be exercised by the public security organ, the people's procuratorate and the people's court, respectively. Responsibilities must be shared in a given job. Mutual cooperation and restraint are necessary to insure the accurate and effective enforcement of the law. In the past, some courts got involved in investigations or pretrials or made judicial decisions without trials. All such practices were against the law and must be resolutely corrected.

5. Being subjected to criticism and roundabout struggle, convicted in a roundabout way or paraded in the streets before the public, and other practices that insult a defendant's dignity and encroach upon his personal rights are all illegal and must be banned. In the past, to act in coordination with the "center," catch up with "the situation," and promote a "campaign," some areas kept busy with more cases than actually existed, attached undue importance to certain cases and freely imposed heavier sentences on defendants, so that there were many trumped-up charges and wrong convictions. All these practices must be corrected.

6. It is stipulated in the organic law of the people's courts: "The people's court devotes all its activities to educating the citizens, so that the latter can be loyal to the socialist motherland and consciously obey the constitution and the law." Strengthening publicity and education about the legal system among the cadres and the masses of people is an important task for the whole party and the entire country in the second half of this year. People's courts at various levels must take the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and the organic law of the people's courts as the main part of an education program. They must act in cooperation with the relevant departments and adopt various means and ways to do a good job in publicity and education work, so that every family and every person can be made to understand.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, let us rely on the masses of people, be firm and unswerving in our efforts to study and enforce law well, and give our all to strengthening and improving the socialist legal system and safeguarding the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

## IT IS NECESSARY TO FOLLOW LAWS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 35-39

[Article by Huang Huoqing [7806 3499 7230]]

[Text] The adoption of seven important laws by the second session of the Fifth NPC is a major event in the Chinese people's political life and an important matter for our country's socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. It symbolizes that the building of the socialist legal system has entered a new stage.

Beginning this year, the focus of the nation's work has been shifted to socialist modernization. To accomplish this it is necessary to strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system under the prerequisite of upholding the four basic principles, namely, persevering in the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system has been called for to consolidate China's socialist system, lay a sound political foundation for carrying out socialist modernization in an atmosphere of stability and unity, fully mobilize the initiative and enthusiasm of people throughout the country for building socialism and effectively plug the serious loopholes in our country's political system which can be taken advantage of by conspirators like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in their attempts at counterrevolutionary restoration.

After the havoc caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the turbulent decade of the recent past, people have painfully realized the importance of a proper legal system to a socialist country. Without an effective legal system, the dictatorship of the proletariat could become the feudal, fascist dictatorship of careerists. The personal, democratic and other rights of the masses, including veteran cadres who fought north and south, are not always secure. If evildoers and lawlessness are not held in check, what kind of society will this become and what socialist modernization can be undertaken? The party and people have drawn lessons from harsh reality. The popular feeling now is for law and order, because over the past years people have had enough of lawlessness.

The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee provided clear guidelines for instituting and putting the socialist legal system on a sound basis. This means that "it is necessary to follow laws where they are enacted and to strictly enforce them and prosecute lawbreakers." We must earnestly implement this guideline so as to put the socialist legal system on a relatively sound basis.

Speaking of following those laws that have been enacted, we recall the institution of the CPPCC's "common program" in the early stages following the founding of the PRC. This was followed by the publication of the marriage law, the land reform law, the trade unions law, the rules for punishing counterrevolutionaries, those for punishing corruption, provisional measures for supervision of counterrevolutionaries, regulations on reform through labor as well as laws and decrees concerning labor protection, autonomy for minority regions and control over privately run enterprises. In 1954 Comrade Mao Zedong personally took charge of the formulation of China's first constitution and five other important organic laws. However, our laws are very inadequate. Until now, important laws have not been enacted, nor has publicity and education on the socialist legal system been conducted properly. The practice of using spoken words as laws and that of "what I say is law" and "what I say means rescinding the law" have prevailed to a rather serious extent. Some cases have often been handled by people according to their own interpretations of the relevant policies. These law enforcers are liable to be influenced by political sentiments once political campaigns have been launched. As a result, they are prone to err in interpreting laws and may even break the restraints of law.

The adoption of seven important laws by the second session of the Fifth NPC means that China has finally started to set up a proper legal system, which of course still needs further improvement. Currently, the need to follow laws is a question of prime importance. We should admit that there were shortcomings in the past with regard to following laws. The serious interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for 10 years or so, along with the spread of dogmatic and anarchist practices, wiped out many people's concepts of law and discipline. The cadres and masses angrily denounced the wanton trampling of the legal system when careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power. When the new laws were published, the masses and cadres were dubious about the precise nature of the legal system. They would rather wait until the published laws are enforced before deciding what to do. Therefore, stress on the need to follow laws at this moment is of general and immediate significance. This has a bearing on our country's socialist institutions as well as on the credibility of the party and state, a matter of prime importance to all. At the time of the Shang Yang reform in ancient China, there was a story about Shang Yang's determination to win the confidence of the people in the laws he had instituted by "rewarding a person who removed a log." (Note: When Shang Yang drafted a new decree in 359 B.C., he had Duke Qin Xiaogong's endorsement

concerning its promulgation and enforcement. Shang feared that the people would not trust him and would flout the new decree. He then had a log placed in the south gate and announced that whoever could carry the log to the north gate would be given 10 taels of gold as a reward. Nobody did so because the people were skeptical of Shang's intentions. When the reward was increased to 50 taels, one tried and succeeded. As a result, Shang had the people's trust.) We have to do the same to win the public's trust regarding the new laws. The important thing is to make a good beginning before the new laws go into effect and to unyieldingly and strictly abide by them.

How can we abide by the laws that have been enacted?

First, it is necessary to conduct publicity and education on a broad scale about socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, so as to raise the cadres' and masses' concepts of democracy and the legal system.

Before the published laws go into effect on 1 January next year, it is necessary to publicize the study of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system among the people as extensively and penetratingly as possible until the criminal law, the code of criminal procedure, the electoral law and a number of organic laws become household words and are plain to everyone. Revolutionary cadres, and communists in particular, should pay attention to studying them. If the published laws are not studied and understood, it will be impossible to abide by and enforce them. It is therefore necessary to foster the practice of abiding by laws in society and to promote the moral concepts of taking pride in abiding by them and of feeling ashamed in breaking them. However, some people now abstain from acting in this way. They take pride and do not feel ashamed in breaking laws and going to excess. This is an abnormal mental outlook and must be corrected by strengthening their education and guidance.

Publicizing democracy and the legal system should not be confined to explaining the rules and regulations (this is, of course, necessary). Instead, it should be broadened to include the use of lively and diversified forms. The press and radio should play up talks and explanations of a popular nature, such as literary and stage programs. Both traditional Chinese operas like "Qin Xianglian" and "Fifteen Strings of Cash" and the newly adapted Shaoxing opera "Yan Zhi" are ideal for publicizing the legal system, because they are very popular with audiences. It is hoped that literary and art workers will make more contributions to publicizing socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

Publicizing the importance of democracy and the legal system should not be undertaken on the spur of the moment but should be carried out regularly, because displays of momentary enthusiasm in eliminating old



and fostering new practices will not produce lasting effects on the public. Education in democracy and the legal system should begin in preschool days and then be continued at primary and secondary education levels. This will enable primary and secondary school students in particular to understand that socialist citizens must abide by laws and uphold legal institutions. It is suggested that education departments consider adding "democracy and the legal system" to political subjects taught in primary and secondary schools.

Publicizing democracy and the legal system should be undertaken in the light of actual conditions. This means that various localities should vigorously prosecute typical cases of lawbreaking and make an example of the offenders. Such exemplary cases should then be used to vigorously publicize the legal system. At the same time, typical cases of abiding by laws should be commended.

Second, all communists and government functionaries should be models in observing laws.

It is required that cadres, the masses and in fact everyone abide by laws. This is particularly true for party cadres. Judging from the violators of law, who have caused more harmful consequences--the masses or the cadres? Facts have proven that it has been the cadres. It is therefore necessary to raise the consciousness of highly placed party cadres, in particular the consciousness of abiding by law so that everyone will follow laws.

Our laws represent our people's wishes and their greatest interests. They also express in a concentrated way the party's policies and views. It is therefore of paramount importance that all communists and government functionaries strictly abide by laws and take the lead in enforcing them. Law-abiding communists and cadres are those who subordinate themselves to the people's wishes and to party leadership. In other words, they uphold the people's greatest interests. To oppose and disrupt the law is to act against the people's wishes and oppose party leadership. This also impairs the people's greatest interests.

It should be admitted that some communists and government functionaries do not understand very clearly the integration of laws with the people's greatest interests and the integration of laws with the party's policies. They often neglect the state's legal system or disobey the laws. Some consider that doing things according to law is following fixed patterns. Some are used to acting arbitrarily and assert that what they say counts and is as good as law. Some set themselves apart from others and take pride in the contributions they have made; these people consider laws to be binding and restraining on others but not on themselves. In accomplishing tasks assigned by the state, many comrades sometimes place assigned jobs in opposition to the legal system, believing that they do not have to follow the law when they are called upon to accomplish tasks

and that they cannot complete the assigned jobs if they have to follow the law. Some comrades who prefer to do things the easy way are not happy about the restraints imposed by laws and discipline. As a result, they tend to ignore legal procedures when their work is in progress. A few cadres who hold power act on the spur of the moment, behaving subjectively and arbitrarily in contravention of laws and discipline and willfully infringing on citizen's personal, democratic and other rights. All these phenomena reflect bureaucratism and love of privilege to various degrees. China has a long feudal tradition. Feudal ideas have deeply influenced the cadres and masses. Love of privilege is in fact derived from the concept of feudal rulers who for several thousand years rode roughshod over their subjects, a concept which is diametrically unreconciled with the spirit of democracy and the legal system. All people are equal before the law. Within the order of democracy and the legal system it is impermissible for any privilege to exist. To recognize privilege is to recognize feudalism. We advocate living within the bounds of law and institutions. It is impermissible for anyone to go beyond these bounds. Lawbreakers should be brought before the law, and under no circumstances should they be sheltered and shielded, no matter how long they have worked, how high their positions or how great their contributions. We believe that if the cadres abide by laws the problem of the masses following them will be readily solved.

Third, it is necessary to expand and foster socialist democracy and fully promote the people's supervisory function over organs of the state, government functionaries and law enforcement.

Democracy is the basis of the legal system. Without a truly democratic system and without democratic centralism, careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could find an opening to usurp party and state power. Once they had succeeded in usurping leadership power, the laws would just become scraps of paper, no matter how perfect they were. Countries where coups have occurred can give a good account of what would actually happen. The basic problem confronting us is to continually improve and consolidate our institutions as a socialist country and the political system of democratic centralism, so that the loopholes which can be taken advantage of by careerists in their attempts to usurp power and disrupt the legal system as they please can be plugged. Our laws protect the people, and we rely on the people to safeguard them. Our laws protect the people and must in turn be defended by them. In his speech at the closing session of the NPC, NPC Chairman Ye Jianying said: "In a socialist country such as ours, the power to enact laws rests in the people, and implementation of them calls for reliance on the people." The masses see things very clearly. The supervision of leading organs and leading personnel who break the law and the exposure of lawlessness in society are made easier once the masses are truly set in motion and dare to speak out. However, our country has been deeply influenced by feudal ideas. Because China is rather backward economically and culturally and because of inadequate publicity concerning the enforcement

of democracy in the past, the system itself is not perfect. This has engendered bureaucratism, love of privilege and paternalistic practices and caused people to have misgivings concerning the exercise of their democratic rights. If democracy is to be broadened and fostered, it will be necessary under these circumstances to solve those problems that beset the cadres ideologically and organizationally and those that affect them as a result of institutions and practices. Ideologically, all government functionaries must first try to solve the problem of respecting the masses, having faith in and relying on them. They must recognize the fact that the people are the masters of the country and that they themselves, regardless of their high positions, are servants of the people. They have the obligation of wholeheartedly serving the people but have no right to ride roughshod over them. They must conscientiously try to uphold people's democratic rights, politically and materially providing them with facilities for exercising democratic rights. Between the cadres and the masses, unimpeded access, not stone walls or great gulfs, should be assured. The masses should be encouraged to use laws as a weapon for supervising government organs and personnel so that they will act according to law. They should also be encouraged to expose and indict violations of the law and struggle against them. Lawbreakers and criminals who infringe on people's democratic rights, suppress democracy and retaliate against those who offer views and suggestions should be firmly stopped and the culprits brought before the law. Leading cadres above all should retain and promote the fine work style of keeping in close touch with the masses that prevailed during the years of the revolutionary war. They should listen to the views given by the masses, care for their suffering, handle their letters or visits with warm feelings and support their struggles to uphold the legal system.

Fourth, it is necessary to build a powerful law enforcement contingent.

The people's courts, the people's procuratorates and public security organs are law enforcement organs. Whether they can effectively function according to law is very important to the implementation of the laws. The key to discharging their functions effectively lies in building a powerful, law enforcement contingent. The promulgation of seven important laws and their enforcement will pose many new problems for the people's courts, the people's procuratorates and public security organs. These organs must therefore adapt themselves ideologically and organizationally to conform with the changes, so that they will be able to keep up with the developing situation and meet people's wishes. Without a powerful, professional contingent committed to doing things according to law, it will be difficult to promote efforts to follow laws and do things according to law.

What are the requirements of this contingent?

First, ideologically it must have a strong sense of party spirit. Currently this means identifying one's thinking with the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and that of the second session of the Fifth NPC until the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is eliminated and factionalism and love of privilege are stamped out.

We must not underestimate the effects of the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on political and legal fronts. This has now been reflected among judicial cadres who are at a loss to correctly understand the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and who even waver and cast doubts upon it. They believe that the third plenum went to excess in stressing the need for promoting democracy and emancipating the mind. They object to ways of solving important issues left over from the past and blame the third plenum for promoting democracy and thus causing erroneous ideas to infest society. They are opposed to the spirit of meetings convened by the Central Committee, erroneously believing that certain meetings advocated "opening up" and that others favored "restraint." With regard to the work under their direction, in particular in rehabilitating victims and in correcting cases in which people had been framed, wrongly judged and falsely charged, they would rather wait than take action for fear of going to excess, thus committing rightist mistakes and facing the prospects of being trounced in the future. Some comrades have said: "Who can guarantee that right deviationism will not be opposed in the future, because once a new movement is launched, more people than can be accounted for will become victims." Other comrades have remarked: "Those who are removing designations from others will themselves have labels attached to them." Some people given to dampening the ardor of other people have said rather inexplicably: "The organization department has reversed verdicts on bad cadres, the united front department has removed the rightist designation from rightists, the public security bureau has done the same for former landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and the courts have released convicts." As a result, some comrades prefer to delay in clearing cases rather than to expedite them. Influenced by such erroneous ideas, some comrades dare not hold themselves responsible for rehabilitating victims and correcting cases in which persons were obviously framed, wrongly judged and falsely accused. Even if such cases were corrected, there would always be some room for maneuvering. This precaution is responsible for the delay in rehabilitating those victims who have been cleared of charges against them. The same dilatory style of work has manifested itself in many pending cases. If this mentality is not overcome, the rehabilitation of victims and correction of cases in which people have been framed, wrongly judged and falsely accused cannot proceed in the desired way. This mental outlook will also seriously hinder implementation of the spirit of the legal system and enforcement of the new laws.

We must also not underestimate the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on judicial departments because of the factionalism they had fanned up. Those who have been deeply influenced by factional practices flout the interests of the party and people but are committed to the interests of factional formations. What the factional formations consider to be of primary importance and individual gratitude and grudges mean more to them than the principles underlying revolution. We regard law as a powerful weapon for protecting the people and attacking the enemy, while they regard it as a club and sword for shielding their cohorts, excluding those who disagree with them, venting personal grievances and taking revenge and attacking others. Factionalism poses a formidable obstacle to implementing the spirit of legality. In areas where factional activities are rife, policies and laws, no matter how ideal or correct, cannot be implemented. This problem must arouse serious attention and solutions.

Love of privilege, a feudal practice, has deeply infested judicial departments. It has manifested itself in the abuse of the instrument of proletarian dictatorship to infringe on citizens' personal, democratic and other rights. In some cases this has exhibited itself in arbitrary actions and going one's own way without observing legal procedures or subordinating oneself to judicial restraints. If this idea is not overcome, it will restrain the hands of those in enforcing the new laws and thus hinder the progress of work. Now that the party's work style needs to be rectified, it appears that rectification of the work style of judicial cadres is more urgently called for. If judicial cadres fail to identify their thinking with the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee and do nothing about reviving the party's fine tradition and work style, it will be impossible for them to fulfill the glorious and heavy tasks imposed by the new laws.

Second, this contingent must be organizationally strengthened and placed on a sound footing. Since the ranks of cadres assigned to public security organs, procuratorates and courts were severely disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," these units are now understaffed, and few of the existing personnel are familiar with their jobs. This is particularly true of those procuratorates that were completely destroyed and have since been rebuilt. It is therefore particularly urgent that the ranks of cadres be strengthened and that cadres of judicial departments, especially procuratorates, be fostered and brought up. It is equally necessary that they understand better those theories related to the socialist legal system that have been explained in works expounding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These theories embody the historical experiences of proletarian dictatorship. If this weapon is not used to advantage, it will be difficult to comprehend the newly published laws well or to make a success of judicial work. Judicial cadres must seriously try to study some of the new laws, which constitute a theoretical embodiment of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought concerning the legal system. These new laws are based on China's 30 years of experiences,

both positive and negative, in exercising proletarian dictatorship. Enactment of these laws conforms with the developing needs of socialist construction. Failure to understand them well may prevent one from consciously doing things according to law.

Third, this contingent must stress efficiency in doing its work. The new laws stipulate that a time limit exists for reviewing cases and that nonobservance of the time limit will be a violation of law. This means that emphasis must be laid on efficiency. We are happy to note that some judicial organs attending to cases, regardless of Sundays or holidays, during the day or at night, have taken prompt action to review and redress cases within the time limit. Generally speaking, however, we have been rather inefficient in handling cases. We must change the undesirable practices of stalling in attending to things and of following the beaten path, and improve our efficiency in doing work. In his government work report, Comrade Hua Guofeng said: "The people want us to stand fast at our posts, be brave in shouldering our responsibilities and dare to combat indiscipline and inefficiency." This means that we should combat the bureaucratic work style of leading cadres who shirk responsibility in the face of problems, are afraid of giving offense, slough off their duties, do nothing but eat three square meals a day or, in the name of democracy, engage in endless discussion without making any decisions or taking any action once decisions are made, as well as the bureaucratic work style in which everything gets lost in empty political talk and in the odyssey of official papers.

The last and most important thing is to strengthen party leadership over judicial work. This provides a fundamental guarantee that things will be done according to law. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their judicial concepts and put judicial work and its problems on the agenda. They should selectively foster judicial cadres, particularly dedicated ones, and strengthen their political and ideological education. They should regularly inspect the work of public security organs, procuratorates and courts and urge communists to be examples in upholding laws and abiding by them. They should guide the whole party to put socialist democracy and the socialist legal system on a sounder basis. Only in this way will following laws not become mere rhetoric. Only in this way can law, which is part of the superstructure, be given full play to effectively promote the realization of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

**STRENGTHEN THE CONCEPT OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND ACT STRICTLY ACCORDING TO THE LAW**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 40-45

[Article by Zhao Cangbi [6492 5547 3880]]

[Text] The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system, so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to insure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with." The criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other important laws solemnly adopted at the second session of the Fifth NPC were worked out in the spirit of the third plenum. They embody the will of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people in our country.

**A New Period for Building Up a Legal System in Our Country**

The promulgation and enforcement of the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and the five other laws are a major event in the political life of the Chinese people and mark the beginning of a new period in our work of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. The promulgation and enforcement of these laws are of great significance in protecting the people's right to manage state affairs and other democratic rights provided for by the constitution, bringing into play the socialist enthusiasm of the vast numbers of cadres and the masses, consolidating and developing the lively political situation of stability and unity, strengthening the socialist state system and promoting the development of socialist modernization.

The law is the concentrated expression of the will of the ruling class. It reflects the political and economic demands of the ruling class and relies on the compulsive power of the state to insure the fulfillment of these demands. Lenin once said: "The law is the expression of the will of the classes which have emerged victorious and hold the power of

the state." ("The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 13, p 304) He also said: "If it is the will of the state, it should express itself in the form of laws formulated by the organ of state power; otherwise the word 'will' will be a meaningless breath of air." ("Conflicting Stand," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 75) Every ruling class in history has relied on law to exercise its rule. After gaining political power, the proletariat also must use the law as a weapon to suppress enemy resistance, maintain revolutionary order, protect the people's interests and consolidate its political power.

Our party and state have always attached great importance to the building up of our socialist legal system. We abolished the "six laws" of the Kuomintang reactionary government right after the founding of the people's republic and drew up a body of basic laws for the state--"The Constitution of the PRC"--in 1954. With respect to criminal legislation, although we had gained some initial experience in the old liberated areas, we still lacked ripe experience and were not yet able to formulate a perfect criminal law and law of criminal procedure. Therefore, our main concern at that time was to work out a number of special regulations aimed at various political movements. We drew up the "regulations regarding the punishment of counterrevolutionaries," "regulations regarding the punishment of grafters," "regulations regarding the punishment of those who interfere with the state monetary system," and so on. These special regulations in fact played part of the role of the criminal law and laid down a good foundation for the formulation of the criminal law. Meanwhile, our state legislative organs also actively prepared to draft a criminal law and a law of criminal procedure. The former central people's government started to gather and study Chinese and foreign data since 1950 and drew up the "draft outline of the criminal law" and the "draft guiding principles of the criminal law." After the First NPC in 1954, the legal office of the former NPC Standing Committee again drew up a draft criminal law in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. After repeated revisions, the 33d draft of 1963 was examined by Comrade Mao Zedong and by members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. The drawing up of the law of criminal procedure began in 1956, and a draft law (revised version) was worked out in 1963. However, due to various reasons, particularly the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the work of drafting the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure was shelved for a long time. The present criminal law and law of criminal procedure are based on the 33d version of the draft criminal law and the revised version of the draft law of criminal procedure, with important additions and amendments made by the Legal Affairs Commission of the NPC Standing Committee after consulting with the departments concerned, extensively soliciting the opinions of the masses, taking all concrete conditions into account and drawing on the positive and negative experiences of the past three decades, particularly since the Cultural Revolution. They were then submitted to the NPC for examination and adoption.



In his government work report, Comrade Hua Guofeng emphatically pointed out: "The strengthening of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system is urgently needed for the sake of consolidating the socialist state system which is led by the working class and has as its masters the entire working people, solidifying the political foundation on which the country can carry out socialist modernization in stability and unity, bringing into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of our entire people in modernization, and insuring that there are no further serious loopholes in our political system which can be taken advantage of by conspirators like Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' in their attempts at counterrevolutionary restoration." As a result of protracted struggle under the leadership of the party during the three decades since the founding of the people's republic, the class situation in our country has undergone a fundamental change. As classes, the landlords and rich peasants have been wiped out. The capitalists also have ceased to exist as a class. Class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our present society. Historical development has gradually reduced the scope of dictatorship and broadened that of democracy in our country. While we recognize that class struggle has not yet come to an end and that there are still a handful of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals--which means we must not lower our guard and become careless but must strengthen the socialist legal system and uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat--we also recognize that there is no longer any need for large-scale and turbulent class struggle to be waged by the masses.

In the present period the central task before the people of the whole country is to bring about the four modernizations. The Chinese people have persistently and heroically fought for this lofty ideal for a long period of time. It is in the fundamental interests of the people of all our nationalities and is the supreme political task for the present and for a considerably long time to come. To bring about the four modernizations, we have to exert ourselves in many fields. An important and pressing task for us is to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system and maintain socialist public order for the realization of the four modernizations. For 10 years Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trampled on party discipline and state law, undermined the people's democracy and went all out to exercise fascist dictatorship. They wrought unprecedented turmoil, damage and disaster in our country. Having suffered enough from lawlessness and disorder, the cadres and masses have learned from their bitter experience that law will enable us to bring order across the land, while lawlessness will bring disaster to the nation. Like "people longing for a rain cloud during a drought," they urgently demand that the socialist system be strengthened and people's democratic rights protected. Thus, the promulgation and enforcement of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure fully conform to the law of historical development and the will of the people and are an important guarantee of the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

## The Fundamental Spirit and Salient Points of the Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure

China's criminal law and law of criminal procedure are not copied from any other country, nor are they extensions of the laws in old China. They are formulated with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guide on the basis of the constitution and in the light of our country's concrete experience in exercising the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are essentially different from the criminal laws and laws of criminal procedure of exploiting-class countries. China's criminal law and law of criminal procedure have been worked out by the proletariat and the masses of the laboring people. They give concentrated expression to the will of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people and represent the interests of the great majority. They are permeated with the spirit of the four basic principles of upholding the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and are clear-cut in their proletarian class character. We must grasp this guiding ideology and fundamental spirit when we study, publicize and implement these two sets of laws.

What are the salient points of China's criminal law and law of criminal procedure? In our opinion, the salient points are as follows:

First, they embody the socialist principle. As the superstructure of the state, the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure must serve the need of consolidating the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and solidifying and developing the socialist economic base. Since the realization of socialist modernization is and will continue to be our central task for a considerably long historical period to come, we can also say that the socialist principle of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure is to serve the four modernizations. The function of the criminal law is to combat all counterrevolutionary and other criminal offenses by inflicting penalties so as to safeguard the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend socialist property owned by the whole people and by the collective and the legitimate property of individuals, protect the personal, democratic and other rights of citizens, maintain public order and order in production, work, education, scientific research and the daily life of the people and insure the smooth progress of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The function of the law of criminal procedure is to insure accurate and prompt investigation and establishment of the facts of criminal offenses, correctly enforce the law, punish the criminals, protect the innocent from criminal prosecution and guarantee the correct enforcement of the criminal law by means of judicial procedure. These will provide us with legal guarantees in our efforts to maintain socialist public order and solidify the political foundation on which the country can carry out socialist modernization in stability

and unity; protect and develop the productive forces and create an increasingly stronger material foundation for the four modernizations; and preserve the proletarian character of the state and block all loopholes for counterrevolutionary restoration.

Second, they embody the principle of people's democracy. In China the people are the masters of the country. An unshakable socialist political principle is to carry forward people's democracy and insure that the entire people wield supreme power in running the country. Like all other laws, the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure are not only worked out by the people but are given into the hands of the people and mastered by them. The people have the power to supervise the enforcement of law. The criminal law provides that the personal, democratic and other rights of citizens shall be protected against unlawful infringement by any person or institution. Only when these basic citizen rights are protected according to law can we improve the democratic life of the nation and insure that the entire people can truly exercise their right in running the country. For the purpose of usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" exercised fascist dictatorship over the cadres and masses, randomly branded people as "counterrevolutionaries," unlawfully arrested people and confiscated their property and even put good and honest people to death. Large numbers of people were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced, and democracy and the legal system were trampled underfoot. There were simply no democratic rights for the people in those days. In view of this painful lesson and in order to guard against misuse of counterrevolutionary charges, the criminal law stipulates in clear-cut terms that counterrevolutionary offenses are limited to acts undermining the People's Republic of China with the aim of overthrowing the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. That is to say, when we judge whether or not an offense is counterrevolutionary, we can only base ourselves on the objective fact of the offender's intention and deed, not on what he thinks. We also cannot brand a person as counterrevolutionary simply because he has criticized leaders or put forward dissenting views in work. In view of the abhorrent and tyrannical ways of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the criminal law specifically includes four prohibitive provisions. These provisions stipulate that extortion of confessions through torture is strictly prohibited; that assembling crowds for "beating, smashing and looting" is strictly prohibited; that bringing false charges against a cadre or a person by any means whatsoever is strictly prohibited; and that the unlawful incarceration of a person or the unlawful deprivation of his personal freedom by any means whatsoever is strictly prohibited. These provisions reflect the strong desire of the masses and are of extremely profound and far-reaching significance in eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," arousing and enhancing the people's sense of responsibility as masters of the country and promoting political democracy.

Third, they embody the policy of combining punishment with leniency. The criminal law is spearheaded at counterrevolutionary and other criminal acts. It stipulates relatively heavy penalties for major active counterrevolutionary crimes and for other flagrant criminal offenses which seriously endanger society or which incur great popular indignation. In counterrevolutionary cases committed in a particularly flagrant manner and causing particularly serious harm to the state and people, and in cases of homicide, robbery, arson, intentional flooding, criminally caused explosions and poisoning, and so on which result in grave harm, we cannot and will not abolish capital punishment. However, we will use it only when absolutely necessary. We do not mete out penalties simply to punish people. We use penalties as a means to educate and save the offenders. We have always advocated arresting as few as possible and keeping executions down to the absolute minimum. This correct policy is implemented in the penal provisions of the criminal law. When a criminal should receive capital punishment, a 2-year reprieve may be pronounced simultaneously with the death verdict if the execution need not be carried out immediately. He must undergo reform through labor, with his behavior during this period being noted and taken into account. This is his last chance to show repentance. Offenders sentenced to public surveillance, fixed-term imprisonment, life imprisonment or the death penalty with a 2-year reprieve will be given a chance to turn over a new leaf. They will not be mistreated or insulted. While serving their sentences they will be organized to take part in industrial or agricultural production. In this way the overwhelming majority of them will be transformed into laborers living on their own toil. Public surveillance as stipulated in the criminal law has proven an effective correctional method in China. It is better to put offenders who do not need to be imprisoned under public surveillance and make them take part in productive labor or other work in their original organizations. These provisions of the criminal law are unique to China and have no precedent in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere. These laws, which embody the austerity of law and revolutionary humanitarianism, are good for the country and the people and will contribute to the political stability of society.

Fourth, they embody the compulsory and educational nature of law--two aspects which are indivisibly linked. The criminal law stipulates what is meant by abiding by law, breaking the law and committing criminal offenses. In this way it fixes the code of conduct to be observed by all people. To counterrevolutionaries and other criminal offenders it can be very compulsive, because anyone who violates the criminal law and commits a crime will be punished according to law without fail. To the people it can be very educational, because it teaches them to enhance their sense of respect for law, cherish the socialist motherland, consciously abide by the constitution and the law, boldly combat violations of law and actively prevent and reduce crime. It is both one-sided and wrong to think that the only function of the criminal law is to impose punishment. Striking at the enemy and punishing

criminals are important functions of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure, but these are not their only functions. The socialist legal system is a deterrent to, and a restraining force upon, lawbreakers and offenders; for enemies who sabotage socialist revolution and construction it is a merciless iron fist; but for the masses of people it is a code of conduct which they voluntarily observe and a solid assurance of their personal, democratic and other rights. These are the complete functions of China's criminal law.

#### Laws Must Be Observed, Their Enforcement Must Be Strict and Lawbreakers Must Be Dealt With

Now that the criminal law, the law of criminal procedure and other important laws have been formulated, we have laws to go by. However, does this mean that laws will be observed, their enforcement will be strict and lawbreakers will be dealt with? This is something which concerns the people of all our nationalities. Our party is a great party, our country is a great country and our people are a great people. The laws of our country are the concentrated expression of the common will of the proletariat and the laboring people. They are to be respected and enforced among the 900 million people of all our nationalities, not to be admired from afar. Unless we can enforce these laws to the letter throughout the country and insure that laws are observed, their enforcement is strict and lawbreakers are dealt with, we will be unable to win the confidence of the people and the world and continuously boost the prestige of our party and country. However, we should also note the far-reaching influence of feudal despotism, because our country was under its domination for several thousand years. Compared with the task of making law, enforcement of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure is far more arduous and necessarily involves a process of education and struggle. In this connection the people's public security organs shoulder a heavy responsibility.

Laws must be observed. To the public security organs this means that all cases must be strictly handled according to the provisions of the constitution and the law. This is the key link in strengthening the socialist legal system and is the prerequisite for insuring that law enforcement will be strict and lawbreakers will be dealt with. We must correctly understand the unanimity of doing things according to law and doing a good job in public security work. We must also overcome the erroneous ideas of slighting the legal system or thinking that the legal system is binding us hand and foot. Some comrades have thought that law was not all that indispensable because they have handled numerous cases and done much work in the past when the legal system was still not perfect. To counter this nihilist concept of law, Lenin sternly pointed out: "There are people who say: 'There was no need to write so many decrees.'" "These people, as a matter of fact, do not realize that they are sinking to the White Guard position." ("Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29,

p 180) The way in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sabotaged the legal system and injured the people to achieve their own ends was a historical lesson which amply shows that if we do not have any laws to follow or do not observe law we will only benefit the enemy and harm the people. In the past we were unable to clearly distinguish between what constituted a crime and what did not, and we did not fully understand the scope of application of criminal punishment. Thus, we sometimes could not correctly determine the nature of a case and were either too lenient or harsh in meting out punishment. In view of this, we must fully understand the importance and necessity of putting the legal system on a solid footing and doing things according to law. At present there is another tendency which must be avoided. As the legal system becomes better and better each day and a better job in trying cases is expected, some people either think that it is inconvenient to do things according to law or become overcautious and adopt the erroneous attitude of letting go for fear of breaking the law. Our laws are powerful weapons for striking at the enemy, punishing criminals and protecting the people. With the adoption of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure, we have something on which to base ourselves in handling cases. We should do better in our work and be able to make fewer mistakes or no mistakes at all. Of course, it is more "inconvenient" to do things according to law than to act arbitrarily as one pleases. However, this kind of "inconvenience" is of benefit to our work and to the people. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The legal system must be respected. Acting in accordance with the law does not mean being bound hand and foot." "Be sure to act in accordance with the law and with hands and feet unfettered." ("Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees") That is to say, our public security personnel must work with hands and feet unfettered within the scope of the law and must restrict the use of confession by torture through the enforcement of law.

Law enforcement must be strict. Since the public security organs guard the first strategic pass of law enforcement and criminal proceedings, they must strictly enforce the law and conscientiously do a good job in various links of judicial work. In handling cases they must rely on the masses, carry out thorough investigations and study, repeatedly verify every piece of evidence, pay attention to collecting all kinds of evidence speaking for the innocence or guilt of the accused and proving the gravity of the offense, and make correct verdicts on the basis of facts as to whether or not the accused is guilty and how he should be punished. In apprehending or arresting people they must stay within the limits of the provisions of the law and measure up to the necessary requirements, strictly abide by the system of submitting the matter to the procuratorate for examination and approval, follow criminal procedures and observe the legal time limit. In handling the work of detention, inquiry and reform through labor they must strictly enforce the laws of the state and the party's policies, strictly prohibit the extortion of confessions by torture and do away with all fascist ways of

interrogation. The public security organs must strictly abide by the socialist legal system in handling questions of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and cases of offenses among the people. In the past some comrades held that all convicted criminals fell within the category of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and were to be placed under dictatorship. They thought that by "being a little more ruthless" toward these people they could show the world how "steadfast in stand" and "resolute in struggle" they were. We must thoroughly criticize and eliminate this pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Lawbreakers must be dealt with. An important principle of our socialist legal system is that all men are equal before the law. The nature of our party and our socialist system determines that all party members and cadres are servants of the people. They only have the obligation to take the lead in observing and enforcing the law in an exemplary fashion. They have no special right whatsoever to violate or override it. Shortly after the founding of the people's republic, two important party and government personnel, Liu Qingshan and Zhang Zishan, were severely punished according to law for corruption and graft. In recent years we also applied sanctions against Su Hua, the former responsible person of Zhumadian Prefecture, and his followers because they seriously sabotaged the country's fiscal system and did not care whether the people lived or died. These actions were enthusiastically supported by the masses. It should be affirmed that the overwhelming majority of our party members and cadres are either good or relatively good and are law abiding. However, the pernicious influence of the age-old feudal idea that "punishment should not be imposed on senior officials" and the practice of "not imposing punishment on the gang and not applying the law on the faction" which prevailed in the days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power are far from eliminated. Among our party members, cadres and even some leading cadres, there are still a handful of people who either defy the law of the state or avail themselves of loopholes in the legal system to exploit their offices and commit crimes. Whether or not this handful of lawbreakers will be dealt with after the enforcement of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure has an important bearing on whether our legal system can win the confidence of the people. "A government will fall apart if it loses the people's confidence." If our party members and cadres do not enforce and observe the law, how can we demand that the masses universally abide by the law? In accordance with the directive of the party Central Committee, we must take effective measures to strengthen party and government discipline, rectify the work style of the party and the government and thoroughly criticize and eliminate the feudal idea that prerogatives and privileges go with position and the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Any party member or cadre who breaks the law and commits a crime, no matter how great his seniority, how important his office or how large his contributions, shall be held criminally responsible and punished according to law. Only in this way can we guard the sanctity of the law and win the people's confidence.

To insure that all lawbreakers will be dealt with, the people's security organs at all levels and all public security officers must not only play an exemplary role in enforcing and observing the law but also boldly uphold the party's principles. They must devote themselves to the legal system of the state, the interests of the people and the truth, defy power and influence, strictly enforce the law, unswervingly follow the rules and regulations and never balk at sacrifice.

#### Public Security Organs Must Enforce the Criminal Law and the Law of Criminal Procedure in an All-Round Way

The public security organs are specialized institutions for the enforcement of the law, in particular the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure, and are powerful instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are vested with enormous power by the state and shoulder the grave political task of striking at the enemy, punishing criminals, protecting the people, defending the four modernizations and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The enforcement of the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure is of special significance to the public security organs in using the law as a powerful weapon to combat all counterrevolutionary and other criminal offenses and strengthen public security work. There are only 6 months between the time these two laws are promulgated and the time they come into force on 1 January 1980. During this period the public security organs at all levels should extensively publicize socialist democracy and the legal system to the cadres and the masses and firmly grasp the work of making preparations for the all-round enforcement of these two laws under the leadership of the local party committees and the government.

First, we must universally organize the public security officers to study the criminal law and the law of criminal procedure and train these officers in rotation. All public security officers, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must take the lead in studying and mastering these laws so as to be able to enforce and observe them. We have made it a rule that the Ministry of Public Security and the public security organs of all provinces, prefectures and counties should run short rotational courses to systematically train public security officers. Through rotational study and training we must enable these officers to fully grasp the basic content, spirit and essence of the two laws, distinguish the guilty from the innocent and counterrevolutionary offenses from ordinary ones, achieve clarity in the scope of application of various penalties, know the legal proceedings, deeply understand the significance of strengthening the socialist legal system and of strictly acting according to law, and enhance the sense of respect for law. We must fundamentally change all old ideas and practices which are incongruous with the strengthening of the legal system both in thinking and in action and heighten our consciousness in observing the law and acting according to it.



Second, we must restore and develop in the public security organs the fine tradition and work style characterized by seeking truth from facts, investigation and study and adherence to the mass line. In the spirit of the two laws we must keep in touch with reality, emancipate our minds, conscientiously sum up the positive and negative experiences of our country's judicial work over the past 30 years and the sabotage of the legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and analyze which practices were right and which were wrong, which were desirable under the historical conditions of the time and which should be readjusted and improved in light of the new situation today. We must make the present rules, regulations and measures conform with the principle and specific provisions of the law. We must persist in the principle of combining the work of specialized organs with the mass line, rely on the masses, make investigations and study, seek truth from facts, proceed from reality in everything, put stress on the weight of evidence instead of being too ready to believe confessions, strictly prohibit extortion of confessions by torture and other lawbreaking acts, insure the quality of judicial work and raise efficiency in handling cases.

Third, we must perfect the public security organs at all levels and reinforce the ranks of their personnel. As a result of the frantic pursuance of the counterrevolutionary line by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their efforts to smash the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs, the public security organs at all levels not only suffered great damage politically and ideologically but received a crippling blow organizationally and in their vocational work. Although things have changed somewhat after 2 years of rehabilitation and reinforcement, they still fall far short of the needs of the new situation and the new task. A task of top priority in our present endeavor to strengthen the contingent of public security personnel is to perfect the structure of the public security organs, reinforce the ranks of their personnel and improve the quality of their work. To this end we must choose and transfer a sufficient number of old, middle-aged and young people who have distinguished themselves as model workers and pioneers on various fronts and who are fair and honest in their dealings and enthusiastic in serving the people and working for socialism to reinforce the ranks of public security personnel, particularly personnel handling the work of investigation, public order, inquiry and reform through labor. At the same time we must properly run public security institutes and all kinds of training courses and strengthen in-service training to cultivate and raise the standards of public security officers in a planned way. We must build a contingent of public security personnel who are capable of shouldering the heavy task of defending the four modernizations to meet the need for strengthening the legal system and for public security work.

Fourth, we must continue to pay close attention to investigating long-pending cases and review and redress cases of people who were framed or wrongly charged. Working in active coordination with the organizations

concerned, the public security organs in all localities have achieved substantial successes in conscientiously investigating long-pending cases and reviewing and redressing innumerable cases of injustice and trumped-up charges since the smashing of the "gang of four." This will help promote stability and unity and arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses for the four modernizations. However, the development of the work has been uneven. In a few localities where the work was not firmly grasped, the task of investigating and reviewing cases remains heavy. Therefore, we must further emancipate our minds, eliminate interference from all sides and carry this work through to the end. As regards long-pending cases involving detainees who have not yet been tried or involving knotty problems, we must firmly grasp investigation and inquiry with a view to winding up the cases, deal with each case on its own merits and appropriately pass verdicts according to law. At the same time we must resolutely correct all cases of people who were unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged or sentenced during the Cultural Revolution by following the principle of "totally wrong judgment, total rehabilitation; partially wrong, partial rehabilitation; not wrong, no rehabilitation." We must strive to basically fulfill this task before the end of this year.

Fifth, the relationship between the public security organ, the people's procuratorate and the people's court is one of sharing the work and cooperating with each other while checking on each other under the leadership of the party. The law of criminal procedure stipulates, from the procedural point of view, the power and functional relationship of the three organs: "The public security organ is in charge of investigation, provisional apprehension and inquiry in cases involving criminal offenses. The people's procuratorate approves arrests and procuratorial proceedings (including investigation) and institutes prosecution. The people's court is responsible for trying cases." The law also provides that in handling cases we must "base ourselves on facts and take the law as the criterion." Public security organs must strictly abide by the law in handling cases and conducting criminal proceedings, respect the opinions of the procuratorate and the court and carry out their decisions. In actually investigating cases, apprehending people, conducting inquiries, putting people under surveillance or making people undergo reform through labor, the public security organs must humbly place themselves under the supervision of the procuratorate in accordance with the law and earnestly and seriously deal with all law-breaking acts discovered by the procuratorate. It is both unavoidable and normal for the public security, procuratorial and judicial organs to disagree with each other's decisions in handling cases. If disagreement does occur, it should be dealt with in accordance with proper legal procedures. Only in this way can these organs jointly safeguard the socialist legal system, correctly strike at counterrevolutionary and other criminal offenses and protect the people.

CSO: 4004

## THE BUILDING MATERIALS INDUSTRY MUST MOVE AHEAD INSTEAD OF LAGGING BEHIND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 46-51

[Article by Song Yangchu [1345 7402 0443]]

[Text] The party Central Committee recently decided to devote 3 years to readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. This decision was also adopted by the second session of the Fifth NPC. This was a wise policy decision for the purpose of steadily pushing forward the four modernizations in our country. It conformed entirely with the actual conditions of our country's national economy. Enormous achievements were made on the economic front in the past 2 years. However, the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused such serious consequences that the disproportions in the national economy have not yet been straightened out. Readjustment is of decisive significance in straightening out the disproportions in our country's economy, bringing the national economy within the orbit of sustained, proportionate and high-speed development and guaranteeing the steady development of our country's modernization. The building materials industry is the vanguard of the national economy, as are the fuel and power industry and communications and transportation. It must quickly eliminate its current backwardness, develop at a higher speed and move ahead instead of lagging behind, as stipulated in the party Central Committee's policy.

### I

The building materials industry is a fundamental industrial sector furnishing the capital construction and various other sectors of the national economy with building materials and various kinds of non-metallic minerals and products. The quantity of products which it supplies to the capital construction and other sectors is an important factor determining the scale and speed of capital construction and the speed of development of the national economy. Like the fuel and power industry, the building materials industry must be a vanguard in developing modern industries. Lenin profoundly expounded this idea long ago. He pointed out: "One of the necessary conditions for the growth of the

large-scale machine industry (and a highly characteristic accompanying factor of its advance) is the development of the industry for the supply of fuel and building materials, as well as of the building industry." ("The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 479) The development of large-scale modern industry calls for the building of a large number of factories, mines, power stations, bridges, ports and warehouses. Building materials are an indispensable base for large-scale construction. "Food and fodder should go before troops and horses." If the building materials industry does not go to the fore, it cannot furnish sufficient "food and fodder" for large-scale, basic construction. Then the building industry will "make bricks without straw," and industrialization can never be achieved.

The building materials industry is closely related to the development of agricultural production and the improvement of the commune members' lives. Cement is needed in large quantities for building water conservancy projects. It is also needed in improving the soil, preparing the fields for planting, building roads, bridges, ships and power stations, making telegraph poles and building methane-generating pits, granaries and threshing grounds. Glass is needed in large quantities for nursing seedlings and growing vegetables in hothouses. Large quantities of cement, bricks and tiles, glass and asphalt felt are needed for improving the peasants' living conditions and building a new socialist countryside.

A faster development of the building materials industry is also needed to heighten the people's living standard and improve the housing conditions of office and factory workers in cities. As a result of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past decade, there is a shortage of housing for urban residents. The relationship between the "flesh" and the "bone" is not in harmony. To improve the housing conditions of urban residents, it is necessary first of all that the building materials industry supply sufficient quantities and a full range of building materials of fine quality. For example, building houses with a total area of 1 million square meters in a city requires 1.5 million tons of building materials. The question of a shortage of housing for office and factory workers in many cities could have been solved more quickly by building more houses in the past few years. However, insufficient supply of building materials made it impossible to build more houses.

Many kinds of building materials, such as asbestos, mica, diamonds, graphite, talc and other nonmetallic minerals and products, can be used for special purposes. They are important and indispensable materials for developing modern industries, communications, transportation and a sophisticated defense industry. For example, asbestos is the only kind of natural mineral fiber which is highly resistant to tension and can resist fire, insulate against heat and resist acidic and basic erosion. It is used as a material for making more than 3,000 kinds of

products. It is essential to the industries dealing with metallurgy, chemical engineering, machine building and building construction. Glass fiber, glass-fiber-reinforced plastic, casting stone [zhushi 6999 4258], cement pressure piping, concrete boats and other inorganic nonmetallic materials and products have been used in many places for such materials as steel, timber, cotton, hemp, silk and wool. Increasing the production of building materials is also an important means of increasing exports. China has rich resources of building materials for export, from which foreign exchange can be gained at a high rate. One ton of cement is equal in exchange value to one car. One ton of asbestos is equal in exchange value to one ton of refined sugar. Our country's export of building materials is currently very small. It should be increased vigorously.

The building materials industry plays a major role in developing the national economy. In the course of industrialization, therefore, all countries give priority to the development of the building materials industry. The speed of developing the building materials industry is usually higher than that of developing the national economy. For example, in the United States during the 1950's the average annual growth of industries was 2.86 percent and that of the cement industry 3.83 percent; in France the average annual growth of industries was 5.42 percent and that of the cement industry 7.4 percent. In many countries the speed of development of the cement industry was higher than that of the power-generation industry. For example, in Japan during the 23 years from 1950 to 1973 the increase in power generation was 10.4 times while cement output was 17.5 times. In the Soviet Union, power generation increased by 11.3 times while cement output increased by 11.9 times during the 1950-1975 period.

Practice in our country's reconstruction during the past three decades shows that whenever the building materials industry develops quickly and meets the needs of construction, an investment will yield good returns; whenever the building materials industry develops slowly, the supply of building materials will run short, capital construction will slow down and an investment will yield poor returns. During the First Five-Year Plan period the building materials industry grew at an average annual rate of 20 percent, which was faster than the growth of industries and the national economy, and met the needs of building materials for the construction of 156 major projects. During the period of national economic readjustment in the early 1960's the building materials industry was the sector of the national economy which developed most quickly. When the Panzhihu steel production base was under construction, esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou personally decided to give top priority to the arrangements for the cement factory and the power plant and guided the construction of the Emei cement factory, thus guaranteeing the quick development of the building materials industry in the interior and furnishing essential building materials for the faster reconstruction of the interior. During periods of the third and fourth five-year plans

the building materials industry developed slowly, its growth rate was lower than that of industries as a whole, and the contradictions between the supply and demand of building materials sharpened. As a result, national reconstruction was hindered, and less satisfactory returns were yielded on an investment.

This shows that letting the building materials industry play the role of the vanguard is an objective law of modernized production and is needed for the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the socialist economy. Once the building materials industry has developed, capital construction will have a reliable material guarantee and can be carried out quickly. When the building materials industry lags behind, the national economy will be in discord, an investment will yield poor returns and capital construction cannot be carried out quickly.

## II

The policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving is an active policy. To carry out this policy it is necessary to consciously readjust the proportions in such a way that agriculture and light and heavy industries can develop rather harmoniously and the various sectors of the national economy can be in good proportion. To achieve this end, vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen agriculture and light industry. Within the heavy industries, attention should be paid to strengthening the production and construction of the industries dealing with coal, petroleum, electricity, transportation and building materials to guarantee the development of other industries and the national economy.

Our country's building materials industry developed considerably after the founding of new China. However, because of the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and because of some shortcomings and mistakes in our work, it slowed down and became a major weak link in the national economy. Almost all of the building materials and nonmetallic minerals were in short supply, so that there was a sharp contradiction between supply and demand. A few years of hard work is needed to thoroughly eliminate this backwardness in the building materials industry and turn it into a real vanguard of the national economy so that it can meet the needs of development of other industries and the national economy.

The scale of capital construction will not grow quickly in the next 3 years. In this situation, will the building materials industry no longer be required to play the role of the vanguard? It is wrong to think so. For example, this year's total investment in capital construction is equal to that of last year, but there are not enough building materials to meet the demands. For another example, the large- and medium-scale construction projects need cement. The cement allocated by the state is not sufficient to meet the demand. There is no alternative

but to ask the localities to submit a part of their cement to meet the needs. Sheet glass is in still shorter supply. Neither the demand of cities, factories and mines nor the demand of the countryside for sheet glass can be satisfied. Bricks, tiles, sand, stone and various non-metallic minerals are also insufficient to meet the demands. The situation is already very strained. If efforts are not made to quicken the development of the building materials industry in the next few years and turn it into a real vanguard of the national economy, and if capital construction is to be carried out on a larger scale in the future, there will be a greater demand for building materials, and the disproportion between the development of the building materials industry and the development of the national economy will become more evident. Therefore, we should look farther into the future. We should give all-round consideration to the yearly plans and long-term plans and make all-round arrangements for them. We should start now to strengthen production and construction of the building materials industry so that it can develop faster and be a vanguard of the national economy.

Is there any contradiction between concentrating forces to strengthen agriculture and vigorously quickening the development of light and textile industries, on the one hand, and turning the building materials industry into a vanguard of the national economy, on the other? There is no contradiction. Quickening the development of the building materials industry is conducive to quickening the development of agriculture and light industry. Agricultural development requires large quantities of cement, glass and gypsum. Developing the textile industry and making paper, ceramics, industrial chemicals for daily use and medicine requires large quantities of talc and porcelain clay. Making mirrors requires a great deal of fine-quality glass. The production of electrical appliances for daily use requires asbestos and glass fiber. Therefore, the building materials industry must be developed to satisfy the needs of agriculture and light industry.

Some comrades believe that building materials are made of stone and earth, work is simple and it is very easy to develop the building materials industry. This view is one-sided. It is true that almost all building materials are made of nonmetallic minerals, but the work involved is not "simple." The building materials industry comprises many trades and turns out many products. It involves the hard work of mining and cannot be divorced from the high-temperature kilns and cold and heat treatments. As a result of the development of the national economy, more and more exacting demands are imposed on the variety, performance and quality of building materials. For example, the up-to-standard rate for cement must be 100 percent to insure the fine quality of construction projects. Stricter demands should be made on the variety, specifications and quality of cement used for building the main dam of a reservoir or used in an oil well, and of such products as glass, glass fiber, reinforced plastic, bulletproof glass and special ceramics used in space navigation. Modern science and technology and scientific production management

must be adopted to produce fine-quality building materials. Developing the building materials industry is not an "easy" job. Production of any kind of building material requires a course of construction. For instance, it takes at least 3 years to build a large or medium-scale cement factory or glass factory, from the design and construction work to the installation of equipment and putting it into operation. Therefore, developing the building materials industry involves very arduous tasks. To achieve this goal we must adopt a scientific, realistic attitude and work vigorously and meticulously in light of the demands of objective economic laws.

### III

To make the building materials industry move ahead instead of lagging behind, we must continuously and persistently adhere to the guidelines of the third plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the party, liberate thinking, set the machine of thinking in motion, seek truth from facts, get united and look forward. We must strengthen political and ideological work, arouse the enthusiasm of the workers and staff members for socialism, and seriously do a good job of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving work in the building materials industry. A concrete method is to grasp with both hands. On the one hand we should transform the existing enterprises by tapping potentials and carrying out technical innovation; on the other hand we must expand reproduction and increase productive capacity. Only in this way can we really develop the building materials industry.

The number of building materials enterprises has increased to more than 40,000 in the past few years. These enterprises exist in urban and rural areas all over the country. They are the major bases for and the starting point of further developing the building materials industry. Transforming old factories by tapping potentials and conducting technical innovation saves money and produces quick results. The building materials enterprises should be readjusted, consolidated and transformed, their technical and management levels raised, their potentials tapped and their output increased in light of their specific conditions. They should make efforts especially to produce remarkable results in improving product quality, increasing product variety and lowering consumption and production costs. They should practice the system which requires a factory director to take responsibility under the leadership of the party committee. The large- and medium-sized enterprises should set up and improve a technical management network and technical responsibility system with the chief engineer as its head. They should strengthen financial supervision and economic accounting. They should attach primary importance to product quality and set up and improve the organ and system for inspecting product quality. They should carry out production in strict accordance with technological management procedures and the quality inspection system, strengthen control of all links in the course of production ranging from handling raw materials and



semifinished products to turning out finished products, and guarantee product quality so that the quality of major products can meet the state's technical standards and reach and surpass the best level ever attained by them and by enterprises of the same trade. They should vigorously popularize the technical measures and management experiences which have been proved effective in practice. They should strive to lower material consumption and increase output while practicing economy. Many of the building materials enterprises are run on a small scale. They need to be readjusted through serious investigation and by prudent measures. For example, small cement factories have developed very quickly over the past few years. Their output accounts for two-thirds of the country's total cement output. They play a tremendous role in aiding agriculture and developing local industries. However, they also encounter problems in the course of development. These problems chiefly include the failure to arrange equipment into complete sets, low management level, instability in product quality, high production costs and heavy losses. These factories should be readjusted, consolidated and improved according to their different conditions. Those which have better conditions of supplies and transportation should be actively supported to increase their productive capacity through technical innovation. Those which now cannot arrange their equipment into complete sets should fill up the gaps, improve their technology and raise their technical level. Those which are irrationally distributed should be readjusted and reorganized according to local conditions. Some of those which are short of materials, fuel and power, whose transportation facilities, equipment and technical conditions are poor, and which have for a long time been turning out products of secondary quality and at high cost and suffering heavy losses should be closed, amalgamated, shifted to another trade or suspended for restructure.

It is necessary to firmly grasp capital construction and vigorously develop new productive capacity. During the decade from 1967 to 1976, investment in the building materials industry accounted for a very small proportion of the total investment in the national economy. Very little achievement was made in developing new capacity for producing the major varieties of building materials. At the same time, the accumulation rate of the national economy continued to increase, and the scale of capital construction kept expanding. This entailed ever greater demands for building materials. This also was one of the important causes of the disproportion between the building materials industry and national economic development and of the slow development of capital construction. Many large- and medium-scale old factories are now carrying out production above their designed capacity. For example, this year's productive tasks for large- and medium-scale cement factories and plate glass factories all over the country as laid down in the state plan are above their designed capacity. Without grasping capital construction it will be very difficult to go on increasing output by a big margin. At the same time, very few large- and medium-scale projects are under construction. Arrangements should be made early; otherwise new productive

capacity cannot be developed in the course of a few years. Therefore, the investment in the building materials industry should be increased where necessary and capital construction firmly grasped, so that the capacity for producing building materials can increase to a considerably large degree at the later stage of readjustment. The newly established enterprises should be operated in strict accordance with the procedures of capital construction, preparations should be made for doing well the work of the earlier stage of capital construction, forces should be concentrated to fight a battle of annihilation, and major projects included in the state plan must be completed and put into operation according to schedule and new productive capacity developed quickly.

To carry out capital construction well, it is necessary to strengthen the groundwork of the building materials industry, such as geological survey, design and construction of mines and machine building. The building materials industry is "half a mining department." Almost all of the building materials, such as cement, glass, ceramics, asbestos, graphite and diamonds, require a great deal of work in stripping and excavation. However, the building materials industry has a very weak geological force which is less than 1 percent of the geological prospecting teams all over the country. This force has backward technical equipment and insufficient manpower. The design force also is too weak to satisfy the needs for both quantity and quality of construction work. The backwardness in the manufacture of machines for producing building materials and the lack of a system governing the making of special equipment have become a serious obstacle to the quick development of the building materials industry. Therefore, during the readjustment period these several weak links should be reinforced vigorously so as to lay a firm foundation for the quick development of the building materials industry.

Special attention should be paid to studying and developing the production of new types of building materials. Vigorous efforts should also be made to raise the scientific and technical level of the building materials industry. An improvement has been made in the study, production and use of new types of building materials in the past few years, but this improvement is not remarkable. The new types of building materials account for only about 3 percent of the wall and roofing materials. Bricks and tiles are the major materials for factory buildings at present. The making of bricks and tiles requires a large floor-space and is incompatible with the demands of mechanization and modernization in the building materials industry. Therefore, intensive efforts must be made to quickly develop the manufacture of new types of building materials, such as gypsum board, asbestos cement board, mineral wool board, plastic floorboard and wallpaper, and to gradually change the structure of wall and roofing materials by adopting means appropriate to local conditions and using local materials. Efforts should also be made to improve on the old types of building materials, use industrial

waste to make bricks and tiles, develop the production of hollow bricks and large articles, raise the level of mechanization and improve the working conditions of office and factory workers.

The building materials industry has a low technical level and a very weak technical force. The number of its technicians accounts for only 1 percent of the total number of its office and factory workers. Efforts should be made to strengthen scientific research, grasp the key projects, organize forces to solve problems and furnish advanced techniques. Some advanced technology and equipment should be imported from foreign countries in a planned way. Serious attention should be paid to digesting, applying and improving the imported technology and equipment. A plan should also be drawn up for actively establishing colleges and schools for training cadres and workers to bring up useful personnel for developing the building materials industry.

To quicken the development of the building materials industry, it is also necessary to seriously transform the management system and bring the initiative of the central and local organs, the enterprises and the workers, especially the local organs and the enterprises, into full play. Building materials are usually large in quantity and size and are not suitable for long-distance transportation. Moreover, all localities have material resources and need them very much (with the exception of nonmetallic minerals). Therefore, the building materials industry should be developed by relying on the efforts of all localities. All localities should actively develop this industry according to their resources and needs and build base areas for producing building materials which they need. The management system for the building material enterprises and the method of distributing the products should be conducive to arousing the initiative of the local organs and the development of the building materials industry. These enterprises should have greater power to determine their business management, so that they will have greater initiative in organizing and developing production according to social needs. The policy of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" should be carried out realistically, so as to link the results of production and management of an enterprise with the interests of an enterprise and its workers and staff members. Specialized companies and joint companies should be organized in a planned way, and the enterprise management system governing coordination in production, supply and sales should be carried out according to the principle of coordination among specialized units and in light of the needs for the rational distribution of productive forces. Efforts should be made to seriously investigate conditions, actively create conditions and systematically carry out the economic management system, which requires that planned readjustment and market readjustment be combined, with the former as the key link.

To be a vanguard of the national economy, the building materials industry has to shoulder very heavy tasks. We must strive to carry out the

instructions of the party Central Committee and the State Council on quickening the development of the building materials industry, seriously make readjustments, restructure the management system according to objective economic laws, consolidate the enterprises, and arouse the masses to increase production and practice economy penetratingly and persistently, launch a socialist labor emulation drive and make rational proposals. We believe that, under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, with the joint efforts of the broad masses of office and factory workers engaged in the building materials industry, and with the support and help of the departments concerned in various parts of the country, the building materials industry will surely be able to quicken its development, move ahead instead of lagging behind and make still greater contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

## TAP, REFORM AND TRANSFORM THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF SHANGHAI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 50-53

[Article by the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of the Textile Industry]

[Text] The textile industry of Shanghai is the oldest textile industrial base of our country. Since the first factory, called the "machine weaving bureau," was founded by the bureaucrats of the Qing dynasty in Shanghai in the late 1870's, it has enjoyed a history of 100 years.

For nearly three-quarters of a century, under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the textile industry of Shanghai developed but made slow progress. With the founding of the nation, the textile workers of Shanghai perseveringly tapped latent capacity, carried out reforms and transformations and brought the role of the old base into full play. After 30 years of endeavor they brought about profound changes in the outlook of this old base. Production developed continuously, and more and more contributions were made to the state. The total output value in 1978 was 6 times that in 1949, and the profits turned over to the state increased by 44 times. Today the financial accumulation offered to the state annually is sufficient for building two textile bases on the scale of that of the Shanghai textile industry. Shanghai textile products sell well in over 140 countries and regions of the world and enjoy a rather high prestige; every year the income from foreign exchange which they provide for the state constitutes approximately 7 percent of the foreign exchange income of the whole country.

The changes in the development of the textile industry of Shanghai vividly and eloquently prove that the enterprises on hand are the starting points and footholds for our realizing industrial modernization and are the major bases for advancing toward the four modernizations. To realize industrial modernization we must bring into full play the role of the enterprises on hand. Recalling the path we have traversed in the past 30 years, we are filled with still greater confidence. The path of tapping latent capacity and carrying out reforms and transformations is broad. On this "stage" made up of enterprises on hand we can direct a vivid, dramatic, powerful and grand play.

## It Is Necessary To Have a Long-Term Plan for Tapping Latent Capacity and Carrying Out Reforms and Transformations

To persevere in tapping latent capacity and carrying out reforms and transformations and to give full play to the role of old bases, we must have a long-term plan that embodies lofty aspirations and a clear aim. In the past we also carried out transformations of some old factories. But we only "treated the head when the head ached and treated the foot when the foot hurt." Our strength was dispersed, and not much change was brought about. There were even some cases which were out of keeping with the entire situation or the long-term situation. Summing up these experiences and lessons, we realized that, in order not to limit our vision, we must have a long-term goal. In accordance with the demands which the state and the people made on us and with the actual situation of the textile industry of Shanghai, we gradually formulated a long-term goal for building that textile industry into a textile products export base that had the capacity for competitive sales, a base for regulating high- and medium-grade textile products at home, a base with a high standard of textile science and technology and a base that provided advanced and complete sets of textile machinery and equipment. In accordance with this long-term goal, we formulated a long-term plan for the transformation of the textile industry of Shanghai. We gave prominence to a focal point at a certain period, concentrated on solving a weak link, worked in a down-to-earth manner and fought battles one after another. In the latter half of the sixties we emphasized raising the production efficiency of the high-grade spinning frame and pushed forward the reform and transformation of the entire cotton textile industry. In 1971 we concentrated our forces on fighting a people's war of developing synthetic fiber, thereby making preparations technically for a large-scale development of the synthetic fiber industry and paving the way for diversity in textile products. Beginning in 1972 we spent approximately 3 years stressing the promotion of blended fabric products, thereby greatly developing the production of cotton terylene. Since 1976 we have again concentrated our efforts on grasping the manufacture of medium- and long-fiber imitation worsted knitwear and knit coats and on grasping the treatment after printing and dyeing. In this way we brought about a small-scale change every year and a major change every few years, achieved a major victory by accumulating small-scale victories and used quantitative change to promote qualitative change. Practice told us that without a long-term plan things would have been quite different. Having a long-term plan was like having the strategic thinking of bringing about a fundamental change in the outlook of the old bases and old enterprises. Therefore, we would not stop in the face of achievement or be satisfied with doing patch-up work; rather, we would focus our attention on a "thorough remolding." Having a long-term plan and a clear direction for development, the masses would have a goal to strive for and would have zeal in work, the people would work as one and concentrate their forces and the outlook would be changed swiftly.

## Doing a Good Job of Reshuffling Economic Units Is an Important Means of Fully Tapping Latent Production Capacity

In the work of tapping latent capacity and carrying out reforms and transformations, we must also pay great attention to doing a good job of reshuffling economic units and regard it as an important content in the long-term plan for the transformation of old bases. Facts have proved that, with the development of production and technology, the raising of the degree of specialization and the changes in domestic and foreign markets, the continuous readjustment and reshuffling of enterprises is an important means of fully tapping the latent capacity of old factories. The latent capacity in this area is extremely great. After continuous readjustment and reshuffling in the No 1 weaving industry, three twist-thread factories, four yarn-dyeing factories and two treatment factories have been built, supplying dyed yarn to and shouldering the task of twisting thread and treating yarn-dyed fabric for the 27 yarn-dyed fabric factories in the entire industry. As a result, the rate of equipment utilization and labor productivity doubled, product quality was raised and production costs were lowered, thereby promoting the swift production of high- and medium-grade products such as yarn-dyed cotton terylene and yarn-dyed medium- and long-fiber imitation worsted knitwear. In the seventies the rate of development of production of this industry was maintained at 10 percent and above. Recently, in accordance with the policy of readjustment, reform, rectification and promotion, and in accordance with the changes in the domestic and foreign markets, the cotton-thread industry also carried out readjustment and reshuffling of its enterprises, reduced the number of long-thread products, and vacated factory workshops and increased their capacity for the purpose of expanding short-thread products and of developing urgently needed and scarce products, thereby promoting the development of production. During the first quarter of this year there originally was a very large gap in the effort to fulfill the production tasks. Through readjustment and reshuffling the tasks were implemented and overfulfilled by 8 percent.

## Engage in Scientific Research and Technological Reform in a Big Way and Shift the Old Bases Onto the Basis of the New Technology

To continuously tap latent production capacity and bring old bases into full play, we must popularly mobilize the masses to engage in scientific research and reform in a big way and shift the old bases onto the basis of the new technology. For a long time we have paid constant attention to putting technological reform and scientific research in an important position and launched in a big way the mass movement of technological reform. We have also organized the textile scientific research units, the textile industrial institutions, the textile machinery manufacturing industry and the textile mills to engage in battle together; implemented the three-in-one combination of technical personnel, leadership and workers, the three-in-one combination of scientific research units,

institutions of higher learning and factories and enterprises and the three-in-one combination of scientific research, equipment manufacture and consumption units; and fully mobilized all positive factors that could be mobilized. On the one hand we launched scientific research and technological reform in a big way and broke new paths in technology; on the other hand, in accordance with the characteristic of multiple-machine production in the textile industry, we grasped without delay the ripe fruits of scientific research and reform and popularized them in a planned and systematic manner, reformed the old factories and truly grasped the fruits of scientific research and reform. This is what we have often referred to as "reforms break new paths and transformations bring achievements." The innovation of the spinning frame of the cotton textile industry is representative. In the early days of the liberation the spinning frame used the plane spindle, and the cotton yarn output of 1,000 spindles was 18 kilos. During the years of the Big Leap Forward the plane spindle was reformed into the ball-bearing spindle, and the cotton yarn output of 1,000 spindles was raised to 35 kilos. In 1970 the ball-bearing spindle was reformed into the high-speed separating spindle, and the cotton yarn output of 1,000 spindles leaped to over 40 kilos. The two major reforms resulted in two major enhancements. A spindle now is equivalent to 2.5 spindles in the early days of the liberation. The technical personnel and the broad ranks of workers of the Shanghai textile industry not only carried out reforms in the spindle of the spinning frame and doubled the production efficiency; they also carried out transformations in the drafting position and the shaping position of the spinning frame, thereby shortening the working procedure and raising labor productivity. Now, on the one hand, they are carrying out reforms and transformations on the existing spinning frames; on the other hand they are carrying out research on various new spinning techniques such as open-end spinning, self-twisted spinning and electrostatic spinning. The technological transformation of the glove-manufacturing industry is even more typical. The production of gloves was originally a handicraft operation. Its production efficiency was low. Each worker could reel only four to five dozen gloves. Moreover, labor intensity was high; each worker had to reel over 40,000 times every day. After a considerable period of time the worker would find that "one of his shoulders was higher than the other and one of his arms was bigger than the other." Beginning in 1958 the staff and workers of the glove-manufacturing industry worked hard and carried out reforms in a big way and triumphantly launched four major technological transformations in the industry. On the first occasion they discarded the conventional "spin-handle" and realized mechanization; on the second occasion they revolutionized the "needle board" and realized single automation; on the third occasion they changed single automation to multiple automation; and on the fourth occasion they made their entrance into electronics and adopted numerical program control, thus raising production automation to a still higher level. After the four reforms and transformations, the number of workers in this industry was reduced from some 7,500 to some 2,100, while the output of gloves increased fourfold. The



reform and transformation of the glove-manufacturing industry did not come to an end. The No 1 gloves factory in recent years again adopted the computer "collective control," using one computer to control the entire production process of 120 glove-making machines in the entire workshop. It presented an even fresher pattern for people. All these examples enable us to understand clearly that under certain technological conditions there are certain limits to the development of production; and when new technological conditions are created, a new high plane in the production level will appear. If we continue to carry out reforms and transformations and continue to shift the old bases onto the basis of the new technology, then production will continue to develop, and the old bases will be able to render new contributions continuously. Summing up the experiences of the past 30 years, we profoundly realize that, in order to enable the old bases to mount the stallion of the new technology and keep pace with the age, it is extremely important to establish a "technological reserve." This means that within a certain period we should have new ripe techniques and new technology that we can popularize and apply; new techniques and new technology which can be put on trial; new projects that are organized for tackling key problems and seizing achievements in scientific research; and new questions embodying the orientation for technological development which we will explore. In this way, with one ring linked with the other and one generation followed by another, we can enable the reform and transformation of old bases to advance wave after wave, like an endless stream and a constant thread, and to develop toward the depth and height of technology.

#### We Must Closely Integrate the Technological Reform of Old Enterprises With the Rejuvenation of Products

Since the seventies we have paid more attention in this respect and scored comparatively more conspicuous results, the most prominent of which was the technological transformation of the old factories that were developing cotton terylene. Cotton terylene embodied the characteristics of "being well pressed, neat and smooth" and was greatly welcomed by consumers at home and was a popular product in the international market. In the production of cotton terylene it was necessary to adopt some new technology and new equipment. Beginning in 1972 we launched a people's war of technological transformation of old factories that were developing cotton terylene. The annual output of cotton terylene in 1972 was only 27 million meters. After a 3-4-year effort, over 200 million meters were produced in 1975. Through this battle several dozens of our cotton textile factories, cotton weaving factories and printing and dyeing factories were transformed. Profound changes in the production and technological outlook took place, and a big stride was made on the road to realizing modernization. Through this battle we accelerated the development in production, enriched the domestic market, expanded exports and increased our accumulation of capital. The following accounts explain the issue very well. First, the withdrawal of currency from circulation through the marketing of

100 million meters of cotton terylene is equivalent to an investment in the building of 10 cotton textile factories on a scale of 100,000 spindles and 3,000 weaving machines. Secondly, in the 8 years since 1972 the total output value of the Shanghai textile system increased by almost 70 percent, and this was due primarily to the development of high- and medium-grade textile products such as cotton terylene. Thirdly, the tax revenues and profits brought to the state through the development of cotton terylene in the past few years were 60 times the investments made in the transformation of old factories. The Shanghai textile industry is an important base for exporting textile goods. Under the circumstances in which competition on the international market is extremely fierce, conscientiously doing a good job of rejuvenating products and continuously developing high- and medium-grade textile products are major issues involving the question of whether we can stand firmly in the international market. Thus, the technological transformation of old bases must be closely integrated with the rejuvenation of products. By adopting new technologies we can guarantee the development of new high- and medium-grade products; and by developing new high- and medium-grade products we can bring about the adoption of new technologies and the transformation of old bases. At present we are further transforming the old bases on the basis of developing long- and medium-fiber imitation worsted knitwear, knitwear, large knit items and combed woolen products and all kinds of new products that have undergone such treatment as shrinkage prevention and wrinkle prevention.

#### Rely on Our Own Efforts To Transform "Rivers and Mountains"

In persevering in tapping latent capacity and carrying out reforms and transformations and in bringing old bases into full play, we must also give prominence to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The state's support for the transformation of old bases is extremely important, and the import of foreign advanced technological equipment is also necessary. The textile industry needs a small investment, brings fast results and yields great profits. If the state gives minimum financial and material support to such an old base as the Shanghai textile industry, fills gaps in a planned manner and fills the gaps to complete a chain, the economic results will be very obvious. However, it is also unsuitable for such a large organization as our Shanghai textile industry to rely totally on the state and wait for equipment from the higher level and for imports. If we wait, we will waste the golden opportunity. Eloquent evidence of this were the two attitudes toward the transformation of the silk-weaving machine in the silk industry, which produced two different results. Of some 4,200 silk-weaving machines in this industry, a majority in the past were old-fashioned iron and wooden machines. At first the workers waited for the distribution of new equipment from the higher levels; they waited 17 years without getting anything done. Beginning in 1972 they organized forces inside the industry to plunge into work, manufactured 400 sets of machines in each batch and persevered in doing so relentlessly. Now the old-fashioned

iron and wooden machines have basically been rejuvenated into automatic silk-weaving machines that are of advanced level. For 30 years we relied precisely on the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance to tap latent capacity and carry out reforms and transformations of old bases. We relied on our own strength to continuously launch technological transformation of old equipment. By relying on our own strength, we manufactured in batches many special sets of textile equipment. For instance, in developing cotton terylene we needed all kinds of special equipment. With the exception of some machines which were allotted by the higher level or imported from abroad, we manufactured most of our equipment. We also launched four revolutions over the glove-making machine. Relying on our own strength, we even rebuilt a large number of factory workshops. While transforming the old bases, we gradually formed our own ranks of machinery manufacture and building construction. Now there are over 30 machinery plants and nearly 10,000 staff and workers in the entire industry exclusively serving reforms and transformations. We also have a construction company that is capable of 60,000 square meters of construction work annually. We symbolically refer to these two ranks as the two "fists" in the reform and transformation of old bases. Having these two "fists," we have gained still greater initiative in tapping the latent capacity and carrying out reform and transformation of old bases. To further do a good job of the transformation of the old bases, we look forward to still greater support from the state. We are also determined to bring into even greater play our own subjective flexibility. We must carry out technological transformation of the present machinery manufacturing force and the building construction force and, in accordance with the principle of coordination between specialized units, carry out readjustment in order to bring their roles into still further play.

The second session of the Fifth NPC which convened recently called upon the people of the whole country to be of one heart and mind and to unite in launching socialist modernized construction in a planned manner. The meeting decided that in the 3 years beginning this year we should conscientiously do a good job of readjusting, reforming, rectifying and raising the national economy and gradually bring the national economy into the orbit of sustained, proportionate and high-speed development. It proposed that we adopt specific measures for promoting light and textile industries, increase the proportion of investment in light and textile industries and give priority to arranging and implementing the raw materials, fuel and motive force needed in light and textile industrial production. This wise decision gave the broad ranks of textile staff and workers tremendous inspiration and boundless strength. All said that in the past the textile industry was "No 9 at the table of the eight immortals," but now the situation has changed, and it has entered a warm spring season in which flowers are blossoming. The state should cultivate the soil and add fertilizer to this "tree of ready money"--the textile industry; all trades and undertakings must make way for the development of the textile industry; and our textile industry should all the more go all out and do our best to make this "tree of ready money" take deep roots and bear abundant leaves and rich fruits.

**TAKE QUALITY AS THE CENTER OF ATTENTION IN STRENGTHENING ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 54-57

[Article by Sha Ye [3097 0673], director of the Beijing Internal Combustion Engine General Plant]

[Text] Our plant is an old enterprise which produces internal combustion engines for automobiles and tractors. In the early days of the liberation the factory workshops were small and the equipment was simple and crude, so the factory was only capable of producing such simple farm machinery as the two-wheeled, double-shared plow. Beginning in 1958, by launching capital construction and continuous tapping of latent capacity, reforms and transformations, we manufactured special equipment to arm ourselves, gradually expanded our production capacity and switched to producing internal combustion engines primarily. In those years production developed very swiftly. In terms of horsepower, the output of the internal combustion engines in 1978 increased by 29 times over that in 1965, and labor productivity increased by 7.3 times, which meant that the industrial output value increased progressively at a rate of 22.8 percent annually and that labor productivity increased progressively at a rate of 16.5 percent annually. But one production problem remained unsolved for a long time: In comparison with the advanced products of the same category produced both at home and abroad, our product was backward economically and technologically. Its quality was poor and its service life short, and it was noisy. Furthermore, such problems as oil, gas and water leakage existed. The consumers had a lot of complaints about all this. The problem of quality had become a serious obstacle to our factory's advance toward the four modernizations. Was poor product quality a result of backward equipment? No. Many comrades and experts in the same trade who visited our factory held that the technological equipment of our factory was not at all bad. Was it therefore because we did not have enough hands? Again, no. The fundamental reason why the quality was poor was that, as a result of the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," management and administration were backward. We failed to grasp well the management of product quality. In view of the situation in our factory, as long as we employed a scientific method,

strengthened enterprise management and fully and reasonably utilized our existing manpower, material power and financial power, then not only would we swiftly raise the quality of products but we would also greatly increase the quantity. On the basis of this understanding, we have, since August of last year, begun to learn from the experiences of Japan's Komatsu Ltd. in practicing all-round quality management and paid attention to grasping quality management. Although we launched the pilot project fairly recently, we have already achieved relatively conspicuous results and have brought about obvious improvements in product quality. For instance, the third section of the small parts workshop, which ran a procedure of processing tappets of gasoline engines, used a four-axle spherical turning grinder. Because of the high demand for precision, 20 percent of the products in the past were rejected as below standard. After practicing all-round quality management, this working procedure was able to continuously produce 440,000 rejection-free items. The fitter unit of the equipment section of the gasoline engine workshop trial-practiced the method of all-round quality management. In 2 months the unit realized the goal of "reducing by half the hours of closedown of work and the times of machine shutdown." The connecting rod section of the gasoline engine workshop maintained the rate of rejections at an average of 1.45 percent from January to October 1978. Since popularizing all-round quality management, the section reduced the rate of 0.3 percent this June, a reduction of 79 percent. Quality management pushed forward the management work over the entire enterprise. In the factory as a whole, as a result of strengthening political and ideological work, paying attention to acting in accordance with economic laws and popularizing all-round quality management, in the first 6 months we realized over half the schedule and more than half the tasks and raised product quality to a comparatively higher level. By June both the diesel engine and gasoline engine were regarded as top-quality products. The qualifying rates of a first trial run for the diesel engine and the gasoline engine were 90 and 93.5 percent, respectively, setting the highest records in history. The daily rate of balanced production for the gasoline engine was 100 percent for 6 consecutive months, and the daily rate of balanced production for the diesel engine reached 99 percent in June. The cost of both engines dropped; the cost of a gasoline engine was lowered by 6 percent compared with that of the corresponding period last year.

Practice has proved that, by popularizing this scientific method of management, we spend less money and obtain faster results and greater benefits. We not only can raise the quality and reduce the cost but more importantly can raise the level of management over an enterprise and promote the development of various projects and production in a greater, faster, better and more economical way.

The central task of an enterprise is to provide high-quality products that meet society's needs. Only when the quality of a product is good can it satisfy the needs of the people; if the quality is poor, then not only will it entail wasted manpower and material power and

inconvenience for the people, but it will even have inestimable consequences for production and the people's livelihood. There is an old saying, "A fine piece of work will show that man is not simple," meaning that a good craftsman will never manufacture in a rough and slipshod way. With the development of science and technology, the people's demand for product quality grows higher and higher. In the last 20 to 30 years the various scientific sectors have advanced by leaps and bounds and have continuously established new criteria for product performance, durability, reliability, safety and economy. In a capitalist country, if a product does not reach the standard of quality demanded by the consumer, then the product will not be sold, or even if it is sold, the consumer will return it, ask for a refund or seek legal action. Some enterprises are even closed down because consumers will not tolerate poor product quality. The purpose of production for our socialist enterprises is to satisfy the needs of the people. In all work we must be highly responsible toward the people. Furthermore, we need to regard the raising of the product quality as a task of paramount importance.

Product quality is the comprehensive reflection of the quality of all work. The quality of all work of an enterprise is, in the last analysis, manifested through the quality of its products. Taking quality as the center of attention in strengthening enterprise management, we can mobilize all work in the enterprise. Enterprise management covers a lot of ground; besides quality management there are management over planning, management over production, management over materials, management over financial affairs, management over technology, management over labor, and so forth. All these management tasks have a direct or indirect influence on product quality. Grasping quality management is equivalent to grasping the head of a dragon and can therefore promote and strengthen all-round management over the enterprise. Prior to 1977, as a result of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a great many problems existed in our factory. We regarded the problem of quality as the center of attention in the rectification of enterprise management. Poor product quality had been a longstanding, big and difficult problem in our factory. Some products had been produced for over a decade; although more than 10,000 items were produced annually, the quality remained poor. Because of the poor quality, production became uneven, and very often a passive state of slackness followed by tightness appeared in production: "No work was done in the early part of the month, work was launched in the middle of the month and work was hurried in the latter part of the month." The unevenness in production again directly affected quality. The long-term vicious cycle of poor product quality and production unevenness seriously affected the normal progress of all other work. Beginning last year, taking the exposure and criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as the key, we relentlessly grasped quality as the key, proceeded from thinking, organization, systems and measures and from mastery over the scientific method of quality management, and worked hard to bring about an upswing in quality. After we had grasped product quality, other work in the enterprise was

also mobilized. Production was no longer slack one moment and tight another but was launched evenly. The level of refined production was raised, the outlook and environment of the factory took on an altogether new aspect, and the eight economic and technological norms set by the state all scored record highs. We tasted the initial fruits of success in proceeding from quality in grasping management.

To raise product quality we must act in accordance with the objective laws of the problem of quality in exploring and grasping the scientific method of management. In the past we did discuss and grasp the problem of product quality. But why were there no thorough changes after all those years of discussing and grasping the problem? The reason was that there were still some problems as regards our manner of treating quality management. In the past we embraced two one-sided views toward grasping product quality. One view was that as long as we resolutely implemented the "three guarantees system" (guaranteeing repair, guaranteeing exchange and guaranteeing refund) we could guarantee quality. Another view was that as long as we conducted inspections conscientiously and strictly we could guarantee quality. The implementation of the "three guarantees system" was doubtlessly important to consumers. The factory would "bring back" from the consumers the defective products and guarantee repair, exchange and refund. This was a major change in the attitude of the factory in handling the problem of quality; it was an expression of responsibility toward consumers and should be upheld. However, to deliver below-standard goods to the consumers caused them inconvenience; therefore, no matter how well and how fast they "brought back" the items, it was not the same as not sending defective goods out in the first place. Strict inspection was also necessary and effective in terms of guaranteeing that below-standard goods would not be mixed with up-to-standard goods. In the future we should persevere in doing so. However, such guarantee inspection was, after all, an expression of "being wise after the event." Of course, they could renovate the portion that was below standard. But the waste of time and materials could not be remedied. To put the focus of guaranteeing quality on inspection could not fundamentally improve the quality of a product. In the past we generally adopted such a backward method of carrying out inspection after the event. This could no longer meet the demands of modernization and large-scale production.

The high quality of a product comes from design and production and not from inspection. All-round quality management asks that we shift the focus from "guarantee after the event" to "control beforehand." Product quality includes the quality of design, the quality of manufacture, the quality of inspection and the quality of use. The quality of use refers to the effectiveness of use when the product is in the hands of the consumers. As for the factory, the emphasis is primarily on the first three. The quality of inspection refers to the question of the discovery of a product's quality by means of inspection; we should inspect the quality of manufacture as well as the quality of design. Inspection is important, but it is not the only means. What is most fundamental is to

guarantee quality in the process of design and the process of manufacture. If we can accomplish this, then the work of inspection will become subordinate. To accomplish this we must implement the policy of active prevention in work and adopt measures beforehand to eliminate and control factors in respect to design, technology, equipment, installation and balanced production that exist and that may cause the products to fail the required standards. We should shift the focus of the work of quality management from "guarantee after the event" to "control beforehand" and from picking out the below-standard items to preventing below-standard items. In the past, in rectifying product quality, our factory paid attention to strengthening management and stabilizing and raising the technological level in the production process. But because our ideological understanding did not change fundamentally, in actual work we still devoted greater efforts to trying to strengthen inspection. This was the fundamental reason why product quality remained backward for so long.

The quality of design is the prerequisite for guaranteeing the quality of a product. A good product design not only should be convenient for manufacture as well as inspection, but more importantly should be drawn up with the thinking of "consumers first" in mind. We should take the demands of the consumers as the criterion for quality, carry out design from the consumers' standpoint, shift from selling whatever we produce to designing whatever our consumers need and truly unify the various demands of our consumers over the products. It is the basic task of our socialist enterprise to provide more and better products for society. We must continue to raise product quality, improve old products and develop new products. Motivated by the desire to be responsible to the people, our socialist enterprises must embrace "a sense of crisis" toward the fact that we cannot survive when product quality is poor. More than that, we must have a "sense of urgency" in swiftly raising product quality. Otherwise we will not have good design and good products. Why is it that the products our factory produces "are the same for 20 years"? This is mainly because we lack this "sense of urgency"; we do not see the backwardness of our products and are satisfied as long as some people want our products.

Guaranteeing the quality of manufacture is the key to guaranteeing the quality of a product. Product quality is created through the process of production. In the process of production many factors contribute to the quality of the product: man, machinery (including technological equipment), material, method and environment are the major factors affecting the quality of a product. Managing well these five factors, we will have a reliable guarantee for raising the quality of a product. In the past, the No 1 group of the crankshaft section of the diesel engine workshop produced a surprisingly large number of rejected products. In 1976 it produced over 2,000 rejects. After the smashing of the "gang of four," this group firmly grasped quality, implemented the system of responsibility, strictly carried out guarantee inspection and raised



product quality. However, there were still a great many rejected products, and there were even more below-standard products that were returned to be repaired. Was it because the workers were not hard-working or were irresponsible? No. The comrades of the entire group devoted great efforts to raising product quality. Later they popularized all-round quality management, shifted the focus of management to management over the process of production and shifted inspection after production to control beforehand. Then product quality improved conspicuously. The rate of rejected products of this group dropped from the 0.93 percent for January to October of last year to 0.15 percent at present. There was a working procedure in this group. In the past, because the group could not control a key measurement, one-third of the rejected products of the entire group stemmed from that key measurement. After all-round quality management was implemented, this working procedure processed some 15,000 more crankshafts without a single reject because of that key measurement problem. From this we can see that if we want our products to be reliable we must strengthen scientific management. In particular, we must strengthen scientific management over the process of production. To assure our consumers we must first ask producers to pay attention to every production link.

Every measurement of quality manifests itself in a certain quantity. We must have a scientific basis for strengthening all-round quality management. The basis of quality management is the real data that reflects the problem of quality and the level of quality. Thus, to manage quality well we must first grasp the quantitative limits that determine quality. The quality of the internal combustion engine is manifested through its volume, weight, rotational speed, horsepower, gasoline consumption and other performance standards. If we depart from these concrete quantitative standards, we cannot have a sure grasp of the quality of the internal combustion engine. To have a sure grasp of quality we must raise qualitative management to quantitative management and manage quality by controlling quantity. Thus, to engage in all-round quality management we must firmly embrace the concept of "letting data have all the say." Only when a science has successfully applied mathematics can it be said to have reached the truly perfect stage. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us: "Have a head for 'figures.' That is to say, we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every measurement of quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity there can be no quality. To this day many of our comrades still do not understand that they must attend to the quantitative aspect of things--the basic statistics, the main percentages and the quantitative limits that determine the qualities of things. They have no 'figures' in their heads and as a result cannot help making mistakes." ("Methods of Work of Party Committees") Collecting and accumulating a large amount of data, employing the statistical method to process data and then identifying patterns embodied in the data--this is the basic purpose of employing the statistical method in the work of quality management. This is

the primary indicator that the work of quality management is built on a scientific basis. In the past we have also collected data and used these data to carry out qualitative analysis. But because we lacked a profound understanding of how to control quality through data, we tended to collect data incompletely and inaccurately and thus failed to reflect the actual situation. Sometimes we passed judgments on a problem and adopted measures on the basis of false data. In addition, we were used to relying on general impressions and feelings in handling problems. The effects, therefore, were not conspicuous. Now we have begun to pay attention to grasping true data and to resolutely opposing the perfunctory use of false data. False data are more harmful than no data. To let figures speak for the good and bad of a product and a job and to use data in guiding production is one reason why there has been an obvious rise in product quality.

In raising product quality we must fully mobilize the masses and rely on the masses and implement strict "self-inspection" among the workers. This is the key to controlling quality. Who is the master of quality? The production worker is the master of quality. Every production worker should adopt the thinking that "the consumer is the next in line in the working procedure" and should refuse to hand over to the next in line in the working procedure products that have not reached the qualitative criterion of this working procedure. Only in this way can we have a reliable guarantee of the quality of the final product. We often say that everyone should guarantee the quality of products. This means that every producer should carry out strict "self-inspection." "All people should guard their passes," and all people should implement "self-inspection." Not only should they demand inspection to determine whether a product is up to standard or not, but, more importantly, they should, through data and charts, grasp the five factors that affect quality in the process of production and control and constantly observe quality in the process of production. To attract the broad masses to take part in the work of quality management, we have now set up over 300 quality management groups in all the workshops and the 29 technical offices. They persevere in carrying out study and practice at the same time, bring the collective wisdom into full play and strictly implement "self-inspection," thus providing a solid mass basis for the work of quality management.

To engage in inspection of product quality after production is generally a matter for the inspection department and inspection personnel. However, quality management beforehand involves all departments and personnel of all categories within an enterprise and is therefore a matter of concern for the staff and workers of the entire factory. We must mobilize all comrades of the design, research, testing, production, sales and service departments to struggle for a common goal. In this sense, this concept of "quality" is not confined to the quality of the product itself but is of a much richer substance. It includes not only the quality of design, manufacture and inspection, but also the quality of

the planning of work, the quality of the work of various departments, the quality of the work of personnel of various categories, and so forth. It embodies the entire content of enterprise management. Thus, we should include all the activities of enterprise management in the orbit of quality first, make all the work of an enterprise rational and scientific and enable every department and every individual in an enterprise to launch effective activities to raise the quality of products and the quality of work.

Refined production is the basis of quality management. If refined production is not launched properly, then the quality of products will definitely be poor. In the past our factory was dirty and disorderly. Since grasping quality management last year, we launched two great battles of refined production to clean up the environment of the factory district, rectify the interiors of workshops, fix the positions of and clearly label equipment, toolboxes, semifinished products, finished products, rejected and defective goods and outstanding goods, and paint white lines for communication routes. We strove to form the habit of refined production and constantly maintained a fine production environment. At present we are setting up assigned places for assigned tools and strive to insure that machine parts do not get damaged by careless handling.

To shift from quality management with inspection as the center of attention to all-round quality management is a revolution in enterprise management. In grasping well this work we must strengthen party leadership, strengthen ideological and political work, educate the staff and workers of the entire factory to firmly embrace the thinking of "quality first," truly and practically shift the various tasks of the enterprise to the path of taking quality as the center of attention, understand quality on the high plane of accelerating the realization of the four modernizations and strengthen the sense of responsibility in totally and thoroughly serving the people. At the same time we must conscientiously sum up the rich experiences in enterprise management since our nation's liberation, study the experiences of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and of Daqing, integrate the learning of foreign experience with the summing up of our own experiences and bring forth a set of systems and methods of enterprise management that suit our country's situation. These are brandnew questions for us, and we need practice to solve them gradually. Our factory's pilot project is an initial one, and there still are many problems. But we resolutely believe that, having Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding principle and relying on the common effort of the masses of staff and workers of the entire factory, we will surely be able to continuously strengthen all-round quality management, strive to discard the backward label of "poor quality" in the near future and render still greater contributions to realizing the four modernizations.

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UNIFY AWARENESS AND TAKE GOOD CARE OF MATTERS CONCERNING EDUCATED YOUNG PEOPLE WORKING IN RURAL AND MOUNTAINOUS AREAS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 58-62

[Article by the theoretical group of the office of the leading group of educated young people of the State Council]

[Text] How to do a good job of settling educated youth in the rural and mountain areas is a matter of interest to the masses and the whole society. It involves every household and affects every front.

At one time, opinions varied on this question, and there was a lack of unity of understanding among the people. Some people even raised doubts and vacillated. To continue to do a good job of settling educated youth in the rural and mountain areas, it is imperative that we clearly understand a number of major issues and achieve unity of thinking both within and without the party in keeping with the principle and policies defined by the party Central Committee.

It Is Necessary To Fully Confirm the Achievements of Educated Youth Who Have Settled in the Countryside

What is the settlement of educated youth in the countryside all about? Is it a call put forward by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, or is it a product of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? Is it a major achievement or is it a mistake? We must clarify these points first.

With the promotion of education after the enforcement of the First Five-Year Plan, the number of middle school graduates in the cities increased rapidly. Meanwhile, the rural areas needed a large number of educated youth due to the upsurge in the agricultural cooperative movement. Comrade Mao Zedong put forward this call as early as 1955: "All such young people who can go and work in the countryside should be glad to do so. The countryside is a big world where much can be accomplished." (Note to "Experience in Planning Cooperative Transformation in a Township") Later, in 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong further pointed out: "Take the urban youth,

for example. Arrangements must be made for them in one way or another-- they can go to school or work on a farm, in a factory or in a frontier area." ("Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees") In response to the party's call, many urban school graduates vied with one another to go and settle in the countryside. In the early 1960's the party Central Committee decided to carry out economic readjustment and called on the nation to give energetic support to agriculture. It was under these circumstances that we began to mobilize urban educated youth to go and settle in the countryside and frontier regions in an organized and planned way and on a national scale. In light of the actual situation in revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong in 1968 issued the call, "It is most necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside," thus setting off an upsurge of going to settle in the rural and mountain areas. After the fall of the "gang of four," a National Conference on Educated Youth Work was held as a result of a decision of the party Central Committee. Comrade Hua Guofeng also personally presided over a Political Bureau meeting to discuss and adopt the documents produced by the conference and charted a clear-cut orientation for doing a better job of settling educated youth in the rural and mountain areas in the future.

The vast number of educated youth now in the countryside have made their contributions to developing agricultural production. They have brought cultural and scientific knowledge to the rural areas and played an active part in promoting education, scientific farming and agricultural mechanization, organizing commune and brigade enterprises on a big scale and developing forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. Those educated youth who have settled in the frontier regions and mountain areas have made particularly outstanding contributions to changing the backward appearance of the countryside. Take the delta of the Heilongjiang and Wusuli rivers, for example. Before the Cultural Revolution there were only 900,000 mu of arable land in this delta. Working shoulder to shoulder with 20,000 veteran workers, the 50,000 educated young people who had settled in this place since 1968 brought 3.7 million mu of wasteland under cultivation and produced more than 3.468 billion jin of grain for the state during the past 10 years. They have turned a tract of marshland into fertile fields. The great contributions made by educated youth in developing agriculture, opening up the frontier regions and defending the motherland will be forever recorded in the history of socialist revolution and construction.

The vast number of educated youth now in the countryside have tempered themselves, enhanced their political consciousness and developed their abilities in the course of the three great revolutionary struggles. They have overcome the nonproletarian idea of looking down on farm work and manual labor, enhanced their revolutionary spirit of plain living and hard struggle, grasped the preliminary skills of agricultural production and learned a lot of things that were not taught in books by learning from rural commune members. They have also acquired the

ability to live and work on their own and built up their health through practice. A large number of outstanding educated youth in the countryside have joined the CCP and CYL and have been selected to fill leadership posts at all levels. Many of them have married and settled down in the countryside. More than half the number of educated young people in the countryside have taken up work on various fronts in accordance with the country's needs and have won acclaim and approbation in every field.

The party organizations at all levels, the masses of rural commune members, the parents and guardians of educated youth and the cadres in charge of the work of educated youth have done a lot of work and exerted great efforts toward mobilizing, making placement for, bringing up and educating young people.

However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought the national economy to the brink of collapse with their interference and sabotage. This not only made it more difficult to find work for school graduates in the cities but besmirched the name of sending young people to the countryside. This, plus other mistakes and shortcomings in our work, rendered us unable to solve practical problems in providing for the livelihood, work and study of the youth for a long time. In some places where too many young people were sent, the peasants were overburdened. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," these problems are now gradually and systematically being solved.

If we make a comprehensive survey of the history of our party's work concerning educated youth, we can clearly see that sending educated youth to the countryside is a call issued by the party Central Committee; it came into being and developed under a given historical condition of economic development and is linked with the cause of socialist revolution and construction. Despite the presence of all sorts of problems due to the interference of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the work has primarily been an achievement and has been dominated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We must fully appraise and recognize this fact with a clear head.

#### Some Young People Will Still Have To Go to the Countryside in the Next Few Years

After the National Conference on Educated Youth Work, the question of creating more job opportunities for young people in the cities began to receive universal attention. Positive efforts have been made to open up new domains, start new trades and develop collectively owned enterprises. We have only just begun our work in this regard. We must grasp this work in real earnest, because there is great potential in these fields of endeavor.

However, can we stop sending educated youth to the countryside and find work for all of them in the cities because of this? Judging from the actual conditions in our country, we cannot do this yet. In the next few years we still have to mobilize portions of the urban middle school graduates to go to the countryside.

First, with a view to implementing the general policy of "taking agriculture as the foundation" in developing the national economy and quickly changing the backward appearance of agriculture in our country, we must organize some urban young people to go and take part in developing agriculture in the rural and border areas.

China is a developing country which has little to start with. It is noted for its backward agriculture and slow progress. At present there are serious imbalances between various branches of the national economy, primarily between agriculture and industry. Marx once said: "The number of workers engaged in the processing and other industries who are completely divorced from agriculture (referred to as 'free hands' by Steuart) is determined by how much farm produce agricultural workers can produce in excess of their consumption." ("The Theory of Surplus Value," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book I, p 22) "An agricultural labor productivity exceeding the individual requirements of the laborers is the basis of all societies." ("Capital," Vol 3, p 885) At present, marketable grain and industrial raw materials provided by the peasants fall far short of the needs of a growing population for developing industry and improving the people's livelihood. Since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has adopted a series of important measures to strengthen the foundation of agriculture. For this reason, we not only must support agriculture with financial and material resources and arm the peasants with advanced techniques and equipment, but also must reinforce agriculture with qualified personnel. One way to accomplish this is by sending urban school graduates to the countryside.

An important aspect in developing agriculture in China is to expand the area under cultivation. In our country only 10 percent of our total land area is under cultivation. This makes our country's cultivated acreage the smallest in the world in proportion to its agricultural population. The unequal distribution of our population also leads to imbalances in the distribution of farmland among the people. In the coastal regions and in the suburbs of many big cities, each person gets only fractions of 1 mu of land. However, in frontier regions such as Heilongjiang, Xinjiang, Nei Monggol and Yunnan, which occupy half of the country's land, the population is sparse, and large tracts of arable land are waiting to be opened up. If we do not organize large numbers of people living in the densely populated areas to go and take part in developing the frontier regions, it will be difficult for us to bring about the four modernizations. Recently many urban school graduates have resolutely asked to go to the frontier regions, where they will

dedicate their youth to developing agriculture. This is a good cause. We must encourage and support it so that more school graduates will take the road of going down to the countryside.

Second, with a view to building small towns all over the city outskirts and the vast countryside and gradually reducing the distinction between town and country, we must mobilize some urban school graduates to take part in this great cause of construction.

One of our objectives in building socialism and achieving communism is to gradually reduce and ultimately abolish the distinction between town and country. Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "Combination of agriculture and manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country." (Quoted from "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273, note 2) Comrade Mao Zedong also once contemplated dispersing the residents of big cities to the countryside and building a lot of small towns. We should combine our work of sending young people to the countryside with this goal, build satellite cities around the big cities and small towns in the vast countryside, develop commune and brigade enterprises and agricultural supply industries with local resources, and gradually accomplish the industrialization of agriculture and the urbanization of rural areas. The successfully run educated youth farms have taken the first step toward accomplishing this goal. These educated youth settlement areas have developed production in an all-round way. They use the labor force set free as a result of agricultural mechanization to develop industry and commune and service trades and practice a diversified economy. With their own cultural, educational, medical and recreational facilities, they are just like a "small society." Although these settlement areas, which "combine the features of town and country and integrate industry and agriculture to benefit production and facilitate life," still have a long way to go compared with regular towns and cities, they represent the correct orientation and have broad prospects.

In the capitalist countries, large numbers of farmers have gone bankrupt and moved into the cities as workers following the rise in the level of agricultural mechanization. Taking this as the basis of their argument, some people have described the settlement of urban school graduates in the countryside as "an adverse current which runs counter to historical development." This idea is inconsistent with our country's conditions. Our country has a huge agricultural population. If one-quarter, not to say half, of our peasants moved into the cities, our urban population would double. This is bound to bring pressure on urban housing, employment, traffic and so on. All of these services already have great demands on them. We must not do a foolish thing like this.

Third, the rapid population growth in our country has made it even more difficult to find work for young people in the cities. Therefore,



young people have to be assigned work both in the cities and in the countryside.

Our country has the largest population in the world. The natural growth rate of our population has been on the high side since liberation. We have done remarkably well in the 1970's in bringing our population growth under control. However, since there was a bigger growth of population in the late 1950's and 1960's, the number of people of working age will show a marked rise in the last two decades of the century. In the next 7 years the annual average total of urban senior middle school graduates and junior middle school graduates who will not continue their studies will be five times the combined annual total of urban and rural senior and junior middle school graduates during the First Five-Year Plan. How should we accommodate these urban youth who are of working age? As far as industry is concerned, for every job opening created there must be a corresponding addition in the fixed assets. Even if the state were able to allocate all its fixed capital investment in multiplying the opportunities for employment, it could not accommodate the entire new labor force. As it is, the state still has to allocate a portion of this fund to equip existing enterprises with new installations. Moreover, our existing enterprises are overstaffed rather than shorthanded. This phenomenon will become more pronounced as management improves and the level of technology rises. It is true that industry will develop greatly after the readjustment of our national economy. However, this will not bring about a corresponding increase in the demand for labor power, because advanced techniques will be adopted. Thus, neither the state-owned nor collectively owned enterprises are in a position to accommodate large numbers of additional hands.

At present there is a great potential in urban commerce, service trades, handicrafts and tourism for providing employment opportunities. However, they cannot be developed unrestrictedly within a short time, because they, too, require a definite material basis and have their own limitations. If we neither take these factors into consideration nor mobilize some school graduates to go to the countryside, but instead unrealistically try to keep all urban school graduates in the cities, create jobs to accommodate them and follow the practice of "eating from the same pot," we are bound to substantially lower our labor productivity and aggravate the economic imbalances. Sooner or later we will be punished by economic laws.

In short, going down to the countryside is not an arbitrary policy. It does not "go against objective law" and is certainly not a "retrogression" and "adverse current." It is an important measure formulated in the light of our country's actual conditions. It is a matter of necessity in the process of China's socialist revolution and construction and is independent of man's will. In the future the number of school graduates going down to the countryside will gradually be reduced, because the structure of our social labor force will undergo a change as

socialist modernization advances. The natural population growth rate will also drop as a result of family planning. One day the present practice of sending young people to the rural and mountain areas will give way to other methods of giving support to the countryside and frontier regions. This necessarily involves a process. Since conditions vary from city to city, the time needed to complete this process may differ. As far as the whole country is concerned, it is still necessary to mobilize some urban school graduates to go and settle in the countryside in the next few years.

#### Adjust the Present Policy and Adopt Different Methods To Make Better Arrangements for Educated Youth in the Countryside

Although we have achieved substantial successes in making arrangements for educated youth in the countryside during the past decade and more, we have also run into numerous problems. At the National Conference on Educated Youth Work we realistically summed up positive and negative experiences and decided to adjust our policy toward these young people and adopt different methods. In the past, our watchword for young people going to the countryside was "to be reeducated." We assigned them to different production teams and overlooked the need to manage and educate them as a group. We did not act according to economic laws and did not base ourselves on the need to develop production. We relied on the state for subsidies to help young people solve their practical problems and did not pay any attention to creating the necessary working conditions for them to earn their own living. In short, we regarded the work of settling educated youth in the countryside as a makeshift measure and did not give too much thought about making arrangements for them to take up an occupation there. From now on, those going to the rural areas will no longer stay in separate production teams but will work in agricultural, industrial, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery bases specially set up for them by different government institutions and enterprises or on educated youth farms with independent accounting systems set up by various municipalities, counties and communes. Educated youth settlement areas based on the practice of "three together and one separate" (living, eating and studying together in production brigades and participating in manual labor in separate production teams) will continue to be an important form of settlement in some places. Those which are successfully run may gradually be converted into educated youth farms with their own accounting systems. In addition, we can also organize some school graduates to work on state farms, forestry yards, stockbreeding areas and fishing grounds through recruitment.

Some comrades sensed nothing but difficulties when they heard that it was still necessary to settle educated youth in the countryside. This is a passive idea. Experiences gained in many places have already proven that it all depends on human efforts.

The Hongqi integrated farm in Xiangtan Municipality, Hunan Province, is a collectively owned educated youth farm. Once a barren hill, this farm now has 2,200 mu of arable land and accommodates more than 1,000 educated youth. Here efforts are made to develop agriculture, sideline production and industry in an all-round way. In 1978 it made more than 4 million yuan with its industrial and agricultural output and provided the cities with large quantities of agricultural and subsidiary products. The living standards of the educated youth on this farm have been rising year after year. Last year the net income for those who had been on the farm for more than 2 years averaged 450 yuan. Some people earned well over 600 yuan. Thus, their real standard of living is the same or even higher than that of urban industrial workers in general. Some young people who had been recruited to work in the cities have asked to return to the farm of their own accord. Some have even persuaded their spouses to come and work on the farm. The Xiangtan municipal party committee recently gave approval for the educated youth on this farm to change their status to staff and workers of collectively owned enterprises without having to change their place of work. It also made arrangements for several hundred educated youth who had been assigned to production teams many years ago to come and work on this farm.

Xiangtan's experience in running its educated youth farm is educative and enlightening as well as encouraging. It convincingly demonstrates that there are broad prospects for settling educated youth in the countryside and that it is entirely possible to make the young people stay in the countryside.

#### People in Every Quarter Should Strive To Be Promoters of Progress in Making Educated Youth Strike Roots in the Countryside

The work of encouraging educated youth to go and settle in the countryside has an important bearing on the cause of socialist revolution and construction. It is the obligation of the whole society to support this work and be promoters of progress in making educated youth strike roots in the countryside.

First, the party committees and government departments at all levels must pay attention to this work. The question of going down to the countryside involves the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. It has strong policy implications and affects the whole nation. Thus, party committees at all levels must put this work on the agenda, fully arouse the enthusiasm of every department and grasp it firmly and well. As for those school graduates who should go to the countryside, further efforts should be made to mobilize them to go. Rural communes and brigades and other departments concerned should make proper arrangements for their placement. We must pay attention to and strengthen propaganda concerning educated youth settling down in the countryside, foster the idea that it is an honor to be a farmer, give wide publicity and commendation to model educated youth who resolve to

devote themselves to building up the rural and border areas, and pass on and spread the experience of the advanced educated youth settlement areas. We must clearly make known our stand when we see or hear things which are unfavorable to educated youth settling in the countryside and actively conduct ideological education to achieve unity in thinking and action in line with the principle and policies laid down by the party Central Committee. Due to the lack of a unified understanding and a consistent policy toward settling educated youth in the countryside, plus some lopsided propaganda, a gust of "city-returning wind" was stirred up in many places last winter and this spring. This is a lesson which we should all bear in mind.

The parents of the vast numbers of educated youth should actively support the cause of mobilizing educated youth to go and settle in the countryside. All parents love their children and hope to see them grow up to be useful. However, some parents have been trying by hook or by crook to get their sons and daughters back to the city to stay by their side. This is not the way to care for the young ones and will only jeopardize their future. In the past some parents could not feel easy about their children going down to the countryside, particularly to the production teams, because there were certain problems in our party's educated youth work. This is understandable. It is expected that, following our policy readjustment and adoption of new methods, the parents will actively support and encourage their children to go and settle in the countryside.

Leading cadres, particularly high-ranking ones, have the duty to encourage their children to go and settle in the countryside. In the past many leading cadres were praised by the masses for taking the lead in sending their children down to the countryside to be farmers. In recent years, however, a number of unhealthy practices in the work of settling educated youth in the countryside spread among some leading cadres. This corrupted the party's fine tradition and work style, impaired the relationship between the party and the people, exerted a bad influence on society and seriously sabotaged the work of settling educated youth in the countryside. Many of these leading cadres had given up their comfortable city life and gone down to the countryside and the mountain gullies to take part in the revolution when they were young. They did not vacillate a bit under extremely adverse and harsh conditions. Today they have forgotten all about their days in the revolution and do not guide and encourage their children to take the revolutionary road of going down to the countryside. These comrades are not worthy of the name of a party member and revolutionary cadre. We hope these comrades will carry forward the revolutionary tradition, encourage their children to go and settle in the countryside and set a good example for the masses.

With their own practical deeds, educated youth fighting in the vast countryside and frontier regions should make themselves promoters of progress in striking roots in the countryside. Although substantial

achievements have been made in industrial and agricultural production since the fall of the "gang of four," it is still necessary for us to readjust, restructure, consolidate and improve our economy, because we have not yet completely rectified our economic imbalances. A thousand things remain to be done, but it is impossible to undertake full-scale reconstruction all at once. Under the circumstances, we cannot solve all problems (including the problem of educated youth) within a short time. The overwhelming majority of educated youth in the countryside understand our country's difficulties and take the interests of the whole nation into account. Persistently fighting on the frontline of production in the countryside and frontier regions, they are determined to share the country's difficulties and contribute their strength to the four modernizations by working with their own bare hands. An outstanding representative of the young people is Comrade Yang Yongqing, deputy CYL secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, who is an educated youth from Shanghai and was once warmly received by Comrade Zhou Enlai. She asked of her own accord to be transferred from a city office back to the farms at the basic level and to work on the front-line of production. This noble quality of exerting for the country and devoting oneself to the four modernizations represents the common aspiration of the educated youth in the countryside and is acclaimed by the people of the whole country.

The superior socialist system has paved the way for us to reach the ideal state; the new Long March toward the four modernizations has opened up ample scope for ambitious young people. Educated youth who cherish high aspirations and lofty ideals should answer the party's call, do as they are bid by the motherland, work assiduously for a glorious future in the countryside, in the frontier regions, in the cities and in places where they are most needed, and dedicate their precious youth to the motherland.

CSO: 4004

## INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING AND PRODUCTIVITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 63-68

[Article by Wang Ling [3769 7190], Jiang Xuemo [5592 1331 2875] and Wu Bolin [0124 2672 7792]]

[Text] The strategic policy decision reached by the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee calls for shifting the focus of party work to socialist modernization. To insure a correct and timely rearrangement of the priorities of institutions of higher learning, it is necessary to understand fully and correctly the nature of schools and the role they play in the realization of the four modernizations.

The development of socialist large-scale production has turned modern schools more and more into a class vehicle for training various kinds of labor force. As a result, institutions of higher learning, the center for training experts, have become much more important than ever before, because they are responsible for training Red experts and developing science and technology to keep pace with and outstrip the world's most advanced level. In other words, they hold the key to the development of productivity and the realization of modernization. We cannot achieve the four modernizations unless there are well-educated scientists and technical experts. As far as this goes, we must say that the four modernizations depend solely on modern education, and only by running our institutions of higher learning well can we achieve modern production technology and greater social productivity.

### I. In Social Division of Labor, Schools Are Vehicles for Training Experts

Man must produce material supplies in order to live. Social productivity, which represents man's capability to acquire material supplies from nature, is developed in actual production. Its growth and expansion depend on a continuous process of accumulation and dissemination from one generation to another. Man passes his skill, experience and knowledge of production through education, which has become more and more essential as the variety and complexity of labor has multiplied along with the development of productivity.

Schools went through a long period of growth before they became the reservoirs and transmitters of production skills, science and culture. In primitive society, where productivity was minimal, people acquired education during production work. There were neither schools as such nor professional teachers. In both slave and feudal society, production of material supplies was accomplished by manual labor and individual producers. Production techniques were simple, and each household was a production unit. Children, who participated directly in household production activities, acquired production experience and skill from their elders. If one had to do more complicated work, such as handicraft, he must learn the trade from a master. However, education began to play an independent role in the slave and feudal society, though not for transmitting knowledge of production or training a labor force. It was supposed to train administrators for the ruling class, and the subjects taught were law, history, military affairs and culture in general. As laid down in "Zhou Li" (Book of Rites), "the education of a prince should focus on the six arts," namely, propriety, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics. What Confucius himself taught in his private school was roughly the six arts. "The six arts are all art of government," and they were taught to strengthen the rule of the exploiting class.

The role of schools changed during the capitalist period as production became socialized and modernized. Capitalist schools were not only centers for training administrators in politics, law and economics to sustain the rule of the capitalist class, but also centers for training "clever workers." "Now the capitalists want workers to use machine tools instead of manual tools."<sup>1</sup> Machines are materialized intelligence. A worker who works with a machine must have a certain amount of cultural and scientific knowledge and has received education in a school. Marx said: "It takes a certain amount of education and training to change a man and enable him to acquire the capability and skill in a given area as a developed specialized labor force."<sup>2</sup> What is referred to as a "developed specialized labor force," in a social historical context, is the opposite of "undeveloped ordinary labor force." The need for training and educating a labor force and the expenditure involved depend on the complexity of the work and "fluctuate with the change in the mode of production."<sup>3</sup>

In the early stage of capitalism, the expenditure on education for the ordinary labor force was minimal. At that time a worker who handled a machine required only elementary education. Today, as modern science and technology have been pushing production to the verge of total computerized automation, workers who operate modern systems of machinery are bound to have more and more scientific and cultural training. A worker who handles a system of automated operations must know not only every operation process but also the structure of every machine tool and the entire technological design. Modern factories require both workers with adequate scientific and technological training and research

specialists versed in scientific theories and technical know-how. The number of engineers, researchers and technical personnel has been increasing steadily. Agricultural production is also going through tremendous changes. To be a modern farmer is not as simple as it used to be. In addition to general basic knowledge, he has to have a wide range of specialized agricultural knowledge. Since World War II, children of workers in developed countries have shown a trend of spending more years on education, and educational expenditures have been increasing rapidly. A worker has to have a high school education to meet minimum job requirements. In other words, a high school education can only train the ordinary labor force, and it takes higher education to train a highly specialized labor force.

Education in a socialist society serves the proletariat politically, "aiming at training people to practice communism."<sup>4</sup> Does this imply that schools should abandon or cut back the training of workers and experts? The "gang of four" once maliciously clamored about forcing institutions of higher learning to specialize in struggles against the "capitalist roaders." This fallacious idea was regarded as outrageous by the revolutionary cadres and masses, even when the "gang of four" was in complete control of the news media. As a matter of fact, the struggle to raise social productivity to a higher level than that of the capitalist<sup>s</sup> by means of the socialist mode of production based on large-scale production and public ownership will make education even more amenable to the needs of production and play an even greater role in training a labor force and experts. In his letter to the "International Socialist University Students Congress," Engels said: "The capitalist revolution in the past expected universities to train lawyers, candidates for political careers. But the emancipated working class has to have physicians, engineers, chemists, agronomists and other experts in addition to lawyers, because the problem is not only the political machine but also the entire production process. So what is needed now is profound knowledge rather than eloquence."<sup>5</sup> This means that socialist colleges and universities have to train experts in the humanities and social sciences as well as experts in the natural sciences, including pure science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, etc. The training of experts and the teaching of scientific knowledge and technology are meant to sustain and develop productivity and achieve socialist modernization. In 1920, after having formulated a state electrification program, Lenin said: "The nature of school education, schoolwork and social education has to change." "Our schoolwork and training program must be structured to serve this pilot project of electrification."<sup>6</sup> He also pointed out: "We must acquire science and technology. If we cannot do that, our schools and colleges are worthless."<sup>7</sup> Our experience in education during the past 30 years proves that if schools are only arenas for class struggle and thought reform, craving for "eloquence" instead of imparting "profound knowledge" and "scientific skills" to students, they are worthless.



In the division of labor, socialist state schools are organs for training workers. The manpower, material and financial resources expended by schools constitute productive consumption. Marx considered production and consumption as the unity of two opposites. The process of social reproduction encompasses the production and consumption of material and labor. Production requires not only a given amount, quality and specification of material but also a given amount, quality and specification of labor. Everybody knows that material consumed for manufacturing commodities is productive consumption. Thus, we must admit that whatever is consumed to produce a labor force, including the means of subsistence of the workers and their families as well as materials consumed to provide them education, also constitute productive consumption. Marx explained that the amount of educational expenditure required for training different kinds of labor "is a part of the total cost required to produce the labor force."<sup>8</sup> Even though the labor force is no longer considered a commodity in socialist society and the concept of the total cost of producing labor no longer exists, the educational expenditure for training workers is so vital to the development of productivity that it is a mistake to consider education as simple consumption. Unlike factories, schools do not produce material supplies. Instead, they provide the human sector of the productive force, i.e., different kinds of labor force. Teachers who train all kinds of labor force deserve to be honored as "spiritual engineers" as well as "engineers."

It is obvious that the development of education depends on the growth of production. The number and size of schools and amount of educational expenditure are determined by the level of industrial and agricultural production. At the same time, the development of education is essential to the development of modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology. The production force, especially machinery and other material facilities, is created, used and improved by workers. Well-trained workers with greater adaptability and better skills are more receptive to new technology and better prepared for technological innovations. As far as human factors are concerned, education has become increasingly important in raising labor productivity. Nowadays the capitalists and their scholars value education so much that they consider education "a profitable investment." Big capitalist corporations usually have schools of their own to train workers, engineers and managerial personnel. Their curricula are structured to keep pace with technological innovations. Every new technology ushers in new courses of instruction or special training classes. These enterprises consider the money they spend to train workers as a part of production costs. They are convinced that if there is no "human investment" (education), "material investment" (new technology and facilities) would be useless, no matter how good it is. A new science called "educational economics," which deals with the effectiveness of educational investment, is getting more and more popular in the West. Although education is no longer assessed in terms of profit in socialist society, the effectiveness of educational investment should and can be

calculated. Our own institutions of higher learning trained a comparatively large number of high-caliber experts between the liberation and the Great Cultural Revolution. Most of these graduates are now the backbone in all sectors of socialist construction and are playing an important role in our socialist four modernizations.

## II. Institutions of Higher Learning Are Bastions for Development of Modern Science

We all know that science and technology generate productivity. Institutions of higher learning and productivity are closely related, because the former are bastions for the development of modern science. Since World War II, institutions of higher learning of capitalist countries have played an increasingly important role in speeding up the development of science and its application to production. The vast number of university research facilities in Western Europe, North America and Japan are so well funded and equipped that they have not only scored outstanding achievements but also turned out many famous scientists. Any socialist society which strives to speed up the development of science should also bring into full play the service of institutions of higher learning, because they and other specialized research institutes are best qualified to launch scientific research in their respective fields. These institutions, when fully utilized, will serve as bastions not only for training experts but also for studies in basic sciences and new technology.

First of all, scientific research calls for cooperation among the living on the one hand and utilization of the achievements of the dead on the other. Institutions of higher learning are best fit to do both. Their libraries, the reservoir of scientific and cultural resources of all ages and lands, provide easy access to the achievements of the past as well as the experience of foreign countries. There are learned and experienced senior experts in institutions of higher learning, where we also find middle-aged and youthful teachers tempered in teaching and research, as well as large numbers of postgraduates and senior undergraduates who are the least inhibited but most courageous in scientific explorations. This provides ideal conditions for the formation of a striking force of scientific endeavor led and guided by senior experts to pool all available resources for scientific research. For instance, the mathematics department of Fudan University had a team of research vanguards consisting of seniors and middle-aged and young people led by Su Buqing, a well-known mathematician and president of the university, and Prof Chen Jiangong, now deceased. It is a well-organized striking force "with excellent commanders" and "shock troops" best fit to tackle the citadel of science. Its work has been so fruitful that it has turned out more than 470 academic papers in 20 years.

Secondly, one of the unique features of modern science and technology is the interfusion of different scientific disciplines. Even though

each subject of study has been subdivided into minute areas of specialization, there still are subjects of comprehensive study that require the joint efforts of many different scientific research specialists. A university, especially a comprehensive university, is a composite organization of different departments representing various areas of specialization. So universities are fertile fields for the development of new courses of instruction, new frontiers of science and most comprehensive scientific studies. Fudan University has done this in a number of areas. For instance, teachers of the mathematics and chemistry departments have launched a quantum chemistry research project; teachers of both the physics and mathematics departments have cooperated in a successful study of the Galois domain; teachers of the chemistry and physics departments have cooperated to study the source of electric light; and a computer science department was set up with the help of teachers of physics and mathematics. There also are interdepartment academic forums to promote comprehensive research projects.

Thirdly, natural science depends on experiments to understand all physical objects. Institutions of higher learning in most developed countries usually have advanced and well-equipped laboratories. Some countries even place most sophisticated computers and reactors and other laboratory facilities in universities and make them centers of research in particular areas. Laboratories and advanced experiment facilities of institutions of higher learning are extremely essential to both scientific education and research. In recent years the chemistry department of Fudan University has designed and installed a number of experiment facilities for teaching and research. They have proven quite fruitful in chemical experiment and research.

Finally, teaching and research in universities are interdependent. Teaching is the systematic transmission of any particular branch of knowledge to the students, while research explores a particular subject and related areas of study. The two work together to popularize and improve scientific work. Only by engaging in research and exploration of new scientific achievements and reflecting them in teaching can teachers of institutions of higher learning improve the quality of teaching. While striving to help students understand what they learn and answer their questions, teachers could very well hit upon new ideas leading to a breakthrough in research. That was how Mendeleev discovered the periodic law of elements while teaching chemistry. A combination of teaching and research opens up a vast reservoir of human talent and scientific findings required to accelerate the development of modern science and technology. Consequently, to turn institutions of higher learning into centers of both teaching and research is in keeping with the inherent law of education and scientific research.

Scientific research by institutions of higher learning plays a vital role in developing productivity. The basic principles they teach and study are productivity "in the form of knowledge,"<sup>9</sup> "a form of social

productivity."<sup>10</sup> Science is an organic entity. One or all of its components will contribute to the development of productivity directly or indirectly, immediately or in the future, actually or potentially. Even though the study of a basic principle might not help production directly or turn immediately into actual productivity, it broadens the spectrum of science as a whole and contributes to the development of applied science and technology. The history of modern science and technology in relation to productivity illustrates that a breakthrough in pure science always finds its way to applied science and technology, either by bringing to light new potentials of technology, raising the level of research in existing principles and their applications or accelerating the development of both social productivity and actual production. The importance of the study of basic principles is bound to win popular support if the policy of scientific research is correct.

Another area of research by institutions of higher learning is the study of new technology, the outcome of which could lead to innovations in the production process or might even be applied directly to production. Marx used to call it "a service to actual production"<sup>11</sup> provided by science. It is actually the initial stage or a part of the entire production process. The labor expended for this kind of research is the same as that expended to produce material wealth. Money spent by such research institutes to establish laboratories and acquire additional and new equipment or experiment supplies is part of production costs. It is not any different than funds spent by factories or enterprises to produce goods. When a socialist enterprise uses the results of research done by schools, it should pay the school for the value of the service as if it were material or machinery supplied by another enterprise. The value created by labor spent in research by institutions of higher learning, as shown in the relationship between schools and socialist enterprises, is what Marx called the "economic function of science."

On the eve of the Great Cultural Revolution, the Ministry of Higher Education held an exhibition in Beijing of the achievements in scientific technological research by all institutions of higher learning under the jurisdiction of the ministry. The exhibition covered scientific and technological research achievements in agriculture, industry, new science and technology and basic research. Those leading comrades of the Central Committee who visited the exhibition all agreed that scientific research by institutions of higher learning is worth promoting. Scientific research done at institutions of higher learning is generally inexpensive but fruitful. This is well illustrated by what Pudan University has done over a period of 20 years in such areas of basic research as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, semiconductors, electric light source and other new scientific disciplines. New achievements in these areas have begun to surface since the downfall of the "gang of four" over 2 years ago. The economic value of these achievements far outweighs the amount of money spent for the research.

The above covers only departments of natural science, engineering and technology in relation to the four modernizations. A comprehensive university like Fudan also has departments and institutes specializing in the humanities and social sciences in addition to natural science. Although the experts they train do not participate directly in producing material supplies, they are closely tied to the realization of the four modernizations. In his discussion on building the foundations for modern agriculture and industry in our country, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To build socialism the working class must have its own technological cadres as well as its own professors, teachers, scientists, newspaper reporters, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians."<sup>12</sup> To achieve the four modernizations by the proletarian dictatorship led by the party along the socialist road based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and to bring the socialist superstructure and the socialist economic foundation into full play in order to develop social productivity, the working class must have its own experts in natural science, engineering and technology as well as the humanities and social sciences. Science and engineering on the one hand and liberal and fine arts on the other are all essential to socialist modernization. It is an ideological mistake to over-emphasize either science or liberal arts.

### III. Run Institutions of Higher Learning Well To Achieve the Four Modernizations

During the 17 years between the founding of the People's Republic and the first half of 1966, Fudan University and other fraternal universities and colleges, under the guidance of the line and policy of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the direction and care of Premier Zhou, turned out large numbers of Red experts and launched extensive scientific research work which led to the formation of contingents of vanguards in a number of vital areas of science and technology. The achievements of these research efforts were substantial enough to bring us closer to the world's advanced levels. Unfortunately, higher education was mortally sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for a period of 11 years following the outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, young teachers missed the opportunity to receive proper training. Middle-aged teachers barely managed to get by. As for senior teachers, some were persecuted and perished, while the rest, incapacitated by force of nature, are no longer able to play any active role in teaching and research. All these factors account for an acute shortage of teaching and research personnel.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," Fudan University has been working to bring order out of chaos. Reform measures have been introduced to make conditions more favorable for redirecting the priorities of schoolwork back to teaching and research.

Of course we still face tremendous difficulties in training high-level Red experts to meet the requirement of socialist modernization on the

one hand and to keep pace with and outstrip the world's most advanced scientific and technological levels on the other. Insofar as material facilities are concerned, our existing classrooms and laboratories are rundown, old, inadequate and unfit for modern education and research. This is true in almost all institutions of higher learning. To resolve this contradiction, it is necessary to purchase advanced equipment from abroad. However, a country as populous and yet inadequately prepared as we are should rely primarily on self-reliance and hard work to achieve modernization. As of now we must make full use of what we have, working against tremendous odds to provide laboratory and library facilities and to restructure experimental programs to activate higher quality teaching and research at a lower cost.

Even though material facilities are essential, human efforts still play a decisive role in teaching and research. Teaching and research facilities, no matter how good, are not serviceable unless there are active and creative teachers and researchers. In other words, we can use the facilities of the 1960's or even the 1950's to do scientific work of the 1970's level if we have active and creative teachers and researchers. As we go all out to implement the policies and programs of the party, the most important task is to adhere to the four principles, maintain stability and unity and improve conditions wherever necessary to raise the scientific level of teachers. In addition, we must have a sound rating and promotion system for teachers. There must be academic democracy and a lively research atmosphere to permit free discussion of different schools of academic thought. To insure successful and top-quality teaching and research, the procedure of teaching, learning and research must be thoroughly restructured.

Comrade Mao Zedong urged us to build up the country by thrift and hard work and to be industrious and thrifty in whatever we do. Comrade Zhou Enlai also pointed out: "The state must consider cost-effectiveness in training its experts."<sup>13</sup> The human, material and financial resources of our institutions of higher learning as of now are not being used rationally. The per-student expenditure of Fudan University and other institutions of higher learning has risen far above the pre-Great Cultural Revolution level. This means that there still are potentials which institutions of higher learning could explore. If their work can be brought to the pre-Great Cultural Revolution level by hard work and popular support, they will be able to train many more experts at a lower cost to meet the requirements of socialist modernization. The policy of readjusting, reconstructing, consolidating and improving the national economy should be applied to institutions of higher learning. In redirecting its work priorities, each school should proceed with ideological, organizational and operational adjustments according to its own conditions so as to regain strength in 2 or 3 years and lay a better foundation for further improvement and greater contributions to socialist modernization.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1, 2, 3, 8. "Das Kapital," Vol 1, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 424, 195, 567, 195.
4. "Draft Program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 746.
5. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487.
6. "Address at the Third All-Russia Conference of Social Education Directors of Provincial Departments of National Education," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 30, pp 344, 346.
7. "Address at the Congress of Activists of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Moscow Organization," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 417.
9. Marx, "Critique of Political Economy," Vol 3, People's Press, 1963, p 358.
10. Marx, "The Theory of Surplus Value," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 422.
11. Marx, "Machine, the Work of Natural Forces and Science," People's Press, 1978, p 206.
12. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 462.
13. "Address at the Forum on Literary and Artistic Work and the Conference of Producers of Feature Films" (19 June 1961).

CSO: 4004

**POPULATION GROWTH CONTROL IS AN OBJECTIVE DEMAND OF OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 69-74

[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927] and Wu Cangping [6762 3318 5493]]

[Text] In his government work report at the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Hua Guofeng pointed out: "Our further effort to reduce the population growth rate has a momentous strategic significance in hastening the four modernizations and improving the health and welfare of the entire nation; we must not slacken in the least bit." Thus, we are asked to continue emancipating our mind, closely relate to China's reality and carry out intensive study and investigation of the population theory.

According to the historical materialist viewpoint, the size of the population and its growth are not the main force determining the development of society, but they exercise an influence on such development, either promoting or retarding the development of the social production force. The integration of the human and material factors forms the practical social production force. When its development requires a large labor force, in order to fully utilize the existing tools and objectives of labor (such as land utilization, resource exploitation), a relatively high rate of population growth will produce a promotive effect; otherwise, it will produce a retarding, or even hampering, effect. It is a universal law, producing an effect under the socialist as well as the capitalist system. The only difference is that under socialist conditions we are able to consciously understand and apply it, making the growth of population favorable to the development of the social production force.

China originally was a semifeudal and semicolonial country. The level of its production force was very low, and in the structure of the national economy the greater part of the labor force was devoted to agriculture, mainly by manual labor. Therefore, after the success of the revolution we not only had to change the system of private ownership of the means of production to a public ownership system and create a socialist



production relationship, but also vigorously develop the production force, shift the entire national economy to the foundation of modern science and technology and lay the material foundation for socialism. On the other hand, due to the development of production since liberation, the improvement of the people's living conditions and the advance of medicine and public health, the death rate has greatly dropped, and life expectancy has greatly increased. Meanwhile, the birth rate, for a considerable period of time, has basically remained at the level of the old China. As a result, the natural growth rate has risen greatly compared with that before liberation, and the population has increased, from the 500 million plus at the beginning of liberation to the current 975 million (including Taiwan Province). Today the characteristics of our population are its great number, rapid growth and the large proportion of young people, and the contradiction among these three characteristics on the one hand and the lack of farmland and poor foundation of our country on the other have become ever more pronounced. If we do not vigorously control the population growth now, it will become more and more aggravated and inevitably hamper the four modernizations.

#### The Contradiction Between Our Large Population and Fast Growth on the One Hand and the Small Area Under Cultivation on the Other Calls for Population Growth Control

China's population today constitutes almost one-fourth of the world's total, while its area is only one-fourteenth of the total. Our population density is 100 per square kilometer, triple the average density of the world. The density of many areas, such as the Changjiang Delta, the Zhujiang Delta, the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain, and the Chaozhou-Shantou Region, is as high as 600, long ranked among the densest populated areas in the world. Consisting of less than 1.5 billion mu, the area of our farmland is only 10 percent of the total area of our country and 7 percent of the cultivated area of the world. The area of farmland per capita is only one-ninth that of America and less than 50 percent that of India. It is smaller than that of almost all the Asian countries except Japan and ranks among the lowest in the world.

Due to the greater population growth since liberation, the cultivated area per capita has dropped constantly, from close to 3 mu at the beginning of liberation to the current 1.5 mu plus. If we had not undertaken land reclamation and opened new farmland, the rate of reduction would have been even faster. Our reclaimable land is not large. If the population growth is not controlled, the farmland per capita will continue to drop. As our population is large, we cannot rely on foreign countries for food. Therefore, we cannot, as some countries do, depend mainly on industry for our economic development and on imports for grain. One of the important reasons the average grain output per capita of Canada, America, the Soviet Union, Australia, Yugoslavia and Romania is higher than that of China is that these countries have a much larger average area of farmland per capita. If we continue to pay no attention

to the trend toward reduced farmland per capita and permit the rapid growth of our population, we will encounter the punishment of objective law.

What deserves our greater attention is that, while our average area of farmland per capita is so small, our agricultural population living on the land constitutes 80 percent of the total. We have a labor force of 300 million engaged in farming, and each unit of that labor force averages only 5 mu of farmland. Aside from the question of the tools of labor, the size of the farmland alone makes our agricultural labor productivity several times to several dozen times lower than that of many countries. Our effort to raise agricultural labor productivity today is restricted, to a great extent, by the large agricultural labor force and small farmland. We must therefore create new ways of production and cultivate more intensively in order to raise the unit area output. However, if our population continues to grow blindly, while the greater part of our labor force has to be devoted to agricultural production, agricultural labor productivity, in the situation in which it is impossible to expand our farmland rapidly, will not improve to any great extent. As a result, construction funds accumulated by agriculture for the state and the collective will be limited, and the supply of farm products for improving the people's livelihood will not be ample.

The Contradiction Between the Large Population Base and Rapid Growth on the One Hand and the Poor Foundation on the Other Also Calls for Population Growth Control

The long rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism resulted in China's extremely low production force and the poverty of the people. Since liberation, the situation has changed considerably due to the development of industry and agriculture. However, as our foundation was poor we are still an impoverished nation. Compared with the developed capitalist countries, the level of China's production force is still very low, and the national income per capita is far below theirs, ranking among the lower ones even in the Third World. We must admit that the rapid population growth since liberation is one of the factors in this situation.

The influence of the excessive population growth on the national economy is often not noticeable at first. However, with the steady increase year after year, it will gradually make itself felt on the issues of grain, market supply, housing, education and employment. Given China's poor foundation, the problem becomes ever more prominent and serious.

According to estimates, raising a child (including elementary and middle school education) to age 16, when he becomes part of the labor force, requires 1,600 yuan in rural areas, 4,800 yuan in urban areas and 6,900 yuan in the city. By this standard, the cumulative cost of raising the population born after liberation is approximately 50 percent of the

cumulative consumer funds, which is a considerable burden. Therefore, the funds available for improving the consumption level of the entire population become greatly limited, as is manifested concretely in the inadequate supply of food, clothing, spending money and housing for the population and in the slow improvement in these areas. Since liberation our grain output has greatly increased. However, as the population has also greatly increased, the average grain yield per capita is only around 600 jin, still ranking among the lowest in the world.

The large population base and rapid growth also constitute a tremendous pressure on elementary and intermediate education. Generally speaking, the number of those undergoing elementary and intermediate education is the sum total of those born from 6 or 7 to 10 and more years ago. Since liberation, with the high birth rate, the annual increase in enrollment in elementary and middle schools is 10 to 20 million, and the number of those attending school is in the hundred millions. The large number of students in school constitutes a great pressure on education funds, teachers, school capital construction investments, textbook printing, stationery, etc. If the situation continues, it will not only affect the training of high-level specialized talents, but also make it difficult to popularize middle school education. Obviously, our rapid population growth is unfavorable to the rapid improvement of the scientific and cultural levels of the nation.

The greatest pressure of rapid population growth on the national economy is in employment. In essence, the socialist system makes it possible to arrange and use the labor population most rationally and to integrate the production means and the labor force most efficiently. However, man is simultaneously a producer and a consumer, and the relationship between the two aspects is the unity of opposites. While we must see man, with his two hands, as a producer, we must also see him, with his mouth, as a consumer, and it would be incorrect to stress either aspect and overlook the other. As a producer he must be combined with a certain amount of production means before he can become a practical production force. As a consumer he must have means of livelihood. If the natural growth of population is too rapid, it will create difficulties for the state in arranging the employment of laborers and improving the people's living standards. The wealth created by an individual as a producer must be greater than his consumption. However, in the situation in which the production force is still not sufficiently developed, the newly created wealth is largely consumed, thus affecting the scale of expanded reproduction, improvement of the level of technical equipment for the laborers, and the amount of surplus products furnished to society. Due to the rapid population growth, after a certain period of time the number of new members of the labor force per year will be large. If the production investments and the creation of production means cannot keep pace, the annual addition to the labor force will lack the tools to pursue production. Computed on the basis of very low technical equipment standard, if the annual addition to the labor force in our cities and

towns is placed in the industrial and communications sectors, this will require tens of billions of yuan in new fixed assets, which will be hard to accomplish in China's current economic condition. In this situation, only a small portion of our gigantic labor force can be placed in the industrial and communications sectors, while the absolute majority must be assigned to or remain in rural areas, mainly engaged in agricultural production. By that time we will encounter the contradictions between the excessive labor force and the shortage of farmland and between the former and raising labor productivity. Given the current level of our production force, the large increase in the labor force will inevitably affect the advance of labor productivity of the entire society and the rapid improvement of the people's livelihood.

The contradiction between the large population and the poor foundation is also prominently manifested in its effect on reserve accumulation. The scale and rate of growth of reserve funds, under certain conditions, are restricted by the scale and rate of population growth. Due to the excessive rate of population growth, a considerable portion of the newly acquired national income is consumed by the newly increased population, and the portion for reserve is correspondingly reduced. The most fundamental method for solving this contradiction is the high-speed development of industrial and agricultural production, making the increase in material products much larger than the increase in population. To accumulate more funds for realizing the four modernizations, population growth control is mandatory.

#### Our Youthful Population Structure and Large Underage Group Urgently Require Population Growth Control

China's high birth rate since liberation has continued for more than two decades; therefore, the proportion of youngsters is very high. It is estimated that the number of those under 21 constitutes around half the population. This group will gradually arrive at marriage and child-bearing age between now and the end of the century and become the main multipliers of our future population. Even if they maintain simple reproduction (i.e., two children per couple), then by the end of the century they will have given birth to one-half the number of the current population. After deducting the number of those who have died, the net increase will still be a considerable number.

Obviously, if we fail to fully recognize the impact of the youthfulness of the current population and the large ratio of youngsters on the future trend of population development and to take effective measures to control population growth, there will be further large increases. By that time the situation will be even more difficult to control and will greatly aggravate the contradiction between population growth and economic development and hamper the accelerated realization of the four modernizations.

When we advocate population growth control we start from the historical materialist principle of the accelerating or retarding effect of population growth on social development. Malthus advocated population control on the basis of the population decisiveness theory, and his crucial point was to conceal the fundamental cause of the unemployment and poverty of capitalist society. The two views are fundamentally different. However, for a long time the population theory has been turned into a "forbidden area," and anyone advocating population control has been suspected of Malthusianism, of pessimism. We must especially point out that as early as June 1957 Mr Ma Yinchu, at the fourth session of the First National People's Congress, proposed his "new population theory" and advocated China's need for population growth control. He felt that to accelerate the growth of the socialist reserve, to promote the development of science and technology, and to improve the material and cultural levels of the peasants, China must introduce planned parenthood and population control. However, his correct view not only was not adopted but was criticized as the reactionary Malthusian population theory. As the dividing line between right and wrong was confused, the population issue has become a "forbidden area." Thus, the theoretical field has been blocked from studying the population theory and population issue in conjunction with China's reality and from creating public opinion for population growth control, let alone proposing a set of effective measures for that purpose. Had we started taking effective measures in the mid-1950's, the current population would be much smaller, we would be having a much easier time, and the trend of future population growth would be much easier to control. We must learn this historical lesson, loudly appeal to the public for population growth control, and make the entire party and entire people fully realize its necessity and urgency.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. As proved by historical experience, population growth control can only be realized by planning and under leadership; it will not be accomplished spontaneously.

To turn the demand for population growth control into an objective reality, we must introduce birth control. The law of the planned and proportionate development of the socialist national economy requires that the production and reproduction of mankind itself maintain a corresponding proportionate relationship with the production and reproduction of material means. With a deeper understanding of and greater experience in the law of the birth of mankind itself and the mutual adjustment of the planned socialist population development and economic development, it is completely possible for birth control, considered unattainable in the range of the entire society, to be gradually accomplished in socialist society. The view that birth control is not in accordance with objective law, but the manifestation of a subjective idea, is erroneous.

Some people maintain that as long as production develops, the people's living standards improve and cultural and educational levels rise,

population growth, as in the economically developed countries, will automatically drop. True, the natural population growth rate of the economically developed countries is relatively low, but generally speaking it has taken decades, or even a century, for them to have today's sustained low birth and growth rates. If we permit a high-speed population growth without restraint and sit back and wait for a high degree of development of the production force, a relatively great improvement in the people's material and cultural levels, and an automatic drop in the birth rate, we will also undergo a long process. Meanwhile, the population will have again greatly increased. If we permit the population to grow without restraint, in only 30 years, or even a shorter period, it is very possible that our population will double the current number. The view that we only have to promote production, without paying attention to birth control, and sit back and wait for an automatic drop in the birth rate is divorced from China's reality and is incorrect.

For a planned reduction in the population growth rate we must first understand the factors which condition population reproduction and identify those which can be controlled and those which cannot. It will only be scientific and feasible when we plan the goal of population control for a certain period in accordance with the objective changes of various factors.

We know that the current total population is the sum total of the individuals living in a certain time. It is composed of people of different sexes and ages born in different years in the past and existing at present. The population renews itself continuously with births and deaths, changing not only in number but also in sex and age composition. The state of the current population is the result of the reproduction of the past and the foundation of future reproduction. Only by starting from this objective reality and adroitly guiding the action according to circumstances can we gradually reach the goal of population growth control.

Population growth is determined by the factors of birth and death. Both factors are influenced by social economic conditions and by the sex and age composition of the current population. Under the socialist system the state will always, on the foundation of developing production, improve the people's health, prolong life expectancy and lower the death rate. Since liberation the death rate in China, especially the infant mortality rate, has been greatly reduced and now ranks among the lowest in the world. This is a concrete manifestation of the superiority of socialism in population development. The key to population growth control is controlling births; therefore, birth control is the most fundamental measure in our country's planned population growth control.

The number of births and the birth rate within a certain period of time are determined mainly by the number of child-bearing women (generally women between ages 20 and 50) and the number of children born in that

particular period. Within a certain period of time (e.g., from now to the end of the century), the number of women who are now and who will become of child-bearing age, especially those at the peak of child bearing, is an important factor in population growth. We have no way to modify the number of women of child-bearing age. What we can do is to postpone their child bearing, lengthen the interval between births and, even more importantly, reduce the number of children they bear. In other words, we can adopt all kinds of measures to lower the child-bearing rate of women of child-bearing age. The high birth rate since liberation has created a relatively large number of women of child-bearing age at present and for a period to come. It is an objective condition which we encounter in our effort to control population growth as promptly as possible. In this situation, to lower the natural population growth rate we must vigorously control the number of children born by women. There is no other way.

Great achievements have been made in China's planned parenthood work in the seventies. Between 1971 and 1978 the natural growth rate of our population dropped by almost a half. To reduce it to around 1 percent by 1979 and around 0.5 percent by 1985, we must, on the current foundation, further reduce the birth rate and the number of children born. We should direct our efforts toward the goal of one child per couple. This is doubtlessly not easy to accomplish, and we may encounter social-economic restrictions and ideological conflicts. It calls for a more profound understanding and respect of the objective laws in this aspect and the development of subjective initiative, in order to create all kinds of social-economic and political-ideological conditions for further reducing the birth rate.

The economic factor is the most profound source determining the birth level. The unit of child bearing is the family, while the family, in the socialist condition, remains a consumer unit. Under the principle of "to each according to his labor" as regards individual consumer goods, the members of a family have a common material interest, and the parents' decision on the number of children is closely linked with the intimate economic interests of the family. When deciding on the number of children, such factors as the cost of raising a child until he becomes a member of the labor force, the effect of the number of children on the current living standard of the family, and the amount of help which can be rendered by the children in their parents' late years must be taken into consideration. Population growth control is in the long-range interest of our people. However, contradictions between the interests of the state and the family may also emerge as regards the number of children. This is especially true in rural areas. The income of the peasants is determined mainly by the amount of labor force and physical strength; therefore, many rural families want more children, and they prefer male to female. On the other hand, as rural living standards are low, technical demands on the labor force are not high, and children start work at an early age, the cost of raising a labor force is lower than in the

city. For this reason, rural people do not have a strong desire to consciously limit the number of children. Until there is a fundamental reform of our agricultural production pattern, this situation basically will not change. Therefore, we must adopt economic measures to coordinate the interests of the family and society in population control. The general spirit is to encourage birth control and restrict excessive births. Economic measures must be adopted for families with different numbers of children, and provisions made in various aspects, so that those with only a single child will receive a greater economic benefit. For instance, childcare expenses, bonus work points, urban housing assignments, rural residential bases, private lot assignments, etc. are all handled on the basis of two children in the family. Meanwhile, we must gradually adopt effective measures to solve the practical issues of raising children as old-age insurance and favoring male over female. For instance, the state or the collective may introduce social insurance, adopt a retirement system with differential treatment and vigorously develop collective welfare, assuring childless old people, those with only one child and those without male child of tranquillity in their late years and helping those families solve the practical difficulties which may appear. As regards those who insist on having a third child in spite of the persuasive education, a higher charge for children should be collected. Naturally, collecting money is not our goal; our goal is to concretely control population growth and lighten the burden on the state, the collective and the family due to the large number of children.

To control population growth in accordance with economic laws and by means of economic measures is necessary, but it is not the only way, nor is it omnipotent. We must develop the tremendous effect of ideological-political work. We must perform such work intensively and meticulously and create a strong social public opinion for population growth control, making the subject known to every family and every individual and elevating the awareness of the entire party and entire people of planned parenthood.

Ours is a country with several thousand years of traditional feudal ideological influence. Such feudal ideas as "more sons, greater blessing" and "male better than female" are deep rooted; therefore, the remnant marriage and child-bearing concepts of the old society still seriously block the goal of birth control in rural areas. On the other hand, for many years the population theory has been considered a "forbidden area," making it difficult for theoretical workers to openly expound the necessity, importance and urgency of population growth control in China. As a result, a large portion of the leaders and masses lacks understanding of or pays inadequate attention to the state of our population and the population issue--a fact which also makes it difficult for the planned parenthood effort to be more successful. We should vigorously propagandize and discuss the population theory, condemn the feudal marriage and child-bearing concepts, clarify the



distinction between population growth control and Malthus' population theory, which serves the bourgeoisie, and criticize the view that high-speed population growth is a socialist objective law and the resulting erroneous theory that the larger the population, the more favorable it will be for socialist construction. We must penetrate reality and the masses, study the new conditions and new problems in our population development, foster the desirable academic trend of linking theory with practice and give full play to the effect of guiding practice with theory. We must rely on and activate the masses and devote our common effort to population growth control. Population growth control is an important strategic task, involving all strata and all units of society and affecting innumerable families and households; therefore, it is difficult to perform the work successfully by relying only on the units in charge of planned parenthood. While strengthening the party leadership, we must resume and develop our party's consistent superior tradition, hand over to the masses the policies, methods and goals of population control, activate their enthusiasm and accomplish the work.

Our constitutional provision that the state must "advocate and pursue planned parenthood" has paved the way for population growth control. However, to turn the feasibility into reality, we may consider formulating more concrete provisions of law, so that each and every citizen has the obligation to control population growth, e.g., the obligation of refraining from having a third child. Only thus will the goal of population growth control be backed by the force of law and the work of planned parenthood become more successful. In another aspect, the planning units must, in accordance with the practical situation in the various areas, provide a target of control (with a certain range) which has the force of an order and is truly included in the national economic plans, and the leaders of all levels must undertake certain responsibilities in the completion of the target within their own jurisdictions.

The task of further control of our population growth is an arduous one, but as long as we act according to objective laws, fully develop the superiority of our socialist system, strengthen the party's leadership, rely on the broad masses, and adopt correct and effective measures in the economic, political-ideological and legal aspects, we will be able to further reduce the rate of our population growth and make greater contributions to the realization of socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4004

## PUT THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE ON A STRICT BASIS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 75-77

[Article by Zhu Yan [2612 1484]]

[Text] Effective party leadership is needed to carry out a gigantic program to build up a strong, modern socialist state. To strengthen party leadership it is necessary to put the party's organizational life on a strict basis and increase the effectiveness of party organization. Party organs at all levels should see to it that strict party organizational life is closely observed so as to revitalize the party for this new era, and they should insure that it works.

Due to the wanton disruption of party organization and rules of party life by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their advocacy of anarchism and nonorganizational activities, many party members for years have been indifferent toward party organization and discipline. As numerous party organizations were completely or partially crippled, the party has lost its effectiveness. This is so severe a blow to the party organism that its baneful influence has yet to be thoroughly flushed out. As a result, some party units have failed time and again to organize party members to live the party life. They do not report on their work to party members, nor do they care to ask party members to report on the state of their ideology, learning and activities. Education and inspection of supervision of party members have been neglected if not abandoned, and party members are treated as if they are nonparty masses. In some cases party organizational life has deteriorated into mere formality. Very few members are serious about learning, criticism, self-criticism and analysis of ideological trends both within and without the party. As party members no longer open their hearts and are suspicious of each other, they feel more comfortable with frivolous chatting than with serious discussions. There are leading cadres who have not been assigned to party branches or cells and do not live organizational life, as if they are different from the rest. Infected with factionalism, petty cliques keep cropping up, "not visible but hidden under water like reefs." Quibbling over personal grudges and petty arguments, they have turned a "fortress of war" against enemies

into "wars within the fortress." Some are obsessed with anarchist ideology and refuse to accept party supervision. Others feel so self-righteous that they resent self-criticism and criticism and are often vindictive against their critics. There are also fence-sitters who are unwilling to offend or criticize anyone but follow the line of least resistance to please everyone. All these attitudes are contrary to party rules and traditions and detrimental to effective party leadership.

A proletarian political party is an organized force of vanguards of the proletariat. Every party member must belong to a party cell, lead a strict organizational life and abide by party discipline. Lenin pointed out: "The reason the proletariat is and will be an invincible force is that its ideological unity based on Marxist principles is buttressed by a substantive unity of organization." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 510) It is because our party had adhered to Lenin's principles of party organization that it has succeeded in organizing all its members into a unified effective force held together by unity of will, unity of action and unity of discipline. Consequently, it has been able for decades to lead the masses through thick and thin to reach final victory no matter how perilous and difficult the tasks are.

In this new era, as the focus of our party switches to socialist modernization, strong party organization and strict organizational life are especially important. The reasons are obvious.

To build up a strong, modern socialist state is an awesome task never before tackled by our predecessors. A revolution as extensive and far reaching as this ought to have the benefit of firm leadership provided by the Chinese Communist Party. The leadership role of the party calls for unity of action by all party organizations and the dedication of its members to carry out its programs, lines and policies and to lead the masses by exemplary performance. The best guarantee of effective leadership based on unity of will and action of the whole party is strict disciplined life within the party and sound and healthy organization of every party cell.

Our party is a party in power, with many of its members occupying leadership positions. It is therefore necessary to tighten its supervision over party cadres, especially those comrades holding high and powerful positions but still susceptible to the influence of feudalism, absolutism, bureaucratism, special privileges and patriarchal practices. But who can supervise them? Supervision by the masses is important, but supervision by the party organization and comrades is even more effective. As long as every party member places himself within a party cell, leads a strict organizational life and learns to raise his party consciousness, all undesirable ideologies and practices in the party will have no room to take root, and all unhealthy trends and evil influences prevailing in society at large will have no opportunity to gather strength to undermine the four modernizations.

The realization of the four modernizations requires more effective politicoideological work by all party organizations. Today ideological work is especially needed both to heal the wounds inflicted on the party by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to remove misunderstandings among comrades so as to enable our party members, 30 million strong, to work wholeheartedly for the four modernizations. We favor neither laissez-faire nor sweeping punitive measures, but count on every party cell to do its ideological work persistently and thoroughly. If healthy organizational life could be achieved in the several million party branches and cells, and if everybody worked hard to grasp this key link of ideological education, we would have a powerful army of political workers to handle the ideological work more effectively and penetratingly both within the party and among the masses.

Where should we focus our attention in order to achieve strict party organizational life?

First, undivided dedication to the four modernizations should be the major theme of educating party members. As the focus of the party switches to socialist modernization, the content of learning should change accordingly. While adhering to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must teach everyone to uphold the four basic principles, liberate his mind and focus attention on how to make socialist modernization a success. To overcome apathy and generate cooperation and confidence in the four modernizations, our most urgent task is to inculcate in all party members the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the trend of the times. Lessons on the party and cell activities are the best vehicles to provide party members with a basic knowledge of the party and its rules, regulations and cherished traditions so as to encourage them to play the role of exemplary vanguards and worthy party members in this new Long March. Since conditions vary at different fronts, the content and requirements of learning need not be "cut and dried" but must gravitate toward the four modernizations. Members must be taught to strive for unity of theory and practice, seek multiple approaches to problems, look for practical results in everyday work and uproot the baneful influence of formalism spawned by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Second, the party should keep its members informed of work to be done, supervise their performance and evaluate the results. When any important task is handed down, it should reach party members before any non-party sectors. Alert party members first and explain clearly what is expected of them. To achieve unity of understanding and enable party members to see what to do to lead the masses by the exemplary role they play, party meetings on organizational life should concentrate on studying party literature, leading articles in party newspapers and periodicals, work assigned by higher party organs and analyses of ideological trends both within and without the party. Party organizations must

evaluate the performance of party members in carrying out party policy and accomplishing assigned tasks. The evaluation should not be too critical or too lenient and laudatory. To show care and concern, the evaluation ought to seek truth from reality, commending achievements and encouraging the correction of mistakes. Each party member should willingly accept inspection and supervision by party organizations, complete the tasks assigned him, report truthfully on actual facts, good or bad, make known his recommendations and reject falsehood, pretense and fabrications. By the same token, every party organization should report on its work to the party members, accept their inspection and supervision and respond to their comments and suggestions.

Third, criticism and self-criticism should be permanent features of party life. They are indispensable to a vigorous political party dedicated to serve the people. We communists do not consider ourselves "perfect men." When we set out to understand and reform the world, watching the objective real world in passing, we are liable to be affected by a non-proletarian world outlook. This is true even in the case of party members who have had years of party education. Socialist modernization is a brandnew undertaking involving endless new situations and new problems. As a result, when we face this ever-changing situation, we are bound to make mistakes due to lack of experience. Criticism and self-criticism are tools to help us detect and correct deviations and mistakes which are inimical to the four modernizations. If we say that "criticism by enemy weapons" had perked up our self-discipline and resolve to throw in our lot with the masses, then we ought to welcome criticism by our comrades after gaining political power and working for peaceful construction so that we can ward off material and spiritual temptations. A communist must not succumb to flattery and resent criticism. He should have the courage to attack his own mistakes and welcome criticism; otherwise his activism will be killed by unhealthy developments. In reality, self-criticism does not mean abusive self-accusation. It is scientific self-examination conducive to the elimination of shortcomings and the raising of morale. Similarly, criticism means to present facts, reason things out and analyze a situation objectively in order to arrive at a helpful solution. It does not condone the venting of personal spite or scheming for personal gains. Criticism also calls for discreet consideration of politics and a clear distinction between the internal and external affairs of the party. Criticism leveled at party committee members and other comrades in the party should be aired and resolved at party meetings. Gossiping behind someone's back and unwarranted appeals to the public are harmful and disruptive and might even encourage such abominable practices as sowing discord or stabbing people in the back. In a word, we encourage criticism and self-criticism to reinforce party unity and strength.

Fourth, we must commend, support and learn from the advanced. Commendation and criticism ought to work hand in hand. Neither one alone is good enough. Only by combining the two can we enlighten party members and

revitalize party organization. This historic switch to socialist modernization will no doubt usher in a new era of heroes and heroism. Our party must have the ingenuity to seek out and activate all positive forces, commend and popularize the praiseworthy, rally everybody to learn from them and prod the laggard to catch up. However, we have noticed two regrettable phenomena. We have noticed that people deliberately find fault with or ridicule those comrades who have received commendations. This tends to cast a chill over those who strive to do well. We have also noticed that certain comrades are reluctant to use the good influence of the praiseworthy as a deterrent against wickedness, or they are afraid to commend the praiseworthy in the face of unfavorable rumors which they did not analyze carefully. These attitudes are bound to undermine the solidarity and effectiveness of the party, because they blur the distinction between right and wrong and make reward and punishment meaningless. The best way to prevent and correct such errors is to apply the law of one dividing into two in evaluating our comrades and to reject the metaphysical concept of the perfect man. Of course, commendations must rest on facts rather than exaggeration or falsehood. However, since a praiseworthy individual is bound to have weaknesses and shortcomings, he should sincerely accept advice offered him in good faith. It is a mistake to expect a praiseworthy person to be perfect and absolutely above reproach.

Implementation of the requirements given above will run into resistance, but it is by no means insurmountable. The most important thing is for party committees at all levels to put party organizational life on a strict basis. It takes a well-administered party to run a country, and a well-administered party depends on strict organizational life. It amounts to dereliction of duty for those in charge of party work to neglect organizational life in the party. To let things break loose in the face of difficulties and feel helpless to do anything for the party are manifestations of a nonproletarian world outlook which is unhealthy. We will be guilty of bureaucratism if we start something and then not finish it or issue a call for action without giving detailed instructions. None of these will help us achieve our objectives. Instead of always placing the blame on the lower echelons, the party should provide sound guidance for organizational life and gradually institutionalize it. Responsible comrades of party committees at all levels should set good examples by observing organizational life like ordinary party members. Our party members are not happy with those leading cadres who do not lead the organizational life required by the party constitution. If several hundred Central Committee members and hundreds of thousands of leading cadres of the provincial, regional and county party committees could live a strict organizational life and see to it that their respective organization departments and subordinate party committees are at work to make the system a success, we are certain that in 2 or 3 years the party will be in a much stronger position to lead the drive to realize the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

## DIALECTICS ABOUT EVERYTHING WAITING TO BE DONE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 78, 80

[Article by Song Zhenting [1345 2182 1656]]

[Text] If we wish to generalize in a few sentences the essential characteristics of all the current activities in our country, I feel that we can put it thus: Our work is to bring order out of chaos and pursue the four modernizations. The problems confronting us are piled as high as a mountain. What we must do are 100 neglected tasks awaiting action. Our policy of handling them is readjustment, reform, reorganization and improvement.

What I wish to discuss here is 100 neglected tasks awaiting action. Or, I could say, 100 enterprises awaiting undertaking.

In his article "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of the German Classic Philosophy," Engels expounded the entire process of the German classic philosophy from Hegel to Marx. When discussing Hegel, he analyzed only one of his propositions, gave an impetus to the entire discourse and enlivened the entire body of scientific work. Hegel's proposition was: "Anything realistic is rational; anything rational is realistic." Engels analyzed Hegel's typical statement, because it represented the characteristic of the entire contradiction of his philosophy.

We must also do this when looking at issues, looking squarely at the objective while pondering the various side aspects, thinking over its deeper significance and not limiting ourselves to the surface or stopping at the superficial.

For instance, the phrase "100 neglected tasks awaiting action" is very interesting; it includes at least several layers of meaning.

First, the premise of "100 neglected tasks awaiting action" is "100 neglected tasks." The neglect is very serious, not 1, 2 or 99, but 100 neglected tasks. The problems resulting from the damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are not piled into a heap, but are like a

mountain. To describe them as a "heap" is inadequate, and the mountain is not a hill, but a big mountain.

But the crucial point of the phrase is in the last two words--"awaiting action." The word "awaiting" is even more meaningful. It depicts the various industries and enterprises poised for action on 100, 1,000 and 10,000 tasks!

Why do the tasks await action? Why didn't you act before? Why did you crowd them together for action? A premise was also required here. The premise was to smash the "gang of four." In the 2 years and more since smashing the "gang of four," the party and the people have performed large amounts of work, furnishing the need and the feasibility for action on the 100 neglected tasks and providing the objective basis for the solution of the issue.

Looking behind the phrase "100 neglected tasks awaiting action," we feel anger against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for the tremendous damage they did. But looking forward we feel joyful, encouraged and jubilant. Because we want to do, to act and to start! It has been a long time since we began looking for this day!

Next, we should ponder why there are "100 neglected tasks" all "awaiting action," all crowded together. On the one hand it explains the gravity, comprehensiveness and coherence of the issue. On the other hand it indicates the size and multitude of the tasks which we cannot possibly perform all at once, like catching 10 fleas with 10 fingers! If there are 100 neglected tasks awaiting action and you take action on all of them, without distinguishing the essential and nonessential and the urgent and secondary, and without arranging them according to the order of priority, then you will not be able to act, and your action will not succeed. The reason is that only planned and proportionate action will create the highest speed. When you divide your attention and take action on all, you will fail in your attempt. It will be inadequate if you only pay attention to the qualitative contradiction in the phrase, i.e., the contradiction between neglect and action; you must pay attention to the quantitative aspect, i.e., the number and the state of the contradiction.

The neglect is of 100 tasks, and action is required on all. Action on one or two items is not sufficient. All the tasks are clamoring for attention, for action. The words "100" and "await" are not dispensable. They are not a meaningless number and a meaningless verb. The quantitative state also requires our full attention.

Third, we must also realize that "100 neglected tasks awaiting action" refers to the objective environment, the need of the situation. Is our spiritual state compatible with this need? Are all of us welcoming the tasks awaiting action with vitality, vigor and an untrammelled mind? We must say that some of us are and some are not. The latter see only the



100 neglected tasks but not the awaited action; they see only the past of the problems but not the future of the matters; they see only the negative aspect but not the positive. Or they only see the situation but fail to consider what they should do about it, how to rouse themselves for a vigorous effort to take action on the 100 neglected tasks, and how to plunge into this great historical torrent with a 100-fold confidence and a 1,000-fold courage.

After pondering the layers of meanings, have we thoroughly considered the dialectics of "100 neglected tasks awaiting action"? No! Far from it. We may even say that we have merely scratched the surface, and a more important meaning still has to be discussed.

We must bring out an issue: Should all the 100 neglected tasks be completely resumed and completely restored to their original state? We must say that, since "awaiting action" follows "100 neglected tasks," there is the sense of resumption. However, as the tasks awaiting action are situated on a new foundation, in a new environment and under new historical conditions, we must look forward and give more thought to new problems. It cannot be a repetition of history but must include large amounts of new content. After the calamity of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the things we learned at such a tremendous price are far fresher and far more vivid than merely resuming the original state. As some comrades aptly put it, we will not lose any of the good things and good traditions of the past; we will not repeat the things proved to be wrong through our lessons and practice in the past. Practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth.

If we must ask what is most important in the dialectics of 100 neglected tasks awaiting action, the answer is that it is not only 100 neglected tasks awaiting action, but also the rejuvenation of everything, performing, with a new attitude, the glorious mission entrusted to us by the new era of history.

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BOOK REVIEW: GIVE WIDE PUBLICITY TO THE VIEWPOINT OF PRACTICE FIRST

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 8, 2 Aug 79 pp 79-80

[Article by Ji Jie [1323 6043]]

[Text] Here we wish to recommend a good book to our readers--"Popular Guide' to Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth." It was completed after the launching of the discussion of practice as the criterion.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth: this was an elementary tenet of the Marxist philosophy to start with, but for a long time it was distorted, discarded and vilified by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." When the issue was proposed in May last year, many people found it fresh and intimate. It immediately broadened our vision, made us feel refreshed and effectively promoted the movement to emancipate thinking. However, there were also some comrades who, with a rigid or semirigid mind, found it unfamiliar and incomprehensible and even made various groundless criticisms.

The power of truth is irresistible. After the discussion began last year, the fundamental Marxist viewpoint that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth has penetrated ever deeper into our minds. Like a key, it has unlocked the spiritual shackles placed on our minds by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and broken down the modern superstitions they created. It has activated our minds, giving us courage to start from reality and to ponder and solve problems by seeking the truth from the facts. More and more people have realized that the validity of all understanding and all things of the subjective world, including theories, lines, policies, resolutions, plans, documents and instructions, must undergo the test of practice; practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. In fact, the principle has become a powerful ideological weapon in our endeavor to bring order out of chaos and to effect thorough reform.

Currently our country has entered a new historical era. Under the guidance of the spirit of the third plenary session [of the 11th CCP

Central Committee] and the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the broad cadres and masses on all fronts are in the process of fighting the first campaign of the four modernizations. The tasks confronting us are glorious yet arduous. In the process of achieving the four modernizations there are many things we are not familiar with, many new conditions and new problems awaiting our study and many new realms ready for our exploration. Thus, we must continue to emancipate our thinking, start the machine and solve the problems by seeking the truth from the facts. We must adhere to the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth and widely publicize the viewpoint of practice first. Precisely in answer to the need of this situation, the XINHUA Press published the popular guide compiled by the comrades of the Philosophy Research Institute of the China Social Science Academy.

The guide consists of 24 lectures, including the origin and significance of the discussion on the criterion of truth, the objectivity of truth and how to understand it, a criticism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" pragmatist view of truth and their fallacy that "power is truth," and an analysis of why "every sentence is a truth" which they advocated is erroneous. It also discusses the leading effect of theory on practice and the reason why theory cannot serve as the criterion for testing truth, and it explains from all aspects the fundamental Marxist viewpoint that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. It exposes Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" vicious tricks of pretending to raise high the great banner and criticizes their criminal activities of distorting and splitting Marxism-Leninism and the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. It touches upon the fundamental principle that starting from reality and integrating theory and reality constitute the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, and the importance of adhering to it when studying the new conditions and solving the new problems in the four modernizations. It covers the relationship between the viewpoint of practice first and democracy, the excellent situation of our country at the present time, and the irresistible historical tendency of emancipating thinking. Certain difficult issues which have emerged during the discussion in the past year, such as whether adherence to practice first will downgrade the leading effect of theory, whether it will affect "raising high the great banner," and the relationship between practice first and emancipating thinking on the one hand and adherence to the four fundamental principles on the other, are all mentioned, and certain erroneous viewpoints on these issues are criticized.

Each lecture in the guide covers only one topic. Relatively short and concise, the lectures have the characteristics of being popular and easy to understand, explaining the profound in simple terms. As the comrades of the Philosophy Research Institute, with the aid of the comrades of the XINHUA Press, made some investigation and study in the process of writing and compiling, the issues are presented in a fairly practical manner, and the expositions are fairly thorough. After distribution to

all areas in the nation by the XINHUA Press, the guide has been reprinted by the newspapers of many areas, in installments or excerpts, and won the favorable comments of the broad readers. While intensively deploying the discussion of the criterion of truth, it will be very beneficial for us to read this popular guide.

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