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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 1, 1 January 1980

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SCULPTURE OF CHAIRMAN MAO ZEDONG, VICE CHAIRMAN ZHOU ENLAI, COMMANDER IN CHIEF ZHU DE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 inside front cover



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## FOREWORDS TO TWO RURAL INVESTIGATION REPORTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 2-3

[Article by Mao Zedong]

[Text] 1. Foreword to the Investigation Report on Xingguo County

The Red Army's 1st Front Army returned to Jiangxi Province in September 1930 after attacking Changsha City. The 1st Front Army then broke through Jian and arrived in the Yuanshui River area in early October. Xingguo County sent many peasants to join the Red Army, and I took the opportunity to make an investigation report on Xingguo's No 10 District, that is, the Yongfeng District. I invited Fu Jiting, Li Changying, Wen Fengzhang, Chen Zhenshan, Zhong Dewu, Huang Dachun, Lu Beiping and Lei Hanxiang to attend the investigation meetings. The investigations started in late October, and the meetings were held in Luofang of Xinyu County. The investigation meetings lasted an entire week.

Located at the juncture of Xingguo, Ganxian and Wanan counties, Yongfeng District is divided into four townships [xiang 6743]: The first township is the former Lingyuan Ward; the second is Dongliang Ward; the third is Shankeng Ward; and the fourth is Jiangtuan Ward. Yongfengyu, in the second township, is the political and economic center of Yongfeng District. Yongfeng District's population is: 3,000 in the first village, 800 in the second, 3,000 in the third, and 2,000 in the fourth, totaling 8,800. Since this district is located at the juncture of Xingguo, Ganxian and Wanan counties, understanding the situation here will provide us with a fairly clear picture of Ganxian and Wanan counties and of the land reform struggle throughout southern Jiangxi.

In formulating a practical policy it is necessary to act in accordance with the actual conditions. What we think of behind closed doors and what we learn from a sloppily written report are definitely not the actual conditions. It is dangerous to decide on a policy in accordance with "assumptions" or on the basis of unrealistic reports. The party leadership's failure to act according to the actual conditions is the reason many mistakes were previously committed in the Red zones [soviet



zones]. Therefore, it is very necessary to conduct a thoroughgoing, practical, scientific investigation. Generally speaking, my investigation is still not penetrating enough, but it is still better than those I conducted in the past.

First, eight families were investigated, which is something I had never done before. If such an investigation is not conducted, one will not really obtain a fundamental concept of the rural areas. Second, investigations were made on the manifestation of different classes in the land reform struggle, which I once carried out, but only incompletely, during my previous investigation in Xunwu County. The shortcomings of that investigation find expression in our failure to investigate the status of children and women, to investigate trading conditions and compare them with commodity prices, to investigate the conditions of agricultural production following the completion of land distribution, and to investigate the cultural conditions as a whole. All this should have been investigated, but since the enemy began to attack Luofang and the Red Army decided to lure the enemy's troops in deep, we had no choice but to end our investigation meetings.

The following materials were obtained by raising one question after another on the investigation program I put forward and then engaging in discussions. All the conclusions I put forward were first agreed on by the eight comrades and then put in the records. With regard to some questions, conclusions were not drawn, but their answers only described. Our investigation meetings were vivid and interesting. We held two or three sessions each day, and sometimes meetings lasted late into the evening, but we never tired.

I would like to express sincere thanks to these comrades, some of whom are party members but most of whom are not.

Postscript after compilation in Xiaobuwei of Ningdu, 26 January 1931.

## 2. Foreword to the Investigation Report on Xunwu County

Compared with my previous investigations, this is the largest in scale. I have previously conducted systematic investigations on Xiangtan, Xiangxiang, Hengshan, Liling, Changsha, Yongxin and Ninggang. The investigations on the five localities of Hunan were conducted during the great revolutionary period (January 1927), whereas the two on Yongxin and Ninggang were made during the Jinggangshan period (November 1927). Kept by my wife [ai ren 1947 0086] Yang Kaihui, the investigation reports on the five Hunan localities were most likely lost after she was killed. The two other reports on Yongxian and Ninggang, which were in the hands of a friend who lived in the Jinggang area, were also destroyed when the Red Army left the Jinggang Mountains in January 1929 when under attack by Jiang Gui's troops.

I would not be concerned if I had lost any other things, but I constantly think about having lost these investigation reports (especially the two reports on Hengshan and Yongxin), and I shall never forget them. The investigation report on Xunwu was made in May 1930 when the 4th Army arrived in Xunwu County, that is, following the conclusion of the Botou conference (the joint conference called by the Frontline Committee of the 4th Army and the Special Committee of West Jiangxi on 7 February) and before the opening of the Tingzhou conference (the joint conference called by the Frontline Committee of the 4th Army and the Special Committee of West Fujian in June). Aside from lacking a complete understanding of the questions concerning rich peasants in China, I was at that time completely a layman as far as the commercial situation was concerned. It was for this reason that I conducted this investigation with strenuous efforts.

The person who helped me organize this investigation throughout the entire period of work was Comrade Gu Pai, party secretary of Xunwu County (a native of Huang District, middle school student and bankrupt small landlord who once served as a primary school teacher, member of the county-level revolutionary committee and chairman of the county soviet). Four persons who provided me with large amounts of materials were: Kuo Yumei (a 59-year-old native grocery store owner who once served as head of the county's chamber of commerce); Fan Daming (a 51-year-old poor peasant, employee of the county soviet and native of the suburban area); Zhao Jingqing (a 30-year-old middle peasant from Shuangqiao District who worked as a blacksmith and small merchant and was promoted from common soldier to platoon leader under the command of Chen Jiongming and is now a member of the county's soviet committee); and Liu Lingfan (a 27-year-old employee of the county's revenue office and concurrently in charge of procurement and a native of the suburban area who is now chairman of the suburban soviet). They always attended the investigation meetings.

I also received some materials from Li Dashun (a 28-year-old poor peasant who once served as a member of the district soviet) and Liu Maozai (a 50-year-old candidate for the lowest degree under the former civil service examination system who declined from a small landlord to a poor person, once owned a gambling establishment and engaged in small business and served as a member of the county revolutionary committee and who is now a member of the district soviet). They attended our investigation meetings occasionally.

Others who attended our investigation meetings once or twice were: Liu Xingwu (a 46-year-old peasant who once engaged in small business and was a native of the suburban area and a member of the village soviet); Zhong Buying (a 23-year-old student of the teachers training school in Mei County, chairman of the district government and a native of Shipaixia); Chen Zhuoyun (a 39-year-old graduate of the Zizhi Research Institute who was a seamstress and primary school teacher and engaged in small business); and Guo Jingru (a 62-year-old native of the suburban

area who once passed the imperial examination at the county level and worked as a primary school teacher). They occasionally attended the investigation meetings to provide us with information.

The 11 people mentioned above and I conducted the investigation meetings. I acted as the chairman and kept the records. Our meetings lasted some 10 days. Thanks to the mass mobilization work launched by the various units of the Red Army in Anyuan, Xunwu and Pingyuan, we had enough time to hold our investigation meetings.

Since Xunwu County is located at the juncture of Fujian, Guangdong and Jiangsi, knowing the situation of this county will provide us with a fairly clear picture of all other counties at the juncture of these three provinces.

There is a major shortcoming in this investigation, which, in fact, was conducted without analyzing the middle peasants, farm laborers and hooligans. Another shortcoming is that we did not treat separately the land owned by rich peasants, middle peasants and poor peasants when dealing with the "distribution of the original land."

[Written in] Xiaobu of Ningdu, 2 February 1931.

CSO: 4004

## ON SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING OUR POLICIES TOWARD NATIONALITIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 4-14

[Speech by Zhou Enlai on 4 August 1957 at the Qingdao Forum on Nationalities Work]

[Text] Comrades,

I have heard that the forum on nationalities work is proceeding very well, with many opinions exchanged and many problems raised. Some of these problems have already been solved. To join you in the exchange of opinions, I want to talk about several questions of principle concerning our policies toward nationalities: 1) Opposition to two types of chauvinism. 2) Regional national autonomy. 3) Prosperity of the nationalities and social reform. 4) Rights of national autonomy and national quality.

### 1. Opposition to Two Types of Chauvinism

We oppose two types of chauvinism, namely, great national chauvinism (in China mainly great Han chauvinism) and local chauvinism, with particular attention to opposing great Han chauvinism. Both types of chauvinism are the manifestation of bourgeois chauvinism. On the one hand, great Han chauvinism leads to the errors of national discrimination; on the other hand, local chauvinism encourages the tendency toward national splits. After all, both types of errors and tendencies, if allowed to develop unchecked, are harmful to our national unity and may cause national antagonism or national splits. How should we solve this problem? We hold that, except for a very few cases, the two types of errors and tendencies fall into the category of contradictions among the people. They should be settled in line with the principles for handling such contradictions, that is, proceeding from the desire for national unity, using the methods of criticism and struggle, and reaching greater unity of all our nationalities on a new foundation according to Chairman Mao's formula.

Here is a problem I would like to dwell on: After criticism and struggle out of a desire for national unity, on what new foundation can we achieve greater unity among the various nationalities?

This new foundation is the aspiration of all our nationalities for building a modern socialist country. To build this type of motherland is the common foundation for the unity of our people of all nationalities. We oppose the two types of chauvinism--great Han chauvinism and local chauvinism--in order to achieve the common goal of building our motherland into a great socialist national family and a socialist country with modern industry and modern agriculture. This socialist country is not owned by any single nationality, but instead by more than 50 nationalities and by all the people of the Chinese People's Republic.

After our nationwide liberation and through 8 years of effort, we succeeded in uniting all nationalities in our country, held the First NPC, and adopted the constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, which all nationalities should observe. The constitution stipulated that our independent country should be a socialist country--a powerful socialist country--with more than 50 nationalities and a population of 600 million. This constitution of the Chinese People's Republic was a great constitution, representing the will of 600 million people. We must be united with one heart and strive to meet the demands of the constitution. All nationalities should achieve a new unity on the new foundation of a powerful socialist motherland. Therefore, we must oppose the two types of chauvinism, because both great Han chauvinism and local chauvinism are obstacles to our national unity on the new foundation.

In opposing the two types of chauvinism we should proceed from the common goal of building a powerful socialist country. Without this common goal we cannot successfully oppose these two types of chauvinism. For example, if we fail to bear this common goal in mind when we criticize the tendency toward chauvinism among our fraternal nationalities from the standpoint of Han nationality--which has the largest number of people--this criticism can very easily result in the error of national discrimination. Since the majority of our fraternal nationalities are relatively backward in economy and culture, the Han comrades who criticize them can easily point an accusing finger at this objective backwardness and thus commit the error of national discrimination. However, if we proceed from the common goal of building a powerful socialist motherland, we would think of this backwardness as an objective reality. Instead of an erroneous tendency, the backwardness is only the result of undeveloped economy and culture. We should then help various fraternal nationalities in economic and cultural development instead of treating these objective phenomena as a tendency toward local chauvinism among our fraternal nationalities. Even though there may be some such tendency, we should still study its causes. Most of these causes are objective ones, and if we can remove these objective causes, this tendency will disappear. For example, fraternal nationalities in faraway border

regions may not know the inland situation and fail to understand the signs of certain progress and development. They therefore may have doubts about the attitude of the Han people toward their fraternal nationalities. This is possible particularly because the Han reactionary rulers in the past oppressed and exploited the minority nationalities. It is thus natural that the minority nationalities have their doubts. Therefore, we must not misconstrue these doubts and distrust, which result from historical, social and economic factors, as a tendency toward local chauvinism. Instead of thoughtlessly criticizing a certain tendency toward local chauvinism, we should earnestly help our fraternal nationalities understand the causes of this tendency and remove their doubts. Of course, the task of eliminating the historical, social and economic causes of this tendency cannot be accomplished overnight. Such doubts can be basically removed only through prolonged efforts in developing the economy and culture of all nationalities on the basis of the common goal of building a socialist motherland. This requires time and work, so we must not simply criticize them without careful study. Simplistic and unanalytical criticism can sometimes lead to misunderstanding and error. This is one side of the picture.

On the other side, criticism of great Han chauvinism from the standpoint of the national minorities without proceeding from the common goal can also result in antagonism. Actual economic and cultural inequalities left over by history and the effects of oppression by past reactionaries still remain. If the minority nationalities can only think of these historical vestiges in dealing with Han people, the tendency toward national antagonism can very easily result. They may feel this way: I cannot trust you. Your population is larger, and this is no good for us. Since you belong to the majority and are more economically and culturally advanced, you will continue to take advantage of your superiority in oppressing and discriminating against us. These feelings will intensify their doubts, and they may even think that things remain about the same as in the past. This attitude will easily encourage the tendency toward disunity and national splits. Therefore, we hope our comrades of minority nationalities will criticize great Han chauvinism among the Han people only on the basis of the common goal. In other words, we have to gradually eliminate the economic and cultural inequality that now exists among various nationalities and strive to build a powerful socialist motherland. This calls for a solid unity of all nationalities, and criticism must proceed from the desire for unity. If there really is a tendency toward great Han chauvinism or the mistake of national discrimination among the Han people, criticism should be directed against specific individuals and specific deeds. There should not be any simplistic and unanalytical accusations or doubts about and distrust of the Han nationality as a whole; otherwise, this will intensify the tendency toward national disunity and splits.

Historically, China has been a multinational country. Even in ancient times it was not completely unified, and there was even incessant warfare

among the nationalities themselves. History is full of accounts of mutual invasions among them. Most of these invasions, we must admit, were launched by the Han nationality against its fraternal nationalities, and these invasions were usually more prolonged. It is true that the Han nationality has been invaded many times by its fraternal nationalities and even ruled by them for quite some time. Examples of these invasions were those launched by the Liao and the Jin nationalities and others during the Northern, the Yuan and the Qing dynasties. However, from the historical point of view there have been more invasions by the Hans against the fraternal nationalities. If we put ourselves in the position of the fraternal nationalities, we cannot help thinking of these historical vestiges. Because of the favorable conditions enjoyed by the Hans for development in the economic, cultural and other fields, the fraternal nationalities were forced to the faraway, cold frontier regions, where living conditions are harsh and economic and cultural development is difficult. These historical vestiges still rankle in their hearts. If they do not think of the common goal of building a socialist motherland, there can easily be a tendency toward local chauvinism which is harmful to unity among the different nationalities and to the unification and development of the motherland. Therefore, people of the fraternal nationalities should pause for a while and think of letting bygones be bygones, these historic vestiges notwithstanding. Such unfortunate incidents did occur before. After the birth of new China and under the CCP leadership, however, national equality has been stipulated in our constitution and our state policies. Our common goal now is to build a powerful socialist country for our great national family based on equality and fraternity. To achieve this we have to eliminate the vestiges of history and step by step wipe out the economic and cultural inequality that now exists among the various nationalities. This certainly cannot be achieved overnight; it also calls for our common efforts.

In the world of today the imperialists are liable to bully us if we fail to become powerful and build a modern socialist country. It is true that since liberation the Chinese people have stood up and will no longer be bullied. However, there is no guarantee that we will never be bullied again. This guarantee can be found only when our socialist motherland has been built and has become strong. Imperialism, which still exists, will not be reconciled to defeat even though our socialist cause has progressed. It will resort to different ways to create trouble as soon as there is an opportunity. It is necessary for us to enhance our vigilance and stress the need for national unity in order to build a strong socialist motherland through our common efforts. Otherwise, our multinational country will continue to meet with setbacks and become a backward and poor country to be bullied by others.

It must be clearly understood that if we do not build our motherland into a modern socialist country we cannot eliminate our poverty and backwardness. We can eliminate them only when our nationalities, numbering more than 50, cooperate to build our country into a strong and modern socialist

country. It is impossible for the Han nationality to do it alone. The Han nationality has a large population and more advanced economy and culture. However, it does not have much reclaimable land or as many underground natural resources as the fraternal nationalities have; so the development of the natural resources of the fraternal nationalities will be a big help to the motherland's industrialization. It is impossible for the minority nationalities to develop these resources independently and without the help of other nationalities, particularly the Han nationality, because the minority areas have not yet tapped their natural resources and are short of labor power and technical knowledge. Therefore, all our nationalities must help and support each other and build a socialist country for the objective of common progress. This way, the two types of national chauvinism will gradually be reduced, along with the reduction in the tendencies toward national discrimination and national splits. For example, if we want to establish Baotao as a Chinese industrial base, there must be a combination of locally produced iron with the coal produced in Datong. The building of the Baotao Iron and Steel Plant has now begun, and it promises to be a very large industrial center. This calls for the common efforts of various nationalities, particularly the Mongolian and Han nationalities. While the building of the plant is underway, whatever tendency toward great Han chauvinism or local chauvinism there may be will gradually diminish. With a common goal of radical development, we can overcome the antagonism arising from passivity and discontent. Of course, I do not mean that when we have a positive goal we need not be careful about overcoming passive factors. Passive factors, too, should be overcome. What I mean is that with a positive goal the passive elements can be replaced. Similarly, we can imagine that if we want to set up an industrial center in Xinjiang, including Karamay and Urumqi, we cannot succeed without the common efforts of the people of various nationalities in Xinjiang and the Han people. First, we cannot build the railway. Even when the railway has been built, it would still be impossible to develop it without adequate labor power and funds. So the project has to be backed by the resources of the entire country. From the two examples cited above, we can visualize the situation in other nationalities. For the great common goal of development we must gradually reduce the bias produced by the prejudice of various nationalities.

When we think of a future powerful motherland we must remember the need for unity among various nationalities today. To reach this common goal, the two types of erroneous national chauvinism, which obstruct our unity and our common efforts, must be criticized. In criticizing, however, we must proceed from the desire for unity in order to reduce the error of national discrimination and the tendency toward national splits. We must come to a new understanding of this problem. Both types of erroneous tendencies are harmful to the building of our socialism. For the sake of the motherland's great cause, we should consciously overcome the errors of great Han chauvinism and local chauvinism.



## 2. Regional National Autonomy

Regional national autonomy is one of our fundamental policies toward the minority nationalities after liberation. This is laid down in the constitution. But why do we adopt regional national autonomy instead of a system of national autonomous republics? Autonomy in our country is in the form of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and nationality townships. In the Soviet Union they are called autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and national okrugs. They are different from ours not only in name but also in system to a certain extent. In other words, the essence is a little different. The difference does not lie in the presence or absence of autonomy. The autonomous republics enjoy the rights of national autonomy; so, too, do our autonomous regions. The difference is in the methods of demarcation used. The rights, or definition of rights, of autonomy enjoyed by the autonomous republics of the Soviet Union are different from ours because of the different historical backgrounds of the two countries, and partly because of the different situations in China and Russia during the October Revolution.

Russia had already developed into a capitalist country in the 19th century, although it still retained its marked feudal character. On the one hand, it was backward compared with the capitalist countries of the West; on the other hand, it had already become an imperialist country in its possession of colonies. At that time some nationalities around Russia were ruled by the tsar or were under a colonial rule. Furthermore, most of the Russian nationalities lived in compact communities in various places.

Chinese history was then entirely different from that of Russia. Geographically the areas inhabited by various nationalities in China overlap. The Han nationality dominated the central plains for a long time and expanded to areas inhabited by its fraternal nationalities. On the other hand, not a few other nationalities moved into the interior and dominated the central plains. This intermingling movement resulted in a situation in which people of several nationalities lived together. Places which are inhabited exclusively by one nationality are therefore very few, indeed rare. We usually say that Xinjiang is the place where minority nationalities are relatively concentrated. Tibet is not inhabited by so many different nationalities, but I am only referring to the region now administered by the Autonomous Region Preparatory Committee. In other areas, Tibetan people also live in the same place with people of other nationalities. Because the various nationalities intermixed in many historical periods, many nationalities have been influenced by and even assimilated by one another. There are so many Han people simply because many people of other nationalities have been assimilated by the Han nationality. The Manchurian nationality, for example, originated in the Changbai Mountain Range. There were only several hundred thousand of them during their first influx into China. When the Qing dynasty was at

the peak of its prosperity, there were 4-5 million of them. When the Qing dynasty ended, the Manchurian nationality still remained. These people adopted the Han culture, beginning with the written and then gradually the spoken language, while the Manchurian language was gradually abandoned. Although there seems to be no difference between them and the Han people, Manchurians and Hans are actually people of two different nationalities. In the Qing dynasty there was no restriction on intermarriage between Hans and Manchurians. After the 1911 Revolution, such intermarriages became even more common, and there was no national barrier whatsoever. After liberation the Manchurian nationality was recognized, and during the census conducted before the general election, 2.4 million people registered themselves as Manchurians. It appeared that their numbers had become smaller, though in fact this was not so. Because of their intermarriages with the Hans, many had acquired dual nationality, and they preferred not to register themselves as Manchurians. In fact, the reduction in their numbers was only because of the way they had registered themselves. This is one way of assimilation. If the assimilation of one people by another is carried out through violence, it is the reactionary way. However, if it is carried out as a result of harmonious mingling of different nationalities in a common quest for prosperity, it is a progressive way. This way of assimilation means an impetus to progress. Now both the Manchurian and the Han nationalities use the same language, and their cooperation will be easy. Do our Manchurian compatriots want to restore their Manchurian language? I don't think so, because it would be too troublesome for 3-4 million people to start learning Manchurian afresh. Has the Manchurian language been assimilated into the Han language? I think so. Many Manchurian words have been adopted by the Hans. The same goes for the style of garments, because after the 1911 Revolution many Han women wore long flowing gowns--a style taken over from the Manchurians. The Han nationality has absorbed a lot of Manchurian culture, and this can be called a characteristic of assimilation.

I will also talk a little about the Hui nationality. This nationality originated from Arabia and Asia Minor not too long ago. From what I have heard, these people came to China less than 1,000 years ago, but the population now exceeds 3.5 million. There were two routes for Hui immigration into China. One of them was by sea, and the other was from Afghanistan and across southern Xinjiang. Not many of them could have taken the latter route. However, people of Hui nationality are now spread all over China, and there is not a single province and hardly a single county without these people. A reliable estimate is that two-thirds of the counties have them. The Hui nationality has such a large population simply because it could draw in people from other nationalities and thus expand itself. What can be wrong with this? Is this not a form of assimilation? Hui people live in compact communities in Wuzhong, Longdong, Yinchuan and Longxi counties of Gansu Province and some other places. The establishment of the Hui Autonomous Region will include Wuzhong, Yinchuan, Guyuan and some other places, but the vast majority of Hui people are distributed all over the country.

Thus, the Han nationality assimilated other nationalities, while other nationalities also assimilated the Hans. This is true of the Hui, the Manchurian and other nationalities. The further inland these people went, the greater was the scale of assimilation. Historical developments have caused the intermingling of various nationalities which assimilated and influenced one another. China has many nationalities, and people of several nationalities have lived together in mixed communities. Because of this nationality distribution, it would be impractical to adopt the same system of national republics as in the Soviet Union. The formation of a national republic means the formation of an independent economic unit, and the overwhelming majority of any nationality's population has to live in a compact community.

Historical developments prompted us to adopt a form of great national family different from that of the Soviet Union. Each country has historical traits of its own and cannot mechanically copy those of others. The adoption of the system of regional national autonomy is entirely appropriate for us. Under this system we can establish an autonomous region for a nationality in one place as well as autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and nationality townships for the same nationality in other places. The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, for example, is quite large, but Mongolian people there constitute only about two-thirds of the Mongolian population, numbering only 1 million out of 1.4 million, while the remaining several hundred thousand are distributed over other places, such as the Mongolian autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties in the northeast, Qinghai and Xinjiang. In the forthcoming Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region there will be a Hui population of only 570,000, which is one-third of the autonomous region's total population of 1.72 million, or only a fraction of the entire Hui population of more than 3.5 million throughout the country. The Hui population in the Hui Autonomous Region constitutes only a minority of the entire Hui population. What should we do with the remaining 3 million spread out over the entire country? Of course, we had to establish autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and nationality townships. The same policy applies to the Tibetan nationality. In the region now administered by the Tibet Autonomous Region Preparatory Committee, Tibetan people number only slightly more than 1 million, but more than 1 million others live in autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties in the provinces of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan. There are close economic ties between these places and the provinces in which they are located, and cooperation among them is thus convenient. On the question of forming the Zhuang Autonomous Region, we used the same line of reasoning to convince the Hans. Would it be more advantageous to form a Guizhou Zhuang Autonomous Region or to form a Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region? It was impossible to form an autonomous region of Zhuang inhabitants exclusively, because even if we add the Zhuang areas in Yunnan and Guizhou to that part of Guangxi where these people live in compact communities, to form a Zhuang Autonomous Region, there are more than 1 million Hans in addition to some 400,000 Yaos living in two Yao

autonomous counties. The number of Hans and Yaos combined reached 1-2 million, and that was why we could not form a national autonomous region for one exclusive national population. If the boundary of the Zhuang Autonomous Region is so defined, it will become isolated, and economic development will be difficult. In transportation, the railway administration would have to be separated in the Han area of Guangxi, while economically, agriculture in the east would have to be separated from industry and mining in the west. This would be very inconvenient for common advancement. On the other hand, it would be convenient if they are combined. Therefore, the formation of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region is also based on the need for cooperation among different nationalities.

From the above examples of large autonomous regions we can conclude that it is appropriate for China to provide regional autonomy for the minority nationalities, but inappropriate or even impossible to establish a system of national autonomous republics. If historical developments have not provided us with the required conditions, we cannot adopt the latter system. Historical developments, however, have provided us with another set of conditions, namely, the conditions for people of different nationalities to live together. These conditions are suitable for national cooperation and the creation of regional national autonomy. Members of a given nationality may exercise autonomy not only in a particular region but in a number of different regions in the form of autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties or nationality townships. The Hui nationality is the most typical example. There can be nothing wrong with this; on the contrary, it is very good. According to the actual conditions in China, we have in a down-to-earth manner adopted the system of regional national autonomy. This type of regional national autonomy is a correct integration of national autonomy with regional autonomy, and of the economic factor with the political factor, which makes the rights of autonomy available not only to people in mononational regions but also to those in multinational regions. Nearly every nationality, whether numerous or few and whether in a large community or a small one, has become an appropriate autonomous unit which fully enjoys the rights of regional national autonomy. This system is a new thing.

At the time of the October Revolution the Russian proletariat first seized political power through uprisings in the cities which later spread to the countryside and the areas of minority nationalities. Russia was the first socialist country and had to play a difficult role. At the same time, it was the first to start revolution in an imperialist country and to have to sever its old ties with the colonies. To combine the struggle of various nationalities against the oppression of tsarist imperialism with the struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, Lenin at that time adopted the slogan of national self-determination and recognized the rights of various nationalities to separate independence, so that they

could either become independent republics or join the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. To enable the first socialist country to stand firm politically at that time, it was necessary to stress the slogan of national self-determination and to permit individual national independence. Only thus could Lenin cast away the imperialist political ties of the past and consolidate the new socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The situation at that time dictated this course of action on the part of the Russian proletariat.

China was under different historical conditions. Although in old China there existed the oppression of the reactionary Northern Warlords, followed by that of the Guomindang, against the laboring people and the fraternal nationalities, China as a whole was a victim of imperialist invasion and had become a semicolony and, in places, a number of colonies. It was under such conditions that we were emancipated. The progress of our revolution was also different from that of the Soviet Union. We did not start our uprisings in the big cities or seize political power through uprisings in advanced industrial areas. Instead, we set up revolutionary bases in the countryside for prolonged struggles and became liberated after 22 years of revolutionary war. Therefore, our close relations with various nationalities were formed during this revolutionary war. For example, we had a revolutionary base in Inner Mongolia. There had been anti-Guomindang revolutionary movements in Xinjiang and guerrilla areas under our party leadership and with the participation of many fraternal nationalities in the southwest. Many fraternal nationalities also joined the People's Liberation Army in the interior. On its Long March the Red Army passed through the areas of minority nationalities in the southwest and left behind revolutionary influences, besides recruiting some cadres from these local people. After all, although the entire Chinese nation was long subjected externally to imperialist oppression, the various nationalities internally shared weal and woe and forged a militant friendship in the revolutionary war which led to the liberation of the entire national family. This internal and external relationship among the nationalities made it unnecessary for us to adopt a policy of independence for each and every nationality as a requirement for national self-determination, as stressed by Russia during the October Revolution.

Historical developments provided the conditions for our national cooperation, while the development of revolutionary movements also provided the required foundation. Therefore, after liberation we adopted the system of regional national autonomy, which was suitable to the conditions in our country and helpful to cooperation among different nationalities, instead of stressing independence for each and every nationality. Now, if we insist on the right of each and every nationality to independence, imperialism may take advantage of this situation. Even though imperialism may not succeed, this policy will add to the difficulties of national cooperation. In Xinjiang before liberation, for example, some reactionaries carried out splittist activities similar to those in Turkistan,

because imperialism took advantage of them. That was why we did not use the name "Uygurstan" when the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was formed. Xinjiang consists not only of the Uygur nationality but of 12 others. It was impractical to set up 13 nationalities as 13 nationality stans. The party and the state therefore finally decided to form the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region with the concurrence of the Xinjiang comrades. The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has a Uygur "hat," standing for the main nationality in Xinjiang, which accounts for more than 70 percent of the total population. The other nationalities also share this "hat." "Xinjiang" means new territory and does not connote conquest; it is different from "Suiyuan" [pacification of faraway regions] in meaning. The names "Tibet" and "Inner Mongolia" can be used for both the places and the nationalities. The question of names seems to me to be of only secondary importance. However, it is quite important as regards regional national autonomy in China, because it implies national cooperation. So this question has to be clarified.

The above explains how, in accordance with the historical development of nationalities and the economic and revolutionary developments in China, we adopted the most suitable policy of setting up regional national autonomy instead of national republics. Therefore, the Chinese People's Republic is a multinational entity instead of a federated state, because it is impossible to adopt the federal system. The system of regional national autonomy is based on realities in our country. Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties and nationality townships were established according to individual circumstances so that minority nationalities living either in a compact community or among other nationalities can practice genuine autonomy. This will help the minority nationalities make popular use of autonomous rights, aside from fostering the mutual cooperation of various nationalities.

For historical reasons, the development of our nationalities has not been even. This is true of the economic base as well as the superstructure. To even up the development, mutual cooperation instead of isolated development is necessary. In Xinjiang, for instance, there are oil and nonferrous metal resources and reclaimable farmland useful for cotton planting. Despite these favorable conditions, we must not forget that there are difficulties, too. Irrigation facilities are poor in Xinjiang, and development is impossible until the irrigation system has been greatly improved. Transportation is also difficult, and it is necessary to repair and restore the operation of not only the Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railway but also the railway between northern and southern Xinjiang. To open mines and to reclaim wasteland requires machinery. But there are the basic problems of money and manpower. Even though machinery is available, there is still the need for money and manpower before development is possible. Not much money can be accumulated by relying on the 5 million people in Xinjiang. There is also a shortage of manpower. Therefore, the resources of the entire country, the state and the party Central Committee are required. We have to allocate part of

the accumulated funds in our planned economy for investments in Xinjiang in order to increase its financial strength and to mobilize part of the manpower in the interior to swell the labor ranks in Xinjiang. Only thus can Xinjiang be developed on a large scale. This calls for national cooperation. We must not take a detached view and think that the problem can be solved with Xinjiang's present manpower and financial resources.

In adopting the policy of regional national autonomy in the great national family of China, our purpose is to achieve common development and common prosperity through cooperation and mutual aid among various nationalities. China's nationalities should be united instead of being separated. We should stress national cooperation and mutual aid and oppose national splits and national "go it alone." The system of regional national autonomy adopted for our great national family is advantageous to our universal practice of national autonomy and the promotion of national cooperation and mutual aid. We cannot envisage independence for each and every nationality and far less national "go it alone." Only on the foundation of common development and common prosperity can we build a great family of genuine equality and fraternity as demanded by our constitution.

### 3. The Prosperity of Nationalities and Social Reform

To build a powerful socialist country our big multinational family must move forward on the basis of prosperity for all the nationalities. Socialism is superior to capitalism and feudalism because, under the socialist system, there can be national prosperity. History has proved that in the past many fraternal nationalities were heading for doom instead of prosperity. Why? Because the reactionary rulers adopted the policy of discriminating against fraternal nationalities and then weakening and destroying them. Some fraternal nationalities recorded in our history of the past 2,000 years no longer exist. Some of them may have emigrated to faraway regions, while others may have been assimilated by the Han or other nationalities. The conditions of these changes have yet to be studied by historians.

As we mentioned above, the Manchurian population grew from several hundred thousand to several million and absorbed Han culture. The Qing dynasty founded by the Manchurians ruled China for nearly 300 years. Before the Qing dynasty, in neither the Ming, Song, Tang or Han dynasties was the country as closely united as it was in the Qing dynasty, which played an admirable role in unifying the country. Another phenomenon is the increase in the population. The growth of the Chinese population was particularly rapid in the Qing dynasty. All this is to the credit of this dynasty. However, it made no attempt to increase the population of all nationalities. Under its rule, for example, the Han population increased, but some fraternal nationalities were weakened by its policy. The Mongolian and Tibetan populations were reduced. From what I know,

the Mongol nationality, at the peak of its prosperity, had a population of 4-5 million, but this number was reduced in the Qing dynasty. The Tibetan nationality was very powerful and underwent great developments in the Tang dynasty. The people went as far as north of the Great Wall in Shaanxi, the vicinity of Changan, southern Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan. The population was estimated to be 4-5 million. Now the total Tibetan population is less than 3 million. These two nationalities were obviously weakened by the Qing dynasty. This shows that the feudalist national policy was to weaken other nationalities.

Imperialism was even worse. In the colonies under imperialist rule the local nationalities were invariably reduced to extreme poverty and then crippled. We all know that imperialism came from the West, beginning with England and France and then the United States. These imperialist powers invariably adopted the policy of reducing the local inhabitants to a minority. Again, the British, French and Belgians did the same thing in Africa in an effort to weaken the black nationalities. Only such countries as Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Abyssinia, which were not reconciled to the fate of colonies and won victories in their resistance, could gradually fare better. Therefore, from history we can see that feudalism, capitalism and imperialism all tried to weaken and oppress nationalities. Reactionary rulers not only oppressed the working class of their own nationality but also tried to weaken the rule of other nations. Because of their long suffering from oppression and from being weakened, the nations of the East have become backward compared with those of the West. They had to win their national independence to avoid being further weakened. The national policy of our socialist country is entirely different from that of feudalism, capitalism or imperialism. We must help our fraternal nationalities to become prosperous. We should also help nationalities in nonsocialist countries, if necessary. For all nations we want equality and prosperity. The basic stand of our socialist national policy is to bring prosperity to all nationalities. We can never say that this nation is superior and that nation is inferior; this is entirely an erroneous racist way of thinking. German fascism thought that the German nation was the most superior and claimed that German blood was the best. This is an extremely reactionary way of thinking. We hold that all nations are superior, industrious and wise as long as they are given the opportunity to develop, and that all peoples are brave and strong as long as they have the opportunity to temper themselves. Some nations are relatively backward only because of their environment and the lack of opportunity for development and tempering. Our socialist national policy is to help all nationalities develop and prosper. Therefore, our national policy is the policy of helping all nationalities prosper. On this question, all nationalities are entirely equal, and there must not be discrimination in any form. Our basic policy is to achieve prosperity for all nationalities. Historical developments of the past crippled some nationalities and reduced the population of others. Some of them were very backward and had a very low standard of living. This was the result of reactionary rule in the



past. Earlier I mentioned the Qing dynasty's policy toward Tibet. The policies of the Northern Warlords and the Guomindang were even more reactionary. Despite Dr Sun Yat-sen's advocacy of common harmony among the five major nationalities, Chiang Kai-shek, when it became his turn to rule, did not recognize the Hui nationality and called the Huis "people with queer habits." If the Guomindang did not even recognize the nationalities, its help to them in development was naturally out of the question. We consistently opposed this reactionary rule and policy toward various nationalities.

History has left us many unfavorable conditions for national prosperity. We must gradually eliminate these conditions. What is the best way for us to do this job? The key is social reform. Under the reactionary rule of the past, all minority nationalities suffered from the oppression of reactionary rulers. They could not develop their economy, increase their population or improve their living conditions. As a result, these fraternal nationalities could not develop. To help all nationalities develop, our new China must enforce a basic measure, namely, social reform. Social reform poses a common problem for all nationalities in our country. The Hans, too, must be reformed before development is possible. By social reform we mean essentially economic reform. Why this reform? Because we want to build socialism and to insure that the people have a higher standard of living. If we want prosperity, we must develop industry. A nation cannot be rich without industry. China must therefore be industrialized; without industrialization it cannot develop production. However, industrializing our country requires, first of all, the reform of agriculture and the abolition of feudalism and slavery in the countryside. Only when the peasants are emancipated can the rural economy be developed and a foundation laid for industrial growth. In agriculture there must be a large increase in output before funds can be accumulated, industrial raw materials supplied and manpower liberated to support industrial production. An industrial base must be established before there can be a foundation for the development of nationalities. Therefore, it is unavoidable that all nationalities be reformed economically. At present the overwhelming majority of the fraternal nationalities have undergone land reform, and many of them have even gone further in accomplishing socialist remolding and organizing agricultural cooperatives. This will certainly liberate the productive power of the peasants and help them greatly raise their output on the socialist collective economic basis of cooperatives. Among many fraternal nationalities, however, economic reform has not yet begun or has not yet been completed. Economic reform should consist of two phases: first, democratic reform, or land reform; and second, socialist remolding.

If the nationalities preserve the slave system and the feudal system instead of practicing socialist remolding, the majority of the people will remain slaves, serfs or peasants under the feudal system, and their productive power cannot be liberated. Most of their products will be

exploited, and the laborers will be so poor that they cannot be expected to be enthusiastic about increasing their output. In the society of our new China, not only the feudal system but also the system of individual economy have ceased to exist in many places, which have already entered the stage of socialist collective economy. In some minority nationality areas, isolated systems of slavery and feudal rules still exist. How can such things still exist?! They must be subjected to external influences. For example, the reform of the Yi nationality in the Liangshan area was brought about by outside influences. The slaves there rose to demand reform, and now some leaders of the Yi nationality in Liangshan have agreed to reform and to abandon exploitation. After the reform they still receive good care from the government, and their means of living is protected. If they had not agreed to reform, they would have been overthrown by the slaves and could get nothing at all. Environmental influences are very strong. The land reform in Bazi of Xichang could not help but produce an impact on Liangshan. Since they all belonged to the same great national family, the waves of either land reform or socialist remolding would produce mutual repercussions. We cannot imagine how a certain locality anywhere could "go it alone" over a long period or permanently. We would like to clarify a matter for the upper-level elements of our fraternal nationalities who are still exploiting others: If they abandon their exploitation, the benefits for them will be far greater than those they would receive after the reform; and if they resist the reform, they will be overthrown by the masses and will receive little or no benefit at all. If they agree to the reform, the state and the government will take care of them, and the people can be more lenient toward them. This is the first point. Another point is that if they continue their exploitation as an isolated misdeed in our socialist country, they will eventually fail, and the longer their exploitation persists, the more they will have to lose. The wishful thinking that exploitation can be permanently preserved can never be materialized. There is no such luxury in China, and enjoyment of luxury by only a small number of people cannot be permitted. I am of the opinion that reforms should be carried out when all people of the fraternal nationalities, including the upper-level elements, are aware of the fact that the reform is due. It has been delayed in some places only because of preparations for a more effective, more peaceful and better planned reform. Anyway, there must eventually be a reform. The slave system, the feudal system and the system of individual economy must be transformed into a socialist economic system. Therefore, the question of reform is only a matter of priority and relative urgency, not one of whether or not there should be a reform. Without reform the people will remain poor. In our great national family we want everyone, including the upper-level elements, to be truly happy. The purpose of reform is to provide happiness to everyone, not to just a small number of people. Of course, we must admit that after the reform the upper-level elements will not be able to enjoy the same easy life or to spend money so lavishly, because their income will be limited. Yet their future will be secure. With the development of industry their standard of living

will rise. We must be very explicit in making this point to the upper-level elements of all fraternal nationalities.

As we mentioned earlier, the building of a socialist industrialized country should be equally necessary to all nationalities. We cannot imagine why there should be high industrial development in the Han areas while Tibet, Xinjiang and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regions should remain backward forever. If this actually happens, then ours is not a socialist country. All the minority areas and national autonomous regions in our socialist country should be modernized. There must be an all-round modernization throughout China. We must have this spirit, that is, the spirit of equality and fraternity in our big national family. We cannot let backward areas remain backward; to do so would perpetuate the inequality and would become an error.

This type of reform will not be confined to the economic system; it will also affect other spheres. With the change in the economic base, the superstructure also will be affected. In other words, politics and ideology will also be affected. The political system should suit the socialist economic base. It should be reformed into a system of democratic centralism. There should be both democracy and centralism; both freedom and discipline; and both individual development and a united will. Ideology must also suit the needs of the socialist system. All of us must study Marxism and treasure our socialist system.

Some friends of the religious circles may have this worry: since reforming the economic base may affect ideology, then will it also affect religion? It is quite natural that reform of the economic base will affect ideology. However, a change in ideology cannot develop in the same way as the political system is reformed. Ideological change is a slow process. Believers in religion do not exist only in the present socialist countries; we cannot be sure that these believers will disappear entirely even by the time people have entered the communist society. Now we treat religious belief as a matter of ideological belief unrelated to politics. Anyone, regardless of whether he is atheist or theist, materialist or idealist, should support the socialist system. Many peasants who are party members support socialism and are quite active in the cooperatives. They practice the socialist collective economy and follow the regulations of the cooperatives organizationally. Many of them are cadres in the village political power. Both politically and ideologically they meet the requirements of the socialist economic system. However, as soon as it gets dark they are afraid of ghosts. You may say that no Communist Party member can be afraid of ghosts, but I don't believe it. People's ideas are many and varied. As long as they do not interfere with their political life or their economic production, we should not interfere with them. Religion will last a very long time; as to how it will evolve, only the future can tell. However, as long as there is any problem which cannot be explained in ideological terms, religious belief is inevitable. Some beliefs are

in religious form; others are not. Friends of the religious circles should not worry about the survival of religion. According to the materialist viewpoint, religion will continue to exist at least until the conditions on which religion depends for its existence have completely disappeared. What we should worry about now is not whether religion can remain but whether people can become prosperous.

National prosperity is a common cause for all our nationalities which cannot be overlooked. Only reform can bring prosperity. Economic reform is the only road for all nationalities, because only this road can lead to industrialization and modernization. Our economic life can be enriched, our nationalities can become prosperous and people of all nationalities can enjoy happiness only when both industrialization and modernization have been achieved. I should mention in passing that the fraternal nationalities still need to further increase their population. The increase of the Han population, however, is too rapid, and this calls for birth control.

#### 4. The Rights of National Autonomy and National Quality

Respect for the rights of national autonomy should be affirmed. All rights of national autonomy that are stipulated in the constitution and all relevant laws and decrees enacted according to the constitution should be respected. Sometimes people, from the central government to the local governments, have failed to pay sufficient attention to this aspect. We should review and criticize our work frequently. At the same time, because of the preponderance of the Han population, it is easy to overlook the rights of autonomy for the minority nationalities and relatively easy to breed great Han chauvinism. The tendency toward overlooking the rights of national autonomy comes largely from great Han chauvinism and should be criticized.

Another question is that of national quality. Since the existence of various nationalities is recognized and ours is a multinational country, the question of national quality deserves great attention. The rights of national autonomy can be respected only because of national quality. For example, we must respect their spoken and written languages and help those who do not have their own written languages to create scripts according to their wishes. In a national autonomous region the written language of the majority nationality should become the first language. The customs and habits of all nationalities must be respected, since we recognize the nationalities. Also, since there is national autonomy, we must train nationality cadres. This means national quality. Insufficient attention to this question means deviation from our policy of building a great socialist national family as a means of achieving common prosperity for all nationalities.

The state, the administrative organs and the Han nationality should show a greater responsibility for these two questions, because they can

very easily be overlooked. As to the national quality of cadres, there should be a proper ratio of minority cadres. In places where there are more Han people, it would be easy to overlook the proper ratio for cadres of minority nationalities. This ratio must be borne in mind even though there is a small number of minority people. That is why the government organs should pay great attention to the questions of rights of national autonomy and national quality.

Must the administrative structures of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties exactly correspond to those of our provinces, prefectures and counties? This question deserves our study. In the past we insisted too much on uniformity, and that is not correct. Since there are structural differences between provinces, the structures cannot be the same for both autonomous regions and provinces, both autonomous and ordinary prefectures, or both autonomous and ordinary counties. They should be suitable for local conditions.

In every place under national autonomy, minority cadres should hold responsible positions. It certainly does not mean that no Han cadre can be in a responsible position, but minority cadres should bear more responsibility. Therefore, we should train minority cadres step by step and in a planned way and send good minority cadres to study in schools run by the central and local governments, and more well-trained minority cadres should be sent back to their own areas. Henceforth the central and provincial authorities should pay more attention to this matter. On the other hand, we should dispatch Han cadres to the autonomous regions, prefectures and counties to assist in their work, but we must not fail to dispatch Han cadres to places where the Hans are already numerous. In Inner Mongolia, for instance, where there are so many Han people, there should be Han cadres in the people's congresses, government organs and enterprises. The same is also true of the Guangxi and Ningxia Hui autonomous regions in future. Such places as Xinjiang and Tibet, where the number of minority people predominates, cannot be without Han cadres, too. In dispatching Han cadres to autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties where there are more people of the fraternal nationalities, we must be sure to send few but better ones. They must be good and reliable, and their number must not be excessive. Leading cadres of the party and the government play very important roles in taking care of both sides in order to bring about their cooperation. If the question of cadres is not handled well, there will be no one to implement the policies. If the cadres are antagonistic toward others, monopolize everything, work in isolation or practice discrimination and splittism, then nothing can be accomplished.

There is religious freedom in China. Here we have believers as well as nonbelievers, theists as well as atheists. These two types should get along with one another. We have never been like some countries which make serious issues out of religion, even to the point of making

war because of imperialist instigation. Believers of any religion should be able to cooperate with us. Buddhism is most popular in our country, followed by Islamism, Catholicism and Protestantism in that order. Believers of all types have been cooperative all along. Non-believers should respect believers and vice versa. Religious believers and atheists can cooperate. People who have different religious beliefs can also work together. This is favorable to the unity, mutual aid and cooperation of our big national family.

The customs and habits of various nationalities have a broader sense than religious belief. Every nationality does not necessarily believe in one religion. Many of them believe in many different religions, while others share the same belief. For instance, the Hui nationality and several nationalities in Xinjiang believe in the same religion. Mongolians and Tibetans, too, share the same belief. However, each nationality usually has its own customs and habits. That is why customs and habits should also be respected; otherwise we may hurt feelings. For example, in dealing with people of the Hui or other nationalities in Xinjiang who believe in Islamism, we must respect their customs and habits, such as their taboo against eating pork. Furthermore, we must not abruptly change any customs and habits which reflect the people's culture. Some cultural troupes are now going to the areas of fraternal nationalities to learn their music and dancing, particularly dancing. These troupes have always carried out revisions according to the Han way of thinking, and this has led to the displeasure of the fraternal nationalities. This is a way of imposing on others and represents a failure to respect other people's customs and habits. Some Han people always think that they are better and that others are backward. This is the bourgeois, chauvinistic way of thinking. Other people's customs and habits are based on their own living conditions. They will change as the local economic situation improves. They must not be changed abruptly.

I have already talked about the four questions. These questions should be studied further. Today I have only touched on the questions of principle for everyone's reference.

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STUDY NEW CONDITIONS AND IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLE OF READJUSTMENT IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY

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[Article by Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122]]

[Text] I. This Year's Industrial Production

This year we must endeavor to achieve relatively great growth in agriculture and industry. This year there are certain difficulties in industry, and there are also some new conditions which we must pay attention to and study. Judging by the situation in Sichuan Province, we should concentrate mainly on grasping the following cardinal points:

1) Do a good job of trial-point work in expanding the self-management rights of 300 enterprises; 2) tap all potential and carry out innovations and reforms; 3) bring into play the role of market regulation; 4) save energy; and 5) speed up the work of providing materials for production.

Due to the readjustment of the national economy, quite a large number of enterprises have no tasks this year and will have to manage on their own. Many enterprises face the problem of how to gear their output to market needs. This is particularly the case in the machine-building and metallurgical trades. The following state of affairs still exists: On the one hand, some factories no longer have any orders to produce the kind of products they were originally designed for, or, even if they managed to turn out something, they cannot find any buyers; on the other hand, many necessities are not available in society. In this year's industrial production, efforts must be made to study this problem. It will not do for the industrial departments to be engrossed in production regardless of market needs. In particular, those trades which are not operating at full capacity due to readjustment must make an effort to study this problem. Readjustment itself will also give rise to new demands. For example, in our future endeavor to reinforce our commercial installations, we will run into the question of equipment. We need additional equipment to develop our light industry. We also need equipment to tap

all the potential of factories and renovate and transform them. Thus, it appears that the machine-building trade must give some thought to the question of changing over to other products and reconsider its direction of production. The machine-building trade needs some restructuring--it cannot go back to the old state of affairs in which factories, whether "big and all-embracing" or "small but all-embracing," all produced a single product. In this period of readjustment the shortage of orders for goods also gives us a chance to study market demand, change the composition of products, tap all the potential of enterprises and renovate and transform them. In this way we may be able to find a way out. If the present situation is one of all-round development, in which materials are in short supply, people still have to obtain equipment through the "back door," and products of the worst quality imaginable can also find outlets. Then some enterprises will not pay any attention to regulation by the market. At present some goods are in excessive supply. I think this is a golden opportunity for us to reform our industries, because this situation will force the enterprises to study public demand, improve quality and increase variety. Therefore, I think we should all study this problem thoroughly. This year we must concentrate on increasing production and practicing economy. In particular, we must save energy. In saving energy it will not do to simply issue a few restrictions and use less energy in a general way. The work must be combined with tapping all the potential of enterprises and renovating and transforming them. We must further speed up the work of supplying materials for production. We already have certain experiences in this respect. For instance, we have organized trade fairs in production materials, credit companies and so on. Our material management enterprises must also adopt certain measures to speed up this work. The methods of holding trade fairs and diffusion can be applied for certain items. In addition, we can also study the method of supplying fixed amounts of materials, as in issuing food and cloth ration coupons.

## II. Increased Agricultural Production in the Next Few Years Will Depend Mainly on Policies and on Science

In the next few years we will have to rely mainly on our policies and on science to increase agricultural production. Farmland capital construction and mechanization can only be carried out in a measured way in accordance with the entire state's financial and material strength. Due to the deep poison of many years of "leftism" on the policy issue, there is still very great potential for bringing the role of policies into play. We should not imagine that, since we have now been implementing the rural economic policies for many years, no such potential remains. The main issue of policy is to find out how to mobilize the activism of the production teams and the peasants.

The modernization of China's agriculture naturally includes mechanization. We will indeed have to carry out the mechanization of agriculture. We cannot use manual labor forever. Moreover, we must consider the



priorities. China is a country with a large population. This is quite a problem, because it will lead to other social problems if the large labor surplus saved as a result of mechanization is not absorbed elsewhere. The greatest asset of mechanization is that it saves manpower; it does not necessarily increase output by that much. In particular, in places with a large population and little farmland, it does not play an especially great role in increasing production. Therefore, judging by present conditions, it is not an urgent and priority task to devote very great efforts to promoting mechanization. Since we have a large population, the labor force spared cannot be immediately absorbed elsewhere. At first we wanted to establish direct contact between urban and rural areas and diversify the production of goods. Now this, too, does not seem to be easy, because the urban areas also have a labor surplus. In agricultural modernization we must therefore stress studying the application of modern science and technology in agriculture. There is great potential in this respect, and Sichuan has already become aware of the benefits of this work. For example, mushrooms are now cultivated scientifically. This has never been done before. Frozen semen is used in warm-water fish breeding. This is also a good method. In Japan, earthworms are now bred in large quantities, and people can breed a lot of earthworms on one square meter of land. When earthworms are used to feed chickens and fish, they produce high yields. There is also the question of improving seed strains. With good seeds, output will increase. Where scientific farming is concerned, we have solved quite a number of problems and achieved conspicuous results after 2 years of experiments to breed species with numerous tillers and strong sprouts. In a number of places on the Chengdu Plain, where water sources do not pose a problem, people used to carry out ditch and flood irrigation. After switching to sprinkler irrigation, they find that this method can produce conspicuous results in increasing the output of corn and wheat. In the past, people thought that composite feed was something mysterious. Recently, many communes have begun to produce composite feed, and the results have been good. There is nothing mysterious about the whole thing. However, some communes are not yet capable of producing composite feed. They are, in fact, still using mixed feed. Our farmers used to feed their chickens and pigs whatever they could get--sometimes red trumpet creepers, sometimes corn. Much of the feed was wasted. Now, by using a simple mixture of grain and other types of feed which contain protein and fiber, they find that their pigs are growing much faster and weigh at least 30 percent more. They are very happy and are even willing to trade their grain for this type of feed. These are just a few examples to show there is great potential in this field. In our modernization we must concentrate on this work. Some of this work requires the use of machinery and some does not--at least not complete mechanization. We have much to do in promoting scientific feeding of animals and scientific plant cultivation. In short, we must stress science. Some people maintain that agricultural modernization can be divided into two aspects--the modernization of farm machinery and the modernization of biological techniques--and that things must be arranged in order of priority. I feel there is much to be said

for this. Therefore, in the future we must apply science and use modern science and technology in agriculture. This will play a very great role in improving per-unit-area yields and making use of resources. Apart from that, we must continue to carry out agricultural capital construction in a measured way, basing the work on our own strength. I am not talking about farmland capital construction here, but about agricultural capital construction. The central documents on speeding up agricultural development speak of agricultural capital construction. This is because the farmland capital construction we used to talk about was, in certain respects, narrow in content. We only mentioned water conservancy and land and soil improvement. This was too brief. The scope of agricultural capital construction is somewhat more extensive. It includes water conservancy and soil improvement and also includes the construction of animal-mating centers, seed stations, grain-drying grounds and warehouses. In deciding what work to carry out in our agricultural construction, we should proceed from the requirements of production and see which projects are most urgent for production and which produce the fastest results. Some production teams do not even have essential facilities like storerooms, grain-drying grounds and mats for drying grain. As a result, agricultural production is affected. They should do some work to improve this. Judging by the situation in Sichuan, water conservancy construction is still necessary in Sichuan, although it should not be our only concern. Some capital construction projects do not require much money. Where the whole province is concerned, a few dozen million yuan a year is enough to solve a lot of problems. In the future we should invest less money in water conservancy construction and spend more on the necessary items. In the field of agricultural science and technology, our capital construction is much too backward. For example, silkworm breeding has much room for improvement. One of the knotty problems here is that we have no silkworm eggs, and it takes money to build breeding centers. We can also do much to promote animal husbandry and veterinary work. In short, we should not concentrate on one thing but should diversify our efforts. Where water conservancy construction is concerned, we should continue our efforts to do our best, but we should not overreach ourselves. Meanwhile, we should also make arrangements for other agricultural capital construction work. In the past we only had the concept of farmland capital construction. Now we must publicize the concept of agricultural capital construction. All of us must study this problem, sum up experiences from practice and gradually solve the problem.

It appears that agricultural mechanization should be centered on the requirements of production. We should first solve those problems which urgently need solving. Many of our countrymen are now talking about this issue. This is only reasonable. Which is more important in the countryside at present, tractors or agricultural motor vehicles? This is a question worth studying. Why are there so many tractors on the road and so few in the fields? Obviously, transport is more urgent in comparison with plowing. For many years in the past we never bothered to find out why the peasants were using their tractors on the roads

instead of in the fields. Actually, the peasants are not blockheads. If they use their tractors on the roads instead of in the fields, they must have their reasons. This shows that, although tractors are necessary, the need for the mechanization of transportation is even greater. This is both practical and realistic. We must proceed from actual conditions and the requirements of production and find out which items require the least investment but produce the maximum and quickest results. On the question of agricultural mechanization, we must consider where to begin and what things we need most. Driers are essential to many localities, because they can help reduce cases of grain mildew. They are easy to produce and should be given attention. Mountainous areas should make it their primary concern to build highways. If they do not build highways, how can they proceed with mechanization? In short, we must clearly understand the guiding ideology for the development of agriculture: We must depend on policies and on science when we carry out agricultural production; we must act according to our capability when we undertake agricultural capital construction and mechanization; we must change our former notion of stressing farmland capital construction alone and think in terms of agricultural capital construction instead; we must gear agricultural mechanization to the needs of production.

We must further implement the rural economic policies. There is great potential in the rural areas. There is potential in resources and also in people. The key lies in applying certain good forms of responsibility and combining resources with people, so that the resources will truly become a treasure for society. I recently talked with several comrades from Chengdu about fish breeding and was enlightened by what they told me. In the past, when I asked them why they did not make good use of the great number of ponds in Chengdu to breed fish, they told me they were handicapped by all kinds of problems, such as feed, food supplies and so on. In our recent conversation I told them to make contracts with those households that know how to breed fish, while seeing to it that the output quotas are not fixed at too high a level. They replied: We will do as you say and start breeding fish. They said nothing about feed this time. This shows that the issue of policy is very important. Many of our resources have been left untouched. This is due partly to the one-sidedness of our guiding ideology, which stresses grain production at the expense of other undertakings, and partly to the lack of a clear-cut system of responsibility. Animal husbandry and similar undertakings require more careful management and a more clear-cut system of responsibility than the cultivation of field crops. Concerning the rural policies, I intend to speak on certain issues here:

1. The issue of the self-determination rights of production teams. In our province we have not yet been able to settle this issue properly and are still hampered by numerous outmoded ideas. The fundamental reason for this is that we do not trust the masses. When the self-determination rights of production teams are stressed, our words may not carry very much weight, and the production teams may not pay too much

heed to the county party committee and commune leadership. This may bring some losses. However, we must also see that recognition of the self-determination rights of the production teams would bring more advantages than losses, because it would enhance the initiative and activism of the production teams and arouse the enthusiasm of the commune members. It is impossible not to encounter any problems when we stress the self-determination rights of the production teams. Here the fundamental problem is the same as that in giving the industrial enterprises their self-determination rights. Production teams are the basic accounting units in the rural areas. Unless their work pace is increased, more than 500,000 units in the whole province will be thrown into passivity. They will not use their heads and will do everything as instructed. What good would this do? Some production teams did not ask their members to sun the harvested grain until the county party secretary had given them the order over the telephone, even though they knew the grain had begun to sprout. How can this be done? If the production teams do not have self-determination rights, they cannot gear themselves to actual conditions. Therefore, unless we have livened up the work of the production teams and given play to their self-determination rights, it will be very difficult for us to increase production. We must emancipate our minds and ascertain and study the issue of the self-determination rights of production teams in the province and in all counties. Here, in addition to the nontransferability and inviolability of the property and labor force of the production teams, an important principle is that the production teams should be allowed to make their own decisions. In the future we should pay attention mainly to the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products when we assign production plans to the production teams. At present it is still necessary for us to fix quotas for the sown acreage of principal economic crops, primarily cotton. The planned quotas for the sown acreage of other crops, such as paddy, corn and crops sown in late autumn, are merely figures for reference. The production teams should be allowed to decide for themselves how much they are going to sow. The masses are unwilling to grow cotton because it cannot get a good price. However, cotton is very much needed by the state. Under these circumstances, it is certainly necessary for the higher levels to fix quotas regarding sown acreage. The experience of Dayi County is a good one. It said that, fundamentally speaking, whether a plan can be fulfilled depends on whether it is formulated on the basis of democracy or is assigned by the higher level. In the future, agricultural production plans should be worked out and submitted from bottom to top and then coordinated and readjusted from the top down. After collecting the plans of different production teams, a county should find out if there are any problems and then give the necessary advice. It should not take every minor detail into its own hands. When it comes to technical measures for production, it is all the more necessary for us to let the masses make their own decisions in light of local conditions. We may suggest that a certain measure be popularized, but the final decision rests with the production teams themselves. The same applies to distribution and the forms of management. The higher levels should not

interfere too much in the management of the production teams. What we should do is to sum up and popularize the good experiences.

2. The issue of a suitable readjustment of private plots. Each locality may arrange an appropriate time to make readjustment of private plots. Most people can retain their own private plots after the readjustment. Only the two extremes--those who have too much and those who have too little--would be affected. All in all, the total acreage of private plots would be increased somewhat. The readjustment should be based on the original per capita allotment plan of each individual team. Land would be given to those households that have less than this amount and taken away from the small number of households that have too much. The original plan should not be upset. In making a readjustment of private plots, it is very important that we also implement the policy of family planning. It is wrong to base the readjustment on the existing population figure, because this would in fact encourage people to give up family planning. We must conscientiously act in accordance with the policy of planned parenthood stipulated by the Central Committee and the provincial authorities.

Aside from this, each locality may make contracts with its member households for the farming of small plots of outlying and barren land. The output quotas should be based on the output for an average year. The amounts specified in the contracts form portions of the rationed grain and feed for the commune members, but the latter may keep any surplus they produce. Any additional income derived from increased output obtained as a result of soil improvement and good management belongs to the individual commune member. Feed plots already allotted would not be taken back, but those households which have not been given any would not be allotted any such plots in the future. Private plots and this type of contract plot form less than 15 percent of the cultivated area of a production team. On the whole, all peasants should be able to keep private plots and small amounts of contract plots in the future, and the output derived from these plots would form part of their rationed grain and feed. Those households which do not have sufficient labor power to work these plots may turn down the offer of contracts, and the production teams should take care of their difficulties. Moreover, we should not be too strict about the empty spaces around the houses and should encourage the commune members to plant trees. As to how the limits are to be defined, we should base ourselves on natural conditions and historical customs.

3. The issue of commune and brigade enterprises. We must bring about a great development of commune and brigade enterprises. Numerous contradictions will emerge if the three levels--the people's commune, the production brigade and the production teams--all develop enterprises simultaneously. Brigades which have the necessary conditions can of course start their own enterprises, but our main concern is still to develop enterprises of communes and production teams. We must do a good job of

diversifying the economy of the production teams and of running commune enterprises. In addition, we also have a tentative idea, an experiment. Besides striving to run the existing commune and brigade enterprises well, we should give greater publicity to joint operations by production teams when we start new enterprises in the future. We should not separate ourselves from the bases--the production teams--when we run commune enterprises. Instead, we should run commune enterprises on the basis of production teams. This form of joint operation by production teams can be undertaken in one commune or can be undertaken by several communes in one district. The first method means organizing specialized units, specialized households, specialized groups and specialized personnel in each production team. The latter means the joint operation of production teams by units at a higher level. The scale of joint operation depends on actual needs. It may start on a small scale, but when it gradually expands it may overstep administrative divisions. This is also a new issue requiring careful study. In our original plan the production teams should strive to make the transition to brigade ownership and then to commune ownership by developing commune and brigade enterprises. Only practice can tell whether this plan is any good. This is only a tentative idea, and things may not turn out this way. In its place we might have joint operations on the basis of production teams. It is very likely that the integration and specialization of agriculture, industry and commerce will take the form of joint operations by production teams in the future. We must pay attention to taking the interests of all production teams into account and make them really benefit from the joint operation. Commune and brigade enterprises must improve management and tap potential through readjustment and strive to increase output, improve quality, reduce costs and make more profits. Where possible, we should distribute portions of the profits among the production teams to increase the income of the production teams and the commune members.

4. Gradually readjust cropping arrangements in light of local conditions. At present all developed countries in the world have gone in for regionalization and specialization in the cultivation of crops and are carrying out large-scale division of work in agriculture. Although we are not yet in a position to do the same, this does not mean we should not change our present small but complete crop distribution system, which bears the characteristics of a natural economy. On the principle of insuring higher yields of grain and economic crops it is very important that we take into consideration the actual conditions of various places, bring into play the advantages of various natural factors and gradually and rationally readjust our crop distribution. This is not just an important measure for gradually bringing about regionalization and specialization in agricultural production. Judging by actual conditions, this will also offer great potential for developing production. Thus, it is an important policy for agricultural production. Take Zhongjiang County, for example. The southern part of this county is ideal for growing cotton and can produce nearly 100 jin per mu in general; the central and northern parts are not suitable for growing cotton and can only produce

60 to 70 jin per mu. However, the central and northern parts can produce more grain than the south. If we make some readjustments by growing more cotton in the south and more grain in the central and northern parts, we can increase the output of both cotton and grain. Take Leshan Municipality, for another example. In the past the distribution of cotton was very scattered. The peasants tried to maintain the level of total output by increasing the sown acreage of cotton, but they still failed to fulfill the production task assigned to them by the state. This year, while the output of cotton dropped throughout the province because of natural disasters, theirs showed an increase as a result of making readjustments in the distribution of the crop. The sown acreage was reduced by 9,000 mu, but the per-unit and total output were higher by 76 percent and 10 percent, respectively. This is very elucidating. We should conscientiously study how things are going in this regard. All counties, communes and brigades should proceed from reality, grow whatever is suitable to the local natural conditions and develop agricultural production in the direction of regionalization and specialization. All provinces and prefectures should also set up test points for making readjustments in crop distribution.

5. What should be done about the small number of production teams which are too big? Some of the big production teams that merged during the "four-cleanups" movement have been loosely run for a long time. I believe these teams can be divided into smaller units. Of course, there is no need to unfold any special movements for this purpose. We should solve the problems gradually and one at a time and should not be afraid of the consequences. Some of the big teams have been run successfully, so there is no problem with them. In short, the relations of production must correspond to the level of productivity, and the scale of ownership must be commensurate with the masses' level of consciousness. This is our principle.

### III. Grasp Commercial Work

At present there are many problems concerning the cardinal links in circulation. In industry there is a problem of relations between industry and commerce, and in agriculture there are also problems in procurement and marketing. Apart from grasping industry and agriculture, party committees at all levels must care for and grasp commerce and solve the problems in the field of circulation. Some of the problems in commerce are problems of commerce itself. The commercial departments should do their best to improve their work. On the other hand, there are indeed many problems in commerce whose solution requires the help of local party committees.

The first problem is that the commercial system must be restructured. However, restructuring can only be implemented in a measured way, because too drastic a change is liable to cause price fluctuations and other problems. On the whole, we should revive the methods of 1957.

Some of these methods are easy to revive, but some can only be revived step by step and in a planned way. Unless the system itself is restructured, commerce cannot be improved. If commerce is not improved, industry and agriculture also cannot be improved. The present problems in the links of production have seriously affected the pace of industrial and agricultural work.

The second problem concerns strengthening the building of commercial installations. The lack of commercial installations such as warehouses, cold storage facilities and refrigerator cars is a prominent weak link in our present economic work. Our present readjustment should also include the solution of these problems. We face the same problem of not having enough warehouses, cold storage facilities and refrigerator cars that we faced in the past. Under these circumstances, the more production develops, the greater will be the waste, because we would not be able to sell and store all goods in time. Over the years, waste caused by the lack of commercial installations has been enormous. If we increase the output of agricultural produce and fresh aquatic foods but do not have any cold storage facilities and refrigerator cars, the commercial departments simply cannot buy our products. There is no use blaming anyone. This is a problem which urgently requires solution. Beginning this year, all levels must assign some funds for the construction of commercial installations. Financially, we must further study how to formulate some flexible policies for the commercial system and how to solve the investment problem. For example, we may draw portions of the profit or advance some money to construct the installations and repay the sums later on.

Aside from this, the commercial departments must actively procure industrial, agricultural and sideline products and develop more marketing outlets to serve industry and commerce. In industrial and agricultural production we must avoid blindness, show concern for the market and gear our output to market needs. The future trend is that the number of industrial and agricultural products under unified state purchase by commercial departments will be gradually reduced. Therefore, in industrial and agricultural production it will not work to ask the commercial departments to procure commodities that are not produced according to market needs. We should approach the problem in two ways: On the one hand, the commercial departments must actively promote sales and develop more marketing outlets for industry and agriculture; on the other hand, industrial and agricultural production units must avoid blindness in action. This problem is particularly worth discussing when it comes to agricultural and sideline products, because once the present policies are implemented, many lines of production will be developed. If we do not pay attention to market demand, many of these commodities will have no outlets. In short, party committees at all levels must pay attention to commerce and the cardinal links of circulation. At present these links have already affected our ability to boost industry and agriculture.



#### IV. On the Question of Readjustment

The questions I have mentioned above all come under the general heading of the 3 years of readjustment. In economic work the general requirement is to fully implement the principle of readjustment. In the past the crux of the contradiction in economic work was an overly extended capital construction front with too much investment, pushing aside agriculture, light industry and people's living standards. The key to readjustment is to reduce accumulation, cut capital construction and strengthen the weak links. We must summon up the greatest resolve on this question. We must readjust in a big way, not in a small one. Proceeding from the overall situation of developing the national economy, we must reduce output of products in ample or excessive supply and increase output of those in short supply. The aim of readjustment cannot be achieved by averaging things out. The less financial strength we have, the more we must concentrate investment to insure the key projects and fight battles of annihilation. However, readjustment is certainly not a simple matter of cutting capital construction. It is a profound reform touching on all fields. After the scale of capital construction is reduced, a series of new problems arises. Contradictions which were concealed in the past are revealed. The machine-building and metallurgical trades are among the first to bear the brunt. They are now confronted with the problem of changing over to other products and undergoing reorganization to suit market needs. Other trades and professions must also change their customary practices of waiting for the higher levels to formulate plans for them, applying for raw materials from above, assigning sole agents for their products and making no effort to coordinate production and marketing. These are related to fundamental issues such as the economic structure and management system. These problems which have cropped up in readjustment can be solved only through readjustment and restructuring. The present situation demands action. Last year some enterprises did not have sufficient tasks. Under these circumstances, they went to the market to solicit production orders and promote sales; consequently, they became full of life again. We must correctly understand the new situation which has appeared in readjustment and spontaneously conform to it. We must not merely see the difficulties brought about by readjustment. Instead, we must take this as a golden opportunity to reform the heavy industries, regulate the market and restructure management over planning, materials and so on. We must guide action according to the circumstances, strike while the iron is hot, grasp readjustment--the cardinal link--organically combine it with restructuring, rectification and improvement, and gradually rationalize the proportions among the various departments of the national economy.

The current problem is that our thinking is unable to keep up with things. On many questions our thinking is not yet in harmony with the principle of readjustment. We must spontaneously consider problems, observe the situation and arrange work in accordance with the principle of readjustment. We must carry on with or halt projects as appropriate. We must work together to wage the campaign of readjustment effectively.

## INCREASE PRODUCTION, PRACTICE ECONOMY AND OPEN ALL AVENUES

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] Increasing production, practicing economy and opening all avenues are important links in implementing the present policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy and strengthening economic work.

Last year, under the guidance of the spirit of the third plenary session and the second session of the Fifth NPC, we achieved marked successes in our economic work due to the diligent efforts of the entire party and people throughout the country. We adopted some important measures to readjust the proportionate relations between accumulation and consumption on the one hand and between the collective and the individual on the other. We also adopted measures to improve the relations among the state, the collective and the individual. All these played an important role in arousing the enthusiasm of the masses, in consolidating and developing political stability and unity and in promoting the development of the national economy. However, this is only a good beginning. We must realize that, because we started a little too late and did not take a firm hold on our work, the readjustment and reorganization of industry has not been carried out promptly. Apart from that, we have overextended the line of capital construction. The present low effects of investment have not been changed much, and our work of reforming the system is still in the experimental stage. We have plenty of work to do in the new year.

This year is the second year of implementing the eight-character principle and a decisive year in the 3 years of readjustment. The targets of the plans for this year and next year have now been set. Generally speaking, these targets are more practical. After the successful accomplishment of the plans, the proportionate relationships among various sectors in the national economy will be further coordinated, and a new situation in our economic life will arise. However, since we are implementing readjustment, we will both advance and retreat. As far

as the distribution of the national income is concerned, while the proportion of consumption funds increases, the proportion of accumulation funds will drop relatively, and the investment in capital construction should decrease. In the meantime, we will face some difficulties in terms of finances, materials and the supply of commodities in the markets. These are difficulties arising on our road of progress and are the new problems we face.

We have only limited funds for investment, raw materials and power. What should we do? The only correct way to deal with the situation is to increase production and practice economy. Increasing production and practicing economy is our long-term principle. Our party has always maintained that to build socialism we should advance the spirit of plain living, hard struggle and building the country with industry and thrift. We had to increase production and practice economy in the past, and we must do it now and in the future. The only difference now is that we are readjusting the national economy and reducing the investment in capital construction. Therefore, the present campaign to increase production and practice economy is of special importance.

Our economy, especially industrial production, has great potential. We have already laid a sound material and technical base during our construction over the past 30 years. Now there are 380,000 enterprises on the industrial and communications fronts throughout the country, and our fixed assets amount to 440 billion yuan or so. Compared with such an excessive amount of fixed assets, our level of production and financial income are relatively low. All these facts show that much can be accomplished in the campaign to increase production and practice economy.

The major problem in our economic work is that we have not attached importance to economic results. Enormous and horrifying waste has occurred in both productive construction and circulation. There are many reasons for this. The basic one is our extremely low management level. If we pay attention to economic results in business management and eliminate waste, our funds will increase immediately. We will be able to produce more products from the same amount of raw materials and power. For example:

At present the rate of utilization of rolled steel in our machinery industry is only 60 percent. If we increase the rate by 10 percent, we will save 500,000 to 600,000 tons of rolled steel annually. Our rate of utilization of wood is only 50 percent. If we increase it to 70 percent, we will increase production by 4 million cubic meters, which is one-tenth the annual supply.

At present, in nearly half the enterprises throughout the country, the unit consumption of coal, oil and power is higher than the best previous levels of the relevant enterprises. The consumption of energy by different enterprises producing the same kind of product differs greatly. In

the key metallurgical enterprises, different enterprises consume different amounts of coke to produce a ton of steel. The Beijing iron and steel mill consumes 538 kg of coke, whereas some enterprises consume 800 kg. Various small chemical fertilizer plants also consume different amounts of coal and power to produce a ton of synthetic ammonia. Basing the calculations on standard coal, the Tongxiang chemical fertilizer plant in Zhejiang Province consumes only 1.4 tons of coal and 1,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity. Other plants consume 5-6 tons of coal and 3,000-4,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity. If we lower this consumption, we will save 40-50 million tons of coal, 3-4 million tons of oil and 20-30 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity annually.

At present the sales income of industrial enterprises per 100 yuan of capital is 94 yuan. When we regain the 1965 level of 104 yuan, our net income will be greatly increased.

In a word, ours is a big country and we have a great number of enterprises. If each enterprise wastes a little more, we will lose a large amount of capital, raw materials and power; if each enterprise saves a little more, we will gain a large amount of capital, raw materials and power. We should look at our own potential, tap it by every possible means and use it in the expansion of production.

When we mention expanding production, some comrades demand increased investment. Actually, there are two ways to expand production. The first way is to rely on increases in investment, equipment, materials and the labor force, that is, an increase in the amount of labor. The other way is to rely on tapping the potential of the existing enterprises, raising labor productivity and reducing labor consumption. Marx called the former external expansion of reproduction and the latter internal expansion of reproduction. From a long-term viewpoint, to expand reproduction, manpower and material resources we should increase investment and increase and carry out capital construction. Only then can backward technology be replaced by advanced technology and the ever-growing material and cultural demands of the people be satisfied. However, in a certain period the additional amount of labor should be limited. To carry out capital construction we need large amounts of manpower, materials and financial resources. Apart from that, we have to devote a certain amount of time. Only then can the productive capacity be formed. Therefore, from a yearly point of view, to increase production we should rely mainly on tapping the productive potential of the existing enterprises. Thus, we will raise labor productivity, lower labor consumption per unit produced and adopt the method of internal expansion of reproduction. Ours is a big country with a vast population and a backward economy. Therefore, we simply must adopt this method.

We attach importance to economic results so we can achieve more output with less labor consumption. In each and every specific enterprise and section, production costs should be constantly lowered and the net

income of enterprises increased. The increased output should be based on economic results if the production cost per unit remains unchanged. The consumption of facilities, materials and fuels as well as the labor force should be increased proportionally. In this way, labor consumption has not been reduced, although production has increased. If the per-unit cost rises, the increase in labor consumption might exceed that of production. Thus, we have not succeeded in practicing economy, even though production has increased. On the contrary, this could be wasteful. Only by constantly lowering per-unit costs can we produce more products by using the same amount of manpower and material resources, or produce the same amount of products by using less manpower and material resources. If we increase production this way, we can achieve better economic results in a greater, faster and more economical way. In a sense, reducing consumption of the existing means of production is the same as adding new means of production. At present the consumption of raw materials, supplementary materials, fuel and power accounts for about 70 percent of production costs. If consumption is lowered by one-tenth, or even by 1 percent, we can save a large amount of materials and use them in more urgent areas to increase production. For example, in some industrial countries the weight of cars has been constantly lightened, and the weight of a truck has been reduced from the former 4-5 tons to the present 2.5-3 tons. However, in our country the weight of a medium-tonnage truck and its carrying capacity are always in a ratio of 1 to 1. Why should we not make some improvements to reduce the weight of our cars? Based on the present output of cars, if the weight of a car is reduced by half a ton, we can save 4-5 tons of rolled steel!

Some comrades maintain that since they do not have a sufficient production assignment it is impossible for them to increase production and practice economy. Many reasons are adduced for the insufficient assignment of production. Due to improper proportions, some products are in excessive supply and some enterprises are producing more than necessary. Some products do not suit the customers because they are poor in quality and high in price. Due to a lack of coordination between industry and commerce, the channel of supply and marketing has been blocked, leading to an overstocking of products. Different problems should be handled in different ways. However, one thing we should do is open all avenues for production. In 1942 Comrade Mao Zedong said the following at a conference of senior cadres of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region: "Let us study the different ways men in ancient times survived and how present-day poor peasants survive. It is simply because they have two hands and extensions--tools. Let us study ourselves and we find that we, too, have two hands and extensions--tools. This study is important. If we undertake it, our problems can be solved immediately. In a word, we fully believe we can solve our economic difficulties. In this respect, we use the word 'self-reliance' to answer all questions." Today we not only have two hands but also advanced machinery and facilities which are different from those in ancient times and in the time of Yanan. Why should we not expand reproduction through "self-reliance"? To open all

avenues for production we should encourage the state, enterprises and individuals to create wealth through "self-reliance." To do so we must give them a little freedom (under the guidance of a plan) to smash the fetters. We must give the localities and enterprises a little power so they will have greater room for their activities. A new situation has arisen in this respect. For instance, when a plan was worked out early last year in Shanghai, the main contradiction was the lack of production assignments. However, the people did everything possible to support the enterprises, so they were able to enliven their economic work and change the situation of overemphasizing centralized economic management and stifling controls. Relying on various economic organizations and cadres as well as on the masses, they opened all the avenues for socialist production and acquiring wealth. As a result, instead of a drop in industrial output value, production targets were overfulfilled. Last year the machine industry, metallurgical industry, military industry and scientific research departments throughout the country also did their best to produce consumer goods, and they partly solved the problems arising from the lack of production assignments. In particular, the development of enterprises under collective ownership in urban and rural areas and the restoration of certain types of individual labor have solved the unemployment problem for a large number of young people in towns and cities. Therefore, as long as we open all avenues and do everything possible to tap financial resources, we can not only march toward production in depth and breadth but also continue to create important conditions for solving the employment problem.

To meet this year's requirements for increasing production, practicing economy, opening all the avenues for production and doing everything possible to tap financial resources, we should take down-to-earth measures to do various jobs, adopt effective measures and implement policies which attach importance to economic results.

First, we should do a good job of readjusting enterprises, and our main efforts should be devoted to building leading groups. We should establish a strict system of job responsibility, perfect the economic accounting system and improve the reward system to arouse the productive enthusiasm of staff members.

Second, we should do a good job of reorganizing industry, and our main efforts should be devoted to working out plans. We should adopt powerful economic methods while using subsidiary administrative measures of handing out rewards and punishment. In this way we will promote the campaign to increase production, practice economy in enterprises and curb waste. For instance, we should establish a standard for setting up factories and set a maximum limit for the unit consumption of fuel and power and a minimum requirement for product quality. A deadline should be set for the unqualified enterprises to meet these requirements and standards. New enterprises which would not be up to the standards should not be set up. The unqualified enterprises, especially

old enterprises which produce unpopular products or have a high consumption rate, should be resolutely reorganized or closed down, stopped, amalgamated or converted. We must work out and implement policies of rewarding industrial readjustment and reorganization.

Third, we should do a good job in technical reform, work out technical policies and formulate plans for technical reform. We should positively popularize new scientific and technical results proven to be effective at home. We should also encourage the adoption of new techniques and the development of new products in terms of prices and tax revenues.

Fourth, we should do a good job of reforming the management system. Our main efforts should be devoted to enlivening economic work and expanding the decisionmaking power in enterprise management. We should reform those policies and systems which are not in accord with the development of productive forces and create conditions for opening the avenues of production.

Fifth, we should do a good job of training staff members and workers. We should make great efforts to raise the management levels of the existing cadres and raise the levels of culture and knowledge as well as the workers' mastery of techniques.

While strengthening economic work we should do well in political and ideological work. We should pay attention to strengthening political and ideological work for the masses and advance the glorious tradition of hard struggle, diligence and thrift. We must see to it that all our cadres and people bear in mind that ours is a large but poor country with a vast population. To make China prosperous and strong, we should pursue a policy of diligence, thrift and hard struggle. We must also see that our cadres are concerned about the well-being of the masses and that they share their comforts and hardships. We must tell the masses that we should rely on the development of the economy to solve various practical problems. We should also rely on the development of the economy to solve various social problems. In a word, the fundamental way to solve the difficulties and problems we are encountering is to increase production, practice economy and open all avenues.

This year is a promising one. If we do a good job in waging the campaign to increase production, practice economy, open all avenues and do everything possible to tap financial resources, our economy will develop in a faster and better way.

CSO: 4004

THE FATE OF A MARXIST DISCOURSE--RE STUDY COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S SPEECH  
'ON SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING OUR POLICIES TOWARD NATIONALITIES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 24-28

[Article by Fan Ruoyu [5400 5387 1946]]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Enlai's discourse "On Several Questions Concerning Our Policies Toward Nationalities" is a combination of basic Marxist principles on the nationalities question and our country's special characteristics. It enriched Marxist theories on the nationalities question with our new experiences in nationalities work during the socialist period and with similar new contributions from Mao Zedong Thought.

(1) The Criminal Evidence Against That "Theoretical Authority" and Chen Boda

This work of Comrade Zhou Enlai, from the time of its writing as a speech to its first publication as a historical document, has been through twists and turns.

The first issue of RED FLAG, published in June 1958, included Comrade Mao Zedong's "Introducing a Cooperative," and some comrades of its editorial department wanted more contributions from the responsible comrades of the Central Committee. I was then working in the premier's staff office and proposed to the editorial department that Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech at the forum on nationalities work be published. Chen Boda, then chief editor of RED FLAG, told me to obtain permission from Comrade Zhou Enlai. The author (here and hereinafter referring to Comrade Zhou Enlai) then compiled his notes on the speech into an article entitled "On Several Questions Concerning Our Policies Toward Nationalities" (hereinafter referred to as "Several Questions") and agreed to its publication. Copies of the draft were sent to Chen Boda and that "theoretical authority."

But things turned out to be contrary to expectations! After reading the draft, that "theoretical authority" told me sheepishly: "This is a



document, and a good document. But certain parts of it need to be discussed before publication." I later asked Chen Boda about it, and he said vaguely that he had to do "some study," together with the "theoretical authority." After the "discussion" and "study" by that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda, this matter was like a stone sinking into the sea from which no more is heard. The "Several Questions" was thus shelved by the RED FLAG editorial department, and a Marxist discourse on our party's nationalities policy during the socialist period, written at just the opportune time, was kept from the cadres and people for more than 20 years simply because of the obstruction of that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda. As a result, this turned out to be a big help to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in disrupting our party's nationalities policy during the Great Cultural Revolution.

Fortunately, "Several Questions" still remains after more than 20 years of obscurity. Last October the RED FLAG editorial department, which discovered the original manuscript and planned to publish it, sent me a copy. I recognized at once the manuscript personally compiled by Comrade Zhou Enlai. The RED FLAG editorial department had appended these notes to the original manuscript: Date of final draft: 10 September 1958. Number of copies: 20. This is ironclad proof of the crime of that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda in withholding the "Several Questions."

## (2) The Crystallization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

A restudy of "Several Questions" cannot help bringing my mind back to the past. Besides withholding the work, that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda colluded with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in disrupting the party's nationalities policy by flaunting the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong banner and spread all sorts of rumors and slanders against the author alleging that he neglected Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. To eliminate their pernicious influence, it is now necessary to emphasize the crystallization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the "Several Questions" on the nationalities question.

Let us first find out how "Several Questions" came to be written. On 25 April 1956 Comrade Mao Zedong gave a talk at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee expounding the "Ten Major Relationships" in our socialist revolution and socialist construction. The sixth part of the talk dealt with our relationship with the minority nationalities. On 3 May Comrade Zhou Enlai relayed Comrade Mao Zedong's talk to cadres at and above the rank of State Council directors. Some of these comrades still treasure the notes they took on that occasion. Now, from one of the notebooks, let me quote some passages showing what the author said about that part of the talk concerning the relationship between the Han and the minority nationalities, which was also dealt with in the "Several Questions."

1. Nationalities, large or small, are mutually dependent and united. On the nationalities question the biggest danger lies in Han chauvinism. The small populations of the minority nationalities are usually overlooked.

2. China's "large population" refers to the Hans, while "large areas with plentiful natural resources" refers to the areas of fraternal nationalities. Of the "three portions into which the country is divided," two belong to the minority nationalities. The Han nationality has only a large population, and industry and agriculture are relatively more developed in the Han areas, but the areas of minority nationalities have inexhaustible natural resources. Since the Han nationality has a larger population and is more advanced economically and culturally, it should help the relatively backward fraternal nationalities, which have smaller populations, in a joint development.

3. In the past, reactionary Han rulers always bullied the minority nationalities, dominated the good areas and drove the minority people to the deserts and barren mountains. The Han nationality also bullied the minority nationalities in commerce and agriculture. In developing the underground treasures in the areas of the fraternal nationalities in the future, emigration will be unavoidable, and the slightest carelessness will result in a repetition of the historical errors.

4. Only unity among all the nationalities can help build a socialist motherland. The development of underground resources in minority nationality areas will be of great help to the motherland. The contributions from the minority nationalities may be even greater than those from the Hans. On this point we must be careful in our work. At present the central departments usually do not pay enough attention to their nationalities work, either economically or culturally, and such work is not included in their working agenda. All departments should work out several plans for their work on minority nationalities. If this is not accomplished this year, it should be made up next year. They should provide support with manpower, materials and financial investments.

5. For the minority nationalities there should be democratic and social reforms. This should be the general trend. There should be different reforms with different priorities according to current conditions. We have to wait until the minority nationalities are politically conscious and concurrence is obtained from their higher authorities before proceeding with any reform.

From this it can be seen that in transmitting Comrade Mao Zedong's talk "On the Ten Major Relationships" the author expressed the main points of the "Several Questions." In transmitting the talk the author explained and elaborated many aspects in his own words and in the light of government work. If we compare what he said then with Comrade

Mao Zedong's "On the Ten Major Relationships," we can see how well Comrade Zhou Enlai comprehended the spirit of the talk.

On 16 September of the same year Comrade Zhou Enlai again stressed the following points in his "Report on the Proposal for the Second Five-Year Plan" at the Eighth National CCP Congress:

1. In places where minority people live in a compact community, national autonomy should be established and respected.
2. Large numbers of national cadres should be trained and promoted. We must enhance their political consciousness and administrative ability so that they will become real masters of their own affairs while holding their positions and exercising their rights.
3. Equal national rights, freedom of religious beliefs, and their customs, habits and languages should be respected.

The "Political Report" delivered at the Eighth National CCP Congress, the "Resolution on the Political Report" and the "Proposal on the Second Five-Year Plan" all elaborated the principles of handling the relationship between the Han and the minority nationalities according to Comrade Mao Zedong's talk "On the Ten Major Relationships." Comrade Zhou Enlai's report was no exception. (These documents are contained in "Documents of the Eighth National CCP Congress" published by the People's Publishing House.) In that part of his report dealing with the nationalities question, he stressed the need for careful consideration of the minority nationalities while carrying out construction according to the Second Five-Year Plan. The several key issues in the report were further elaborated in the "Several Questions."

The author's remarks during the transmission of Comrade Mao Zedong's talk and his own report in September contributed to the writing of the "Several Questions," which has now become a concrete and comprehensive elaboration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on our national question.

### (3) Enrichment of the Theory on the Nationalities Question With New Experiences

On 6 July 1957 the Nationalities Affairs Commission invited 105 representatives from 29 nationalities to a forum on nationalities work held in Qingdao. On the afternoon of 4 August, Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke before the representatives at a meeting on several basic principles in handling the nationalities question. What he spoke about was later edited as the speech "Several Questions."

The portion "On Opposition to Two Types of Chauvinism" describes how the two types of chauvinism came into being in history, how they developed

and how they would gradually disappear during socialist construction. Therefore, in the socialist period, opposition to the two types of chauvinism should have a new foundation: the common task of building a powerful socialist motherland for all nationalities.

The author closely linked the common goal of building a modern socialist motherland by all nationalities with opposition to the two types of chauvinism. If the two types of chauvinism were not opposed, there would be obstructions to the unity of people of various nationalities in socialist construction; and without a common goal of building a powerful socialist motherland through the combined efforts of various nationalities it would be impossible to oppose the two types of chauvinism. In opposing the two types of chauvinism the main effort should be directed against great Han chauvinism. Apart from certain matters involving a very tiny number of people, the question of both types of chauvinism is one of contradictions among the people. Opposition to the two types of chauvinism should proceed from a desire for unity and then go through criticism and struggle for the sake of unity with the common task of building a powerful socialist motherland as its new foundation. We must not oppose the two types of chauvinism in a simplistic and unanalytical manner and without bearing in mind the common goal of building a powerful socialist motherland. On the other hand, people of all nationalities must be united in the task of building a powerful socialist motherland through mutual aid and mutual support, so that everyone would be educated and then gradually and consciously overcome the tendencies toward the two types of chauvinism.

Opposing chauvinism is a question of the basic stand in upholding the proletarian world outlook on the nationalities question. As Lenin strongly pointed out, the two different policies of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the nationalities question represent two different world outlooks. Comrade Zhou Enlai firmly adhered to this principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and went a step further in raising the question of a new foundation for opposing chauvinism (either great Han chauvinism or local chauvinism) by the proletariat of a socialist country, thus giving a new interpretation of the question of opposing chauvinism. By giving a comprehensive, systematic and concrete analysis of the way to oppose the two types of chauvinism, "Several Questions" elaborated on a very important and complex problem concerning the nationalities question and thus provided an important guideline for our party's nationalities work during the socialist period.

The portion "On Regional National Autonomy" describes the historical and objective conditions for our country's adoption of the regional national autonomy policy and proves the superiority of our system.

The author pointed out that the historical development of nationalities and the economic and revolutionary developments in our country provided the conditions for the policy of regional national autonomy. According

to the specific conditions in our country, this policy was most appropriate for materializing the rights of national autonomy. The practice of regional national autonomy would enable all minority people, living in either compact or mixed communities, to enjoy the rights of national autonomy. The policy of regional national autonomy is a correct integration of national autonomy and regional autonomy as well as of economic and political factors. Regional national autonomy is a system without parallel in history.

The author strongly pointed out: "Each country has historical traits of its own and cannot mechanically copy those of others." In working out our national policy we should proceed from the actual conditions in our country instead of from books. In his article "On the Rights of Nations to Self-Determination," Lenin pointed out: "In the analysis of any social question, the strictest demand of Marxist theories is to confine the question to a certain historical context; that is, if we talk about a certain country (such as about that country's nationalities program), we must consider the special features of that country which are different from those of other countries in the same historical period." Comrade Zhou Enlai met this "strictest demand of Marxist theories" by mastering the specific features of various nationalities in our country and for the first time in our country practiced regional national autonomy as the crystallization of Marxism. Leninism also holds that the nationalities question is part of the question of proletarian dictatorship. In a large unified multinational socialist country, the practice of regional national autonomy by our party is also a new experience of proletarian dictatorship. The conclusion drawn by the author from this new experience as regards the nationalities question is a brilliant work giving a concise summary of the nationalities question based on creative ideas.

The portion "On Prosperity of the Nationalities and Social Reform" shows that our party's nationalities policy is one of promoting prosperity for the various nationalities. Social reform is a basic measure for all nationalities to achieve prosperity, and the prosperity of all nationalities is consistent with the basic stand of a socialist nationalities policy.

The author pointed out that the purpose of our party's nationalities policy was to build our country into a powerful socialist and modernized motherland in order to bring prosperity to all nationalities on a completely equal basis.

Therefore, it was necessary to carry out economic reform in order to improve the people's living conditions and to lead them gradually to prosperity. All areas of the minority nationalities under national autonomy should be modernized. Our great socialist family should help the minority nationalities to take the road of modernization to the goal of common prosperity. The author strongly pointed out: "We cannot

let backward areas remain backward; to do so would perpetuate the inequality and would become an error." Thus the author closely linked the solution of the problem of minority nationalities with social reform, particularly the modernization of the socialist motherland, and pointed out the correct path for people of all nationalities to strive for happiness.

The portion "On the Rights of National Autonomy and National Quality" deals mainly with the education of Han cadres and people on the need to respect the rights of national autonomy and to attach importance to national quality.

The author pointed out that ours is a multinational country and that since we recognize the existence of various nationalities we must respect the rights of national autonomy and highly regard the question of national quality.

National quality for cadres means the need for a proper ratio between the number of Han and minority cadres. In areas under national autonomy, national cadres should occupy responsible positions, and their training should be planned in advance. Han cadres and the cadres of the fraternal nationalities should cooperate with one another in every possible way. The languages, both written and spoken, the religious beliefs, customs and habits of fraternal nationalities should all be respected.

It should be particularly mentioned that Comrade Zhou Enlai was the paragon in respecting the fraternal nationalities. He had a high regard for the role of the fraternal nationalities in the cause of building a socialist motherland, ardent hope for their development, and concern for their living conditions, besides encouraging them to advance. He strongly pointed out: "We hold that all nationalities are superior, industrious and wise as long as they are given the opportunity to develop, and that all nationalities are brave and strong as long as they are given the opportunity to temper themselves."

In short, the "Several Questions" is a theoretical work which sums up the new experiences in nationalities work during the socialist period of our country on the basis of the past and present characteristics of our nationalities by applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the nationalities question and by seeking truth from facts, thus enriching Marxism-Leninism on the nationalities question. It has flesh and blood and is full of vitality in crystallizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a socialist age.

The "Several Questions" speech was delivered in August 1957. When we read this discourse and recall the situation at that time as well as the situation in the following 20 years and more, we realize that this work has proudly stood the test of history. There is no doubt that certain principles proved in the "Several Questions" were raised by

Comrade Mao Zedong on the basis of collective experiences which include the experiences of Comrade Zhou Enlai, the other leading comrades, the national workers and the cadres and people of various nationalities. However, the person to synthesize these collective experiences in practice and theory and in an all-round and systematic way was Comrade Zhou Enlai, the great author of the "Several Questions." As the crystallization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, this discourse is inseparable from the author's own theoretical cultivation and excellent study style. Comrade Zhou Enlai was a great proletarian revolutionary as well as an outstanding Marxist theorist.

In his speech celebrating the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic, Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out that Mao Zedong Thought was jointly created by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms. As a close comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai in many ways personified Mao Zedong Thought, enriched it and thereby made great contributions to the theoretical achievements of our party. This fact has been attested by his deeds and writings. The action of that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda in obstructing the publication of the "Several Questions" proves that they consistently opposed Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Zhou Enlai.

#### (4) Fruit of Scientific Study

Comrade Zhou Enlai had great academic interest in the nationalities question. He diligently studied Marxist works on this question and was even more familiar with the works of Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong on the same subject. He not only studied the writings on the nationalities question but also attached great importance to study and investigation on the work concerning minority nationalities. He also paid attention to the problem of the historical development of various nationalities in our country and the relationship between the Han and the minority nationalities. He encouraged those engaged in the study of nationalities problems to go deep into the minority areas for study and investigation with the same spirit of endurance as that of Morgan. He was very observant on the conditions of various nationalities in the world, particularly those of the Asian, African and Latin American nations. Since the religious question is usually related to the nationalities question, he was attentive to the religious question as well. He once said that, since history has left some many religious believers in the world, our party's religious policy should be based on the viewpoint of the masses. To adopt a crude and non-Marxist approach means failure to see things from the mass point of view.

What should be particularly mentioned is Comrade Zhou Enlai's concern for nationalities work. Even in his dying hours he still earnestly urged others to do a good job in implementing the policy on nationalities. His painstaking efforts in nationalities work resulted in valuable experiences. From the data on the nationalities question at home and

abroad, particularly the experiences of our party in nationalities work, cited by him in the "Several Questions," we can see his comprehensive mastery of scientific data on this subject. With Marxist historical dialectics he integrated his profound knowledge of the nationalities question with the rich experience of nationalities work and wrote the "Several Questions." Far from an impromptu speech at a forum, it was the result of many years' scientific research.

Comrade Zhou Enlai held that, since Marxism was developing, Marxist theories on the national question should be developing as well. He said that Engels wrote "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" on the basis of a vast collection of historical data and that this should be considered the earliest Marxist work on ethnology. However, Engels' collection of historical data could only include those brought to light before and during his lifetime. Now, with the increasing number of relics from the ancient societies being unearthed and the continued development of archeology, we cannot agree that "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" constitutes the final authority on research on ancient societies. Speaking of the relationship between nations and classes, Comrade Zhou Enlai added that, when the exploiting classes have disappeared in the world, differences between nations will still remain for quite a long time. By that time, bourgeois ideas of chauvinism may be basically eliminated, but the nationalities question will still remain. This should be further studied in the light of new experiences. The ideas expounded by Comrade Zhou Enlai are very enlightening for the study of the nationalities question now and in the future.

#### (5) A Textbook for Reeducation on Nationalities Policy

The publication of the historical document "Several Questions" is of very great practical significance. Because of the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the whole set of party policies on the nationalities question have been completely disrupted. The action of that "theoretical authority" and Chen Boda in obstructing the publication further deprived the broad masses of cadres and people of the means of resisting this disruption. Now this work is finally available to the broad masses and will continue to serve as a sharp weapon for criticizing the various fallacies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and for setting things right on the nationalities question. It is the best textbook for reeducating the cadres and the people on nationalities policies. The principle behind our party's nationalities policies as set forth in this discourse will be the guideline for people of all nationalities to unite as one and to look forward. It is also the principle for consolidating and developing stability and unity among various nationalities and for handling the nationalities question in the course of accomplishing the four modernizations. Its everlasting splendor will brighten the road for people of various nationalities in our country on their march toward the common goal of building a powerful and modernized socialist motherland. This is the historical mission of the discourse "On Several Questions Concerning Our Policies Toward Nationalities."



THE EXPERIENCES OF OTHERS MAY HELP US OVERCOME OUR SHORTCOMINGS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 29-31

[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788] of the RED FLAG delegation to Romania]

[Text] A delegation from the Romanian journal ERA SOCIALISTA, a theoretical publication sponsored by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, visited our country in October 1978. At its invitation, a delegation from our RED FLAG visited Romania in September 1979. RED FLAG and ERA SOCIALISTA have established friendly connections through their mutual visits. These connections are a component part of the relations of militant unity and friendly cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Romanian Communist Party and between the Chinese and Romanian peoples.

Our visit to Romania was a short one. Yet the beautiful landscapes and the hard-working, intelligent and brave people of this country made a deep impression on us.

The first moving sight was the cordial and deep brotherly affection the Romanian Communist Party and people cherish for the Chinese Communist Party and people. This affection was very inspiring and is treasured by the two parties and peoples as they treasure their own national histories, the destinies of their own countries which they have taken into their hands and their right to determine their own roads of independent development with the initiative in their own hands.

During our visit the Romanian Communist Party was intensively and seriously making ideological and organizational preparations for the convening of the 12th National Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The whole party and country were permeated with the warm atmosphere of greeting the congress. This congress has now concluded triumphantly. It adopted the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan and the long-range plan aimed at 1990. These delineate Romania's future development.

Romania has achieved brilliant, noticeable results in its socialist construction. It is one of the few countries which have registered rapid

economic development. Its national income increased by an average of 9.7 percent and its industrial output by an average of 12.9 percent each year from 1951 to 1977. In the capital city of Bucharest and in any other place we visited we felt very strongly that all the Romanian people, both within and outside the party and from the leadership to the masses, are united as one and are intently and wholeheartedly working on socialist construction. We can say that they are working hard with high spirits and leading a happy life.

From our contacts with Romanian workers, peasants, intellectuals and cadres, and especially from our many cordial and frank conversations with Romanian theoretical and propaganda workers, we learned that, along with the prosperous development of Romania's national economy, the Romanian people have made remarkable improvements in their material and cultural lives during the past 14 years. I can only give a brief account of this.

1. In Romania the average net monthly income of a worker was only 337 lei in 1950 and rose to 2,011 lei in 1978. The peasants' income also rose very quickly. Each farm worker earned an average net monthly income of 167 lei in 1950 and 1,268 lei in 1978. Beginning in 1980, the first year of the current Five-Year Plan, the average actual wage of a worker will increase by 16 to 18 percent, and the peasants' actual income will also increase by 20 to 23 percent. The difference in income between workers and peasants has decreased.

At a plenum in March 1978 the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party adopted the "Decision on Improving the Leadership and Planning of Economic and Financial Work." This decision approved the establishment of a fund to be used for bonuses to workers. The bonus fund came from the planned profits and the profits earned by overfulfilling the production plan. That is to say, it was based on the economic results of an enterprise in the preceding year. Of this bonus fund, 85 percent went directly to the workers and the remaining 15 percent to the advanced producers and those who had made special contributions.

2. The principle of to each according to his work is upheld in Romania. At the same time, close attention is paid to material benefits for all workers. According to the state budget, the average social welfare expenditure for each person was 2,862 lei in 1978 and will increase more than 36 percent beginning in 1981. By 1985 the social welfare expenditure for each family will amount to 12,950 lei. Romania is now practicing the system of 10-year universal education. Preschool education and the 10-year school education are free and compulsory. Health care is given to all urban and rural residents. Health care subsidies account for 20 percent of the social welfare funds. This is a relatively large proportion. The average monthly pension for each retired worker already exceeds 1,000 lei. In the current Five-Year Plan this pension will be increased by 23 percent beginning in 1980 and will exceed 1,500 lei in 1985.

Romania also pays close attention to developing its social and cultural institutions. There are more than 5,000 cinemas and more than 100 theaters and concert halls throughout the country. Parks, stadiums, playgrounds and other recreation areas can be found everywhere in cities and in the countryside. There are luxuriant trees, beautiful flowers and green lawns everywhere.

3. With regard to the improvement of housing conditions for urban and rural residents, clusters of beautiful new residential houses can be seen everywhere in some major cities of Romania. The peasants' houses were usually detached, with gardens or orchards in the front or at the back. In 1977 Romania had more than 6.7 million families and more than 6.3 million apartments, 50 percent of which were built in the past three decades. Each urban resident now has 9.6 square meters of floorspace. According to the new Five-Year Plan, the state will invest in the construction of 1.1 million apartments. We visited a heavy machinery plant in Bucharest. This plant had more than 10,000 workers. Since 1967 the state has built more than 2,000 apartments for these workers. Some 1,500 of these workers have built their own apartments with state assistance. Two dormitories with more than 700 beds have been built for single workers.

This improvement in the Romanian people's living standard is based on the development of production. As the Romanian comrades said, the rapid development of productive forces, the modernization of the technical base of the whole economy and the rapid increases in the wealth of the whole country and in the national income are the fundamental preconditions for guaranteeing the continuous rise in the living standard of the Romanian people. It is impossible to achieve the goal of improving the people's livelihood by any means other than developing the economy and working hard. Since 1971 Romania has accumulated funds at a relatively high rate--approximately 33 to 34 percent. What has it been able to achieve these tremendous results in improving the people's livelihood? The Romanian comrades cited the following several reasons: First, investment in agriculture and light industry accounts for a relatively large proportion. Agricultural investment accounted for 15.6 percent of the national income from 1966 to 1970 and has remained at about 14 percent since 1971. Investment in the second-category industries (departments dealing with production of the means of livelihood) accounted for 7.6 percent from 1966 to 1970 and 7 to 8 percent since 1971. Investment in housing construction has always accounted for about 10 percent since 1966. Second, foreign capital has been used. Third, expenditures on national defense and administrative expenditures have been cut back considerably. Not long ago Romania reduced its military expenditures and increased the state subsidies for children. Accumulation and consumption should, after all, be in reasonable proportion so that the economy may develop more harmoniously. For this reason, in the new Five-Year Plan adopted by the 12th National Congress of the Romanian Communist Party the rate of accumulation has been readjusted to 30 percent.

Why has Romania been able to achieve these tremendous results in economic construction and at the same time make such remarkable improvements in the people's material and cultural lives? This is how we generally understand it:

The first and most important point is that the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Government pay attention to acting in accordance with the fundamental laws of the socialist economy. The main reason Romania's economy developed rather slowly before 1965 was that Romania mechanically followed a foreign pattern in building its economy. A prominent feature was that the development of heavy industry was taken as an absolute, and the development of agriculture and light industry was regarded as unimportant. After the Ninth National Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in 1967, Romania began to take a series of measures suitable to its actual conditions with regard to its line and general and specific policies. It also embarked on its own road to achieve modernization. It began to cut back its investment in heavy industry and increase its investment in light industry. It also made an appropriately greater investment in agriculture. A comparison between the conditions in 1978 and those in 1950 shows that investment in industry increased by 34 times and that in agriculture by 41 times. At the same time, Romania adopted a series of effective measures to give greater decisionmaking power to enterprises, establish a new industrial management system and formulate rules governing use value. All these readjustments and measures were aimed at suiting the development of the whole social economy to socialist production, that is, meeting the people's growing demands for material and cultural lives.

The second point is that Romania transformed its economic management system. This transformation can be divided into two stages. The first stage began in 1967. The key measures adopted were: The administrative divisions were redemarcated and the administrative structure was simplified, so that the distance between the top and the basic levels was shortened; the local authorities were given greater decisionmaking power and their initiative was brought into play; industrial centers in the form of a complex were set up; the system of one-man leadership was abolished; collective leadership was exercised and democracy in economic management promoted. The second stage started in 1978. The key measures adopted were: A new financial and economic system was established, and a united council of workers and peasants was formed; net output value and net weight of products were taken as the basic targets of economic planning; the enterprises practiced self-management, conducted independent accounting and took sole responsibility for their financial work. As a result of this transformation, the enterprises are now allowed to retain a portion of their net income specified by the state and to raise funds for their own use, including economic development funds, funds for use as means of circulation, funds for housing construction and other social investment, funds for social activities and funds for use as bonuses for workers. Of these funds, only the economic development funds and the

funds for use as means of circulation are used in production. The others are used directly to improve the workers' livelihood by building houses, nurseries and clinics, to improve the work, study and living conditions of the workers, to meet the workers' cultural needs and to help them with medical services and tourist trips.

The third point is that Romania transformed its system of planning. Beginning in 1967, Romania gradually changed its former method of drawing up plans by going from the top downward and adopted the method of going from the basic level upward and combining the top level with the basic level. In this way readjustment can be made between the top and basic levels, a unified plan can be drawn for all units at the same level and planning can be carried out scientifically and democratically. All plans are based on the contract system. All products (including the means of production and the means of consumption) are regarded as commodities, which are turned out and circulated in strict accordance with contracts reflecting the state planning. For this reason, when a plan is drawn up, stress is laid on the economic units. The enterprises, industrial centers and local authorities first put forward suggestions. The plan drawn up by the central authorities includes only the major targets of the national economy. What should be pointed out in particular is that when Romania draws up a plan it pays close attention to the sections concerning improvement of the people's livelihood. For example, the current Five-Year Plan adopted by the 12th National Congress of the Romanian Communist Party includes a special program for raising the people's living standard. This program defines the guiding principles and major targets for improving the people's living standard during the period from 1981 to 1985.

The fourth point is that Romania fully promotes socialist democracy. The Romanian comrades told us that socialist democracy is not only important to the political life of the country but also very important to its economic life. Beginning in 1968, Romania abolished the system of one-man leadership which had been enforced for a long time. In an enterprise there is a working people's committee which functions as the leading organ exercising collective leadership. This working people's committee has been constantly improved since 1977. An enterprise's self-management, independent accounting and sole responsibility for its financial affairs are matters related to an expanded socialist democracy. Comrade Ceausescu pointed out that democratic centralism is the basis of Romania's economic and social activities. To promote democracy it is necessary to continue to increase the political consciousness of the cadres and the masses and to raise their cultural level. This should be geared to the country's economic development. To achieve this end, Romania has reorganized its party schools and set up a large number of institutions for training cadres. At present the enterprise management personnel (including party committee secretaries) have received special training and acquired modern technical knowledge and management ability. Beginning in 1977 the education system was

transformed in an all-round way, and almost all the middle schools have been turned into intermediate technical schools. Graduates of these schools have acquired a considerably high work ability. While promoting socialist democracy, Romania also pays close attention to strengthening the socialist legal system. It has also made efforts to execute every order without fail and to mete out rewards and punishment strictly and fairly. For this reason, there is good social, production and work order.

These brilliant achievements in Romania's socialist construction can be attributed to the creative application of the universal truth of Marxism to the concrete practice in Romania by the Romanian Communist Party under Comrade Ceausescu's leadership. Romania's experiences are treasure of reference material for us in carrying out the four modernizations. "The experiences of others may help us overcome our shortcomings." This is a lesson we learned during our visit to Romania.

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SPEARS AND CANOES VERSUS TANKS AND STEAMSHIPS--A BRIEF TALK ON THE ROLE OF OLD EQUIPMENT IN THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 32-35

[Article by Lin Zongtang [2651 1350 2768]]

[Text] To realize the four modernizations we must outfit our agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology and the various units of the national economy with advanced equipment. For this reason it is very necessary for us to import advanced foreign technology, learn advanced experiences and purchase essential advanced equipment. On this issue, any conservative and isolationist view and method are detrimental.

Nevertheless, we cannot, after all, depend on imports alone but must rely mainly on our own efforts and attain modernization in the Chinese style. In the 30 years since the founding of the nation we have created a group of large key industries and numerous medium and small ones. Our machine industry and the number of machine tools we possess are among the foremost in the world. These constitute the basis of our advance and the main strength on which to rely. However, most of our current industrial equipment is relatively obsolete and backward; therefore, besides gradually correcting the situation by actively utilizing advanced domestic and foreign technology and equipment, we are also confronted with the problem of how to fully develop the role of the old equipment.

Due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference and disruption and various other factors, our current old equipment, especially the so-called native equipment made at home, does not enjoy a good reputation and is even disliked by some people. This is due, on the one hand, to the influence of the "tendency toward exaggeration" and the "arbitrary direction" of former years. Some people suffered from "fascination with the native," one-sidedly exaggerated the role of "the native" and lauded it to the skies. Native coal gas stoves, native ultrasonic instruments, native blast furnaces and native machine tools were praised as miraculous, even to the extent of falsification. No criticism of the imperfections of the "native" was permitted, and no one dared touch the backside of the tiger. As a result, not only did the national economy suffer tremendous

losses, but the "native" label was toppled. On the other hand, in pursuit of their counterrevolutionary political goal to usurp the party and seize power, the "gang of four" subsequently used the "native" as a club, intimidated others with it and attempted to knock down a large group of old cadres and scientific and technical personnel. In Shanghai they used the "native" as heavy artillery and concocted a series of "incidents." For instance, they attacked Premier Zhou with the SS "Fengqing" made in China, the Ministry of Foreign Trade with the home-made "8-meter hobbing machine," the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry with the native "1700" rolling mill, the Ministry of Communications with the homemade "large flatbed vehicle," the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power with Wangting's 300,000-kilowatt power generator unit, etc. They equated imported new technology and foreign equipment with "national betrayal," "foreign slave philosophy" and "crawlism" and claimed that all mass creations and inventions were the result of the people's competitive endeavor against the "foreign," creating an opposition between the "native" and the "foreign" in the people's mind. Even today, whenever the "native" is advocated, there are still those who will immediately sense another "antiforeign" campaign. In another aspect, certain native equipment and methods indeed have their imperfections, such as a lack of advanced instruments and meters, relatively high labor intensity, etc. All these have led to some people's prejudice against the "native."

Therefore, it is necessary for us to summarize past experiences based on China's conditions and characteristics, make some analysis of the "native" by seeking the truth from the facts and arrive at an appropriate evaluation.

Some people feel that "native" means to be unscientific and to improvise with junk. This is a misunderstanding. Actually, "native" is used in relation to "foreign." In the processing technology, the simple and easy methods are called "native" while the complex and orthodox ones are called "foreign"; in equipment production, items made in China are called "native" while the imported ones are called "foreign"; the non-standard equipment manufactured by one's particular unit is called "native" while the standard equipment produced by specialized plants is called "foreign"; in the degree of automation, automation and computerization are called "foreign" while semimanual and semimechanization are called "native"; in the concept of time, obsolete equipment in use for a relatively long time is called "native" while current and fashionable new equipment is called "foreign"; etc. One can thus see that "native" does not necessarily indicate unscientific. On the contrary, the "native" we frequently advocate means to start from the practical conditions of the time and the place and to perform relatively complex tasks by means of simple yet scientific methods. Furthermore, the "native" and the "foreign" do not have an absolute demarcation but are mutually linked and, under certain conditions, will mutually convert. With the development of science and technology, the "foreign" of the past appears



to be extremely "native" today, while the locally born and bred, continuously developing in practice and becoming ever more perfect, turns into the "foreign." For instance, cutting and processing large items with large machine tools were considered a foreign method. However, in the case of extra-large workpieces which could not be handled by the large machine tool, some of the plants at home were forced to remodel one or more small machine tools so that using these tools workers can climb on the large workpieces to do the cutting. In those years this was considered a native method and was known as "monkeys riding on an elephant" and "ants gnawing on a bone." However, with the development of heavy equipment, it is difficult for it to be processed by a large machine tool. Thus, a sort of large flatbed processing section has been gradually developed abroad. An extra-large workpiece is kept stationary on a large flatbed and is processed by many mobile machine tools together. Actually, a continuation and development of "monkeys riding on an elephant" and "ants gnawing on a bone," this is now considered a new "foreign" method. Or take the manufacture of China's first 10,000-ton hydraulic press as another example: Foreign countries follow the method of forging entire pillars in making the four pillars. At that time we did not have such large steel ingots or such a large hydraulic press. We used the method of welding the sections together instead of forging the entire pillars. In foreign countries the three crossbeams are made of several extra-long pieces of cast steel. As we did not have the capacity to make such large cast steel pieces at that time, we welded together several hundred pieces of thick steel plates by electroslag welding. It was called a native method. However, after observing our process, many foreign experts found the welded structure very good, and our native method has become "foreign."

Actually, from the "native" to the "foreign," the conversion from low level to high level is the law of the development of things. Lu Xun once said: "Now is merely the initial period, like using the canoe before the steamship became available. If, in expectation of steamships in the future, canoes had not been made or used, then steamships would not have been invented, and mankind would not have been able to cross the water." ("Collection Beyond the Collection--Crossing the River and Leading the Way," "Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 2, p 32) Production technology develops continuously, always from the simple to the complex, from the low level to the high level. Man had stone tools first and thereafter bronze and iron tools, advancing to the steam engine, electrification, the atom... Take the history of metallurgy, for instance: In his "On Smelting," Cao Pi of the Jin dynasty said: "To smelt ore into tools, 1,000 furnaces are installed." When 1,000 furnaces were required to smelt ore into tools, one can see that the capacity of the furnaces was very small. The capacity and quality of today's blast furnace or pure oxygen top-blown converter far surpass those of the 1,000 or 10,000 furnaces of those days. However, had there not been the 1,000 furnaces of those days, the one furnace today could not have been invented. If we look down on the 1,000 furnaces of ancient times because of today's

one furnace, this will not be the dialectical materialist attitude. Let us look at the manufacture of the hydraulic press again: Today's largest mold cast hydraulic press weighs 65,000 tons and will, with one stroke, form high-grade alloy steel, titanium alloy or nonferrous metal mold cast pieces. Nevertheless, when we search for the source we find that the technique was developed from iron and steam hammers. Though pounding with the iron or steam hammer 1,000 or 10,000 times cannot equal one press with the hydraulic press, had there not been the iron and steam hammers we would not have the hydraulic press either. These illustrations absolutely do not mean that we should discard the pure oxygen top-blown converter for the crucible or throw away the hydraulic press for iron and steam hammers. They serve to explain a simple principle: The high level evolves from the low level; the low level is the origin of the high level. Once we understand this principle we will not belittle the role of the old equipment.

Advocating the role of old equipment, excelling nature with ingenuity, is compatible with objective economic laws. It will be inexpensive and efficient, producing twice the result with half the effort. I visited some world-famous computer manufacturing plants abroad. With their equipment and technology, total automation would have been easy for them. However, not everything is automated. For instance, in welding electronic components, though they have many production lines using computer-controlled automatic welding, manual welding is still in evidence in many places. Upon inquiring, I was informed that, as the batches produced by manual welding are not large, although automation and the assembly line are advanced techniques they are not economical in this case, and manual work is more practical. Or take, for instance, the high-energy accelerator, which is used to study the structure of the inner layer of a substance and its laws of motion. Currently it is in the forefront of world science. I originally assumed that its manufacture would be entirely by the most advanced technology and equipment. However, when we made factory observations in the United States, Western Europe and Japan, we found our assumption to be one-sided. Actually, many things are made with old equipment in foreign countries. The magnetic coil of the high-energy accelerator, which is of a very high standard, is formed by welding thick copper wires. Yet a famous coil plant in the United States used the ordinary oxyacetylene blowpipe to weld such wires on a temporary wooden rack. The wire-winding equipment was remodeled from the gun turret base of a scrapped old gunboat. Even measured by our standards, such methods are awfully "native." There are many similar instances. One can see that, though possessing both the money and the qualifications, the foreigners do not always follow the new way but must determine whether it is economical. Yet there are those in China who often ignore the economic result and pursue the "foreign" per se. For instance, the computer is a good thing to start with, but some units only try to acquire more of them, without considering the production needs, and feel that the more they have, the better it is. Once the statistical figures are submitted to the higher level and the "offering"

is concluded, the computers, having completed the "tasks," are shelved. Such formal and superficial practice is unfavorable to the development of the national economy. In our industrial production, automation and the assembly line for mass production are naturally highly necessary, but mechanization, semimechanization or even manual operation may be adopted for the production of small amounts and individual items. Though more labor is required, it is more economical. This is true especially in scientific experiments, because as the product designs have not been finalized and simultaneous practice and improvement are required, it is even more necessary to fully utilize the existing equipment, devise more ingenious ways and prevent unnecessary expenses.

While actively adopting new technology and suitably importing advanced equipment, we must pay serious attention to the role of old equipment and developing ingenious methods, since these are compatible with China's reality of "poverty." America is a wealthy nation, with its per capita income 50 times that of ours and its economic-technical level the highest in the world, yet it does not reject native methods for its highly sophisticated things. With our large population, weak foundation and backward technology, should we not think of more ingenious ways? Here Lu Xun made a brilliant exposition. He said: "Let us use spears when we have them. Do not wait for the tanks and incendiary bombs which are being or will be manufactured." ("The Concessions in March," "Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 6, p 419) These words are highly enlightening. In the four modernizations, to shift our national economy from an extremely backward technical foundation to a relatively advanced one, a considerably long period of time and a series of effective measures are required. Giving serious attention to developing the role of the old equipment is an extremely realistic and important measure. A proverb says: "Like the Eight Immortals crossing the sea, each one displays his special prowess." Crossing the sea is the goal, and how to accomplish it is the means. Any means which will achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results should be used, and it is not necessary to stick strictly to a particular method. For instance, building a complete set of a 10,000-ton hydraulic press requires extra-large steel ingots of several hundred tons each. The usual method abroad is to build an extra-large steel casting workshop, install several large 100-ton electric furnaces, make an investment of several hundred million dollars and spend many years on the project. Even if we completed such a project, the power consumption would be enormous, the source of scrap steel difficult and the several hundred million tons of surplus molten steel hard to handle. As the problem was overwhelming, it was difficult for us to make a decision. Therefore, the decision to build a 10,000-ton hydraulic press was left pending for a long time. We wondered whether we could follow a different path. This was to fully utilize the existing medium-sized steel casting workshop by making the appropriate adjustments, adding a thermal furnace and solving the problem of mass production of steel ingots under 200 tons with the new technology of multiple furnace vacuum casting. Meanwhile, on the foundation of the existing 100-ton

electro-slag furnace, a furnace of a greater tonnage and higher quality was developed, and the advanced technology of electro-slag resmelting was used to make individual extra-large steel ingots. While this method requires only a fraction of the investment under the foreign method, the quality is good, less time is required and the method is realistic and feasible.

Some people worry that, while utilizing old equipment and ingenuity will solve certain problems in the machine manufacturing technology, it is too slow, and speed is stressed in the four modernizations. How should the time required be computed? In terms of a specific project, using old equipment to process, install and adjust may possibly take longer than mechanized and automated operation. However, when the latter way requires many years before we have the qualifications, while we can immediately start work in the former way, it is much faster to use the old equipment than to wait for the new. Sometimes tactical delay will gain strategic speed. For instance, in manufacturing a certain kind of special large seamless steel tubes, for many years we were unsuccessful when following the foreign method. When another method was used, although the equipment was not very advanced, by suiting the measures to local conditions and by displaying ingenuity, it took only a year or two to satisfy the urgent need of the state. Such instances are not rare.

Some comrades doubt that quality can be assured when old equipment is used. Such concern is understandable and requires special attention. As regards some products whose quality standard is very high, using old equipment is indeed difficult, but such cases are few. Practice tells us that if we handle the matter properly many products can reach a high standard. For instance, Japan's Muroran is currently the largest and most advanced forged parts plant in the world, able to forge 500-ton, or even 600-ton, extra-large steel ingots of high quality. Yet its equipment consists of an obsolete 10,000-ton hydraulic press made in 1940. Or take steel ingot vacuum casting, for instance: The required degree of vacuum abroad is generally 1 torr, but the degree of vacuum of the device manufactured by a plant in Shanghai attained 0.5 torr. Or take, for instance, the 4 vertical column openings in each of the 3 crossbeams of the 10,000-ton hydraulic press: When the entire unit is being assembled, 4 18-meter vertical columns, each 1 meter in diameter, must pass through the 4 openings. The distance between the centers of the two diagonal openings is 7 meters, with a tolerance of less than 1/10,000. The openings are generally bored with a foreign boring machine. As such an extra-large foreign boring machine was not available at that time, Shanghai's workers used a boring bar instead, constantly improved on their work and continuously checked and measured. After processing was completed, the tolerance was only 1/30,000, surpassing the design standard. These instances tell us that new machines can be made with old equipment and that high quality can be attained through ingenuity. As long as the old equipment is utilized properly, this will not lower the standard of the four modernizations.

By affirming the effect of old equipment and ingenuity we uphold the principle of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. In "Natural Dialectics," Engels pointed out: "The emergence and development of science, right from the start, were determined by production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 523) The ingenious native methods created by the masses embody the wisdom and talent of the workers and technicians fighting on the frontline of production. Such effective methods "determined by production" constantly conform to the requirement for more, faster, better and economical results. For instance, the standard for the forged rotor of a power station is very high, because, with its 3,000 revolutions per minute, the slightest defect will result in the disintegration of the entire unit and a great disaster. Therefore, its manufacture is relatively difficult. The technicians and workers of a plant mentioned above studied foreign experiences, overcame many technical difficulties with native methods and attained their goals with such new techniques as vacuumization, central pressing, metal cutting applied to large cross sections, water jet quenching and deep hole jacking. After traveling in six countries, some comrades have discovered that the newest technology abroad accomplishes the same result as the methods of the Chinese plant. Thus, it is entirely groundless for some comrades to feel that the methods created by the masses, even if effective, are not scientific.

We must also realize that, though foreign equipment has many advantages, much of the equipment imported at a high price has not been fully utilized. Besides difficulties in fitting such equipment into overall productive operations and the inadequate technical level, there is another important factor: The workers have no feelings for such equipment, are unable to use it and unfamiliar with it and lay it aside the moment any trouble occurs. On the other hand, they can make repairs on the equipment they themselves made and can remove the imperfections; therefore, the fervor of the masses can be mobilized more successfully. If the role of old equipment and ingenuity are overlooked, many workers and technicians will have nowhere to expend their energy, and our socialist construction will lose its impetus and become lifeless. The units producing farm machinery and the collective ownership units with a relatively weak foundation must naturally pay even greater attention to, and develop the role of, old equipment and ingenuity.

In short, fully utilizing old equipment and encouraging the performance of relatively complex tasks with ingenuity are definitely not the strategy for just any one time or any one place. It was what we did during the First Five-Year Plan at the beginning of the nation, and we still need to do so in the new Long March to realize the four modernizations, the only difference being the changes and developments in the concrete content. It is naturally good to have tanks and incendiary bombs, but we can also inflict casualties on the enemy with spears when tanks and incendiary bombs are unavailable; it is naturally faster to cross the river in a steamship, but we can also reach yonder shore in a canoe when the steamship is unavailable. Isn't this an obvious principle?

## RECTIFY OUR UNDERSTANDING OF INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 36-38, 41

[Article by Liu Da [0491 6671]]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has eliminated chaos and restored order, rejected the "two assessments" dished up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and gradually implemented the policy on intellectuals. The vast number of teachers and employees are very happy about this. However, the entire contingent of intellectuals suffered deeply for as long as 10 years because of the ultraleftist line imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Moreover, our party has made a number of "leftist" mistakes in carrying out its policy on intellectuals. As a result, "leftist" ideas have continued to influence a number of comrades. People often make this comment about intellectuals: "They are again bestirring themselves and have become cocky." It is therefore necessary to unify our thinking and integrate it with the party's correct line, principles and policies rather than engage in idle talk. Solving practical problems by carrying out the party's policy on intellectuals on a sound basis remains an overriding and difficult task.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did their best to push the fallacy that "the more knowledge the intellectuals have, the more reactionary they become." They completely repudiated all cultural heritage in the fields of philosophy and social sciences and improperly criticized the theory of relativity and other laws in the natural sciences. They did this to achieve their counterrevolutionary aim of usurping party and state power. Lenin once said: "In no political or social movement, in no country has there ever been, or could there ever have been, any other relation between the mass of the given class or people and its numerically few educated representatives than the following: Everywhere and at all times the leaders of a certain class have always been its advanced, most cultivated representatives." (Lenin, "Apropos of the 'Profession de Foi [profession of faith],'" "Collected Works," Vol 4, p 256) China is no exception. Our contingent of intellectuals is also primarily composed of the "most intellectual and advanced representatives" of the working

class and laboring people. By condemning all cultural heritage as "feudal, bourgeois and revisionist," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could brand all those who had acquired knowledge as "bourgeois" and could thus strike blows at the intellectuals and the party's contingent of cadres. Although what they championed was erroneous and ridiculous, those who lacked knowledge of culture and science as well as a high level of consciousness often became easy victims of confused thinking. Because of their pernicious influence, some young workers and students are unwilling to study culture and acquire scientific knowledge for fear of being accused of degenerating once they have gained more knowledge. Even to this day this remnant poison is far from eliminated. Although intellectuals have now been accepted as part of the working class, some comrades still have misgivings about them and consider them "intruders." Therefore, they are reluctant to accept them as their own.

Our preoccupation with the four modernizations must depend on intellectuals who are conversant with science and technology and requires that the scientific and cultural levels of the workers and peasants be greatly raised. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" conducted reactionary propaganda on the problems of knowledge and intellectuals with the express purpose of misleading the workers and peasants and bogging them down in the quagmire of irredeemable ignorance.

Lenin pointed out long ago: Knowledge will provide the laborers with "a weapon for achieving emancipation and a prerequisite for winning success." (Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Education Workers," "Collected Works," Vol 28, p 70) He also said: "To be a communist one has to use the wealth of knowledge created by mankind to enrich his mind." (Lenin, "The Task of the Youth League," "Collected Works," Vol 31, p 254) When the Soviet Union was embarking on economic construction, Lenin pointed out that what the party and the proletariat lacked was neither political power nor economic strength and that the trouble was that "communists engaged in management work lack culture." (Lenin, "The 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)," "Collected Works," Vol 33, p 254) Even to this day Lenin's remarks are fraught with profound, realistic significance. We are embarking on the modernization program but lack qualified people who are conversant with science and technology. We have often said that in doing work we often do not pay attention to objective laws and are liable to make the mistake of misdirecting things. Our management efficiency is so low that it hampers higher labor productivity. All these factors are related to our lack of culture, particularly among communists who handle management work. We must therefore spare no efforts to raise the whole country's scientific and cultural levels, and especially those of existing party and government organs at all levels and those of leading cadres on all fronts. Failure to do this means that our modernization will fall through.

Stalin once sharply criticized the erroneous view that "once the workers and peasants are equipped with culture and knowledge they will run the risk of being classified as second-class citizens." He pointed out that his view "would encourage heaping praises on the manifestations of backwardness, ignorance, darkness and reaction." ("Problems of Leninism," "A Summary Report on the Central Committee's Work of Alining With the Communist Party (Bolshevik) at the 18th Party Congress," p 709) In keeping with the inevitable trend of social progress and achieving the objective of our hard struggle, we should encourage our contingent of cadres as well as the workers and peasants to become laborers who possess high levels of science and culture (far higher than the levels of existing intellectuals). We must make clear to all the cadres and people that they have to study hard to master the knowledge of science and culture so that they will become laborers with a high level of science and culture. As far as the workers and peasants are concerned, they will not be relegated to the ranks of the second class but will be elevated. Only by striving to raise one's level of science and culture can one conform to the requirement of developing the modernization program. With a unified ideological understanding of this question, it will then be possible to promote the social practice of appreciating the acquisition of knowledge, respecting science and culture and caring for and cherishing intellectuals.

On the relationship between intellectuals and the workers and peasants, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" described it as follows: "The mental workers govern people, while the physical laborers are governed by others." They identified intellectuals as mental workers and considered them to be nonproductive people living off the workers and peasants, and they praised the workers and peasants for creating all forms of wealth in their role as masters of society. This plausible view was deceptively misleading. Even to this day some people are influenced by this remnant poison. In the opinion of these people, intellectuals do not produce and contribute nothing to creating wealth for the country, although they are not exactly parasites. Some intellectuals are sensitive to this problem, and it must be clarified.

It is quite true that in the old society "the mental workers governed people, while physical workers were governed by others." However, even at that time not all intellectuals lived off the workers and peasants, and only those who represented the exploiting classes politically and ideologically were parasites. The majority of intellectuals, such as scientists, engineers, teachers, writers and stage performers, had no fundamental conflict of interests with the proletariat, although their world outlook was bourgeois and contradicted the proletarian world outlook. As wage laborers they were exploited by the capitalists. "For example, school teachers are simply hired laborers, and there are many education factories in England. As far as their pupils are concerned, these teachers are not production workers, although their employers view them as such." (Marx and Engels, "The Theory of Surplus Value,"



"Collected Works," Vol 26, p 443) However, the relationship between intellectuals and the workers and peasants under socialism has undergone fundamental changes, because an overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become government functionaries. Their relationship with the workers and peasants is one of a division of labor and not that of "governing people" and "being governed by others."

Let me discuss the matter of whether mental workers can create material wealth. Any type of productive labor is in fact a combination of brain and physical labor. It is inconceivable to engage in productive labor without resorting to mental labor. However, before capitalist society appeared, individual laborers usually combined the use of mental and physical labor. As a result of the development of science and the use of machinery and equipment by production units in capitalist society, mental labor has been separated from physical labor for people possessing different skills. However, this has not changed the basic fact that material wealth can be created by combining mental and physical labor. Marx said: "The capitalist mode of production is characterized by the separation of different kinds of labor--mental or physical--and their distribution among different people. This does not prevent these people from contributing their combined efforts to the product. The relationship of all of them to the capitalist is that of a wage laborer...with all of them directly engaging in the production of material wealth... and the creation of surplus value for the capitalist." (Marx and Engels, "The Theory of Surplus Value," "Collected Works," Vol 26, p 444) It follows that the intellectuals do not live off the workers and peasants and that they create material wealth for society along with the workers and peasants--being similarly exploited by the capitalist class. It is therefore wrong to overlook this and uncritically assert that the intellectuals live off the workers and peasants. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, they denied the role of mental workers in the production of consumer goods. Rejecting the contribution of intellectuals to productive efforts, they forced intellectuals to give up their professional work and to equate themselves with the workers and peasants by performing similar physical labor. As a result, production in many localities was disrupted and the quality of products dropped. In some cases serious incidents occurred. This lesson has been brought home by negative example: Without the intellectuals' close cooperation with the workers and peasants, it will be impossible to develop socialist construction.

Naturally, intellectuals such as cadres of party and government organs (nonproductive departments) and those overseeing cultural work are not required to participate in the production of consumer goods and the creation of material wealth. However, since they are engaged either in administrative work or in producing spiritual wealth for the people, their efforts are necessary to socialist enterprises and are in the service of the people. Their relationship with the laboring masses is one of a division of labor among different types of laborers. Taking

into account the contributions of the laboring masses to society without taking note of the contributions of intellectuals is a one-sided approach to the problem. The same is true for the assertion that the intellectuals have to live off the workers and peasants, who do not require the services of the intellectuals in providing them with culture, science and technology.

Let me discuss the problem of understanding education, which has nothing to do with departments producing consumer goods. Schools train qualified people. It is true that school teachers do not directly contribute to the creation of material wealth. Does this mean that education is a unit for producing consumer items? No. It is regrettable that some comrades view education in this way. In our national economic plan the appropriations for cultural, educational and scientific enterprises are far too small. When expenses are to be cut, culture, education and science have often suffered. This view has been maintained by the comrades who fail to understand where the manpower for providing industry and agriculture with advanced technology comes from. Marx said: "To change the general nature of a person and enable him to acquire the skills and techniques of a certain labor sector and become a fully qualified expert, he must receive education or training." (Marx and Engels, "Das Kapital," "Collected Works," Vol 23, p 195) Without appropriate education and training it will be impossible to organize labor that conforms to the needs of developing modern, large-scale production. Therefore, although education does not contribute to the creation of material wealth, it is indispensable to developing the productive forces. In the 17 years prior to the Great Cultural Revolution, China's education developed rapidly to train and raise for the state 1,550,000 full-time university and college graduates and more than 16,000 graduate students. In addition, there was a large number of qualified middle school graduates, adequate to meet basic construction needs. Most of these university graduates and graduate students have now become the backbone forces assigned to all fronts and commanders of the new Long March. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" disrupted education during the decade of the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, more than a million qualified university students have not been trained. This has clearly affected our modernization program. There is a lack of qualified people everywhere. Senior research personnel, technicians and young workers who possess an adequate cultural level are difficult to find. To rapidly develop the productive forces we can import advanced technology and sophisticated equipment from foreign countries. However, without a sufficient number of technicians and skilled workers to operate the imported equipment, it will be difficult to develop the productive forces to an appreciable extent. This has become an acute contradiction. Both positive and negative experiences have fully proved that education is not a department producing consumer goods. Rather, it is a special unit for training manpower with a definite level of scientific and cultural knowledge. Its existence and development will directly affect the development of the entire national economy. Apart

from handling well the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other, as proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his article "On the Ten Major Relationships," we must understand and handle well the problem of the relationship between economic construction and the cultural, educational and scientific enterprises. If in formulating the national economic plan we fail to give mature consideration to training the qualified people and labor needed in economic construction, such a plan will be one-sided and will eventually fall through. Moreover, training qualified people is a long-term program that cannot be completed overnight. In light of this consideration, education should be given a high priority. We should now begin to train manpower that will meet production and construction requirements in the next 5 and 10 years. Failure to pay attention to this will delay the drive for modernization. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping returned to work, the first thing he did was to stress science and education. The demonstration of this Marxist foresight won him the respect and esteem of communists and the masses alike. I hope that leading comrades will attach importance to scientific and educational enterprises and resolutely implement the party Central Committee's policies on scientific and educational work.

Our attention to the role of education in the modernization program means that the status of teachers will be greatly elevated. Lenin said: "We should elevate the people's teachers in our country to the lofty position not possible in a bourgeois society." (Lenin, "Excerpts From a Diary," "Collected Works," Vol 33, pp 418-419) However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did the opposite. They debased the people's teachers to positions unheard of in China or elsewhere, in ancient or modern times. Although conditions have now improved, there is still a long way to go in according them the treatment they are due. It is now time to improve the lot of the people's teachers.

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## THE INTELLECTUAL'S ROLE IN THE NEW LONG MARCH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 39-41

[Article by Deng Xuchu [6772 2485 0443]]

[Text] From my long experience working in a university, I wish to discuss my superficial views on the position and role of the intellectual in the new Long March.

I recall that, at the beginning of liberation in Shanghai, to reinforce the national defense construction in order to cope with the sabotage and disruption of enemies at home and abroad, an electronic component of a special specification was urgently needed. At that time we were unable to produce it ourselves or purchase it abroad. What should we do? Comrade Chen Yi [7115 3015], who was in charge of the work in Shanghai, assigned the research and manufacturing tasks to the University of Communications. Like the soldiers of the Liberation Army, the teachers and laboratory personnel braved the hardships and dangers, struggled day and night and finally surmounted the difficulties on schedule and broke through the enemy blockade. It left me with a deep impression and made me realize that science and technology are also a kind of combat force and that, to build China into a modern socialist power, the intellectuals are an important "special unit." Precisely as was pointed out by Comrade Zhou Enlai in 1965, the intellectuals are a mighty force in the socialist construction cause.

As early as 1893, Engels said that he hoped that, in the ranks of the university students, "a sort of proletariat doing mental labor will emerge, with the mission of developing a tremendous force, shoulder to shoulder with their worker brothers doing manual labor in the imminent revolution." ("To the International Socialist University Student Delegates Congress," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487) In the 30 years since the founding of the new China, Engels' ideal has turned into a reality. A brandnew proletarian contingent doing mental labor is emerging, growing and expanding in our country and assuming an ever-greater role.

Naturally, the growth and building of the worker class intellectual ranks have not been plain sailing. The misfortunes of our intellectuals in the Great Cultural Revolution, especially, are known to everyone. They suffered scorn, discrimination, rejection, attack and even ruthless persecution. Even so, they remained loyal to the party's cause under extremely difficult conditions, willingly endured the hardships and suffered the humiliations in order to perform their arduous duties, disregarded their personal gain or loss, exhausted all their own potentials and made valuable contributions to socialism. One can say without exaggeration that, in the realms of science and technology, whether in the ships sailing on the ocean, on the railways and highways crossing the mainland, in cosmic space, in nuclear physics and computer technology, at the tall dams and power stations on the rivers...one can see the vigorous silhouette of the intellectual trained by the new China itself and the achievements of his labor. As a party worker serving the intellectuals, I have been deeply impressed by their noble spirit and superior quality. They are worthy of the party's and the people's cultivation and education.

The party's third plenary session wisely decided to shift the emphasis of the party's work to socialist modernization construction. The decision itself is a tremendous encouragement to the intellectuals. The hard ice has broken, and the beautiful sunny days of springtime have arrived. People realize profoundly that science and technology are the key to the four modernizations and education the foundation. We must greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation of China. The day for the intellectuals to give full play to their abilities is finally here.

Nevertheless, to fully develop the important role of the intellectuals in the new Long March, much work has to be done. The muddled ideas and narrow prejudices in the minds of some comrades must be promptly cleansed.

The party Central Committee's unequivocal inclusion of the intellectuals as a part of the proletariat is a completely accurate scientific decision. Our intellectuals are the part of the proletariat performing mental labor. Some comrades fail to recognize the arduousness and complexity of mental labor, finding physical labor strenuous and mental labor easy, and refuse to consider the intellectuals laborers. This is a misunderstanding and a prejudice.

According to the Marxist theory, labor is divided not only into mental and physical but also into simple and repetitive and complex and creative. Some types of physical labor, especially at high altitudes, underground, in extreme temperatures, operating conveyances, etc., are naturally strenuous and at times extremely so. This is one aspect of the matter. On the surface, mental labor, especially that of a creative nature, does not involve perspiration and panting, but it requires total concentration, consuming a tremendous amount of energy and absorbing the

entire body and mind. Take university professors, for instance: Regardless of the subject, arduous mental labor is required to digest all the ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign knowledge, to integrate it with the practice of the millions of China's laboring people and to generalize, summarize, abstract and organize it into text material. They must not only receive and continue the scientific and cultural knowledge of their predecessors, but also develop and create new knowledge. It is not easy to receive from others, but it is even more difficult to develop and create. Often they rack their brains, forego food and sleep and remain awake for many nights, yet still fail to see much achievement. Their labor is often complex, arduous and creative. To say that mental labor is easy indicates a failure to understand its characteristics.

Some comrades admit the arduousness of mental labor and agree that the intellectuals are the creators of spiritual wealth, but they disagree that they are also the creators of material wealth. They say: "The workers weave cloth and the peasants plant crops, furnishing people with clothing and food. What about the intellectuals? If it weren't for the workers and peasants, they would have problems with their food and clothing." This is also a one-sided view. True, many intellectuals are not the direct producers of material wealth. However, with the development of modern mass production, more and more intellectuals participate directly in the process of material production, the only difference being the form of participation. Precisely as Marx stated, some people work more often with their hands; others work more often with their brains. We must not determine whether an individual participates in production with the old concept of personally using his hands. Modern production does "not necessarily require that one personally use one's hands. As long as an individual becomes an organ of the workers in general and complete the functions assigned to him, it will be sufficient." (Marx, "Das Kapital," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 556) Just understanding this principle is not enough. We must also realize that to facilitate the normal progress of production, to continuously improve working conditions and reduce labor intensity, and especially to rapidly develop and raise production levels are even more closely linked with the labor achievements of the intellectuals--science and technology. Production apart from science and technology can only follow one way, which is to increase the labor intensity of the workers. Everyone knows that it is very limited. On the other hand, the new achievements in science and technology work wonders in increasing the output of products. Take the cold extrusion research room of the Communications University, for instance: Through the joint efforts of the guiding professor and other personnel, new techniques in cold extrusion and tepid extrusion were successfully created. After their introduction in several hundred plants in the country, labor productivity immediately rose tens or even hundreds of times. Recently an engineer in our school created a new technical device for electrolytic engraving, reducing the time for engraving symbols and labels on high-intensity tool steel from 2 minutes per word to 0.8 second and raising the work efficiency 150 times. In

such production units as industrial and mining enterprises, instances of workers, once having mastered science and technology, pursuing technical innovations and raising production efficiency are found everywhere. Therefore, science and technology are a part of the production force and its richest and most vigorous part. Intellectuals pursuing scientific and technical work are creators of material, as well as spiritual, wealth.

For mankind to develop and society to progress, man must explore and create incessantly, and the intellectuals shoulder this glorious historical mission. One notices their arduous efforts. Some of the projects require generations of vigorous exploration, and once a momentous theory is created or a tremendous achievement made, it will open up a new era. The invention and application of the steam engine and electricity, for instance, illustrate this point. In "The Principle of Communism," Engels pointed out: "The proletariat was engendered as a result of the Industrial Revolution.... The Industrial Revolution was touched off by the steam engine, various kinds of spinning machines, the mechanical loom and a number of other kinds of machine equipment." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 210) Science is a revolutionary force producing a promotive effect in history. Like the magicians of nature, the scientists, once having mastered the secrets of the development of a certain object, will turn the commonplace into the miraculous, weaving cloth with stones, exploding the atom, sending man into heaven, replacing part of man's mental labor with machinery, creating synthetic life and breeding test-tube babies. China was once considered an oil-poor nation by foreigners, but, under the guidance of the geomechanic theory of the famous scientist Li Siguang [2621 0934 0342], we have found large oil fields one after another. Precisely due to the efforts of our predecessors in space research, we have the great development and extensive application of jet technology today. From production to living, from the material to the spiritual, from the macroscopic to the microscopic, they have realized beautiful and colorful, bright and magnificent prospects for mankind, and are continuing to do so. Not only can intellectuals create spiritual wealth, but their contributions are often immeasurable. Therefore, China's intellectuals are not only a part of the proletariat but the part which can make great contributions to socialism. We must correct our prejudice that the intellectuals are spiritual aristocrats divorced from the masses, only able to read books but unable to labor.

The intellectuals of the worker class are not only honorable but also more and more needed in the development of production. Since World War II the development of the social production force has depended more and more on the development of science and technology. This is an extremely important objective law which emerges when the production force develops to a certain height. Statistics show that the employment ratios of those engaged mainly in mental labor and those engaged mainly in physical labor in the economically and technically developed countries of the world have greatly approached each other or become equal. In 1977 the number of mental laborers in the United States, at 50.1

percent of the total employment, surpassed that of physical laborers, and many of its physical laborers possess a relatively high scientific and cultural level. This tells us that, with the continuous improvement of production and scientific and technical levels, more and more physical labor will be replaced by mental labor. Chairman Hua appealed to us to greatly raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation. From the viewpoint of development, the workers and peasants will become intellectualized and gradually rise to the level of specialized scientific and technical personnel in culture and knowledge.

Due to the limitations of my work, what I have discussed here is confined to intellectuals in the realm of natural science. As practice demonstrates, to achieve the great goal of the "four modernizations" and realize socialism and communism without the guidance of social science is inconceivable. Aside from the example of our revolutionary victory and construction, which were won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, this fact becomes very clear when we see how the discussions on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth have developed such a great impact in the past 2 years. Intellectuals pursuing social science shoulder a tremendous responsibility.

The urgent matter today is to take action promptly, exhaust all means to implement the relevant policies of the party, place the intellectuals in their proper position and fully develop their positivity and creativity. Pinpointing the irrationalities which have existed for a long time, especially the consequences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference and disruption, our entire school, from top to bottom, is doing everything possible to improve the working and living conditions of the intellectuals in order to train more talents and produce more results at a greater speed.

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## THE SOURCE AND MANIFESTATION OF REVISIONISM

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[Article by Xu Junji [6069 0193 1015] and Zhou Zhiliang [0719 0037 5328]]

[Text] Editor's Note: During the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck there was a great deal of ideological confusion about revisionism. At that time it was common to see revisionism passed off as Marxism, while Marxism was mistaken for revisionism and criticized. To probe deeper into the question of revisionism, RED FLAG will publish a series of articles on this subject.

As regards the international communist movement, the term "revisionism" made its debut in Germany. Speaking of the origin of revisionism, Eduard Bernstein said that after (Alfred Nesch), a German Social Democratic Party member, first used the term revisionism in his book, "Revision of Socialism," "this term came to be used indiscriminately to refer to all socialists, including myself, who criticize the traditional theories of the Social Democratic Party." In a preface to his representative revisionist work, "The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social Democratic Party," Bernstein even stated that "any new truth and any kind of new knowledge was revisionism." He went on to assert that "Marx and Engels were also revisionists in their time. They were the greatest revisionists in the history of socialism." Bernstein took pride in being called a revisionist, openly claiming that his book "The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social Democratic Party" could well be "treated as an illustration of the theories and political inclinations of the German Social Democratic revisionists."

Bernstein was the originator of a systematic revisionist theory. He openly declared that the fundamental tenets of Marxism had already become "outmoded" and should be "criticized" and "revised." He vilified Marxism, calling it unscientific, incomplete, "a fraud" and "a trap." He even claimed "it is both impossible and unnecessary to

furnish socialism with a purely materialist argument." Bernstein summarized his revisionist theory in a reactionary formula: "The ultimate aim does not matter in the least; movement means everything." He called for a "peaceful growth into socialism" without any proletarian revolution or dictatorship of the proletariat. He made no secret of his intention and said that, "if translated into political jargon," the word revisionism "becomes reformism," and the Social Democratic Party should be "a political party that seeks to bring about the socialist transformation of society through democratic and economic reform."

After its inception, Bernstein's revisionism was given wide support by the bourgeoisie and was warmly accepted by opportunists from various countries during the Second Communist International. It quickly developed into an international mental trend and greatly disrupted the international communist movement.

Marxists represented by Lenin waged a long struggle against Bernsteinites. Lenin believed that revisionism could not be regarded as any isolated erroneous thinking, because it is a complete ideological system--a liberal bourgeois ideological system. Lenin said "it substitutes bourgeois ideas for Marxist truth" and comprehensively adulterates Marxist philosophy, political economics and Marxist scientific socialist theory. (Lenin, "Several Questions of Principle in the Campaign for the Elections," "Complete Works," Vol 17, p 337) It propagated bourgeois ideas and protected bourgeois interests. Therefore, Lenin pointed out that revisionism acted as a watchdog for capitalism.

In his famous treatise "Marxism and Revisionism," Lenin gave an in-depth exposition of the characteristics and origin of revisionism, and he pointed out the great significance of the struggle against revisionism. In this article Lenin also said that there was "revisionism from the left" in the form of "revolutionary syndicalism," which negated political struggle and opposed the leadership of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, it was a petty bourgeois anarchist faction that attached itself to Marxism while simultaneously 'revising' Marxism." (Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism," "Selected Works," Vol 2, p 8) At that time, "revisionism from the right" posed the principal danger to the international communist movement, and "revisionism from the left" had just emerged and was not exerting much influence. Therefore, Lenin did not devote more space to analyzing or criticizing the latter. Nevertheless, Lenin always kept a watch over it and directed Bolsheviks to combat it. After the victory of the October Revolution, with his work on the consolidation of Soviet political power, Lenin criticized Trotsky and the "leftwing communists" headed by Bukharin. Lenin said that they opposed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, favored immediately "starting a revolutionary war" and assumed the facade of being strikingly "revolutionary." However, as Lenin pointed out, they actually were wielding a paper sword and conducting activities detrimental to the Soviet state. Lenin repeatedly stressed that the struggles against

"revisionism from the left" and "revisionism from the right" were equally necessary. In his struggle against the antiparty alliance of Trotsky and Zinoviev, Stalin analyzed and criticized "revisionism from the left." Stalin said: "Since our seizure of political power, it has become one of the most outstanding features of the opposition to cover up their opportunist behavior with a 'leftist' mask." (Stalin, "The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International," "Complete Works," Vol 9, p 18) "In our party there has not been any other opposition faction that could have been as subtle and clever as the Trotskyites in concealing their own opportunism with 'leftist' and revolutionary rhetoric." (Ibid., p 14)

From the struggles waged by Lenin and Stalin against revisionism we can clearly see that revisionism has two forms of expression: revisionism "from the left" and "from the right." For a long time, while people became more familiar with "revisionism from the right" and criticized it for "right-deviationist capitulation," they were not so familiar with "revisionism from the left." They often thought this brand of revisionism was "intent on making the revolution." This brand of "revisionism from the left" expressed itself mainly by deviating from concrete conditions, times and places and sticking to isolated Marxist phrases or old formulas and thinking of them in terms of absolutes. In addition, these revisionists willfully exaggerated isolated principles of Marxism, took them to the extreme and tried to hide their betrayal of the fundamental tenets of Marxism behind revolutionary masks. Moreover, this brand of revisionism even accuses any revision of Marxism based on reality of departing from the classics, rebelling against orthodoxy and ignoring all relevant facts. This brand indiscriminately labels such revision as "revisionist." In our minds, Marxism originated in practice, serves practice and is continuously enriched, supplemented and developed by new experiences gained through revolutionary practice. A review of the history of the development of Marxism tells us that Marx and Engels perfected their theory and ideas and endeavored to express them with greater precision by continually making revisions. It is therefore completely wrong to regard the development of Marxism in practice as "revisionist."

In his struggle against revisionism Lenin explicitly warned against the two erroneous tendencies concerning one's attitude toward Marxism. He resolutely opposed any distortion or adulteration of Marxism by revisionists. Lenin pointed out the importance of completely relying on the theoretical principles of Marxism, and at the same time he made it clear that this must not be equated with adopting a hostile attitude toward any criticism. He stressed that Marxism must never be considered immutable, sacred and inviolable. Marxism is only a solid foundation for the science of socialism. It has defined the road to follow toward the continuing development and detailed study of this science. Lenin said: "If socialists are unwilling to lag behind practical life, they must push this science forward in all aspects." (Lenin, "Our Program," "Selected Works," Vol 1, p 203)

To develop Marxism, adapt it to new conditions and solve new problems emerging in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, we cannot very well avoid revising certain old formulas in Marxism or substituting new principles and conclusions for outdated ones. It is only a naive and ignorant notion that whatever is written in the works of Marx and Lenin will never become antiquated and need to be revised. In the history of the international communist movement, Lenin set a brilliant example for us by replacing already antiquated principles or conclusions in Marxism with new ones.

In the 1870's Marx once said that for most of the countries on the continent violence should be the lever of our revolution. However, in countries such as Britain or the United States "it is possible for the workers there to attain their goal through peaceful means." (Marx and Engels, "On the Congress in The Hague," "Complete Works," Vol 18, p 179) Regarding the imperialist era, and especially during wartime, Lenin based himself on the changes in objective reality and observed that "this statement by Marx, which prescribes a restricting boundary, is no longer applicable." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," "Selected Works," Vol 3, p 203) This was because there had been changes in the actual situation at that moment. The military-bureaucratic machinery had been strengthened unprecedentedly in all imperialist countries, including Britain and the United States. Lenin therefore arrived at a new conclusion that the smashing of the existing state machinery was the prerequisite for the people's revolution in any country. It is noteworthy that Lenin proposed revising the old formula of Marxism at that time, but the revisionists in the Second International opposed Lenin's proposal. Kautsky and some others clung to the antiquated formula of Marxism, trumpeted peaceful transition and paid no attention to the fact that imperialism was developing militarism to the fullest possible extent. Kautsky and his cohorts used isolated words and phrases by Marx, isolated them from objective reality and used them as a pretext to vilify the October Revolution and attack the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, Lenin said that Kautsky deceived people and covered up his betrayal of the revolution by "applying quotations," and he added that Kautsky had degenerated into the meanest servant of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin's theory on the possibility of the socialist revolution's achieving victory first in a single country occupies a particularly important position in the history of the development of Marxism. He transformed the viewpoint entertained by Marx and Engels that the socialist revolution could only achieve victory simultaneously in all or most of the countries of the world, and he enriched the theoretical treasurehouse by introducing his new theory on social revolution. Lenin's new idea was vehemently opposed by the Second International revisionists. On the eve of the October Revolution, Plekhanov railed at Lenin for "uttering nonsense." Even after the victory of the October Revolution, Kautsky accused the Soviet state of being "premature" and predicted that it "would be done

for early." In 1926, at the 15th Congress of the CPSU (B), Zinoviev and some others still stubbornly denied the possibility of socialism's achieving victory in one country first. He based his argument on remarks made dozens of years earlier by Marx and Engels and clamored that "it is not feasible to revise Engels' statement, because it means imprudence and will result in extremely serious mistakes." Zinoviev also alleged that Lenin never "revised" any statement by Engels, saying that "such revision cannot be found in the 'Complete Works of Lenin.'" He also obliquely hinted that Stalin was a revisionist.

In criticizing Zinoviev, Stalin pointed out that it was imperative to be good at distinguishing between words and phrases used in Marxist writings and the essence of Marxism. Stalin said that to attain this aim one must transform and enrich old formulas on the premise that the Marxist viewpoints and methods were preserved. Zinoviev did just the opposite. He intended to replace Marxist viewpoints and methods with words and phrases used in certain isolated Marxist principles. He isolated these words and phrases written about conditions in the 1850's and turned them into ossified dogmas. On another occasion Stalin criticized these people by saying that "in their pockets there are always two or three readily available formulas that are 'applicable' in all countries and 'imperative' under any condition." (Stalin, "Brief Commentary on Current Affairs," "Complete Works," Vol 9, p 299) Stalin pointed out that these formulas confused the people and obstructed the advance of history. Lenin was never in favor of such formulas and never became a slave of Marxist words or phrases. That is why Stalin said: "The greatness of Lenin lies in his open, sincere and unhesitating proposal to adopt the new formula that the proletarian revolution can achieve victory in individual countries. He defied the opportunists in various countries who were cleaving to old formulas and concealing their opportunist plots by invoking the names of Marx and Engels." (Stalin, "On Social Democratic Tendencies Within Our Party," "Complete Works," Vol 8, p 220)

History has proved that if people had considered it right to act according to every sentence written in the works of Marx and Engels and had considered it impermissible to say or do whatever had not been written in those works, there would have been no Leninism or the victory of the socialist revolution and construction in Russia. We must never think that we and future generations can always find ready answers to problems encountered in revolution and construction in the quotations of revolutionary leaders years ago. Stalin once derided those who stuck to old formulas in this way: "If Engels were still alive, he would not stay in a rut but would heartily congratulate us for our revolution! To hell with all old formulas! Long live the victory of the revolution in the Soviet Union!" (Stalin, "The Conclusion in the Report 'On the Social Democratic Tendencies Within Our Party,'" "Complete Works," Vol 8, p 271)

In criticizing Zinoviev's fallacy that any attempt to transform antiquated old formulas meant revisionism, Stalin sharply pointed out that this new criterion for revisionism advanced by Zinoviev was absurd and that it would "inevitably lead Marxist ideology to an impasse under the threat of the revisionist stigma." (Stalin, "The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International," "Complete Works," Vol 9, p 87) In his summation of the experiences gained in the struggle against opportunism, Stalin profoundly stated that "opportunism does not always mean the direct rejection of Marxist theory or certain of its principles and conclusions. Opportunism sometimes also means attempts to stick to certain antiquated principles in Marxism, turning them into dogmas and hampering the progress of Marxism as well as the development of the proletarian revolution." ("Short Course on the History of the CPSU (B)," 1975 edition, p 393)

These remarks by Stalin are of great importance to discerning opportunism and revisionism. The two forms of revisionism--both "from the right" and "from the left"--are in essence anti-Marxist. Under certain conditions they are mutually complementary and interchangeable. In our socialist country in particular, people who seek to reject the principles of Marxism directly find it very difficult to carry out their activities, since Marxism is the guiding ideology in our party and country. They discover that their fraudulent nature can be better concealed if they can turn Marxism into a creed, catechism or doctrine. The slogan "Every sentence is the truth" put forward by Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique is an extremely serious expression of this brand of revisionism. For the past 50 years this revisionist tendency has emerged in China repeatedly, and it became rampant during the time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck. It has inflicted very grave damage on us; therefore, the major task facing us today is to comprehensively study and criticize "revisionism from the left" and develop Marxism through practice.

CSO: 4004

GIVE A REAL, NOT FALSE, REIN TO OUR ENERGIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 pp 46-48

[Article by Shi Hua [2457 5478]]

[Text] Today, when we are in the midst of pursuing the four modernizations and readjusting the national economy, it is extremely important for the comrades of the entire party, especially those in leadership work, to encourage the exertion of a real, not false, effort.

Affairs must be handled by people item by item before they can be completed, and contradictions must be analyzed by people one by one before the correct solutions can be found. In this sense, exerting a real effort is to fully bring forth one's subjective initiative on the premise of respecting objective laws and to work concretely and in practice. This is the second year since the shift in the emphasis of the party's work and is a crucial year in the readjustment of the national economy. One-third of the time in the 3-year readjustment program has passed. To insure that our national economy, after readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement, gets onto the track of proportional and high-speed development, regardless of which front, which department and which unit, there are many things to be done and the tasks are extremely arduous. Thus, we are called on to enhance our enthusiasm, exert our utmost efforts and set our aims high. In other words, we must devote our entire energies to performing the readjustment work of the national economy and realizing the four modernizations and do our best to improve production.

Political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and educational work and other tasks all have their inherent laws. When performing such work, only by seeking the truth from the facts, starting from reality in everything and respecting and mastering objective laws will we achieve the expected results. Only by so doing will we be exerting a real effort, and the greater the effort, the greater will be the success. Only by so doing will we hasten the realization of the four modernizations. If we disregard objective laws and work blindly and rashly, we will encounter the punishment of objective laws, and the greater our

effort, the more serious will be the detrimental consequences. Thus, working rashly in disregard of objective laws is exerting a false effort. Often the gain cannot cover the loss after great exertion. On this point many of our comrades have learned a profound historical lesson. In 1958, as the guidance of economic work violated objective laws, the errors of "issuing confused orders," "boasting" and "communist style" occurred. At that time there were such unrealistic popular slogans as: "The wealth of the earth is only limited by man's courage"; "whatever man can think of can be accomplished." Everything had to be done "in a big way," as if communism could be attained instantaneously and there was no need to bother with commodity production, the law of value or comprehensive balancing. As a result, our national economy suffered serious setbacks. Did the people then not wish to handle things successfully? No. Everyone wanted the factories to produce more things and the fields to grow more crops. The problem was the incompatibility between subjective thinking and objective reality. What was done was in violation of objective economic laws. Consequently, things went contrary to one's wishes, and haste made waste. Thus, exerting a real effort is to respect, study, apply and act according to objective laws. We must study not only the universal laws governing the entire socialist construction, but also the special laws applying to its various aspects. We must not only study our own experiences but also critically and analytically study and learn advanced foreign experiences. By so doing we will, in readjusting the national economy and building the four modernizations, exert our efforts at the right spot, paying a little less tuition and reaping a little more actual benefit.

However, instead of exerting a real effort, some comrades exert a false one. The relatively more pronounced manifestation of this is indulging in idle talk, taking "the platform bridge stance--words only, without training." If we say that "blind exertion involves some perspiration," then idle talk requires no effort, or at most the effort of talking. It is an out-and-out false effort.

Speaking of idle talk, we recall Stalin's criticism of a leader who was loyal to the Soviet regime but was incompetent in leadership work and liked to talk nonsense. He pointed out that, if this defect was not corrected, "it will have all things alive buried in an avalanche of nonsense." ("Summation Report on the Work of CPSU (Bolshevik) Central Committee to the Party's 17th Congress," "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 328) Unfortunately, some of our comrades today are just as fond of idle talk (nonsense) as was the Soviet leader criticized by Stalin. Do we not constantly run into the following situation in real life? When the party Central Committee raises an issue requiring solution, normally, the further down the level, the more concrete should be the measure and the clearer the goal. In practice, this is not so. From the top to the bottom, every level repeats what is said verbatim, but just what issue is to be solved remains unclear, like a passing rain wetting the surface of the ground, producing little result.



Then there is also another situation. Certain problems are brought up at a meeting, and everyone declares that they must be solved. The same problems are brought up again at the next meeting, and everyone again declares the same thing. While the same thing happens over and over again at every meeting at every level, the problems are left unsolved for a long time. A comrade has given a brief description of this phenomenon of idle talk and false effort: General appeals are many, but concrete considerations are few; meetings are many, but solutions are few. Theories are many, but words of substance are few; verbal promises are many, but fulfillments are few. Though the description is not that accurate or perfect, it does, to a certain extent, hit the nail on the head. In his important talk on National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "Intoxication with idle political talk will definitely not run the country, but will harm it." Besides formulating the political line for the four modernizations, the party Central Committee has adopted many momentous political and economic measures adapted to the situation. The comrades in charge of leadership work at the various levels must be adept at linking the decisions of the party Central Committee with their particular localities and, by means of solid work, insure the implementation of its lines and policies in their own areas, departments and units in order to hasten the progress of the four modernizations. If one is satisfied with transmitting verbatim the documents from the higher level and making arrangements for a task, arranging it over and over again at meetings, but has no idea of the outcome, one will have failed to fulfill the responsibilities of a leader and will be delinquent. The work style of indulging in idle talk and exerting a false effort is an extremely undesirable one and an obstacle to the four modernizations. Eliminating this undesirable style should be an important content in our rectification of the party style. We must truly satisfy the requirement once set by Lenin: "Utter fewer fancy words; do more commonplace daily things; be more concerned with every pood of grain and every pood of coal!" ("The Great Beginning," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 17)

The ideological reasons for idle talk and false effort are many.

The fact that some comrades only exert a false, instead of a real, effort has a lot to do with their failure to emancipate their minds and with their severance from reality. Under the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line, their minds are filled with rules and regulations, taboos and fetters, and they are afraid to make one misstep. They are afraid to study new things, raise new issues or create new ways. As a result, they can only follow the beaten path, stay in a rut, and rely on idle talk to get by and be "safe." What is even worse is that the moment they hear of a way not found in the books they find it a "departure from orthodoxy"; the moment they encounter a method once criticized but now reinstated they consider it a "restoration." However, since many such issues have been decided or ratified by the party Central Committee, they do not, in view of the trend of the times,

dare to oppose them openly and can only superficially exert a false effort to cover their doubts and conflicts. Naturally, there are very few such comrades, but we must recognize the situation, perform profound and careful ideological work on them and make them go deep into reality to investigate and study, thereby emancipating their minds from the many fetters.

The fact that some comrades only indulge in idle talk but fail to exert a real effort has a lot to do with their failure to regard the current situation correctly. To them, after the calamity of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the problems are like mountains and the difficulties enormous; they therefore lack confidence in the realization of the four modernizations. Naturally, it is out of the question for them to stimulate their spirit and exert a real effort.

We do not deny that the problems facing us are like mountains and the difficulties enormous. But this is only one aspect of the matter, and there is another aspect. The serious setbacks have given us a negative education and made us wiser. Compared with any time in the past, our strength has not become weaker but greater. We all remember that during the second domestic revolutionary war, due to the damage of Wang Ming's "leftwing" opportunist line, the revolutionary strength suffered a 90-percent loss in the Red area and was almost completely wiped out in the White area; after the Long March the Red Army was reduced from 300,000 men to only 30,000. The difficulties facing us at that time can be called enormous. Some comrades lost their confidence in the future of the revolution. As practice proved, such pessimistic and hopeless sentiments were completely wrong. "Difficulties and hardships end in success." China's revolution ended in victory and success. In the 30 years since liberation we have gained the experiences of success and learned the lessons of failure. Whether successes or lessons, they are all our valuable assets, serving as important references in our pursuit of the four modernizations. Just think: Had we not learned the lessons of our past experiences, would we have been able to shift the emphasis of the party's work so rapidly? Would we have acquired such a profound understanding of the necessity to strengthen democratic centralism and the socialist legal system? Would we have recognized so clearly the dangers of expanding the class struggle? Would we be abhorring so deeply Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" ultraleftwing line? "A fall into the pit, a gain in one's wit." Precisely because it had profoundly summarized the positive and negative experiences of the past, the party Central Committee promptly formulated the correct ideological, political and organizational lines for the new situation, enabling us to advance on the path of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is the most fundamental favorable condition for us to solve all kinds of problems and overcome all kinds of difficulties. Once the political line is determined, the cadres are the decisive factor. As long as the leadership teams unify their thinking, will and action, possess the courage to bring up and solve problems and fully activate the fervor of

the masses, the difficulties, no matter how great, will be easily overcome. Morale should only be boosted, never deflated. The more numerous the problems and the greater the difficulties, the more we must exert a real effort, creating a bright prospect with our practical work. Only this is the correct Marxist attitude.

Ignorance of their field and of science and technology is another reason why some comrades can only exert a false, not a real, effort. Industry, agriculture, astronomy, geography--all the 72 fields have their own special laws. If a person does not even understand his own field and is completely uninformed, he will not be able to exert a real effort. All he can do is to utter some empty words and join the fun. As a proverb aptly puts it, "the knowledgeable appreciates the intricacies; the ignorant watches the fun." Unfortunately, in our cadre ranks today there are many in charge of agriculture who are ignorant of agriculture; in charge of industry who are ignorant of industry; in charge of science and technology who are ignorant of science and technology. Such a situation is extremely incompatible with the requirements of the four modernizations. It has something to do with the longstanding slogan of "the amateur leading the expert." As some of our leading comrades interpret the slogan according to their own needs, they refuse to acquire knowledge in their own field, in science and technology, in operations and management, but are satisfied with their own ability to recite some political slogans, taking pride in being "uneducated," finding glory as an "amateur" and repeating the slogan of "the amateur leading the expert" at every turn. They do not realize that it will not work if the amateur fails to become an expert but leads others with his ignorance. Even today, some comrades are still unwilling to concentrate on acquiring some knowledge of their own field but are satisfied with being an amateur. Yet, being in a leadership post, they can only rely on idle talk and a false effort to lead. If this situation is not corrected promptly, we can rest assured that we will not be able to muddle through. To be an amateur is not frightening, for an amateur can transform into an expert. What is frightening is to be satisfied with being an amateur. Thoroughly eliminating the idea of being satisfied with being an amateur and vigorously acquiring knowledge in one's own field and in science and technology constitute the urgent task confronting leading cadres at all levels and the important condition for solidly and successfully guiding the modernization construction.

Solidly and successfully performing this work has important significance in readjusting the national economy and hastening the progress of the four modernizations. If the entire party, from top to bottom, and the entire people all exert their utmost efforts and set their aims high, then we will definitely make new strides on all fronts and in all realms and achieve new successes.

6080  
CSO: 4004

## FULFILL TASKS REALISTICALLY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 inside back cover

[Article by Yu Changhe [0060 7022 3109] of Liangjiazi Commune of Yongji County, Jilin]

[Text] Just as a medical doctor must consider the therapeutic effects of his prescription, so in carrying out our work we must consider the actual results. For this reason, after making arrangements for a task, we must show concern for its fulfillment; otherwise, even the best directives and decisions would be of no consequence.

Recently I conducted an investigation on the fulfillment of many tasks during the past year and more, principally 10 of them, including the discussion of the criterion of truth and the all-round development of a diversified economy. The investigation shows that the best production brigades have fulfilled seven of these tasks, the average brigades five or six, and the poorest brigades only two or three. The reasons are: (1) Arrangements for work were not followed by inspection of the work, so that, although directives and documents were issued one after another, no one knew how they were carried out. (2) There was a lack of a sense of responsibility, so that the work was carried out perfunctorily. Sometimes higher authorities would pass the buck to the lower levels, and the lower levels to still lower levels, and so forth. (3) The leadership was ineffective. Often when a task was not fulfilled, the higher authorities would only make telephone calls to arouse attention or criticize the tardiness, but they would never proceed personally to the basic levels to study the situation and offer guidance and assistance. This type of conduct has been referred to by the masses as "the telephone is the commander, the documents the ambassador; higher and lower levels do not see each other, and soldiers fight their own war." (4) There was a lack of a sense of organizational discipline. Some persons would not discuss, carry out or fulfill the tasks assigned by higher authorities but would do only what they pleased. On the other hand, some higher authorities would tolerate this situation and did not uphold operational principles.

This state of affairs marked by nonfulfillment of tasks must be changed. A whole year has elapsed since the focus of our work was shifted to the four modernizations, and it is very necessary that we note what we have done well, what we have done poorly or not at all, and what lessons we have learned. To assure true fulfillment of all tasks, it is urgent that our leadership organs and cadres improve their style of work. They should bear reality in mind in making decisions, issuing directives and making arrangements for work and should be so concerned with the non-fulfillment of tasks that their appetite and sleep are affected. In the meantime, they should also criticize anarchism and struggle against practices which violate organizational and disciplinary rules. The proper fulfillment of all tasks will most assuredly speed up the pace of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

PROMOTE THIS STYLE OF WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 80 inside back cover

[Article by Xue Weisheng [5641 4850 0581] of PLA Unit 54739]

[Text] Recently I heard about the following incident: When a deputy army commander was about to go down to a company to serve as a common soldier in order to gain experience at the grassroots, the cadres of that company planned to hold a banquet for him to show the feelings of that company toward their commanding officer. Upon learning of this plan, a staff officer at the division level went out of his way to advise these cadres: "Don't do it. The deputy army commander is particularly 'sensitive' about certain things. He does not want to be special in any way. If you hold a banquet for him, he would not only refuse to attend it but also cause you great embarrassment." Hearing this advice, the cadres canceled their plan. When the deputy army commander arrived at that company, sure enough, the first thing he did was to announce to the cadres: "Let me share the same food that a common soldier eats, and there must be no special dishes for me. If there are, I shall not touch them." He then moved his luggage to the 1st Squad of the company and slept there among the soldiers. The cadres and fighters of the company remarked with delight: "What is 'sensitive' to this leading cadre is precisely the good spirit being promoted by our party. It would be a good thing if all leading cadres were like that."

It is very important for leading cadres to take the lead in everything. To restore and carry forward the excellent style of our party, leading cadres must play an exemplary role in combating all evil practices. Nevertheless, some leading cadres have done otherwise. Knowing very well that it is improper to accept banquets and gifts, they never refuse them; and knowing very well that it is improper to be particular and to "enter by the back door," they continue to do so without embarrassment. As a saying goes, "What the leader indulges in, the subordinates will indulge in even more." If a leader falls victim to an evil habit, his subordinates, if they are unprincipled ideologically, will do exactly what he wants to serve their own purposes. As a result, evil practices become rampant. We hope that in the new Long March our leading comrades who have fallen victim to evil tendencies will conscientiously correct themselves, take the lead in restoring and carrying forward the excellent style of our party and serve as real promoters of the four modernizations.

