

JPRS 76248

19 August 1980

*Asia Library
The University of Michigan
University Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan*

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 11, 1 June 1980

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

19 August 1980

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 11, 1 June 1980

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

CONTENTS

Strive To Work as a Common Laborer (inside front cover) (Chen Yuxian).....	1
Be Promoters in Reforming the Structure of Cadre Ranks (pp 2-5) (Contributing commentator).....	2
A Major Reform in the Cadre System--A Tentative Talk on Abolishing the Cadres' De Facto Life Service System (pp 6-10) (Wu Liping).....	8
Safeguard the Party's Solidarity and Unity (pp 11-14) (Ji Zhuxuan).....	16
Structural Reform and Direction of Development of the Machine Building Industry (pp 15-21) (Zhou Zijian).....	24
Medium-Size and Small Enterprises and Modernization (pp 22-26) (Wang Du, Han Xiulan).....	37
A Brief Talk on Piece-Rate Wages (pp 27-30) (Xu Gang).....	47
Straighten Out the Ideological Line, Guard Against One-Sidedness (pp 31-35) (Yue Ping).....	54

Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Factories, Mines and Enterprises (pp 36-38, 41) (Lu Guwen).....	62
Appoint People on Merit--Impressions After Reading Wang Fuzhi's 'Remarks on Reading ZIZHI TONGJIAN' (pp 39-41) (Li Xin).....	68
Make an All-Out Effort To Enliven Literature and Art of Minority Nationalities (pp 42-44) (Yun Zhaoguang).....	73
On Disarmament (pp 45-48) (Yan Fa).....	79
Attach Importance to the Writing and Compilation of Local Chronicles (p 49) (Liu Weiyi).....	85
Early Spring (outside back cover) (Wen Ke).....	87

STRIVE TO WORK AS A COMMON LABORER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Chen Yuxian [7115 3768 0341]]



要做一个普通劳动者

陈玉先

BE PROMOTERS IN REFORMING THE STRUCTURE OF CADRE RANKS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 2-5

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] A serious problem which has arisen since the shift in the focus of our party's work to socialist modernization is that the present conditions of our cadre ranks are incompatible with the requirements of the four modernizations. In addition to the incompatibility of some cadres' political and ideological conditions, a salient feature is the incompatibility of the cadres' professional abilities (few of them have special knowledge and abilities) and the old age of the cadres (few of the cadres in the leading groups are young or middle-aged). Quickly reforming this irrational structure within the cadre ranks has become a highly pressing, important task for the whole party.

Our leading cadres at all levels are the commanders on all fronts of the four modernizations. Our cadres must have some Marxist theoretical knowledge and must firmly carry out the party's line. In addition, they must have special knowledge and skills. Lenin said: "A manager must know his trade, have a good grasp of all production conditions, have a high level of understanding of modern production techniques and be scientifically minded." ("Speech to the Third All-Russian Congress of Water Transport Workers," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 394) Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that without huge technical and theoretical ranks of its own, the proletariat could not build socialism.

At present some of our cadres have a rather high cultural and scientific level and a good grasp of professional knowledge and skills. However, on the whole the cultural, scientific and technical levels of our cadres are low. According to investigations conducted in many places, a very small number of leaders have a university or college background. None of the leaders at the prefectural and county levels in some provinces are university or college graduates. Quite a large proportion of the county-level cadres in some provinces have only a primary school education. Few of the leaders know their work well or are capable of handling

scientific, technical and managerial matters. In some enterprises, only one or two of the leaders have a good command of production techniques. This lack of professional personnel is still more obvious in other sectors. Lenin said: "Cultural and managerial skills are the essential things we need.... Economically and politically, the New Economic Policy fully guarantees that we have the foundation for building the socialist economy. The cultural strength of the proletariat and its vanguard force is the 'only' question." ("Letter to Molotov on the Outline of the Political Report to the 11th Party Congress," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, pp 220-221) During the initial period of socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union, Stalin many times quoted this passage from Lenin to show that cadres without cultural and scientific knowledge could not meet the needs of economic construction. He said: "Here I want to talk first about the question of 'cultural strength' and the question of cadres responsible for general economic construction and, in particular, industrial construction and management." ("A Year of Great Changes," "Selected Works of Stalin," last volume, p 201) He pointed out the conditions at that time: "There are a great number of people who are willing to participate in and lead agricultural and industrial construction in our country. But very few of them are capable of construction and leadership work." ("Speech Delivered to the Eighth Congress of the Soviet Lenin CYL," "Selected Works of Stalin," last volume, p 40) Similar conditions exist in our country today.

Many of the cadres are old and weak, and few are young and strong. Generally speaking, the cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels are rather old. An investigation reveals that in some provinces the average age of the secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial committees is above 60; more than 20 percent of the cadres of prefectural and municipal committees are over 60; a large proportion of the cadres of county committees are 56 or older. This problem also exists with the central authorities and the state organizations. People describe this situation as "uniform thickness from top to bottom." Many leading cadres are always ill. They cannot work 8 hours a day and have to be hospitalized or rest at home from time to time. The proportion of young cadres is very small. For example, few of the cadres at the prefectural and municipal levels are under 45, and few at the county level are under 40. This situation deserves the close attention of party organizations at all levels. In the study of population there is the question of "senility," which means that in the composition of a country's population, if 10 percent of the people are over 60 years old, this country will be subject to the threat of shortages and exhaustion of the labor forces. Linking this concept of "senility" with the question of the old age of our cadre ranks, we will see that our situation is much more serious than that reflected in the question of "senility" in the study of population. The reason is that cadres have to work and should not stand idle. The problem of "senility" of cadres implies that many of the cadres cannot do much work and few are capable, and this inevitably will result in low efficiency and engender bureaucracy. Similar problems are

appearing in the leading groups of some localities. They are caused chiefly by old age in the structure of the cadre ranks. Why have some prefectural and county committee secretaries been unable to go to the grassroots levels to make investigations and studies from time to time so as to promptly discover and solve problems? Because they are weak and too old and often are ill. They have to stand idle, not because they do not want to work, but because they are unable to work. If this problem is not handled quickly and solved, as time goes by the contradiction will surely become more acute.

As seen from this analysis, reform of the structure of cadre ranks is imperative. We already have the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines, which make it entirely possible to reform the structure of cadre ranks. We must strive to equip party committees and enterprise units at all levels with leaders who have professional knowledge. To achieve this end we must carry out large-scale training of cadres who do not have professional knowledge. We must urge them to diligently learn science and culture and delve into technical and professional studies, so that they will quickly learn the scientific, technical and managerial knowledge regarding their work, grasp new skills and turn from laymen into experts. We must also boldly promote those specialists who are good in political and ideological work and are capable of organizational and leadership work to leading posts of the party and government organs and the economic, scientific and educational fronts, so as to bring their wisdom and talents into full play. Particular attention should be paid to admitting outstanding cadres who are young and energetic into the leading groups. This is a change of fundamental importance. This change goes against many hard-and-fast rules of the past and encroaches on the interests of some people and therefore will meet with obstacles, interference and reproaches. We must take the four modernizations as our greatest political goal and firmly reform the structure of cadre ranks. We must overcome and remove all ideological obstacles and resistance.

It is necessary to break with the idea of counting seniority and length of service. This idea is a big ideological obstacle to reform of the structure of cadre ranks. Formerly, in promoting cadres, seniority was considered in most cases, ability was seldom taken into account and little attention was paid to promoting middle-aged and young technical cadres. Many of our veteran cadres studied diligently, delved into professional and technical work and became experts in their work. They formed the backbone of leadership of their trades. For one reason or another, some cadres in the past did not have the opportunity to advance their studies. As a result, they do not have professional knowledge and skills. There are also cadres who have neglected their studies for a long time, with the result that their professional skills remain at a very low level. Many of the middle-aged and young cadres and scientific and technical workers surpass some leading cadres in political and professional levels. Why should they not be promoted to the leading posts

and assume heavy responsibilities? In fact, these middle-aged and young cadres have been working at their posts for a considerably long time. Take the university and college graduates of the 1950's and 1960's, for example. Currently they have worked for 20 to 30 years. About a million of them attended science and engineering courses in universities, and another 3 million studied other courses. There are many others who did not study in universities but diligently carried out private studies for many years and have attained relatively high scientific and cultural levels. These cadres are generally 40 to 50 years old. They are young and energetic, have a rich professional knowledge and have accumulated a great deal of practical experience. Many of them have already become the backbone on various fronts. Some of them are versed in professional work but are not good at organizational and leadership work. They should be placed in posts where they can fully display their skills. Others are both versed in professional work and capable of organizational and leadership work. They are qualified to be leading cadres. Why should they not be allowed to take the leading posts? It was entirely correct for us to oppose the practice of "going up in a helicopter" and "reaching the sky in one step" advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We stress that it is utterly essential for cadres to have practical experience. But this does not mean that all cadres should be promoted step by step. In terms of political integrity and abilities, many of the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres and scientific and technical workers have surpassed their immediate superiors. Why should they not surpass their superiors in positions? In promoting middle-aged and young cadres, some localities formerly put one-sided emphasis on age and neglected their backgrounds, especially their cultural level and professional knowledge and abilities, and strict requirements and clear specifications were lacking. In selecting and promoting cadres we should see that they are qualified politically and ideologically, are really versed in their work and are capable of undertaking the four modernizations.

In breaking with the idea of counting seniority and length of service, one thing which deserves particular attention is that veteran comrades should take the training of successors as a job of primary importance. This is a solemn task for veteran comrades. Many veteran comrades made great contributions to the party and the people and accumulated rich experiences during their protracted revolutionary struggles. In the course of the four modernizations they are still filled with revolutionary fervor, and their noble hearts are as stout as ever. However, being restricted by the law of nature, they can hardly come to the frontline. This makes it necessary to select and promote large groups of young and vigorous cadres--who have been tested in practice--to the leading posts to shoulder the heavy responsibilities on the frontline. Veteran cadres should retreat step by step to the second and third lines, serving as advisers to young cadres and helping them handle problems and make decisions. Young comrades should respect the veteran comrades, frequently consult them and humbly seek their advice when problems arise. With the assistance of veteran comrades, they will gradually learn their

good work styles and take over and carry forward the party's fine traditions.

It is necessary to break with the idea that specialists should not serve as leading cadres. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" formerly expelled specialists and professors, thus not only seriously harming the party's cause but also leaving a pernicious influence in society. As a result, many people held that specialists and professors were unreliable and should not be placed in leading posts. As time went by, this became a force of habit. People were surprised to hear that specialists should be admitted to the leading group. They held that specialists and professors were not qualified as leaders because they did not have good family backgrounds and had complicated historical and social relations. They said that specialists and professors could not be competent leaders, because they were bookworms and were incapable of administrative work. Some of our comrades, including those who are responsible for organizational work, do not understand what kind of people are good cadres for the four modernizations. They adhere to the old conventions and do not have correct ideas in selecting and promoting cadres. They do not clearly see the requirements for personnel needed during the new period. They hold that only by selecting cadres from among workers and peasants, as they formerly did, will it be possible to uphold the party's class line. When promoting cadres they attach one-sided importance to family background and social relations and neglect abilities, educational background and professional skills. They like to promote those who are said to be honest and obedient and who cater to the leaders' opinions. They say that those who love to think about problems and air differing views and who dare to put forward criticisms and suggestions when they find shortcomings and defects in work are arrogant and conceited. They distrust and look down on those cadres who formerly made mistakes and later made self-criticisms, corrected their mistakes and are now devoted to the four modernizations. In promoting cadres they confine their scope of vision to the leading groups of various levels and do not go beyond this scope to find distinguished personnel. They do not give the proper positions to those who have special knowledge and are capable of technical and managerial work on the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and educational fronts. The structure of cadre ranks cannot be reformed without breaking such stereotypes in promoting cadres and without solving the question of finding qualified personnel. Some comrades fear that admitting specialists to the leading groups will give rise to problems. In fact, our enterprises carry out the system of responsibility of senior administrative cadres under the guidance of the party committee. What is wrong if we, under the party's leadership, listen to the specialists' opinions on some professional and technical problems? We do not know the road to science. Can we avoid detours if we have the specialists as our guide? However, having been long influenced by social prejudice, some comrades do not have much confidence in the specialists. Lenin paid close attention to selecting specialists who had served in old Russia and placing them in leading central posts. New China also gained successful

experiences in this connection when it was established. Thirty years after that, we dare not trust and promote the specialists, including those who have been brought up by our party since the founding of new China. Why? We should discard outworn prejudices and boldly promote the technical cadres working on various fronts, such as those responsible for engineering, agriculture, animal husbandry and economic management, theorists, scientists, school teachers, medical doctors, judges, lawyers, editors, reporters, artists and athletes, who adhere to the socialist road, support the party's line, are well trained and work in a down-to-earth manner. We should admit them to the leading groups at all levels so that they are placed according to their abilities and can fully display their wisdom and talent. This is conducive to the smooth progress of our socialist modernizations. In the initial period of the revolutionary war our party did not understand the meaning of admitting some people who were versed in military science and warfare to its leading group. It began to understand this only after it had been defeated in battle many times. To accomplish the four modernizations we must admit some people who are versed in technical and managerial work to our leading group. In the past 30 years, because we did not understand this principle, we paid a cost no smaller than that we paid during the revolutionary war period. At present we should see the urgent need of admitting scientists, engineers and economic management experts to the party's leading group.

Reforming the structure of cadre ranks and gradually turning them into a specialized and rejuvenated contingent are historical tasks facing us. We might as well think about these questions seriously: Is it possible to accomplish socialist modernization by placing people who know nothing about economics, science and education in charge of economic, scientific and educational matters? Is it possible for those in the dark to light the way for others? If the structure of the cadre ranks is not reformed now, the cadre ranks will become more unsuitable for the four modernizations. Then our four modernizations will not be able to make headway. In a few years we will have to tackle this problem again, just as we now have to tackle this problem, which was put forward by the party more than 20 years ago and has remained unsettled since. Our party pointed out at its eighth national congress in 1956: "The party must pay particular attention to bringing up cadres who are versed in production techniques and have rich professional knowledge in various other fields. The reason is that these cadres are the backbone for building socialism." However, "special attention" has not been paid to this question over the past 20 years. Are we allowed to make a detour again today? We should remember this historical lesson. We should see more clearly the urgency and far-reaching strategic significance of this question and prove ourselves promoters in reforming the structure of cadre ranks.

CSO: 4004

A MAJOR REFORM IN THE CADRE SYSTEM--A TENTATIVE TALK ON ABOLISHING THE CADRES' DE FACTO LIFE SERVICE SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 6-10

[Article by Wu Liping [0702 7812 1627]]

[Text] Apart from a correct political line, our party should have a correct organizational line to insure the implementation of the political line. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") To triumphantly realize the party's political line we should have millions of cadres who are resolute in implementing the party's political line and possess professional knowledge. Without such a powerful contingent of cadres who are both Red and expert, it will be impossible to realize the four modernizations.

In keeping with the Marxist-Leninist principle, the 5th plenum of the 11th party Central Committee summed up experiences and put forward a proposal on abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system. In other words, the present irrational situation in which cadres can only serve as "officials" and refuse to become common people should be changed. Leading cadres at all levels, whether they are elected through democratic elections or appointed by leading organs, should not be allowed to hold their posts all their lives. They can be transferred, downgraded or removed from office. Those who are old, sick and weak and have lost their working ability or can no longer work should retire. They should not continue to hold their leading posts. This is a major reform of profound historical significance in the cadre system of our party and state. Such a reform will play an immense role in upholding and improving the party's leadership, strengthening the party's combat strength and promoting socialist modernization in our country.

All our cadres are working under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard--the Chinese Communist Party. The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most farsighted and selfless class and is imbued with the most thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. It has deeply realized that only by emancipating all of mankind can the

proletariat emancipate itself. Therefore, it can rally the broad masses of people closely around itself and accomplish its historical task. Our cadres are fighters who represent such a revolutionary class and fight for the cause of socialism and communism. The proletarian revolutionary teachers repeatedly taught us that serving the people wholeheartedly is the sacred task of our cadres as proletarian fighters. Our cadres should faithfully accomplish such a task regardless of their qualifications, contributions and positions. They should be ordinary workers and treat others as equals. They are not allowed to enjoy any special rights which are not contained in the party's constitution and laws. Our cadres are "servants of the people" and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. Therefore, they should act according to the desire and will of the people. Our cadres should be able to work both at the top and at lower levels, adapt themselves to circumstances, serve as officials and remain one of the common people. In every situation they should resolve to serve the people all their lives.

Marx earnestly taught us: We should prevent the transformation of the state and state organs from "servants of society" into "masters of society." He also pointed out that this was "an inevitable transformation in all previous states." ("The Civil War in France," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 484) A state of the proletarian dictatorship should resolutely adopt all measures to prevent such a transformation. Marx summed up the experiences of the two important measures adopted by the Paris Commune: First, the commune pursued a system of election and recall and abrogated the system of bourgeois hierarchy and special privileges for bureaucrats. The commune filled all posts by election. If the officials concerned proved to be incompetent, they could be dismissed and replaced at any time. Just as Marx said: Such a system "did away with the state hierarchy altogether and replaced haughty masters of the people into always removable servants and mock responsibility with real responsibility, since they acted under public supervision." (Ibid., p 414) Second, the commune adopted a wage system for ordinary workers and abrogated all economic privileges for former bureaucrats. The commune's decrees concerning the wages of officials stipulated that all officials were paid the same wages as other workers. Their highest wages should not exceed those of skilled workers. These were important steps which prevented work personnel of the state organs from seeking promotions and getting rich and prevented the degeneration of state power. These two measures adopted by the commune fully manifested the proletarian democratic system of the commune. Lenin said: "All officials, without exception, are to be elected and subject to recall at any time, and their salaries can be reduced to the level of ordinary 'workers' wages.' These simple and 'self-evident' democratic measures, while completely uniting the interests of the workers and the majority of peasants, also serve as a bridge leading from capitalism to socialism." ("The State and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, Part 1, p 244) Thus, abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system is in line with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the issue of cadres.

Abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system is also in accord with the law of development of society. The systems of bureaucratism or officialdom pursued in feudal society were systems of feudal state hierarchy and prerogatives. During the early period of the bourgeois revolution the bourgeoisie and its representative figures opposed the systems of feudal state hierarchy and prerogatives. The achievements of their struggle in this respect were recorded in their early constitutional documents. For instance, the constitution of the State of Massachusetts in the United States, adopted in 1780, stipulated: "To avoid the possibility that persons in authority will become oppressors, people are allowed to dismiss and replace their officials after a certain period of time and through proper procedures." The "Declaration on the Rights of Man and of the Citizens" adopted by France in 1789 also said: "All citizens are equal before the law. They are equally entitled to assume all official and public posts and occupy other posts according to their ability. There should be no other differences except those of moral conduct and ability." Notwithstanding, the principle of "equality in holding official posts" advocated by the "Declaration on the Rights of Man and of the Citizens" was not truly realized. Under the capitalist system, only the "system of sharing the loot" resulting from the bourgeois political party system can be implemented. The so-called "loot to the winners" means that the winners allot official posts to their supporters who performed deeds of valor during the election. The "system of sharing the loot" is closely connected with the so-called system of "taking official posts in turn." In capitalist countries, although the feudal hereditary hierarchy system has been abolished in name, the system based on bourgeois property in which official posts are held by certain bourgeois representatives in rotation still exists. Representatives of the bourgeois political parties who hold power may change from time to time, but it is only old wine in new bottles. In other words, the hereditary system of bourgeois governments remains unchanged. In spite of the fact that such a system of rotation is better than that of the feudal hereditary hierarchy system, the political power of the ruling class has never actually changed. Due to the fact that the feudal landlord class ruled our country for a long time and the influence of feudal ideology was enormous, we never followed the bourgeois system of assuming official posts in rotation. The old concept that "once a person becomes an official he should reap benefits all his life" still exists in some people's minds. To promote our four modernizations smoothly we should eradicate this influence.

The proposal put forward by the fifth plenum on abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system is in line with the present conditions of the cadres of our party and state. This is a matter of entirely new significance. The contingent of our cadres was gradually established and developed during the period of revolutionary war. At that time, to overthrow the three big mountains that oppressed the Chinese people, a large number of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals joined the revolution, fearing neither sacrifice nor danger. In the process of

revolutionary struggle many comrades assumed leading posts in the party, government and army. They accumulated a wealth of work experience in their revolutionary struggle. They were generally promoted but never demoted. Furthermore, due to the fact that we followed the supply system for a long time and that many veteran cadres joined the revolution as "professional revolutionaries," and that along with this we established the practice of promoting cadres according to their qualifications and seniority, some people wrongly thought that once one joined the revolution one should become a cadre, and once one became a cadre one should be a leading cadre. They also thought that once one became a leading cadre one should hold the post all one's life. Such a wrong concept of the "iron rice bowl" has deeply influenced people's minds. As a result, some problems have occurred in the contingent of our cadres.

The first problem is that our organs are overstaffed. There are 18 million cadres throughout the country, and most of them are working in leading organs at all levels. In a socialist country the state's leading organs should be well organized and efficient. However, the state's organizations in our country are overstaffed and have more hands than are needed. Although most of our cadres work diligently and earnestly, we should admit that the bureaucratic work style has grown among some cadres. Some are unwilling to use their brains, are irresponsible, pretend to know everything and issue confused orders. This work style has greatly hampered the smooth progress of our four modernizations. The work efficiency of some of our leading organs and enterprises has been inconceivably low. Some problems that could have been solved promptly were held up for several months or several years or even ended up with no definite solution. The masses at home and foreigners have complained about this dilatory work style. It is true that there are many things, such as social and historical influences, defects in our system and work methods, and so forth that are responsible for the existence and growth of such a bureaucratic work style. However, it can be attributed mainly to the defects in our cadre system, which should be further improved. At present some cadres eat three square meals a day and do no work. They think that it is all the same to them whether they do their work well or not. All these problems are closely connected with our cadre system. The behavior of these cadres runs counter to our efforts to bring the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country into full play and our hard work to promote the four modernizations. Such a cadre system is detrimental to our principle of encouraging people to do their best and giving play to their ability. Such a cadre system is harmful to spreading the rich experiences of veteran cadres and carrying on their fine work style. It is also harmful to the selection and promotion of new and excellent cadres. Therefore, we should no longer allow such a cadre system to exist.

Second, only a few cadres have professional knowledge. Although many of our comrades have been working as leaders for a long time in certain

departments and units, only a few of them are familiar with the objective law and possess professional knowledge about their departments. Most of them do not possess any or possess only a little of the professional knowledge and skill required in the departments under their supervision. It is a common thing in our country for laymen to lead experts. Therefore, very often our cadres do not understand their work or handle certain matters incorrectly. Many trades and professions are involved in our four modernizations, and each and every field needs professional knowledge. With the development of science and technology, new fields and new knowledge will grow continuously. The present conditions in our cadres contingent are not in accord with the development of our four modernizations.

Third, our contingent of cadres is characterized by old age. In general, our cadres, and middle-level and senior cadres in particular, are relatively old. Natural law is irresistible. When one grows old one is not as vigorous and energetic as one was before. The fifth plenum approved the proposal to set up the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, which will provide a good means of passing on and taking over the collective leadership of the central authorities. The problem of passing on and taking over power does not exist solely with the central authorities, but also in the local organizations at all levels. All veteran comrades who are loyal to the proletarian revolutionary cause should regard the serious task of selecting and training successors as a matter of primary importance. They should lose no time in accomplishing the task successfully within a few years. In the meantime, we should also realize that a large number of middle-aged and young cadres who have ability, political integrity and professional knowledge are coming to the fore in the socialist revolution and construction through protracted and rigorous trials. This provides a good condition for selecting successors. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, the party's correct organizational line was severely sabotaged. The growth, training and selection of successors were seriously harmed. Like the human body, our contingent of cadres needs to get rid of the stale and take in the fresh and constantly absorb new blood. A healthy and correct system of passing on and taking over power among older and younger cadres should be established. This is a basic condition that insures the long-term continuity and stability of the socialist state policy.

Abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system is also decided by the nature of our socialist country. In our country power is in the hands of the proletariat and the broad masses of people. The people are the masters of their own country. Our socialist democracy is a democracy that truly protects the people's rights to be the masters of their own affairs. Our constitution explicitly stipulates: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy and insures to the people the right to participate in the management of the affairs of the state and of all economic and cultural undertakings and the right to supervise the organs of the state and their personnel." In his "Draft Decrees Concerning the

Right of Recall," Lenin pointed out: "Only those elected organs and representative conferences which acknowledge and assume the right of recall can be regarded as organs which are truly democratic and represent the people's will." ("Draft Decrees Concerning the Right of Recall," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 314) We will at least gain the following advantages from abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system: First, abolishing the life service system will be beneficial to selecting young and energetic talented personnel who will be transferred to strengthen leading bodies at all levels. This will insure the liveliness and vitality of the party and state organs at all levels. Second, abolishing the life service system will be beneficial to overcoming bureaucratism and eliminating unhealthy tendencies. Third, abolishing the life service system will be beneficial to correcting some cadres' wrong ideas, such as thinking that they are entitled to enjoy an "iron rice bowl" as long as they are cadres, and their passive attitude toward work, such as "enjoying a big pot of steamed rice," inertia, "continuing to toll the bell as long as they are monks," following the beaten path, attempting nothing and accomplishing nothing, and so forth. Even certain representative figures of the exploiting class perceived the harmful effects of the ideas that "once one becomes an official one should receive benefits all one's life." Jackson, a representative figure of the bourgeoisie and a former U.S. president, said: "When an individual serves as an official for too long a time, he is liable to gradually neglect his duty and regard his official post as his private property and take the government as a tool which will help him enhance his personal interests." We should admit that some enterprises in capitalist countries are better managed than ours. To enhance their ability to compete in foreign and domestic markets, squeeze more surplus value from the workers and gain more profits, capitalists constantly select talented personnel who possess professional knowledge and transfer them to responsible and administrative posts. In addition, they frequently check on these personnel and replenish the administrative posts with new talent. The socialist cause we are promoting is different in nature from that of capitalism. However, the way the capitalist enterprises inherit and carry forward the excellent experiences of the predecessors is also worth studying and assimilating. At present we are carrying out our socialist four modernizations in a grand and spectacular way. The socialist cause is the cause of all our people. Only by arousing the initiative of millions upon millions of people can we insure the successful progress of this cause.

Some people might worry and ask: Will the abolishment of the cadres' de facto life service system not adversely affect the long-term continuity and stability of the line, guiding principles and policies of our party? The answer is no. Instead, it will be helpful to the long-term continuity and stability of the party's policies. The party's fifth plenum pointed out that the leadership of our party is a collective leadership, not an individual one. Unlike other political parties, our party should rely mainly on collective wisdom and experience. The

individual is only a member of the collective body, and the role of the individual can be brought into full play only through collective leadership. Therefore, when we talk about taking over the power of the revolutionary cause, we mean taking over the collective leadership, not the power of certain individuals. The history of the international communist movement has told us: To pin the hope of the entire party's cause on an individual and to regard the transfer of power of the party's leading organs at all levels as the transfer of power of certain individuals will be detrimental to maintaining the long-term continuity of the party's line, guiding principles and policies and to maintaining the long-term stability of the party's collective leadership. Such an act cannot stand the tests of storm and stress. It will even bring severe losses to the party and the entire revolutionary cause. In this respect we have already learned a bitter lesson. The party's fifth plenum summed up these historical experiences and put forward the principle of abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system and passing on and taking over power in a healthy and collective way. In other words, veteran comrades should retreat gradually from the forefront of the nucleus of the party's leadership to the second or third line. However, they should continue to make decisions on matters of vital importance, should steer the ship of revolution and should be actively engaged in "passing on experiences, giving help and setting examples" in training new hands, so that those new comrades who have just assumed their leading posts will grow in a healthy way. In the meantime, those new comrades who have just assumed the leading work should also develop their ability to find their bearings independently by carrying out the day-to-day work of the leading organs at all levels. A new collective leadership will be gradually formed in such a way. This is a planned way to transfer and take over the collective leadership of the leading organs of the party and state at all levels step by step. This is also a way of acting in accordance with objective law. All these facts show that our party is becoming more mature and that our revolutionary cause is promising. Even the foreign press has said: Although this is only a "tentative trial," it is a matter of "epoch-making significance" which will lead to "a smooth and alternate supersession of leaders." It can be expected that the passing on and taking over of the party's collective leadership in a healthy way and the supersession of old cadres as well as the selection and promotion of young and excellent cadres will further insure the long-term continuity and stability of the party's policies and collective leadership and vigorously promote the successful advance of socialist modernization.

Some people worry about the possibility that such an act will adversely affect the work initiative of veteran cadres who have made great contributions to our revolution and construction. This is an unnecessary worry. As we have mentioned above, veteran cadres should not only shoulder the task of training their successors and passing on experiences, giving help and setting examples, but also give full play to their initiative to do more work within the limits of their own physical ability and energy, such as making investigations, checking on the work of new cadres,

helping young cadres do their work well, and so forth. As for the pay and conditions of veteran cadres, we may say that the party and people will never forget those who have made contributions and done good things for the party and people. Our party and people have always said so and carry out their pledge in their actions.

Abolishing the cadres' de facto life service system is a new creation and new thing. It will naturally give rise to new problems. Specific methods, rules and regulations should be formulated gradually and perfected in practice. The most important thing is that we should unify our ideological understanding of this problem. Under the guidance of the fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must be good at analyzing the new conditions occurring in our revolution and construction and the new problems arising in the process of development. Only then can we make our contingent of cadres competent and powerful and insure that talented people come forth in large numbers and that their talent is utilized to the fullest extent. Only thus can we insure the continuity, vigorous development and successful accomplishment of the socialist four modernizations within this century.

CSO: 4004

SAFEGUARD THE PARTY'S SOLIDARITY AND UNITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 11-14

[Article by Ji Zhuxuan [1323 4554 6513]]

[Text] The solidarity and unity of the party is a vital issue in party construction, one which was most seriously sabotaged and confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee has adopted a series of important measures for safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the party. The weeding out of the factionalist setup of the "gang of four" and the rehabilitation and redress of large numbers of false charges, wrong sentences and frameups have created conditions for the stability and unity of the whole party and country. The criticism of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the restoration and formulation of the ideological line of the party have again laid an ideological and political foundation for the solidarity and unity of the whole party. The 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee also strengthened the leadership power of the CCP Central Committee, discussed the draft of the revised party constitution, approved the "Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life," exonerated and rehabilitated Comrade Liu Shaoqi, dealt strictly and properly with those comrades guilty of serious mistakes, and further strengthened the solidarity and unity of the whole party. Thus, after more than 3 years of hard struggle, a situation of solidarity and unity not seen for a long time has appeared in the whole party. This situation was not easy to obtain! We should greatly treasure and cherish it. At present, in accordance with the instructions of the fifth plenary session, the whole party is implementing the "guiding principles," adhering to the political and ideological lines of the party and strengthening the solidarity and unity of the party as well as the democratic centralism and organizational and disciplinary education of the party. These are of important significance in upholding and improving the leadership of the party, raising its combat effectiveness and working heart and soul for the four modernizations.

We all know that in the new historical period the objective of the struggle of the whole party and the people of various nationalities

throughout the country is to realize the four modernizations. In a country with such a huge population and poor foundation as ours, to realize the four modernizations within the present century is a great, arduous undertaking. This requires the people of various nationalities throughout the country to work with one heart and one mind, unite as one, go all out and work hard. The unity of the whole party and the unity of people throughout the country are an important prerequisite for realizing the four modernizations. Without the unity of the party and without the unity of people of various nationalities throughout the country, nothing can succeed. Although we now have a correct ideological line, this is not tantamount to unity of understanding. Because some people do not fully understand the existing political line of the party, they lack confidence and have adopted an irresolute and hesitant or even skeptical and vacillating attitude. Some comrades with ideological problems in the past have still not got rid of them. Inner-party unity is affected because of such ideological inconsistencies. In particular, a handful of remnant followers of the "gang of four" and people who stubbornly cling to their reactionary ideological system still hold leadership posts or work in certain vital departments. They are dissatisfied with the line, policies and principles of the party and therefore have feigned compliance, resisted them and even willfully attacked and slandered them. Such people are a latent source of instability and disunity in the leading bodies as well as obstacles to the implementation of the line, policies and principles of the Central Committee. At present a similar situation confronts some leading bodies. Taken individually, the members cannot be said to have no ability or to be unequal to the task. However, since they are not marching in step, they have no combat effectiveness. These kinds of leading bodies not only offset their own power but also disturb the tranquillity of the units. Therefore, we must struggle against the phenomena which destroy the solidarity and unity of the party, make greater efforts to solve some of the problems which hinder the solidarity and unity of the party and continue to strengthen the unity of the whole party and people throughout the country in order to guarantee the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

Unity of planning, policy and command in the four modernizations is an objective demand in socialist economic development. Implementation of the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy in particular calls for placing the stress at present on centralized, unified party leadership. Readjusting is the key to the success of the first battle for the four modernizations. The CCP Central Committee has decided to cut capital construction, hold down accumulations and lower unrealistic targets, strengthen such weak links as agriculture, light industry, coal, electric power and transportation and gradually improve the life of the people on the basis of developing production. All these policies proceed from the situation as a whole and have a bearing on the overall interests of the state and the people. Therefore, to solve the problems in readjusting the economy we must establish the thought of "national planning" and consciously carry out

work in accordance with the planning and arrangements of the Central Committee. We must take the initiative in pushing forward those things that should be pushed forward and resolutely cut down on those things that should be cut down. We must not glance about, go sideways or clash with them. For the sake of the overall situation, we must even voluntarily make the necessary sacrifices. Otherwise, we will not be able to quickly and smoothly readjust the serious imbalance in the proportionate relations of the national economy and put it on the course of sustained proportionate, high-speed development. We definitely cannot, on the pretext of our past mistakes in economic work, weaken or resist the unified leadership of the party over economic work. This is also the case in smoothly carrying out economic reforms, because reforms must be subordinated to readjustments in view of the serious imbalance still existing in the proportionate relations. Comprehensive consideration must be given to what should be reformed first and what must be put off until conditions are ready. Reforms must be carried out systematically but not by individuals. Furthermore, following the increase in the power of enterprises to make their own decisions and the readjustment of the market, the enterprises will have more power and money available, and the economy will become more lively. This is a good thing. However, the more lively the economy becomes, the more we must strictly implement the unified discipline of the CCP Central Committee and obey its unified command. Only thus can we avoid one-sidedness in production and management and insure that enterprises will not deviate from the socialist orientation.

Regardless of whether we are carrying out readjustments or reforms, we still lack experience in socialist modernization and must continue to explore. We experienced defeats and setbacks in carrying out the democratic revolution and paid a price for this lesson. From the founding of the party in 1921 to the seventh congress, complete unity of understanding was achieved in the whole party only after 24 years. Today we greatly need a road of socialist modernization suited to conditions in China, as well as a process of thorough investigation and study and unremitting practice. In particular, as a result of the mountain of troubles from a decade of disruption left behind by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the complicated new contradictions and problems still appearing in economic readjustments and reforms, complications and difficulties are bound to appear on our road of advance. This requires that we make mental preparations. The more we come across this kind of condition, the more the whole party must work with a single heart and purpose and unite as one. We must not become pessimistic and disheartened or vacillate and turn back in the face of difficulties. We must not blame everyone but ourselves and shift the blame to others. Instead, we must work together with one heart, sum up the lesson of experience and suggest realistic methods for solving problems. Only in this way can troubles be overcome, mistakes corrected, work constantly improved and the four modernizations smoothly carried out.

From this we can see that upholding and strengthening the solidarity and unity of the party and heightening its combat effectiveness are basic guarantees for realizing the four modernizations. At present we must pay particular attention to solving the following problems.

First, we must understand that the solidarity and unity of the party is a basic Marxist principle. For the sake of usurping party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" criticized this basic Marxist principle as a revisionist line. They only allowed the discussion of "split" but not "unity," "struggle" but not "peace." They preached "struggle will lead to progress" and "no struggle will lead to retrogression, revision and collapse." They described inner-party peace on the basis of unity of principle, or inner-party unity, as a kind of theory of inner-party peace and class conciliation. Consequently, they confused Marxism-Leninism with revisionism. With an ulterior motive, they quoted the words of the teachers of revolution out of context and used them as a theoretical basis for creating disturbances to sabotage the unity of the party and the unity of the people of the whole country to achieve their despicable goal of seizing power in the confusion. Actually, the teacher of proletarian revolution always taught us that, apart from organization, the proletariat has no other weapon for carrying out revolutionary struggle. Only by organizing its own political party and uniting with and leading into battle the revolutionary army of millions can the proletariat achieve the important historical task they shoulder. In "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels made the call, "Proletarians of the world unite!" Marx always regarded unity as a basic principle of proletarian internationalism and pointed out that if we could firmly establish this rich, vigorous principle among all the workers of all countries we would certainly achieve the great goal we yearned for. In the struggle against opportunism, Lenin upheld and defended this basic Marxist principle. Before his death he also warned the whole party that it must safeguard the unity of the party as it would its own eyes. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded the solidarity and unity of the party as the most basic condition and the most important basis for success in revolution and construction. He pointed out: One is inner-party unity and the other the unity of the party and people. They are priceless treasures for triumphing over difficulties. The comrades of the whole party must value these two priceless treasures. The historical experience of the proletarian revolution has proved that whenever this principle was upheld and the solidarity of the party safeguarded, the revolution advanced and victory was achieved. Whenever this principle was betrayed and the solidarity of the party was weakened or damaged, the revolution suffered setbacks and even defeat. This has been an infallible truth. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" disrupted the minds of the people on the question of unity. Their pernicious influence is still far from eradicated. To completely restore order out of chaos ideologically and theoretically, we must still do painstaking ideological work.

We must proceed from the overall situation in safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the party. What is the overall situation? It is to build China into a strong, modern socialist country. This is an important matter which concerns the future and destiny of the party and the state as well as the fundamental interests of the whole party and the people throughout the country. The solidarity we are discussing at the present stage must proceed from the overall situation of the four modernizations. In our party the overwhelming majority of the people support the four modernizations, while only an extremely small handful of individuals oppose it. We should see that for a relatively long period in the past there was no end of movements and "civil wars," with people attacking each other. Feelings among comrades became strained, and many ideological problems arose. If we do not proceed from the overall situation of the four modernizations, and if we do not look ahead but become entangled in old scores and insist on paying attention to personal gratitude and resentment, there can be no elimination of estrangement, no solving of problems, no healing of rifts, no discussion of solidarity and no unity of action. It should also be pointed out that, when the "gang of four" ran wild, inner-party democracy was smothered and a situation in which 10,000 horses stood mute appeared. This was a most abnormal situation. Today the people have emancipated their minds and can speak freely and express different views. This is a good sign. We must concretely analyze the different views, accept those which are correct and explain those which are not, and not flare up the moment we hear dissenting views. So long as they are for the purpose of achieving the four modernizations, we must listen carefully to dissenting or even opposing views and hear them out. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "By unity we mean uniting with those who have differences with you, who look down on you or show little respect for you, who have had a bone to pick with you or waged struggles against you and at whose hands you have suffered." To unite with this portion of people we must pay attention to party spirit, the overall situation, mutual understanding and friendship. This means that we must overlook minor differences for the sake of greater harmony.

We should also point out that factionalism is still a great curse which is causing great damage to unity and obstructing the general situation at the moment. Factionalism today no longer displays its signboard as in the past. Its "reef cannot be seen in the daytime but appears only in the dark." Some factionalists are the remnant forces of the "gang of four," and some are gangs or groups made up of people with personal grievances or mutual interests. They cannot be seen at normal times but appear when troubles crop up. For the sake of factional interests they ignore the interests of the party and people and use their own views for determining right and wrong, distinguishing friends and foes, splitting the organization of the party and hindering its unity. Thus, there can be no stability and unity where factionalism is not completely eliminated. Therefore, to safeguard the solidarity and unity of the party we must resolutely eradicate factionalism. As for those comrades contaminated by factionalism, we must, in the process of studying the "Guiding

Principles on Inner-Party Political Life," strengthen their education in the party spirit so that they can consciously mend their ways. As for the remnant forces of the "gang of four," we definitely cannot be soft-hearted or lenient toward them. We must wage a resolute struggle against them. If we fail to do so, this not only will harm the interests of the party and people but also will be a sign of showing no consideration for the general situation.

Solidarity and unity of the party does not mean that we need not carry out principled struggle. What we are talking about is principled unity, or unity based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. To safeguard unity based on this principle we must carry out principled struggle. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted the essence of inner-party struggle, confused the two kinds of contradictions, transposed the relations between the enemy and ourselves, launched a vigorous life-and-death struggle in the party and wanted to overthrow this group today and that group tomorrow. People turned pale at the mention of struggle, and everyone feared for his own safety. Their pernicious influence was very deep. Even now this aftermath has still not been eliminated among the comrades. Some of these comrades erroneously think that struggle means making things difficult for people and that the talk of struggle will affect unity. Therefore, they practice unprincipled unity and keep on good terms with everyone at the expense of principle. They will not stick their necks out in the face of principled struggle but adopt a liberal attitude. They do not draw a clear line of demarcation between the struggle, struggle and more struggle practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the principled struggle we advocate. The principled struggle we are talking about is a struggle for upholding the four basic principles, the line, policies and principles of the party and democratic centralism and safeguarding the rules and regulations of the party. This kind of struggle means adopting the policy of "unity-criticism-unity," or proceeding from the desire for unity and achieving the goal of unity through criticism and self-criticism. We should succeed in, and we definitely must proceed from, cherishing the comrades and upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts. As regards the shortcomings and mistakes of comrades, and with the attitude of helping those criticized, we should adopt gentle and mild methods to correct their mistakes through criticism and education. The result of this will enable comrades to make improvements which will be conducive to unity and beneficial to work. This is why we do not categorically oppose inner-party struggle. What we oppose is the kind of struggle carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power. At the same time, we also oppose the kind of "peace" that is afraid to struggle against the various erroneous tendencies in the party. What we advocate is the correct development of inner-party struggle, because antagonism and struggle of different ideas constantly occur in the party. Although the exploiting class has now been eliminated in the party, class struggle still exists, and various nonproletarian ideas will still be reflected in the party and corrupt our party. Therefore, only by means of principled

struggle will we be able to overcome various nonproletarian ideas in the party.

We need solidarity and unity, but we also need liveliness. Solidarity, unity and liveliness are identical. Historical experience has shown us that any solidarity and unity that jeopardizes liveliness can only be "laying down the law by one person" and "leaning toward one side" and is therefore sham solidarity and unity. Any liveliness that jeopardizes solidarity and unity will give rise to anarchism and bourgeois liberalization and is therefore also not genuine liveliness. One important factor obstructing the solidarity and unity of our party at present is the fact that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has still not been completely eliminated. There is still a tendency toward anarchism and bourgeois liberalization among a handful of people. They think that emancipating the minds can dispense with upholding the four basic principles, that giving play to democracy can dispense with leadership and that people are free to do what they want and say what they please. They do not resolutely and unconditionally implement the line, policies and principles of the Central Committee on carrying out the four modernizations, but adopt the unorganized and undisciplined attitude of either doing what each thinks fit or feigning compliance. They refuse to implement things not to their liking, resist them or verbally agree to act accordingly but actually hold them up. They also do not ask for instructions or make reports on important issues of principle, refuse to heed notices and express views counter to the line, policies and principles of the Central Committee. Such bourgeois liberal ideas are extremely harmful to the solidarity and unity of the party. We absolutely cannot ignore their influence, but must conscientiously deal with them and correct them.

To maintain a high degree of unity in the whole party it is very important to strengthen organization and discipline. Will this interfere with liveliness? No, because discipline will only restrain the liberal activities that are contrary to the principle of solidarity and unity of the party. Moreover, it is the guarantee that enables liveliness to develop along the correct orientation. From the 3d to the 5th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Central Committee has always placed the emphasis on emancipating the mind, giving play to democracy and enlivening economic work. At the same time, the Central Committee has also emphasized that emancipating the mind cannot deviate from the course of the four basic principles, that giving play to democracy cannot be divorced from centralized and unified leadership and that enlivening economic work cannot be separated from the guidance of unified planning and policies. This will lead to a political situation in the whole party of not only democracy but also centralism, not only freedom but also discipline, and not only personal peace of mind and liveliness but also unity of will, stability and unity. This is why there is no basis at all for those who subscribe to the view that paying attention to discipline and centralized unity means not wanting liveliness and "restricting."

Safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the party is the sacred and obligatory duty of each and every communist. The leading cadres of the party at various levels shoulder a great responsibility for this problem, for they are the key to the success of solidarity and unity in the whole party. Only if there is solidarity and unity in the leading bodies at various levels can we successfully achieve the solidarity and unity of the whole party. Therefore, leading cadres at various levels must consciously begin with themselves, set strict demands on themselves and always set an example. They must establish proletarian broadness of mind, place proletarian interests in the fore and set the pace as promoters of solidarity and unity. In this way our party will certainly have strong combat effectiveness, and there certainly will be hope for achieving the great cause of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

STRUCTURAL REFORM AND DIRECTION OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MACHINE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 15-21

[Article by Zhou Zijian [0719 1311 0256]]

[Text] In the process of achieving the four socialist modernizations, the machine building industry has a glorious and arduous mission. Stalin said: "In our country, whose technology is still young, industry assumes a special task. It should not only reform itself on the basis of new technology and reform all industrial sectors, including light industry, the food industry and the forestry industry, but also reform various transportation industries and every agricultural sector. But industry can accomplish this task only when the machine building industry, which is the basic lever for reforming the national economy, assumes a leading position in industry." ("Summary Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) at the 17th Congress of the Party," "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 276) The machine building industry supplies various sectors of the national economy with technological equipment. The quality, standard and quantity of such equipment, and whether it forms complete sets, greatly affect the national economic development.

After 30 years of construction our country's machine building industry now has a substantial foundation. Because of this foundation, we are absolutely able to rely mainly on our own strength, take the import of necessary advanced technology as a subsidiary measure and make our due contributions to the achievement of the four modernizations. But it must also be observed that this foundation is not yet absolutely compatible with the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. The main problems are as follows: First, it serves a narrow field, and the composition of the varieties of products is not rational. Second, the standard of products is backward and the technical performance poor. Third, the composition of the enterprises is not rational, and the standard of coordination among specialized enterprises is low. Fourth, the equipment of the machine building industry itself is backward. Therefore, during the readjustment period or for even a longer time the

development of the machine building industry must be directed toward the gradual alteration of the irrational composition and the coordination of various proportions. Great breakthroughs and improvements can then be achieved in the technical standard of our products, the technological standard of our production and the standard of our organization and management. We can then cope with various social needs.

I. Expand the Field of Service, Readjust Its Direction and Alter the Composition of the Varieties of Products That Mainly Serve Heavy Industry

Over the past 30 years the machine building industry has supplied large quantities of technical equipment for socialist construction. For example, 74 percent of the installed capacity of the electric power generating equipment, 80 percent of the motor vehicles and 94 percent of the lathes in the entire country were manufactured by ourselves. The machine building industry also supplied a certain quantity of equipment, instruments and meters to the mining, metallurgical, petroleum and chemical industries. However, the vast majority of products produced in the past served heavy industry and capital construction. A very small proportion of the products served agriculture, light industry, the scientific, cultural and educational enterprises, municipal construction and the people's livelihood.

Such a direction of service has led to two consequences. First, many social needs are not satisfied. Just to mention the light industry sector: The machine products required by 16 trades and professions are not satisfied. For instance, the watch and clock making industry needs more than 90 kinds of special machine tools, but our country supplies less than 20 of them. There have also been long-existing gaps in some fields of service to agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry. Second, the steady development of the machine building industry itself is seriously affected. There is the anomalous phenomenon that the machine building industry expands and declines drastically along with heavy industry. For instance, the output of mining equipment serving the iron and steel making industry was merely 30,000 tons in 1956, but, guided by the principle of "taking steel as the key link," it rose to 96,000 tons in 1958 and rapidly to 250,000 tons in 1960. The output of metallurgical equipment was also similarly increased from 14,000 tons to 280,000 tons. In 1961 and 1962 the output of mining and metallurgical equipment dropped to 20,000 to 30,000 tons along with the readjustment of the national economy. Such drastic expansions and declines have brought about a series of problems for the development of the machine building industry and affect its service to various sectors of the national economy.

To alter this irrational composition of the varieties of products and expand the field of service, and guided by the spirit of the 3d plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the party, last year we proposed "six changes." The first is the change from principally serving heavy industry to simultaneously serving many other needs, such as those of

agriculture, light industry, municipal construction and the people's livelihood. The second is the change from principally serving the construction of new factories to simultaneously serving the old factories, as well tapping their potentials, innovations and transformation. The third is the change from just carrying out manufacturing to undertaking the responsibilities of designing complete sets of equipment and planning complete processes for production, installation, adjusting and testing, repair and maintenance, supplying fittings, personnel training and so on. The fourth is the change from aiming at the domestic market to actively fighting our way into the international market. The fifth is the change from producing small batches to producing large ones and gradually achieving specialization in production. The sixth is the change from principally grasping output value and output quantity to principally grasping quality, variety, punctuality in delivery, the lowering of costs and the continual raising of our enterprise management standard. The core of the "six changes" is the raising of the ability of the machine building industry to satisfy various social needs, so that production is really carried out for the sake of satisfying the needs of various sectors of society.

Lenin said: "The means of production are manufactured, not for their own sake, but because of the continually increasing needs for them in the industrial sectors that manufacture the means of subsistence." ("Reply to Mr P. Nezhdanov," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 143) This clearly tells us that the machine building industry, as the producer of the means of production, must serve the sectors which manufacture the means of subsistence. Whether the machine building industry can satisfy the needs of these sectors for the necessary technical equipment, and whether it can gradually cope with society's continually increasing material, cultural and livelihood needs, are questions of what direction of development is adhered to and whether things are done according to the fundamental economic law of socialism. Historical experience has proved that if the machine building industry simply serves heavy industry and neglects to serve agriculture, light industry, municipal construction and the people's livelihood, then we cannot get onto the track of planned, proportionate and rapid development.

The expanded reproduction of various sectors of the national economy depends first on building new factories and starting new projects and secondly on tapping the potentials of, effecting innovations in and transforming the old enterprises. In both of these aspects the machine building industry shoulders a glorious task. During the initial period after the founding of the People's Republic, the foundation of industry was very weak, and it was therefore absolutely necessary to emphasize the building of new factories. With the development of socialist construction, various sectors of the national economy have acquired a substantial foundation. Fully bringing the role of the existing enterprises into play then becomes the prime problem. We need to shift the focus of our service to tapping the potentials of, effecting innovations

in and transforming the old factories. Furthermore, following the continual expansion of the foundation these tasks will grow increasingly heavy. This is a requirement of national economic development. The experience of industrial development abroad shows that many industrial sectors, once they have attained a certain scale, can develop production with faster, better and more economical results by using their main funds for the restructuring and technological transformation of existing industry, rather than by building new factories. Many of the complete sets of equipment supplied to the state by our country's machine building industry originated in the early 1960's. This is attributable to the fact that at that time the principle of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards was implemented, and the limited funds were used chiefly for filling in the gaps in and effecting the technological transformation of the existing foundation. To carry out Chinese-style modernization we must now also proceed from the reality of our country and fully bring into play the role of the existing enterprises. It is a strategic issue that the machine building industry should cater to the needs of the old enterprises for tapping potentials, effecting innovations and transformation and should serve the technological transformation needs of various sectors of the national economy. Adequate attention should be paid to this issue.

Since last year, because the changes mentioned above were put into practice, the composition of the varieties of products of the machine building industry has begun to change. Relatively good results have been achieved in utilizing market adjustment, expanding the field of service and satisfying social needs. The supply and demand conditions of many social needs which remained unsatisfied for a long time began to change for the better. For example, last year the machine building bureau of Liaoning Province diverted the direction of production of seven enterprises toward products urgently needed by agriculture, in keeping with the needs of agricultural production. In the whole of Liaoning Province over 100 enterprises produced more than 200,000 items of over 60 varieties of products directly for light industry. The value of output increased to five times that of 1978. The machine tool company of Tianjin Municipality conducted a survey of nine industries which manufactured watches, sewing machines, bicycles, paper products, food, footwear and headgear, tableware, carpets and lighters. It actively supplied them with various categories of equipment needed for technological transformation. Take, for example, the production of tableware, the demand for which is very large in the international market. Because the equipment is primitive, output cannot be boosted. The light industry department originally planned to import 12 sets of equipment. The machine tool company has studied the prototype of foreign equipment and plans to undertake everything from designing and manufacturing to installation, adjustment and testing. If this is accomplished, the state will save over \$10 million in foreign exchange. The expansion of the field of service and the alteration of the composition of the varieties of products has not only relatively satisfactorily helped meet social needs but also enabled the

machine building industry to acquire an adequate number of tasks. Last year the tasks planned by the state were generally inadequate. Under this condition, the value of the output of the system under the First Ministry of Machine Building, as well as its realized profits, still increased relatively substantially compared with the previous year, breaking past records.

II. Improve the Technological Standard of Products and Change the Backwardness in the Composition of the Products of the Machine Building Industry

Our country's machine building industry can now supply various sectors of the national economy with some products with relatively high standards. Examples include atomic energy equipment, complete sets of equipment which can annually produce 200,000 tons of railway vehicle wheels and wheel flanges, complete sets of refinery equipment which can treat 2.5 million tons of crude oil a year, complete sets of strip mining equipment for annual outputs of 10 million tons, complete sets of iron and steel making equipment for annual outputs of 1.5 million tons, complete sets of equipment which produce 100,000 trucks a year, as well as sets of 12,000-ton hydraulic free-forging presses, sets of 6,000-cubic-meter oxygen producing equipment, rolling mills for producing 4,200-millimeter extra thick steel plates, sets of heavy equipment for producing welded spiral pipes, 300,000-kilowatt thermal power and hydroelectric power generating sets, and so on. The current problem is that, in the composition of products, the proportion of advanced products with advanced standards and low consumption of energy and materials is too small. Except for a minority of relatively advanced ones, most of the 26,000 varieties of products produced by the system under the First Ministry of Machine Building have performance standards equivalent to the world standards of the 1950's or 1960's. Many large-scale key products cannot yet be designed and manufactured.

The backwardness in the composition of the products of the machine building industry is reflected chiefly in low productivity, high consumption of energy, poor formation of complete sets, short service life of the machines, and so on. Equipping various sectors with such products inevitably will affect the raising of the social labor productivity. Take, for instance, our country's iron and steel and coal industries. The number of their workers and staff is nearly equal to the total number of their counterparts in several industrially advanced countries together. But their output is several times less than the output of these countries. Take another example: In our country the ratio of money capital to the value of sales is approximately 1 to 1, but in the industrially developed countries this ratio generally ranges from 1 to 3 to as high as 1 to 5, or even higher for individual countries. Of course, this condition is attributable to many causes, such as the disruption and sabotage by the "gang of four," problems in the economic management system and problems with the enterprise management standard. But one cause which

cannot be neglected is the backwardness of the technical equipment supplied by the machine building industry to various sectors. Take, for example, the heavy joint-plate hot-rolling mill. The set which our country produced for the Benxi [2609 3305] Iron and Steel Company has the same specifications as those of the set imported by the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company. But our domestically made set suffers from a low rolling speed and backward automatic control, so that its productivity is half that of the imported set. To produce 1 cubic meter of oxygen, a foreign oxygen producing machine generally consumes 0.45 kilowatt-hours of electric power, but a domestically made machine consumes 0.6 kilowatt-hours. Thus, a 10,000-cubic-meter oxygen producing machine consumes 12 million more kilowatt-hours of electric power a year. Similar problems exist for mining and chemical equipment, and so on.

To alter the backwardness in the composition of its products, the machine building industry must raise the standard of science and technology and do a good job of upgrading and producing new generations of products. Then, not only the quantity but also the standard of its products can satisfy various social needs.

To improve the technological standard of the products of the machine building industry, particularly the standard of complete sets of large-scale equipment, there must first be a steady long-term plan and an explicit policy concerning technology. In the early 1960's the technology of the machine building industry developed relatively rapidly, because under the unified planning of the state those departments using the equipment and those manufacturing it jointly made a study of and jointly formulated the policies concerning the technology of machinery and equipment. The developmental plans for the departments using and manufacturing the equipment were coordinated and unified. Conditions were created for the development of new products and new technology. Over the past 10 years or more, because of the interference of the "gang of four," it was very difficult to formulate policies concerning technology. Projects were frequently changed. Thus, there were frequent interruptions in the designing and manufacturing of many important and large, complete sets of equipment. Great losses and wastage resulted. Therefore, the state must lay down explicit policies concerning machinery and equipment, energy consumption, the use of new materials and new technology, and so on. It is also necessary to make a further study of and to formulate the technology policies and long-term development plans for the machine building industry on the basis of the state's policies. It is necessary to conduct special surveys on basic technology, the economizing of sources of energy, machinery and equipment, manufacturing technology, the import of technology, personnel training, and so on. The relevant specific policies as well as development plans to be accomplished in stages can then be formulated. The first generation products currently being produced must be actively improved. In particular, energy-saving products must be emphatically developed, research into and manufacturing of second generation products which will soon be put into production must

be firmly grasped and research into third generation products which are to be developed later must be started ahead of schedule. Of course, what constitutes advanced products needs to be concretely analyzed. The integration of advanced technology with intermediate technology must be effected according to the requirements of Chinese-style modernization. To go after those so-called "advanced" standards which are unrealistic is something that must be avoided.

Improving the technical standard of the products of the machine building industry also necessitates directing our attention toward our own weak links, as well as importing advanced foreign technology, so that time can be saved. The import of foreign technology must be integrated with the technological transformation of the enterprises, with upgrading the products of the machine building industry, and with producing new generations of these products. Currently the emphasis should be placed on technology concerning the manufacturing and systems-designing of fundamental items, complete sets of large-scale equipment and key products. Various categories of complete sets of equipment must be analyzed in detail. We must clearly know what categories can now be produced by ourselves, what categories can be produced by ourselves after research and experimentation, and what categories must involve the import of foreign technology. We must not waste the state's foreign exchange by wrongly importing a single item, and we must not hinder the formation of complete sets by omitting the import of a single item. Individual plans must be formulated for various items according to which relatively advanced complete sets of each item can be supplied domestically after a certain number of years. When we import foreign technology we must first combine technology with trade. That is, when we purchase equipment we must simultaneously import foreign technology. For Japan the amount of foreign exchange spent on importing equipment and the amount spent on importing technology are roughly in the ratio of 2 to 1. But for our country the import of technology for manufacturing machinery and electrical products is only a small proportion of the import of machinery and electrical equipment. This is very abnormal. Second, our country's machine building industry must be given suitable support. All equipment which can be produced domestically and whose quality and standard are satisfactory must no longer be purchased from abroad. Some complete sets of equipment must be imported, but all those parts of such equipment that can be manufactured domestically must be produced domestically. Every sovereign state has practiced this sort of policy, which protects the development of the domestic machinery manufacturing industry. At present our country has imported the technology for manufacturing certain machinery and electrical equipment, such as turbine compressors, industrial steam turbines, and so on, but we are still purchasing large numbers of them from abroad. This is very irrational. Third, we must strengthen the processes of digestion, mastering, research and development. The foreign practice is that, if \$1 is spent on importing technology, then \$3 will be spent on assimilation and research. We should also follow this practice. Those departments and enterprises which import

foreign technology must practice the "system of doing four things as a consistent whole"—importing technology, learning to design, manufacturing products and development and invention. There exists a phenomenon of merely purchasing technology without sparing efforts to digest and assimilate it and to undertake research and development, so that the technology must be imported again some time later. We must correct this phenomenon.

To improve the technological standard of the products of the machine building industry we must vigorously strengthen scientific research work. Otherwise, even if we have imported technology we cannot digest and assimilate it. At present a great deal of arduous work must be done in organizing and managing scientific research, rectifying and improving the contingent of scientific research personnel and building bases for measurement and testing. Scientific research outlays must also be appropriately increased. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to improve the standard of science and technology. In industrially developed countries, scientific research funds generally account for 3 to 5 percent of the total value of sales. For some countries the figure may be as high as over 8 percent. But even when our country's scientific research funds were more generously allocated, they accounted for only 1 or 2 percent of the total value of output. Scientific research funds allocated to the system under the First Ministry of Machine Building accounted for an even smaller percentage of the total value of its output. Scientific research is tremendously important to increasing production capabilities and improving the standard of products. This is an important policy issue related to long-term development. We must attach great importance to it and promptly resolve it.

Personnel training is essential to improving the standard of the products of the machine building industry. The question of product standard boils down to the standard and quantity of qualified personnel. Let us look at the present situation of the contingent of workers and staff in the machine building industry. The management personnel are generally relatively old, and their technical and professional standards are not high. The technical staff constitute a small proportion; they are employed in a scattered manner, and their knowledge is aging rather seriously. The workers have a low educational standard, and new workers lack systematic training. To improve the technological standard of the products, personnel training must be taken as a strategic task. In the first place, the party's policy toward intellectuals must be implemented, the role of the existing technical staff must be fully brought into play, and their technical and professional standards must be arduously improved. At the same time, we must vigorously train new qualified management and technical personnel, as well as operational workers with various techniques and skills. Effective measures must be adopted to do well in organizing and managing various kinds of training courses, institutes of higher education, technical schools, after-work technical schools, and so on. The machine building departments and enterprises in various localities should

practice division of labor. Each should specialize in certain tasks and do well in grasping personnel training. Only when leadership is strengthened and people at all levels take action together can personnel training work be more effectively done.

III. Do a Good Job of Reorganization Based on Specialization and Alter the Composition of Enterprises Characterized by Being "Large and Complete" or "Small and Complete"

At present there are many enterprises in the machine building industry, but the composition of these enterprises is very irrational. Some 80 percent are "large and complete" or "small and complete." There is redundancy in production and construction. The factories are numerous, they produce in small batches, their efficiency is low and their costs are high. For example, about 640 factories throughout the country produce bearings. Of them, 49 principal enterprises produce 62 percent of the national output. Most of the other factories have very low outputs. A specialized factory employing special high-efficiency equipment annually produces 3 million sets of Model 203 bearings; the average cost is 6.9 jiao per set. An all-round small factory produces 100,000 to 200,000 sets a year, and the average cost is as high as 2 yuan. The problem of bringing the productive capabilities in casting, forging and heat treatment into play is even more marked. At present, 70 to 80 percent of the machine building factories have their own foundries. Their production is characterized by small batches, backward technology, high consumption and very low labor productivity. The per capita annual productivity is less than 7 tons, while the figure for foreign specialized factories is 50 to 60 tons. The efficiency differs by 8 to 9 times. There are over 4,000 production units carrying out heat treatment. Most of these factories have obsolete equipment, backward technology and a very low equipment utilization ratio. One municipality has a total of 210 sets of heat treatment equipment whose average utilization ratio is only 12 percent. If this sort of composition of enterprises does not change, how can the technological standard and economic effect be improved? We must resolve to reorganize them according to the principle of coordination among specialized enterprises.

The machine building industry has been reorganized for more than 2 years according to the principle of coordination among specialized enterprises, and some success has been achieved. The problem of many units producing small batches of products is beginning to be solved, specialized companies are beginning to be organized and specialized processing plants are being organized and established. Summing up the experience obtained during the previous period, we find that to do a good job of reorganization based on specialization we must observe the following principles.

Reorganization is aimed mainly at improving the comprehensive economic effect. Therefore, the formulation of plans for reorganization should proceed from improving the comprehensive economic effect and not from

the concept of "specialization." We must not think that merely breaking up "large and complete" factories and "small and complete" ones is tantamount to achieving coordination among specialized factories. The machine building bureau of Beijing Municipality readjusted and reorganized four "small and complete" electrical machinery factories subordinate to it. These factories were turned into four main factories, three processing plants and factories manufacturing parts and assembly parts, and two technological support factories. Thus, the organization has become rational, and the factories' capabilities can be brought into play to a greater extent. Last year their output and profits grew by over 30 percent. All reorganization programs that can improve economic effects are correct and practicable. All those reorganization programs which cannot improve or which even lower economic effects are incorrect and impracticable.

The first procedure in reorganization is overall planning, rational division of labor and selecting superior items or points for planning. The second procedure is systematizing the products, enabling parts and assembly parts to be used universally, effecting specialization in production and enabling factories to produce many varieties of products. The third procedure is developing the specialized production of parts and assembly parts and technological products. High-efficiency technical equipment should be used in a planned way to support factories producing parts and part assemblies as well as specialized processing plants. They can then supply various factories engaged in assembling big engines with high-quality and low-priced parts and part assemblies. They should have better production management so that they can help insure balanced production in the factories assembling big engines. They can then gradually and naturally replace those scattered and backward production units, and their products can replace those parts and part assemblies manufactured by the factories engaged in assembling big engines.

Reorganization based on specialization involves the state, localities, management departments, enterprises and other parties. During reorganization the interests of various parties involved must be harmonized, so that economic benefits can be enjoyed by the state, localities, big engine assembling factories, factories which help construct complete sets, relevant management departments, and so on. If this objective is achieved, reorganization will be easy to carry out. Otherwise, even if various enterprises are organized or reorganized, the achievement cannot be consolidated.

On the basis of coordination among specialized enterprises, the enterprises must be organized a step further in many forms and through economic methods. For example, we may organize national companies, local companies and various forms of joint venture companies involving joint ventures between the central authorities and the localities, between different regions and between different departments. These companies can break down the barriers between departments, regions and military

and civilian industries. They are not subject to the constraints of the forms of ownership. They are organized according to the internal relations of the economy and the principle of coordination among specialized enterprises. Guided by state planning, they practice independent economic accounting and assume sole responsibility for their own profits and losses. As business companies they replace administrative companies.

The existing management system is very incompatible with satisfactorily achieving coordination among specialized enterprises. For example, the material and product allocation system, the pricing and taxation system, the system of managing the enterprises by rules and regulations, and so on—these are unfavorable to breaking down the barriers between regions or trades and organizing the specialized production of large batches of products. Therefore, industrial reorganization must be integrated with the restructuring of various systems. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for industrial reorganization to advance in big strides. Currently we must do well in grasping experimentation work on the basis of the characteristics of various regions and trades. At first we can establish loosely organized companies and then gradually develop and perfect them, so that the superiority of specialized production can be brought into play and the reorganization of the machine building industry can be pushed forward.

IV. Vigorously Carry Out Technological Transformation and Alter the Composition of the Equipment of the Machine Building Industry Itself

The total quantity of various categories of equipment possessed by our country's machine building industry is roughly equal to that of industrially developed countries. But the composition is backward. There are more ordinary lathes but less high-precision lathes, metal-cutting machines as well as high-efficiency special purpose equipment. For example, ordinary lathes for rough processing account for 43 percent of our country's total stock of equipment. In the industrially developed countries the corresponding figure is only approximately 25 percent. In our country the proportion of lathes for fine processing is 10 percent. The figure for the United States, France and Germany is over 22 percent. Our country has only several hundred high-efficiency automatic processing production lines. Every industrially developed country has over 5,000 such lines.

In the past, the machine building industry increased output mainly by increasing human resources, equipment and the scale of production. According to statistics, from 1965 to 1977 the total industrial output of the system under the First Ministry of Machine Building increased by 2.1 times. The number of its workers and staff increased by 1.7 times. Its stock of equipment increased by 1.8 times. But labor productivity increased by only something more than 10 percent. In the past 10 years or more the industrially developed countries have emphasized raising the standard of science and technology. They have continuously renewed

their equipment. Although their personnel and equipment did not increase appreciably and though the total quantity of their equipment might even have decreased, the value of their total output increased by 1 or 2 times, while their labor productivity increased by 2 or 3 times, because the proportion of advanced equipment increased. Now there is already a definite basis on which our country's machine building industry can develop. For a considerable time to come, the machine building industry should basically stop building new factories. The development of production should rely mainly on the technological transformation of old factories and the improvement of technology and management. Technological transformation must be integrated with the restructuring of the machine building industry, so that labor productivity can be raised and the consumption of materials, raw materials and energy reduced.

The emphasis in technological transformation should be placed on improving the comprehensive productive capacity. First, the gaps must be filled and the standard of formation of complete sets improved. The capabilities of our country's existing heavy machinery factories are not much lower than those of other countries, judging from the class of factory buildings and hydraulic presses. But our technology and condition of formation of complete sets are unsatisfactory. Therefore, the capabilities cannot be fully brought into play. Compared with those of other countries, the output, quality and variety of our forgings are far behind. The main tasks of our technological transformation in the future are strengthening our abilities in smelting, rough processing, and so on, in which we are rather weak; adding a portion of mechanized operation facilities and examining, measuring and testing systems; and bringing our comprehensive productive capabilities into play. Thus, money will be saved and results will be quick. Second, the class of equipment must be raised. For example, the three big electric power generating equipment factories in Harbin were originally designed to produce 50,000-kilowatt generating sets. To satisfy the needs of the electric power industry for larger sets, they must produce 200,000-kilowatt and 300,000-kilowatt sets in batches as well as acquire the ability to produce 600,000-kilowatt sets. Thus, it is necessary to effect the technological transformation of old factories, upgrade their classes, enable them to acquire the necessary new abilities and fully exploit their existing abilities. Third, the following must be carried out in a planned way: renewing equipment, accelerating the rate of depreciation and replacing general equipment with high-efficiency and special equipment in key technologies. Before 1965 the second compressor factory of Shanghai had a low output, with its labor productivity being something more than 10,000 yuan. It later integrated the renewal of equipment with technological transformation and set up production lines served by special machines. Although the equipment had not been substantially increased, output greatly increased. Last year its labor productivity was over 30,000 yuan. Fourth, the means of examination, measurement and testing must be replenished. Many large key products lack the service of the necessary means of examination, measurement and testing. Their product quality is affected. For example, we have no

equipment for testing the dynamic equilibrium and excessive speed of the rotors of large steam turbines or for examining and measuring the leakage of turbine compressor casings, and so on. Therefore, the products cannot be tested in the factory, and their internal defects cannot be discovered and eliminated before they leave the factory. These problems must be solved as soon as possible. In particular, a number of key enterprises must be provided with key measuring and testing equipment. Only by speeding up its own modernization construction can the machine building industry cope with the needs of the four modernizations construction.

The machine building industry must cater to two major markets. One is the domestic market. It must try by all means to satisfy the needs of various sectors and reduce the import of foreign machinery and equipment. The other is the international market. It must try by all means to expand exports and earn more foreign exchange. The vast numbers of workers and staff of the machine building industry front must clearly know the direction of development, do a good job of restructuring the composition of the machine building industry, endeavor to improve product quality, increase the variety of products, strengthen the formation of complete sets and improve the technological standard, so that we can better meet the needs of national economic development.

CSO: 4004

MEDIUM-SIZE AND SMALL ENTERPRISES AND MODERNIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 22-26

[Article by Wang Du [3769 6757] and Han Xiulan [7281 1485 1526]]

[Text] In 30 years of socialist economic construction our country has established many large backbone enterprises. At the same time, small and medium-size enterprises have undergone great development. In 1978, of the nearly 350,000 industrial enterprises in our country, 99.65 percent were small and medium-size ones. Their total output value amounted to 75 percent of the total industrial output value, and their taxes and profits handed over to the state were also considerable. It is now very important that we correctly understand the relationship between the small and medium-size enterprises on the one hand and the current modernization on the other, so that we can correctly carry out their readjustment, promote their healthy development and give full play to their role.

I

The different sizes of industrial enterprises denote different degrees of intensity of labor power, means of labor, object of labor and production of the enterprises. The sizes, large or small, are only relative and can constantly change, along with the development of productive forces, scientific and technological progress and the improvement of production organization. Large enterprises of the past may now become small and medium-size ones. In the past a chemical fertilizer plant with an annual output of 50,000 tons was considered large; now it has to produce 300,000 tons annually to be qualified as a large enterprise. Although the trend of modern industrial development calls for the gradual expansion of enterprises, the existence and development of small and medium-size ones cannot be completely ignored, simply because it is not true that under any condition a larger size automatically means a higher technical level or a better economic result. The history of industrial development at home and abroad has shown that large enterprises invariably coexist with small and medium-size ones, all being organic components of the system of division of work and cooperation in society. For example, although a small number of monopoly enterprises control the national economic

lifeline and constantly try either to amalgamate small and medium-size enterprises or to force them out of business in the United States, Japan, West Germany and other industrially developed countries, small and medium-size enterprises continue to exist and develop. In Japan small and medium-size enterprises account for more than 99 percent of the total number of enterprises. Enterprises of various sizes are efficiently cooperating with one another and are developing together in harmony. This is the objective requirement of the development of modern large-scale production.

How can we classify enterprises and determine their sizes? To do this we must proceed from rational economic principles and consider the technical features of production among different industrial departments. Generally speaking, large enterprises are suitable for continuous and large-scale production, when the use of production techniques calls for large and complex machinery and the consumption of large quantities of raw and semifinished materials and energy, and when there are large amounts of industrial waste requiring the comprehensive utilization and treatment of the "three wastes." However, small and medium-size enterprises can produce better economic results in processing products of diversified varieties, in producing consumer goods for daily use, in processing spare parts to meet the high standards of specialization, in producing artistic wares, mainly handicrafts, and in making use of limited quantities of natural resources in widely scattered locations. For example, in oil refining and in producing basic chemical raw materials which require the use of large equipment in a continual process and a centralized system for the disposal of the "three wastes," it would be more logical to build large enterprises. For the production of chemical products, plastic wares and other products of diverse varieties and a wide range of specifications, the tools of production should not be too large; therefore, it would be better for such production to be undertaken by small and medium-size enterprises. The general tendency of the metallurgical industry is toward the development of large enterprises. However, small and medium-size iron and steel factories can not only fill certain gaps in the production of certain varieties or specifications, but also, through technical transformation and the adoption of advanced production processes, produce goods of fine quality and at low costs. In the machinery industry there are many spare parts and many phases of processing which can easily be divided into different parts. If the small and medium-size enterprises supply the spare parts and undertake certain phases of processing, while the large enterprises undertake the job of general assembly, the cooperation among large, small and medium-size enterprises will produce better economic results.

Some products, judged from their outward appearance, may have to be produced by large enterprises; but this is not always true from the economic point of view. The products required in large quantities by society should be produced by large enterprises in large lots for good economic results. If products are in social demand in only small amounts, it will

not be economical for large enterprises to produce them only in small lots. Furthermore, some products are produced far away from the sources of raw materials or from the places of consumption. Transportation will be inconvenient, and if they are produced by large enterprises in large lots to be hauled over long distances, the increased circulation expenses will raise the production cost. Therefore, it would be better to build small and medium-size enterprises close to the sources of raw materials or to the places of consumption. For example, the cement produced by a large cement plant in Tongchuan Municipality, Shaanxi Province, was sold at the wholesale price of 50 yuan a ton. After being transported to the Yanan area, the price per ton, with the transportation expenses added, came to about 150 yuan, while each ton produced by a small cement factory set up in the Yanan area itself costs less than 100 yuan. Of course, the factors affecting the economic results of small and medium-size enterprises can change. When the social demand for certain products is increased and the transportation facilities are improved, production in large lots by large enterprises will be more economically rational. In this case, the small and medium-size enterprises producing the same products will be gradually eliminated by the law of value.

Some people are of the opinion that large enterprises must be advanced units and that small enterprises must be backward ones. This is an incomplete view. Whether an enterprise is advanced or backward cannot be judged purely from its size; we must also look at its economic results. Generally speaking, large enterprises are comparatively more advanced and can effectively utilize productive factors to raise labor productivity and achieve better economic results. However, "big and all-inclusive" enterprises cannot be better than "small and specialized" enterprises. "Small and specialized" and "small but better" enterprises can also attain an advanced technical level and yield better economic results. The Shanghai Instrument and Meter Spring Wire Factory is a small enterprise with some 120 workers. Being highly specialized, it produces elastic spring wires of good quality at low cost. Besides meeting the demands of the instrument and meter industry in Shanghai, it also caters to the needs of 145 units in 16 provinces and municipalities. Its output amounts to 50 percent of the total national output of the same line. Is there any reason to call this type of small and medium-size enterprise backward?

The development of production and the progress of science and technology demand that in industrial production and construction we correctly determine the size of enterprises to be built and promptly readjust the proportion of large, small and medium-size ones so that they can all be used to the best advantage. The different sizes of enterprises in a capitalist society are determined by the spontaneous regulative role of the law of value. In a socialist society this is the result of people's conscious application of the law of value. When we choose or determine the size of an enterprise we should first note the special characteristics of production techniques in different industrial departments and consider

the overall situation of social needs, funds, technology, raw materials, labor power, transportation facilities and various conditions and use these facts as the basis for a technical and economic analysis. We should also calculate and compare the economic results from both macro and micro aspects. We should seek truth from facts, act according to our capabilities and decide each case on its own merits. If we only consider the need instead of the capability, the special characteristics of production techniques and the overall economic results; if we only want large enterprises and blindly expand the small and medium-size enterprises, we will violate objective laws.

II

In the light of realities in our country, planned development under an overall arrangement for our socialist modernization is of great significance. We have a large population with a weak economic foundation. Our area is huge and our resources are plentiful. However, our economic development is uneven in different regions. To accomplish modernization in our own way and to take our own road of industrial development, we must uphold the principle of the integration of large, small and medium-size enterprises. While making our modern and large enterprises a success, we must also pay attention to the development of our small and medium-size enterprises. If the industrial system is likened to a big tree, so that the large enterprises are the trunk, the medium-size enterprises the branches and the small enterprises the leaves, the entire industry and national economy can grow and develop rapidly only when, like a tree, it has a big trunk, strong branches and luxurious leaves.

In modernization it is entirely necessary to form a number of large enterprises with modern equipment to serve as the backbone. However, the opening of a large enterprise requires large funds and takes a long time, during which it consumes social products instead of giving anything to society. Since our economic foundation is weak and our financial and material resources are limited, we can build only a few, not many, modern large enterprises within a certain period. In the development of small and medium-size enterprises the investment is smaller and the construction period shorter; however, the investment yields earlier returns. In addition to meeting social needs, they can also accumulate funds for national construction. For example, the building of a medium-size light industrial or textile enterprise normally can be completed in 2 years, and the entire investment can be recovered in another 2 years. Small enterprises are generally built and commissioned in the same year. Therefore, the required funds and materials are more easily raised.

In modernization many different kinds of products and trial products are required in varying quantities to meet social needs in various fields. Small and medium-size enterprises are like "small and highly maneuverable boats" and are more flexible in production and management. They have the unique feature of being able to change their varieties or

specifications of products to meet social needs in various fields. For example, the production or trial production of some new steel products in small quantities may be unprofitable for a large steel plant. It would therefore be more convenient for small or medium-size steel factories, whose production process can easily be adjusted, to undertake these jobs. The steel strings for pianos were trial-produced by small and medium-size factories. The Jiangxi Steel Factory trial-produced more than 50 types of piano strings and fully met the demand of the domestic market. The same principle applies to light and textile industries. The social demands for articles of daily use and various types of garments and household utensils are many and varied, and small and medium-size enterprises can more effectively meet the market demand by promptly organizing their production or trial production. Of the industrial products for daily use produced in Shanghai, totaling some 30,000 types, more than 26,000 are produced by small and medium-size enterprises. The vast majority of the handicraft manufacturers in Shanghai are small enterprises. In 1979 alone they trial-produced more than 1,000 types of new products, and several hundreds of them are now in serial production.

In the course of modernization it is necessary to import advanced technology and equipment as well as other products needed in the domestic market. It is therefore necessary to develop foreign trade and increase the export of industrial products in order to earn more foreign exchange. Small and medium-size enterprises are more adapted to the world market and can play an important role in the production of goods for export. In 1978, 18.1 percent of the total exported goods of the light industry system of Shanghai were produced by large enterprises, 18.4 percent by medium-size enterprises and 63.5 percent by small enterprises. In the textile system, 22.9 percent of the exported goods were produced by large enterprises, 23.85 percent by medium-size enterprises and 53.25 percent by small enterprises. In the handicraft system, 0.94 percent of the exported goods were produced by large enterprises, 1.42 percent by medium-size enterprises and 97.64 percent by small enterprises. In Shanghai, 9 out of 10 enterprises earning large amounts of foreign exchange are small and medium-size enterprises, each with less than 1,000 workers.

China has a large population, and the task of providing employment in either urban or rural areas is a very heavy one. If we want to develop the kind of industry with a high technical intensity, we should also develop the kind with a high labor intensity. Generally, the organic composition in small and medium-size enterprises is low, and the fixed assets of each unit can absorb more labor power. An important way to provide more job opportunities is to develop small and medium-size enterprises, particularly collective enterprises. It should also be noted that in our countryside the development of mechanization in agriculture will result in a surplus of labor. Therefore, suitable arrangements must be made to develop production in depth and in breadth. Apart from developing crops, animal husbandry, forestry and sideline occupations,

we should also try to obtain raw materials locally and develop some processing industry for agricultural and sideline products, special local products, and animal husbandry products in small rural towns, communes and production brigades or teams. If these measures are successful, the blind influx of labor power from the countryside into the cities can be avoided. They may even attract some labor power from the cities to the countryside. Therefore, in consideration of our huge population, the planned development of small enterprises in the small towns, communes and production brigades or teams in a manner suitable to local conditions will not only demonstrate the superiority of our rich labor resources in accelerating modernization but also play a significant role in narrowing the gap between the countryside and the cities.

III

Small and medium-size enterprises form an important force for our socialist modernization. Because of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for many years, as well as certain shortcomings in our work, there are still many problems in the development of small and medium-size enterprises. To further develop the role of these enterprises we must do a good job of readjustment and promote the development of these enterprises on the basis of readjustment.

First, we must integrate social needs with economic results and be careful about closing, suspending or amalgamating enterprises or changing their line of production.

Many of our present small and medium-size enterprises are producing goods of fine quality to be sold at low prices. However, there are also many others which are producing unwanted goods or goods of inferior quality to be sold at high prices, which have high rates of consumption of raw materials and which are suffering losses because of blind development and poor management. Concrete analyses of these enterprises should be conducted and suitable methods adopted to readjust or consolidate them. As for those enterprises with incomplete equipment, unfavorable technological conditions or poor management, remedial measures should be taken through technical transformation or management improvement, so that the quality of their products can be improved and the consumption of raw materials and production costs reduced. When there is no guarantee of the supply of raw materials, fuel or power, the production conditions are so poor that the enterprises have suffered losses for a long time, and efforts to improve them have been unsuccessful, resolute measures should be taken to close, suspend or amalgamate them. We should first try to amalgamate them or to change their lines of production, while closure or suspension should be the last resort. Some comrades have misgivings about closing and suspending some enterprises, because they one-sidedly stress regional needs without considering economic effects. This is improper. Socialist production is commodity production, and commodity means the combination of both value and use value. A socialist enterprise

must produce use value according to social needs, and the value realized through the sale of the commodity must include some profit, besides compensating the consumption required for production. Only thus can the normal process of social reproduction and the meeting of social needs be insured. For temporary losses on certain products, the state or local authorities can grant certain financial subsidies as an expedient. However, permanent reliance on a state subsidy cannot be permitted.

Some people worry that the closure or suspension of some enterprises which have suffered losses for a long time may bring about a shortage of their lines of products in the local market. In fact, as long as there is a system of overall planning and allocation this problem can easily be solved. In 1979 five small ironworks which had suffered losses for a long time were closed or suspended in Liaoning Province, and the coal, electricity and raw materials thus saved were used to support other small and medium-size iron and steel factories. As a result, the production of pig iron by small and medium-size enterprises in the province, instead of decreasing, increased by 41.9 percent over the preceding year. The consumption of coke for each ton of pig iron was reduced by 85 kilograms, and the losses dropped by 29 percent. This shows that the closure and suspension of enterprises which have suffered losses for a long time and the supply of more fuel, power and raw materials to the better ones can enable the small and medium-size enterprises to operate more effectively.

As for those small and medium-size enterprises producing unwanted goods, the main requirement is to readjust the orientation of their production so that they can change their lines of products to meet social needs. Unwanted goods cause overstocking and a serious waste of manpower, materials and money. Therefore, the products should be salable and able to meet social demands before the practice of economy is possible. In changing the lines of products we should combine planned regulation with market regulation in order to avoid groping in the dark. We should also carefully observe market conditions, keep abreast of changes in supply and demand and master the laws of these changes. We should take full advantage of the existing production facilities and help the enterprises to change to other lines which are close to their own so as to make full use of their technical specialty and to strive for better economic results. When there is a change to other lines of products the economic departments at various levels should provide guidance according to established policies so as to obtain an overall balance, while plans should be worked out for the exchange of information among various enterprises.

Secondly, the small and medium-size enterprises should be organized into a system of specialization and coordination, so that they will develop in the direction of "small and specialized" and "small but better."

At present the level of specialization in industry is still very low in our country, and the spectacle of not only "large and all-inclusive" but also "medium-size and all-inclusive" and "small and all-inclusive"

enterprises with duplicated production and duplicated construction is quite prevalent. Thus, many products which should be produced in large lots have to be split up to be produced in medium or small lots. In other words, serial production has to make way for piecemeal production, which results in backward work processes, low labor productivity, poor quality and unfavorable economic results.

Small and medium-size enterprises must rid themselves of such a practice before they can undergo a rapid and healthy development. Therefore, the ideas of small production and the influence of handicraft management should be eliminated and should be replaced by the ideas of modernized large-scale production. The small and medium-size enterprises will thus be organized into a large-scale socialized production system. Small and medium-size enterprises must be regarded as an integral part of the entire social production system, and their role must be given full play. We must change the erroneous practice of equating self-reliance with self-sufficiency and one-sidedly stressing "arming ourselves independently" by setting up regional industrial systems which are divorced from reality. "Regional separatism" severs the innate relations of social production and runs counter to the objective demands of large-scale socialized production.

The majority of small and medium-size enterprises are collective enterprises. In reorganizing our industry according to the principle of specialization and coordination and economic logic, we should break down the barriers between departments, between regions and between the two different systems of ownership and organize the small and medium-size enterprises in different forms so as to provide clear directions for their production and to make better use of their merits in economics, technology and utilization of resources. We should take advantage of their usefulness and eliminate their shortcomings in order to achieve better economic results. In reorganizing our industry we should also gradually change those plans and those financial and material systems and pricing and taxation policies which are disadvantageous to specialization and coordination and develop industry along the lines of "small and specialized" and "small but better." Specialization is a necessity and the key to success.

Thirdly, overall planning should be carried out for the rural industry run by communes and production brigades and for the urban processing industry, so that they will be well coordinated and benefit all concerned.

Industry at the county, commune and production brigade levels has developed very rapidly in the past few years. This has promoted agricultural and national economic development. However, since the production of raw materials cannot catch up with the progress of the processing industry and no comprehensive planning or any overall balance was worked out in developing rural and urban industry, there has been competition for raw materials between the rural industry at the county, commune and

production brigade levels on the one hand and the urban processing industry on the other. This competition is particularly noticeable in the silk, canned food, sugar refining, tobacco, brewery, paper, soap and leather industries.

Aside from development of the production of raw materials and increased sources of supply, the solution to these problems lies in the economic and rational use of the presently available raw materials to produce goods of fine quality for the domestic and foreign markets as a means of improving economic results. There should be overall planning for rural industry and urban processing, with rational readjustment and division of work to avoid any widespread blind and rash action in attempting development. The fairly large factories in the cities with better production facilities and more skilled labor should engage mainly in processing and producing high-grade or top-grade products, while the factories run by the counties, communes and production brigades should be occupied mainly with the initial processing of agricultural, sideline and animal husbandry products and then supplying semifinished products to the urban factories for further processing. They can also produce some socially needed products, provided there is no competition with the large industrial enterprises for raw materials. This will help the communes and production brigades to increase their revenue and reduce their transportation expenses on the one hand, and will give full play to the productive capacity and technical specialty of the urban processing industry on the other. The result will be improved geographical distribution of industry and closer cooperation between workers and peasants. To accomplish this we should also make rational adjustments to protect the economic interests of both the cities undertaking the processing industry and the countryside supplying raw materials. We can also set up joint agricultural-industrial enterprises or adopt the methods of combined business operation, joint venture or compensatory trade to help them develop on the basis of harmonious economic interests.

Fourthly, we should carry out the technical transformation of small and medium-size enterprises according to real needs and within the limits of our capabilities and give the necessary support to the developing small and medium-size enterprises.

For a long time people were usually concerned with the renovation and transformation of large enterprises, with the result that funds, equipment, raw materials and technical forces were used mostly for large enterprises, while very little was left for the small and medium-size ones. The collectively owned enterprises in the cities and the countryside were usually left out in technical transformation. This is one of the reasons for the very low levels of production techniques and labor productivity.

There are many different methods and channels for the technical transformation of small and medium-size enterprises. At present the key lies

in the saving of energy, the reduction of raw material consumption and the improvement of product quality. Large enterprises, particularly those in the machinery industry, have the responsibility of aiding the technical transformation of small and medium-size enterprises. Thus, the Sichuan General Instrument and Meter Plant helped the Sichuan Jianyang [4675 7122] Small Nitrogenous Fertilizer Factory set up a system of automatically controlled instruments and meters; the result was a 60-percent increase in its annual output and a reduction in the consumption of natural gas and electric power by more than 10 percent. The factory's previous loss was changed to an annual profit of more than 300,000 yuan. Enterprises in technically advanced areas should also have the responsibility of helping the small and medium-size enterprises in technically backward areas. Since July 1979, Xianning Prefecture, Hubei, has established business relations with some plants in Shanghai in the form of joint ventures, whereby Shanghai's retired technicians and skilled labor are employed as advisers. This form of cooperation has turned out to be a great success in both technology and business management.

In their technical transformation, small and medium-size enterprises should rely mainly on their own efforts, although the state should also, on the basis of need and capability, provide the required equipment as well as financial and technical support. In the course of restructuring the economic management system, small and medium-size enterprises should receive the same consideration as that given to large enterprises. Their right of self-management should be respected, their economic interests should be safeguarded and close coordination between their production and marketing should be insured. In this way the small and medium-size enterprises will continue to play their effective roles in modernization.

9411

CSO: 4004

A BRIEF TALK ON PIECE-RATE WAGES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 27-30

[Article by Xu Gang [6079 0474]]

[Text] Piece-Rate Wages Can Fully Embody the Principle of Distribution According to Work

Socialist society carries out the principle of distribution according to work. Time wages and piece-rate wages are two basic forms of payment for work. Time wages means determining the amount of labor directly according to time worked (hours, days, weeks, months). Piece-rate wages means determining the amount of labor indirectly according to the quantity of products turned out by the workers. Piece-rate wages are a changed form of time wages.

Since production conditions differ, some departments are suitable for time wages and some are suitable for piece-rate wages. Time wages embody the principle of distribution according to work but suffer from certain limitations. This is because wage grades cannot be very numerous and minute, the technical skills of various workers in the same grade cannot be entirely identical, and the fruits of labor they perform within the same time cannot be entirely the same. This difference in the amount and quality of labor performed by different producers in the same wage grade cannot be reflected by time wages. At the same time, time wages are periodically evaluated, whereas the technical skills of the workers are changing and improving from time to time, and their technical grades and wage scales cannot be adjusted in time. Furthermore, owing to hard and conscientious work, the fruits of labor performed by a worker in the lower technical grade may be greater than that performed by a worker in the higher technical grade within the same time. Yet the pay of the latter is higher than that of the former. For these reasons, time wages must be supplemented with monetary awards before they can better embody the principle of distribution according to work.

Unlike time wages, piece-rate wages are determined according to the fruits of labor, that is, the quantity of products turned out. The quantity of

products turned out embodies the length of labor time taken, that is, the amount of labor. Nor is that all. Piece-rate wages also embody the difference in technical skills. The quantity of products turned out each hour by a worker whose technical proficiency is greater will exceed the quantity of products turned out by a worker who is technically less proficient. The quantity of products can also reflect the difference in the attitude toward labor. Of two workers with the same technical skills, the one who exerts less effort will turn out less products, and the one who exerts more efforts will turn out more products within the same time. Therefore, the quantity of products can accurately reflect the difference in the amount and quality of labor. Paying for labor according to the quantity of products turned out can better embody the principle of distribution according to work. Here it must be emphatically pointed out that the labor as the basis of distribution must be effective labor, not ineffective labor. Effective labor refers to the creation of fruits of labor, that is, labor producing products that have use value (including restoration of use value, such as repair services) and value. Labor that creates no fruits of labor is ineffective labor. Ineffective labor contributes nothing to society; hence it should not receive pay for labor (wages) from society. When payment is made according to the quantity of products, since the labor used to produce a product itself is, generally speaking, effective labor, the quantity of products can basically embody the amount of effective labor. This, too, is the advantage of a wage form such as piece-rate wages.

The Positive Role of Piece-Rate Wages

Piece-rate wages can integrate the fruits of the workers' labor more closely with the material interests of the workers. That the fruits of one's labor are greater shows that one's contribution to society is greater and that the pay one gets from society for one's labor should be correspondingly greater. This characteristic of piece-rate wages determines that they can stimulate the enthusiasm of the working masses for building socialism and bring about a faster development of production. Specifically speaking, piece-rate wages can play the following positive roles:

First, encouraging the workers to exert greater efforts to increase the quantity of products. Piece-rate wages closely integrate the quantity of products turned out by each worker with the amount of his wages, and the amount of wages received by each worker depends directly upon the quantity of products he actually turns out. Hence, piece-rate wages can urge the workers to exert efforts to increase the quantity of products. And the quantity of products is closely related to the quality of products. If a worker turns out rejected or substandard products, it means that the quantity of products he turns out is lowered and he will get less pay. Therefore, adopting the form of piece-rate wages can urge the workers to interest themselves in the quality of their products.

Second, urging the workers to increase their labor productivity and decrease the time they take to produce goods. The more the labor time is fully and effectively utilized, the greater the labor efficiency, the less time taken to turn out a product, the less labor effort expended on a product and the greater the quantity of products turned out in a specified period of time. Piece-rate wages can encourage one to devote oneself to production and concentrate one's energy on production during the working time and to arrange and use one's time rationally so that it can be used more fully and effectively.

Third, encouraging the workers to take good care of the machinery and equipment and keep it regularly in good condition. "To do a good job a workman must sharpen his tools." If machines are not kept in a good state, are not running well and frequently break down, production cannot be stepped up. Only when the equipment is regularly kept in a good state and is running well can better results be insured and is it possible to increase the piece-rate wages.

Fourth, encouraging the workers to study science and technology, develop technical innovations and popularize advanced experiences and the results of technical innovations. If production techniques are not improved, any production increase gained simply by increasing labor intensity (including an extension of the working time) will be limited. Only by studying and mastering new technology and constantly innovating production techniques is it possible to constantly increase equipment and labor efficiency and turn out more products in a given period of time.

Fifth, encouraging close cooperation and coordination between workers in various processes and bringing about unity of the workers. A product must go through many processes and the close coordination and cooperation of many workers before it is turned out. This is the characteristic of modern production. For this reason, if a worker wants to score fine achievements, he must not only do a good job at his post but also insure cooperation and coordination with other workers in various processes. In this connection, the worker requires help from others and must create favorable conditions for others. Only when the workers cooperate with one another closely in various processes instead of minding their own business or pulling the rug out from under one another's feet can the fruits of labor performed by each worker be constantly enlarged. This relation based on common interests makes the workers in various processes show concern for one another and take care of one another. This is the foundation for improving the workers' overall point of view and strengthening their unity.

Sixth, encouraging the workers to interest themselves and take an active part in enterprise operations and management and to enhance their sense of being masters of their own affairs. The fruits of one's labor do not depend entirely on the way one works; to a considerable degree the fruits of one's labor are affected by the level of enterprise operations and

management. If an enterprise is badly operated and managed, the fruits of individual labor cannot be great, no matter how hard the workers work. For example, poor planning, errors in technical management, unsalability of products, divorcement of commodity supply from production, defects in labor and financial problems will adversely affect the normal production order, thereby affecting the fruits of labor performed by individual workers. Scientific operations and management are the indispensable conditions for insuring normal production. Sound operations and management are insured only when the workers exercise supervision and take part in them. This close relation between enterprise management and the fruits of individual labor makes it possible for piece-rate wages to encourage the workers to interest themselves in the fruits of their labor and then in the operations and management of the whole enterprise. This will enhance their sense of being masters of their own affairs.

Another merit of piece-rate wages is that they are conducive to the conscious observation of labor discipline.

Problems To Be Resolved When Putting Piece-Rate Wages Into Effect

In the past, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" opposed the socialist principle of distribution according to work and totally repudiated piece-rate wages as "practicing revisionism." This caused a great deal of confusion in people's understanding. It is therefore necessary to continue to make a clean sweep of the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line, clear up the ideological confusion and fully affirm the positive role of piece-rate wages. At the same time, we must realize that if the system of piece-rate wages is not carried out properly some problems will appear. For example, piece-rate wages may cause some people to go after their personal wages and neglect the interests of the state, suit their own convenience and leave difficulties to others and even block the passage of technical information and hinder technical innovations. How can we bring the positive role of piece-rate wages into full play and avoid these problems? The key lies in our work. Therefore, when putting piece-rate wages into effect we must pay attention to and resolve the following problems:

First, correctly handle the relations between material incentives and political and ideological work and closely combine the two.

Piece-rate wages encourage one's labor enthusiasm merely from one angle, that is, the angle of material interests. This is necessary, but it is not enough to rely on this. Past experience tells us that if no ideological and educational work is carried out and if piece-rate wages alone are relied upon to arouse enthusiasm, some people will place their personal interests in the primary position and concern themselves only with their material interests. Therefore, it is necessary to intensify political and ideological work, greatly heighten the political consciousness of the masses and spread the idea of serving the people and contributing

more to the four modernizations. Material incentives and political and ideological work are two different categories. Both material incentives and political and ideological work have the same goal, namely, bringing one's enthusiasm into full play in building a modern, powerful socialist country. Intensified political and ideological work will enhance the positive role of material incentives, while material incentives will increase the actual effects of political and ideological work. One cannot be substituted for the other. We may not grasp the one and neglect the other. The two must be closely combined before people can be made to give play to greater initiative, enthusiasm and creativity.

Second, it is necessary to give consideration to both the state's interests and to personal interests.

Under the socialist system the interests of the state and the interests of the masses are identical but are distinct from each other. We may not recognize the one and deny the other. Correctly handled, the two can be taken care of; improperly handled, the two will come into conflict with each other. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cut the two apart and set one against the other. Under the pretext of safeguarding the interests of the state (in fact, their factional interests), they willfully encroached upon the personal interests of the masses. What they did was utterly wrong. However, it would be equally wrong to pay attention only to personal interests and magnify them to such an inappropriate degree as to damage the interests of the state. Piece-rate wages signify that those whose fruits of labor are greater and whose contributions to the state are more get more wages. More wages are given in recognition of their contributions and to encourage them to contribute still more to the state. This embodies the unity of the state's interests and personal interests. But it is imperative to set norms properly. If the norms are set so low as to cause overspending for wages, this will increase the financial burden for the state, damage the state's interests and run counter to the principle of taking care of both the state's interests and personal interests. In what way should the two be taken care of? As far as an enterprise is concerned, the growth of piece-rate wages must rest on the foundation of developing production. It may not exceed the growth of labor productivity and may not increase costs. Increased state revenues must be insured. Under this premise, personal income should be appropriately increased. As far as individuals are concerned, the state's interests and personal interests should be placed in their proper positions, and efforts should be made to contribute more to the state and the four modernizations.

Third, the relation between the quantity and quality of products must be correctly handled.

The quantity and quality of products are unified. Without quality, quantity does not count. A product becomes a product because it has use value. The use value is expressed by the quality of the product and is

concretely embodied in the quality standard of each product. Whether a product has its set use value will depend on whether it reaches the set quality standard. A product that does not reach the set quality standard cannot be viewed as a finished product. Our socialist enterprises (whether owned by the whole people or owned by the collective) are not allowed to produce rejects, substandard products or low-grade products. On the question of quality there can be no accommodation, tolerance or slightest ambiguity. If the system of management falls behind when piece-rate wages are put into effect, the following phenomena are likely to appear: One-sidedly seeking quantity (production value, tonnage or speed), overlooking quality, checking, accepting and logging in all products irrespective of whether they are standard, substandard or low-grade, and even selling them to consumers. For this reason, it is imperative to tighten up quality control. Clear and scientific quality standards must be set and a strict system of quality test instituted for all products. Each process must go through the barrier of strict tests. All raw and processed materials which are not up to the quality standard must not be allowed to move to the next process. The personnel concerned must assume economic and political responsibility. On the question of quality we must be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishment.

At the moment the workers receiving piece-rate wages make up only a small proportion in our country. Except for a few types of work in production such as loading, unloading and transporting, many factories and enterprises that are suitable for piece-rate wages have not yet put piece-rate wages into effect. The main reason for this is that conditions are lacking for putting piece-rate wages into effect. These conditions are: 1) Production tasks are ample, and the supply of fuels, power and raw and processed materials is insured. 2) Operations and management are put on the right track, and there is a powerful leading group which is capable of resolutely carrying out the line and general and specific policies of the party and has professional knowledge of enterprise operations and management. Good political work is carried out and an integral system of operations and management is put into effect. For this reason, we should vigorously carry out the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, assign production tasks primarily to enterprises with favorable conditions so that they will have enough tasks to fulfill, and insure the supply of materials and goods they need. We should consolidate the operations and management of these enterprises, establish normal production order and create the basic precondition for putting piece-rate wages into effect.

When we affirm piece-rate wages as a good wage form we do not mean to negate time wages. The two should exist side by side. Some departments are not suitable for piece-rate wages. When the level of automation is raised in the future, those departments that are suitable for piece-rate wages now may not then be suitable for piece-rate wages. Which spheres (trades, enterprises, types of work, posts or processes) are suitable for piece-rate wages and which spheres are suitable for time wages? An

answer to this question should proceed from reality and take into consideration the way to embody the principle of distribution according to work and bring the enthusiasm of the workers into fuller play. Whatever wage form is put into effect, a set of specific policies, systems and measures must be worked out. Our present wage policy, system and measures have many defects. It is necessary for us to go a step further on the basis of summing up our 30 years of experiences and lessons and make improvements so as to turn our wage measures into a powerful weapon for promoting modernization.

CSO: 4004

STRAIGHTEN OUT THE IDEOLOGICAL LINE, GUARD AGAINST ONE-SIDEDNESS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 31-35

[Article by Yue Ping [1971 1627]]

[Text] Since the third plenary session of the CCP Central Committee reaffirmed the party's dialectical materialist ideological line, we have followed the actual situation in doing everything. More and more party members and cadres have come to understand the importance of applying methods that solve ideological and work problems realistically. They have thus achieved significant results in doing their jobs. However, there are obstacles that hinder the implementation of this ideological line which have to be eliminated. One of the outstanding problems is that the metaphysical approach and arbitrary views and methods of work still persist, particularly among some comrades. It is because of this deep-rooted force of habit that, in some localities and units, the party's political and organizational lines are not carried out comprehensively. In some cases the party's guiding principles and policies have often been distorted, while deviations have also appeared in day-to-day work. The metaphysical approach, which is usually characterized by one-sidedness or arbitrary views, is one of the manifestations of subjectivism. Many years of practical experience have proven that the spread of metaphysics will lead to an idealist upsurge. To straighten out the ideological line and overcome subjectivism, we should respect dialectics and master ways of observing and dealing with problems from all aspects. Above all, we should guard against one-sidedness.

I. To be one-sided in one's views politically, economically, culturally and in the fields of education, propaganda, organization and foreign affairs, generally speaking, falls under the following categories:

1. Seeing the trees but not the forest. This primarily refers to the one-sided approach in dealing with the overall situation or local problems.

In assessing a situation we are often prone to err in this aspect. A primary reason for the launching of the Great Cultural Revolution was the

failure to see the bright side of the overall situation, with the result that the seamy aspects of local problems pervading our party and country were exaggerated. The consequences of making such an unrealistic assessment and applying wrong principles and methods are known to all.]

The situation has changed drastically since the "gang of four" were smashed. With chaos eliminated and order restored, both our party and state have regained their vitality. While the overall situation is gratifying, we are confronting serious problems caused by 10 years of turmoil. Under these circumstances, some people, blinded by what appears to be local problems and temporary difficulties, have exaggerated these difficulties and problems as those inherent in the overall situation. They even believe that such difficulties have engendered a "crisis of faith" and a "crisis of confidence." Such views are fundamentally wrong. Naturally, a few people may waver in facing difficulties and may even lose the faith and confidence required of a communist and revolutionary. We should strengthen their education so that they will realize that the four basic principles are new things in Chinese and world history and possess invincible vitality. Since these principles are constantly being improved and perfected, we should face the future confidently and not be cowed by difficulties.

Experience has proved that in assessing the current situation we should not lose sight of local issues at the expense of stressing the overall situation. As a rule, local problems should be solved seriously and one by one. However, what is particularly important is that we should always avoid being blinded by local problems, because failure to see the overall situation will result in loss of confidence and lead to deviation.

The national economy in a modern sense is a very complex organic entity. To comprehend the overall aspect of economic work and grasp the interrelations between various national economic departments and segments as well as their mutually restraining relationships is a precondition for correctly formulating plans so that the national economy will advance harmoniously and quickly. However, for many years we have often focused on a single department or segment, one-sidedly pursuing its noble targets and high speed but losing sight of or getting rid of its other attributes. As a result, the national economy as a whole has lost its equilibrium. This imbalance has undermined the national economy. In this respect we have learned a bitter lesson.

Dialectics shows that the whole is made up of organically linked parts. In its development process a major event contains many contradictions which make up a complex entity. Therefore, to truly recognize the object we have in mind we must do our best to comprehend and study its every aspect and all its links. The one-point theory of seeing only the parts without seeing the whole runs counter to dialectics. If only one of the contradictions in the complex whole is taken into account, or if only one aspect of the contradiction is noted, then we will lose sight

of the whole complex group of contradictions and thus fail to guide our work properly.

2. Doing away with differences and making everything the same.

This method has been widely applied in farm production and thus far has not been completely eliminated. Consequently, the aftereffect has been particularly serious. In some localities, "taking grain as the foundation" has been interpreted arbitrarily, with the result that nothing has been done about formulating measures adapted to local conditions or appropriately centralizing production for comprehensive development. The same is true of grain production, in which the conventional way of cultivation is universally followed. In the mechanization of agriculture the same pattern has been followed. As a result, the rate of utilization of tractors in some places is low, with many of them lying idle or used for other purposes. Since agriculture is more or less subject to natural, geographic and climatic conditions, the agricultural sector should be given greater flexibility and more decisionmaking power. This calls for centralized planning in a country as vast and diverse as China. Paying no attention to other requirements should not be encouraged.

In the study and popularization of advanced experiences the prevailing tendency is to ignore the specific conditions of other localities and copy such experiences mechanically. In some cases, experiences that are indigenous only to certain localities are popularized without any changes. In other cases, encouraging mechanical copying of the experiences of advanced units but paying no or little attention to the characteristics and differences of these units has resulted in repeating the mistakes of other units. All this has led to the prevalence of formalism and falsification while failing to popularize universally applicable advanced experiences.

All things in the world are united and diverse in nature. This diversity of things or contradiction is characterized by particularity, individuality and universality, with the general character residing in particularity and individuality. Applying the method that pays no attention to individual character and differences runs counter to the Marxist principle of solving different types of contradictions with different methods. Hence, setbacks are bound to arise, with work then being affected.

3. Affirming or denying everything is to be ideologically absolute.

In doing our work, dealing with comrades, assessing past or foreign experiences and evaluating historical figures or historical events, to affirm or deny everything absolutely, whether good or bad, is a manifestation of metaphysical absoluteness.

For example, when we evaluate a person affirmatively, we say he has strong points and no shortcomings. However, in dealing with those who

have made mistakes, we finish them off with one blow. When some people approve of the same person, they will simply gloss over his shortcomings and mistakes and look upon them as his strong points. But when they disapprove of him, they will just reject him as beyond redemption and even negate his good points.

Such an absolute way of doing things is diametrically opposed to the Marxist method of analysis with regard to past and present problems. Lenin said: "There is no such thing as a pure phenomenon in the natural world or in society. Marxist dialectics teach us that what is pure in concept shows that man's knowledge is to a certain extent limited and one-sided, because he has not been able to comprehend the complex nature of things." ("The Bankruptcy of the Second International," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 642) The viewpoint of affirming or denying everything, that is, regarding things as absolutely pure and not knowing that everything has its origin and process of development, is a complex one. It involves the unity of opposites with regard to affirming and denying. As to what is to be affirmed or denied and to what extent things should be affirmed or denied, a pervasive historical viewpoint and realistic appraisal are called for.

4. Exceeding the proper limits means going too far. To be overstrict in correcting one-sidedness will encourage the recurrence of one-sidedness.

Since the "gang of four" were smashed, and particularly since the third plenary session of the party Central Committee, our party has adopted a series of measures aimed at eliminating chaos and restoring order. It has adjusted and changed those theories and views that are incompatible with objective reality. It has also amended assessments of the current situation, political slogans, guiding principles and specific policies. On many major problems it has made new decisions based on Marxist theory and conformed to objective reality. We have thus returned to the correct Marxist line and restored the original features of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought for development under new circumstances. However, people in certain localities appear to have gone too far in doing things, such as going to extremes. This way of doing things runs counter to the established principle upheld by our party of eliminating chaos and restoring order.

While it is imperative that we correct the many ideological and political failings found in our work, some people tend to go to extremes. For example, they negate the fine tradition of conducting ideological and political work and even doubt its need. As a result, such work has been weakened in some places, and undesirable practices have not been effectively checked.

Learning from foreign countries and seeking foreign aid were once taboo. Whoever tried to do so was accused of advocating "blind worship of everything foreign" and "national betrayal." A gratifying situation has now

appeared, because this forbidden zone has been penetrated in the last 2 years. However, the appearance of another tendency, that is, believing that everything foreign is good and blindly worshipping it, has diminished national pride and self-confidence and diluted patriotic sentiments.

Although the tendency of overdoing things in eliminating chaos and restoring order is confined to a number of localities and can be corrected, we should pay attention to this side issue.

Overdoing things may sometimes be the result of the strengthening of or change in a certain tint. If this is ignored, it could lead people astray, particularly when the discussion of major problems of theory is carried too far. Hence, in courageously exploring major problems of theory and principle we should be very prudent. If there are signs of going too far, we should take proper precautions in a timely way, so that evil is stamped out before it spreads. It would be wrong not to correct mistakes when they are made. It is sometimes very difficult to criticize mistakes within proper limits and correct them without going too far. The important thing is to remain clearheaded when things have gone too far and be good at providing proper guidance. If issues of right and wrong are blurred when certain problems are under discussion, then such deliberations have to be deferred and outstanding questions solved in due course. In such a case we should avoid jumping to hasty conclusions.

Some people believe that proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted. This is based on the remark Comrade Mao Zedong made in his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." Comrade Mao meant that the mass revolutionary method, not the revisionist-reformist method, had to be taken to end the old feudal order. This is clearly stated in the footnotes appended to "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Volume 1. That remark is inappropriate if it goes beyond the implied context. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their cohorts arbitrarily referred to that remark to oppose the so-called "eclecticism" and "the doctrine of the mean." They had an ulterior motive in doing so. As for those who used "going too far" as a pretext for undermining social, production and work order, they were not doing the right things.

We know that truth is pervasive and not one-sided. According to Marx, "any abstract and one-sided aspects take truth as being based on going to extremes, with the result that any principle manifests itself as something abstract separated from other things, and not as an entity." ("A Critique of Hegelian Philosophy," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 356) Since one-sidedness is basically wrong in the whole, it should be corrected. However, we should bear in mind that, although certain one-sided things have twisted the facts, they are always based on certain one-sided facts. Otherwise, why is it that people have been deceived by deceptive appeals to one-sided things? Hence, we should appropriately assess one-sided things when we struggle for truth and

correct one-sided mistakes, making sure that one-sidedness is eliminated and avoiding combating one-sidedness with one-sidedness. Making mistakes by going too far ideologically and in terms of method lies in the failure to assess one-sided things and in using one-sidedness to correct one-sidedness. As a result, the old one-sidedness is far from overcome, while a new one-sidedness has been engendered. This is going from one extreme to another.

There are many more manifestations of one-sidedness than the four loosely defined types. In sum, one-sidedness runs counter to dialectics, and Marxist dialectics is closely linked with materialism. If materialism is repudiated, it is quite natural that there will be no Marxist dialectics. If dialectics is repudiated, likewise there will be no thorough materialism. If one's plans and principles are based on one-sidedness, then many problems will be bogged down in subjectivist and idealist quagmires. In view of the historical experiences and lessons drawn from it, we should respect dialectics and make vigorous efforts to overcome and prevent metaphysical one-sidedness. Only by so doing can we truly proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, uphold the party's ideological line, be good at summing up experiences, overcome difficulties and do our work well.

II. Although the CCP follows dialectical materialism in formulating its ideological guidelines, communists have often been one-sided in their thinking and way of doing things. Sometimes they have developed serious symptoms of one-sidedness. How can these be reduced, overcome and eliminated?

To be one-sided in one's thinking, particularly in serious cases, has its social and class origins. Comrade Mao Zedong once observed that petty bourgeois revolutionaries were characterized by their zeal and one-sidedness. Since China had a predominantly petty bourgeois population, the petty bourgeois mentality inevitably was reflected in the party, with the symptoms of one-sidedness sometimes becoming extremely serious. To overcome and prevent such symptoms it was necessary to conduct unremitting struggle against petty bourgeois notions.

To be one-sided in one's thinking is closely related to people's interests, leanings and sentiments. Why is it that some people report only the good news and not the bad, exaggerate their own contributions and cover up their shortcomings? The reason is that they will sometimes win the leadership's confidence if they do so. As a result, they have better chances of promotion and filling responsible jobs. Why is it that some people care more for compliments than critical remarks? The reason is that correct remarks could undermine the superior's reputation, position, authority, status and views. Why is it that people are cautious in handling tough problems and weigh them from all aspects, and why do they become one-sided when results are satisfactory? The reason is that their sense of achievement abets conceit and one-sidedness. Why is it that some

people become one-sided in their views and are aware of it but do nothing about it? The reason is that to be one-sided in this respect will be in their own interests. To overcome one-sidedness it is therefore necessary to transform one's world outlook and strengthen party spirit. There is no other alternative.

To be one-sided in one's thinking likewise has its origin in knowledge. Materialist dialectics shows that man's knowledge of the objective world always follows a process, beginning from one aspect of things to another-- that is, from one aspect to all aspects. If in this process of knowing part of the whole is isolated and rendered absolute, then one-sidedness and ossification may develop. We should therefore avoid observing and handling problems on the basis of our own limited or fragmentary experience. In airing our views we should above all recognize our own limitations, think hard, listen to different opinions and take into consideration a number of options. Only in this way can we judge things correctly and reach correct conclusions.

Because of our limited knowledge, and particularly our lack of specialized knowledge, we are apt to develop one-sidedness. For example, political and administrative leaders do not understand problems concerning economic management, science, technology, literature and art, and so forth. Since they do not understand their special laws, they are apt to oversimplify problems and look upon them one-sidedly. Therefore, leading cadres should refrain from acting like armchair statesmen. Instead, they should become Red and expert, learn and master specialized knowledge, and strive to become professionals and experts in their own departments and units.

During the democratic revolution some comrades acquired extensive practical experience. Their profound knowledge of the particular laws governing the democratic revolution enabled them to apply dialectics in guiding work. As a result, they were not one-sided in their views. Why is it, then, that they were put to shame in tackling problems of socialist economic construction? An important reason is that for a long time they had not conducted systematic investigations and studies of economic problems. Their failure to understand the objective laws of socialist economic construction made them act without taking things into proper consideration. If a person is unclear about the true situation, and if his knowledge is limited, it will be impossible for him to make a correct assessment. Despite his determination to assess a situation about which he is unclear, his assessment inevitably will be subjective and one-sided.

Some comrades believe that the one-sidedness of grassroots cadres has been caused by their superiors. This argument makes sense. Generally speaking, cadres at a higher level have greater authority and can influence their subordinates to a very great extent. The prevalence of one-sidedness at the higher levels is bound to spill over to the lower levels. If the people above are bureaucratic and arbitrary in arranging tasks or

popularizing certain experiences, their subordinates, too, are apt to lapse into one-sidedness. For example, if those at a higher level are one-sided in formulating plans, fixing targets and arranging tasks, and if they do not pay attention to specific requirements in forcing their subordinates to get their jobs done, one-sidedness will be aggravated. If there are 30-percent symptoms of one-sidedness above, there will be at least 60 percent below. If the superiors think that what they say counts and if they lean to one side, the problems will be aggravated. Naturally, rash actions at the lower level and mechanical implementation of the directives issued by a higher level could also engender one-sidedness. To overcome such symptoms, both the higher and lower levels, particularly leading cadres, should take heed of the development. Those at a higher level are largely responsible for correcting this tendency.

To prevent leading cadres from becoming one-sided in their thinking, it is imperative that the principle of collective leadership be enforced. As a general rule, major problems should be discussed by a group before final decisions are made. This is to prevent individuals from transcending the organization and to do away with authoritarianism. Moreover, the leadership should follow the mass line, heed the masses and their views and be supervised by them. It is important that democracy within the party and among the people be promoted as fully as possible and that democratic centralism be implemented. It is also important that resorting to commandism and doing things in an oversimplified and rash way be done away with. Furthermore, the principle of "three don'ts" should be upheld. To correct the mistakes made by grassroots cadres, those at a higher level should set an example and assist their subordinates. Those at a lower level should not only be accountable to their superiors but also be responsible to the masses. In performing specific tasks, if those at a higher level ignore objective conditions and pay no attention to specific requirements, their subordinates should resist such acts, make suggestions and air their views to their superiors. They should refrain from following orders blindly and assuming no responsibility at all.

In sum, to overcome the symptoms of one-sidedness, unsparing efforts should be made. There is no room for lazybones and cowards in solving problems.

For a long time our party has suffered deeply from subjectivist and one-sided practices. It has learned a bitter lesson. In the new Long March toward achieving the modernization program, we should absorb historical experience and draw lessons from it. In straightening out the ideological line and striving to reduce subjectivism and one-sidedness, we should above all prevent aggravating one-sidedness by avoiding lengthy detours so that we can reach our destination smoothly.

CSO: 4004

STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK IN FACTORIES, MINES AND ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 36-38, 41

[Article by Lu Guwen [0712 0942 2429]]

[Text] Factories, mines and enterprises are important bases for bringing about socialist modernization. How to strengthen ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises is an important task placed before us in the new historical period.

We have now shifted into the orbit of economic construction, and, beyond any shadow of doubt, everything must center on the four modernizations, be subordinated to the four modernizations and serve the four modernizations. However, can the ideological and political work of the party be slackened or weakened? Facts have proved that this cannot be done. The examples of two mining teams under a certain mining administrative bureau can quite possibly explain the problem. One of the teams had fulfilled its production task every month for the previous 3 years and passed scores of quality inspection tests with outstanding results. However, after the piece-rate wage system was implemented, some of the leading comrades of the party branch of this team simplistically thought that they could stimulate the enthusiasm of the workers and make a success of production by relying on economic means. They therefore let up on ideological education, put a stop to labor emulation drives and relaxed labor management. Consequently, some of the young workers without family responsibilities did not show up for work the moment the piece work for each month reached a certain amount. Work attendance fell sharply, and for a month the team not only could not fulfill its production task but also failed the quality inspections. On the other hand, a newly established team, while implementing the piece-rate wage system, energetically strengthened ideological and political work at the same time. It summed up the thinking of the workers, educated everyone to make more contributions to the four modernizations by extracting more coal and organized the old workers to pass on ideological and technical experiences, give help and set an example for the young workers. The labor enthusiasm of the workers greatly improved, and for 2 months in a row they outstandingly

fulfilled their production task and overfulfilled the state plan by 40 percent. From this we can see that ideological and political work played not only a role but also a very important one. Practice has shown that any unit which upholds political and economic unity and, while energetically strengthening economic work, also pays attention to strengthening ideological and political work will more smoothly shift the work focus and implement the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving and successfully fulfill its production task. Conversely, any unit which weakens ideological and political work will have more difficulties in shifting the work focus and implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving, and its production task will be affected. Comrade Hua Guofeng recently pointed out: Political and ideological work can only be strengthened and cannot be weakened. This is entirely correct.

Strengthening ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises is the demand for realizing socialist modernization. Everyone knows that realizing the four modernizations is the overwhelming political task and the greatest politics. Guaranteeing the smooth progress of the four modernizations can in no way be separated from the political and ideological work of the party. In factories, mines and enterprises we must rely on ideological and political work to extensively instill Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the workers and propagate the line, principles and policies of the party, so that all will clearly understand the great significance of realizing the four modernizations, strengthen their conviction in realizing the four modernizations, arouse their enthusiasm and creativity in struggling for the four modernizations and translate the political line and policies of the party into conscious mass actions. The four modernizations is a widespread and profound revolution. Following the development of modernization, we must transform that part of the development of productive forces which does not conform to the relations of production and the superstructure. At the same time, we must also transform the thinking which does not conform to the management and activities. We must rely on ideological and political work to guarantee the socialist orientation of the factories, mines and enterprises, correctly handle the relations of various sectors, overcome various kinds of ideological resistance and insure the smooth progress of these reforms. The four modernizations must be carried out on the basis of objective economic laws, and economic means must be properly applied. However, economic laws have to be discovered, mastered and applied by people, and economic means must also be formulated and enforced by people. To do this we must rely on ideological and political work, educate people in the dialectical materialist method of thinking and method of work, mobilize them to actively study scientific, technical and vocational knowledge, raise their ideological consciousness and correct their method of thinking. People must improve their scientific and technical level and vocational working ability for the purpose of correctly discovering and applying economic laws and correctly adopting and enforcing economic measures. To realize the four

modernizations it is necessary to maintain a political situation of stability and unity. For this reason, we must politically and ideologically wage an unremitting struggle against phenomena that are injurious to stability and unity, use proletarian ideas to defeat bourgeois ideas and all ideas of the exploiting class, correctly deal with the two different kinds of contradictions, particularly those among the people, which are numerous, eliminate various disruptions and interference and guarantee an environment of stability and unity for socialist modernization. Realizing the four modernizations within the present century is a very arduous task. We must therefore strengthen ideological and political work, carry out education for the workers on giving play to the fine tradition of hard struggle, correctly handle the difficulties in the course of advance and the relations between developing production and improving livelihood, and guarantee the correct implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work." In building a high-level material civilization we must at the same time build a high-level spiritual civilization. To do this we must strengthen ideological and political work to carry out communist ideological education among the masses of workers in a guided and planned manner, energetically promote communist morality and customs, give play to the patriotic spirit and oppose the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and all the ideas of the exploiting class. In short, in the new historical period, only by strengthening ideological and political work centered on economic work can the factories, mines and enterprises fill the workers with enthusiasm for the cause of the four modernizations and arouse in them high socialist labor enthusiasm, so that they will dedicate their hearts and souls to the success of production and construction and the high-speed development of the productive forces.

To give play to the role of ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises we must further restore the fine tradition of the party's ideological and political work and develop it under the new historical condition. During the years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, ideological and political work was seriously disrupted. Now we must properly sum up the positive and negative aspects of this experience so that a change will take place in ideological and political work which is suited to the needs of economic construction.

We really must turn ideological and political work onto the course centering on the four modernizations. The key task of factories, mines and enterprises is developing production, increasing production and practicing economy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultra-leftist line and went in for class struggle on a big scale and political movements divorced from production. This hampered production and seriously interfered with and disrupted construction. At present, in order to completely break away from this kind of influence, we must consciously gear ideological and political work to the needs of production and the service and implementation of the four modernizations. However, because of the influence of historical factors and international conditions, class

struggle still exists in certain spheres. We must correctly carry out this kind of struggle according to the line, principles and policies of the party, bring all positive factors into play and make a success of the four modernizations.

Ideological and political work must adhere to the fine tradition and work style of seeking truth from facts. The most important "fact" at the moment is realizing Chinese-style modernization. The first thing we must do is to conscientiously make a success of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy and gradually put the national economy on the course of sustained and proportionate high-speed development. The evil practice of exaggerating, talking nonsense and telling lies whipped up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was a subjective idealist thing which should be criticized. We must proceed from this fact of the four modernizations, use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought for guidance, hold fast to practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, continue to emancipate our minds, study the problems in the process of the four modernizations, combine theory with practice, properly carry out ideological work among the workers with a definite goal in mind and unify their thinking on the basis of the political line of the party.

The ideological and political work of the factories, mines and enterprises must adhere to the mass line. This requires us to thoroughly understand the thinking, aspirations and demands of the masses and hold fast to the policy of "from the masses, to the masses." We must give full play to democracy, practice democratic enterprise management and realistically safeguard the democratic rights of the workers. At the same time, we must, in light of the thinking of the masses, make a success of propaganda and education work. Ideological and political work must take the mass line. First, this calls for joint efforts by the party and administrative organs and mass organizations within the factories, mines and enterprises. The party committees and administrative departments must do this along with such mass organizations as trade unions and youth leagues. Second, we must integrate the professional cadres with the masses. Not only must the professional cadres of the party and administration conscientiously do this, but they must fully mobilize the masses to do it together. Third, the enterprise, society and the family must be integrated. Not only must we carry out ideological and political work in the place of work, but we must also do so in the homes and among the families of the workers.

We must carry out ideological and political work in the course of economic and vocational work and in a sense integrate the two. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Ideological work and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic and technical work, and they serve the economic base. They must be carried out together with economic work and cannot be carried out in isolation. We must make the effort to integrate political work with economic and vocational work. This means,

first, carrying out ideological and political work throughout the processes of production, technical, management and administrative work, so that the workers will clearly understand the political significance of economic and production tasks. We must energetically help the enterprises to set up and strengthen their scientific production command system, insure the authority of production command and successfully eliminate ideological and operational resistance. Second, it means integrating political work with the implementation of the policies of the party. Various policies of the party, and particularly measures for implementing policies in industry and communications, should all be thoroughly propagated to the workers, so that they will not only know how but also why and consciously implement them. At the same time, we must promptly carry out education for the workers regarding the situation, so that they can bear in mind the interests of the overall situation and confidently contribute their efforts to socialist modernization. Third, we must integrate the personal interests of the masses and closely link the teaching of revolutionary theory with showing concern for the personal interests of the workers. From the improvement in their personal lives they will be able to understand the superiority of socialism and identify their personal interests with the overall interests. As a result, when contradictions appear between personal interests and the overall interests, they can consciously subordinate themselves to the overall interests. Fourth, we must integrate moral encouragements and material encouragements. We must conscientiously implement the principle of "to each according to his work and more pay for more work." Material encouragements are necessary, and we must give the people tangible interests. However, we definitely must pay attention to moral encouragements and cannot merely rely on material encouragements. People must have a bit of spirit, and the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle is always indispensable. In giving material encouragements we must also carry out ideological work. Only in this way can we change the condition of political and economic work and give full play to the positive role of ideological and political work.

The key to the success of ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises lies in strengthening party leadership. Party committees must list ideological and political work in their agenda and regard it as an important matter to grasp. Responsible cadres at various levels must lead the party and administration cadres, go deep into the basic units and among the masses for investigation and study and help those at the lower levels solve some of the problems on the basis of ascertaining the conditions. We must periodically study and discuss problems in ideological and political work and sum up and popularize the good experience in propaganda and education work. Whether the line, principles and policies of the party can be implemented and whether they can be properly implemented is to a great extent determined by the quality of ideological and political work at the basic units. Therefore, we must vigorously grasp the basic units so that ideological and political work can really be implemented in the workshops, technical offices, teams and groups.

The successful building of a political work contingent is an important link in strengthening ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, most of the political work cadres in varying degrees resisted and struggled against their type of so-called political work. They surmounted numerous difficulties and did a great deal of useful work. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" they have also done a great deal of ideological and political work and restored order out of chaos. However, at this important turning point in history it was not at all surprising that invariably there were some whose thinking could not keep up with the development of the situation. The responsibility of the leading members at present is to help them see clearly the new situation in the period of socialist modernization and the important position and role of political work, strengthen their sense of responsibility and honor in making a success of ideological and political work, overcome such pessimistic ideas as "the theory of coming to grief" and the "theory of being dangerous" and heighten their consciousness of doing a good job in ideological and political work. Leading comrades of party committees must pay attention to guiding the political work cadres in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the policies and principles of the party, in familiarizing themselves with economic and vocational work and in mastering the techniques of doing ideological and political work in the course of economic and vocational work.

We must strengthen education over the party and league members and bring their model pace-setting role into play. The power of ideological and political work comes mainly from two sources. One is arming the working people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, heightening their ideological consciousness, cultivating their revolutionary outlook on life and arousing their revolutionary enthusiasm. The other is relying on the model role of leading party committee cadres, political work cadres and party and league members, and this is a kind of regular and practical mobilization power. Mere talk and no action will only damage the prestige of political work. We must teach the party members to strictly observe the "Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life," give play to the style of working hard, bearing hardship first and seeking enjoyment later and having the courage to shoulder heavy burdens, and bring into play their hardcore and exemplary vanguard role in every sector of production and management as well as political and social life.

The cause of socialist modernization is a great, brandnew undertaking, and there will naturally be many problems requiring our exploration and solution in the course of advance. As the factories, mines and enterprises are important bases of modernization, many new conditions and problems will appear in their ideological and political work and will require us to continue investigating and summing up in practice our experiences in ideological and political work and enriching and developing these experiences. As long as we apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the dialectical unity of politics and economics and solve problems in practice by combining theory and practice, we believe that ideological and political work in factories, mines and enterprises will surely bring its full power into play in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4004

APPOINT PEOPLE ON MERIT--IMPRESSIONS AFTER READING WANG FUZHI'S 'REMARKS
ON READING ZIZHI TONGJIAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 39-41

[Article by Li Xin [2621 2946]]

[Text] In the widely acclaimed "Miscellaneous Poems of the Boar Year" written by Gong Zizhen [7895 5261 3791] of the Qing dynasty, these two lines have produced the strongest appeal:

"O Heaven! Bestir yourself, I beseech you,
And send down men of all the talents."

Far from expressing the author's general discontent, these lines, in my opinion, show his deep concern for world affairs, or his "planning for the state after sizing up the whole world." (Liang Qichao [3733 0796 6389], "General Academic Works of the Qing Dynasty") His main idea was that, in order to end the state of "10,000 horses standing mute," Heaven--the illustrious emperor and his capable ministers--should use people of all talents. There is no perfect man; even a man of talent has shortcomings. Instead of insisting on perfection, we should appoint people on merit, so that people can show their best and be taken full advantage of. In this way, people of talent will come forth in large numbers to offer their services, and society will be full of vitality.

The ardent hope that the emperor and his ministers would "know people's merit and appoint them accordingly" reflects the fine tradition of "appointing people on merit" in our nation. In his "Remarks on Reading ZIZHI TONGJIAN," Wang Fuzhi [3769 1133 0037] concluded that "anyone who is good at appointing people is invincible." This is undoubtedly true.

In this historical discourse, Wang Fuzhi summed up the experiences of and drew lessons from the rise and fall of dynasties and gave a brilliant exposition of the question, then current, of appointing people on merit. He held that "with an illustrious emperor in charge and capable officials helping him, even syncophants can turn loyal and the weak can turn strong. How can the country possibly run out of talents!" There may be many

people of talent around, but the way to know them thoroughly is not simple. He criticized Zhuge Liang [6175 5514 0081] for "appointing Li Yan [2621 0917], who later violated his disciplines, and Ma Shu [7456 6204], who later nullified his achievement." The fact that even such an intelligent man as Zhuge Liang could repeat his mistakes shows how difficult it is to know people thoroughly. "The Marquis [Zhuge Liang] was strict and meticulous"; he was by no means ignorant or presumptuous. It was precisely because of this that he could "detect any shortcoming and could not tolerate any flaw." Yet "intelligent and forthright people usually have certain shortcomings, just as gems are seldom without flaws. Not many gems can be entirely pure." In modern language there is no perfect man, because some defects are usually mixed with the merits. "People's defects are mostly linked with their superiority." ("Integrated Economic Plan," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 476) If we are unduly "meticulous in our scrutiny and strict in our demand," the result is that "people of talent will be abandoned because of their imperfection," and even if you "condescend to accept their services, they will not be appointed to positions commensurate with their ability." Some artful people can "pretend to be faultless in action and impeccable in speech" and find some way to win favor. As a victim of his deception, you cannot see his incompetence, yet you give him an important job. This obviously shows that you are not good at handling people.

Wang Fuzhi praised Cao Cao [2580 2347] as being more capable than Zhuge Liang in appointing people. He said: "Cao Mengde [Cao Cao] had great faith in his advisers, so resourceful people emerged in large numbers." Since "he could make full use of people's ability, many capable men flocked to his standard." However, Cao Cao still made one terrible mistake. "Since he attached greater importance to ability than to integrity, he failed to detect Sima Yi's [0674 7456 2034] treachery." Sima Yi originally was a petty officer in the Duchy of Wei. From such a low position he could never have aspired to the throne. "Sima Yi began his career as a clerk, and it was hard to believe that he was ambitious enough to usurp the throne." Just because Cao Cao and his son put him in an important position, his and his son's ambition later became "known to the men in the street." This was simply a case of "whetting his appetite and then giving him what he wanted." His historical discourse shows his deep insight.

We talk about the past for the sake of historical reference and making the past serve the present. Although the CCP's cadre line is different from that of the former ruling class, the cause of our party still demands the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution. Proceeding from Chinese realities, we should develop our fine national traditions, emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, study the new situation and solve new problems. At present the important problem confronting our cadre line is the selection and promotion of people. To do this we must be free from the restrictions of set patterns, established rules and personal judgment.

Being free from the restriction of set patterns does not mean the disregarding of personal integrity. On the other hand, it means the courage to break away from the old conventions and to select people of talent in a down-to-earth manner. We admire Cao Mengde's courage in discarding the old ideas of that age and his unequivocal stand as expressed by his remarks that "not all people of high integrity are necessarily acceptable, while of those who have been accepted, not all are of high integrity." ("Chronicle of Emperor Wu in the History of Wei," "Record of the Three Kingdoms") According to his policy, "any person of talent can be promoted to serve me" (Ibid.), regardless of his origin and possible shortcoming. However, we do not share his view that "integrity is important in times of peace, but ability is important in times of turmoil" (Ibid.), which sets integrity and ability against each other, and that "people who are in disgrace because of contemptible behavior, or who are unkind and undutiful, may still possess the art of ruling the country and commanding the army." (Ibid.)

Actually, there are many types of people with different characteristics and temperaments. Our feet can carry us over a long distance, and our strength can enable us to lift a heavy weight. All things, if properly used, can make their contributions. We do not agree with the practice of appointing people regardless of their integrity; however, we feel that they should not be rejected only because of certain shortcoming. Even waste matter can be utilized, and modern science and technology have convinced us that the so-called waste industrial residue, waste water and waste gas can be used as construction material or fuel. The same principle applies to the handling of people, because if we give them jobs according to their aptitude, we will be able to take full advantage of their merit. "If the authorities will supply the material, they can make use of it in their own way." (Ibid.) Then we will have many talented people.

Being free from established rules does not mean that we do not need any constitution or law. On the other hand, it means that our policy and methods must be consistent with realities and that we must conduct concrete analyses of concrete situations and comply with the demands of the age, the location and the subjective conditions. This was what Wang Fuzhi called "no set rule," as elaborated in these remarks: "In the frequent changes between ups and downs and between complexity and simplicity, we must be guided by the current situation instead of sticking fast to some set rules." Constitution and law are particularly necessary in public affairs. They are like the compasses and set squares we use to draw circles and squares or to chart courses to facilitate the flow of traffic. However, social affairs are apt to change, and different times, locations and conditions make it impossible for us to always abide by the same rule. In his criticism of the infantile disorder of the "leftists," Lenin said: "They were afraid of seeing the sharp break which objective conditions made inevitable and continued to repeat simple, routine and, at first glance, incontestable truths,

such as 'three is greater than two.'" ("Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 84) In handling our cadres under the new conditions we, too, have repeated the old methods. At present, when the focus of the work of the whole party has been shifted, we cannot select our cadres by following the old customs. As far as conditions are concerned, the stage of economic construction is different from the stage of war; therefore, we cannot use the same method in both stages. Similarly, in selecting cadres for accomplishing modernization, we must not hold the same view as we do in class struggle.

In his historical discourse, Wang Fuzhi criticized Dong Zhongshu's [5516 0112 5289] method of selection based on the recommendation of village officials, saying that Dong "was glad to follow the ancient people's example of selecting people according to the recommendation of village officials without carefully considering the matter in the light of current conditions," and that this "would bring harm to the government." He held that "the feudal laws of election cannot be enforced in the prefectures and counties," and that people could change along with the current conditions. He favored "selecting today's talented people to do today's work." In his opinion, "logic is immutable, but law should be flexible and adaptable to changing situations." The substance of his discourse may be out of date, yet it is still thought provoking.

Freedom from the restriction of personal judgment does not mean that personal insight is unnecessary or that people should blindly follow the majority. It actually means that the person who makes the choice should, instead of acting recklessly on the basis of his limited observation, solicit the opinions of others, analyze them and then make the decision. As Lenin said, "One must use one's own brain and be able to find one's bearings in each case." ("Leftwing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 50) In this way he will be neither arbitrary nor oversubmissive. During the Spring and Autumn Period the famous Qi Xi [4359 1153] was lauded for "recommending his enemy without trying to court favor, recommending his own son without considering the blood relationship, and recommending his favorite without favoritism." ("Anecdotes About Duke Dao of Jin From the Zuo Commentary") This man made a firm decision which shows his firm adherence to the principle of appointing people on merit. However, this decision, which was consistent with objective requirements, was a difficult one, although it may appear simple. What is particularly noteworthy is that he could forget personal enmity, take the risk of being suspected of nepotism and act without being sentimental.

Why is it difficult? Personal relations in society are very complex, and the constantly changing conditions make it difficult to fully grasp people's personal integrity. Furthermore, people's characteristics are not all the same, and ability cannot always be all-round. If the decision of choice is based on one person's judgment, it can certainly lead to a waste of talent. The knowledge of a leader, despite his outstanding

qualities, is only limited. While the variety of people's qualities is unlimited, a single person's resourcefulness can be exhausted. Therefore, the keen insight or broad observation of a single person is not enough. If people's merit is evaluated according to one person's judgment, the actual gain can only be little, but the loss may be tremendous. Furthermore, if the cadres' destiny had to depend on the leader's changing moods, history has shown that this would be a matter of life or death and of reward or punishment. When only one person has the say and the right to act arbitrarily, there cannot be any good result.

So far I have talked about the past for the reference of the present. On the important aspect of cadre line and policy, I venture to put forward this view:

We must be free from the restrictions of set patterns, established rules and personal judgment before we can know people's merit and appoint them accordingly.

(Note: Unattributed quotations are from "Remarks on Reading ZIZHI TONGJIAN.")

9411

CSO: 4004

MAKE AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO ENLIVEN LITERATURE AND ART OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 42-44

[Article by Yun Zhaoguang [0061 3564 0342]]

[Text] On the subject of learning from and implementing the spirit of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, a document from the Central Committee said: "Party committees at all levels should attach importance to and strengthen their leadership over the culture and art of the minority nationalities in order to develop and enliven them." Here I would like to present some preliminary views on enlivening minority literature and art in the light of realities in the Nei Mongol Autonomous Region.

Revolutionary Mongolian literature and art was developed under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum of Literature and Art." After the publication of the "Talks," militant literature and art gradually appeared in Yanan and the liberated areas of Nei Mongol. The full-length opera "Resistance," reflecting the Mongolian people's opposition to Guomindang rule in Ih Ju League; the Yanggo opera "Delivering State Grain"; and the dramas "To Yanan" and "Look for the 8th Route Army," all written in the Mongolian national form, have been staged in Yanan. In the Yunnan Concert Hall we could frequently hear the delightful melodies of Mongolian folk songs sung by people of the grassland. Furthermore, there have been many folk dances and ballet performances based on the reform of the temple fairs, as well as artistic works depicting the experiences of the Mongolian people in the revolution. During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the years of hard fighting in the war of liberation, many minority literary and art workers and their Han counterparts who shared their common cause went deep into scenes of struggle and produced many literary and artistic works which played the militant role of "uniting and educating the people and attacking and destroying the enemy."

In the first 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic, Mongolian literature and art underwent a vigorous development. Under the

brilliance of the party's nationality policy, many new Mongolian literary and art workers have matured since the 1950's, and a large number of fine works have continued to emerge. The song and dance ensemble of this autonomous region, representing China, has given performances abroad, while some vocalists and dancers have won gold medals in the world youth festivals. They have all won glory for the multinationality motherland. Mongolian literary and art workers have often participated in art festivals in the capital and been cordially received by Comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. In 1957 the first Ulanmuqi, or Red Cultural Caravan, was born in the Nei Monggol grassland. Premier Zhou often saw the performances, received the caravan members and highly praised them. On the initiative of Premier Zhou and Vice Premier Chen Yi, these caravans toured many parts of China, including the hinterland and the frontier regions, covering a total distance of some 150,000 li and giving performances wherever they went. The red caravans, as small groups with light packs, were quite adaptable to the vast countryside or herding areas on the frontiers, where the population is small and communication is inconvenient. They were also an innovation in carrying forward the fine traditions of the Red Army, the 8th Route Army and the PLA propaganda teams in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and in popularizing literature and art among the broad masses. The autonomous region party committee has for many years taken great interest in their growth and development and given them warm support. Now the number of these caravans has nearly doubled, and the quality of their performances has continued to improve on the basis of popularization.

One painful experience is that during the 10 years of national catastrophe the literature and art workers in Nei Monggol were severely persecuted. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brutally attacked the Mongolian cadres and people and brought such trumped-up charges against them as "national separatism" and producing "literature of national betrayal" with a view to destroying the fine Mongolian revolutionary literature and art. Nearly all the writers and artists of the minority nationalities were slandered and persecuted. Many of them were trampled underfoot, and some of them even lost their precious lives. These lessons, learned at the cost of blood, must never be forgotten.

In the 3 years and more since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the third plenary session of the party, literature and art has flourished, along with the fundamental change in the political situation of the party and the state. The literary and art contingent is now more united and strengthened after the criticism of the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the redress of wrongs and the rehabilitation of people who had been unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged and sentenced. Thanks to the emancipation of the mind and the conscientious implementation of the "Double Hundred" policy and the "Three Don'ts" principle [Don't seize on other's faults, don't stigmatize others and don't hit out at others with a big stick], an enlivening spectacle began to take shape. In subject matter, plots and

styles, literary and art creation has now become more diversified. Explorations into literary and art theories, literary and art criticism, and the collection and arrangement of and research on minority classical and folk literature have also flourished. Since the fifth plenary session of the party the literary and art workers in the autonomous regions, along with the people throughout the country, have felt more sure of their orientation and become more openminded. They have also decided to make new contributions to the socialist literature and art through their own hard work and pioneering efforts in the literary and art field.

Of course, in all undertakings contradictions or problems of one kind or another will be encountered, even under conditions of normal development. Minority literature and art is no exception. While affirming the achievements, we should also note the defects or shortcomings and properly overcome them in practice. Only thus can we maintain our constant advance. Based on this understanding, I believe that the following problems should be solved in enlivening and developing minority literature and art.

First, we must show concern for and attach importance to minority literature and art and handle them properly.

Our motherland is a united socialist country with many nationalities. This feature is apparent not only in the political and economic spheres but particularly in the cultural aspect. The literature and art of all nationalities must be developed before our socialist literature and art as a whole can flourish. Yet, because of some old ideas left over by history or certain defects in the actual implementation of the party's nationality policy, the need for minority literature and art usually has been overlooked. People of certain cultural departments do not go deep into the minority nationality areas to become acquainted with the situation, and they pay no attention to the discovery, arrangement and study of the fine and rich minority cultural heritage. Even though they may go there occasionally, the purpose of their trips seems to be mere novelty hunting, so that as soon as something is obtained they quickly depart. Little attention is paid to cultural activities or entertainment for the frontier and herding areas or to the popularization of literature and art, with the result that the minority masses cannot have enough nourishment for the mind. Furthermore, there has been insufficient support for creative work in minority literature and art, and some people even discriminate against them as being "inferior" or "crude." Although these are not the main and common features, they nevertheless deserve our attention. It must be noted that historically economic and cultural development in the minority nationality areas has been rather backward. For this reason it is even more necessary for us to pay attention and, in some cases, give priority consideration to the support and cultivation of their literature and art. Only thus can we help their rapid and healthy development.

Secondly, in enlivening minority literature and art we must integrate the emancipation of the mind with the upholding of the four basic principles.

Emancipating the mind and upholding the four basic principles are identical. The same theory applies to minority literature and art. We strongly feel that their writers and artists should have full freedom in choosing to write about whatever they are familiar with. We oppose arbitrary orders and needless interference; however, we do not mean that party leadership is unnecessary. We advocate the development of democracy in literature and art and the enforcement of the "Three Don'ts" principle, but leadership, demands and criticism are still necessary. We favor emancipation of the mind and explorations and debates in literature and art, but we must not overlook the disciplines of propaganda and their social effects. If emancipating the mind and upholding the four principles are separated or even set against each other, it will be damaging to the cause of literature and art. In this respect, the basic idea expounded in Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" still serves as the correct policy for the development of literature and art among all nationalities.

Thirdly, based on the realities in minority nationality areas, literature and art with rich and strong national quality and flavors should be created.

China is formed of more than 50 fraternal nationalities, each of which has its own customs, ways of thinking, sentiments, linguistics and so forth, all combining to form the trait or style of minority literature and art. The use of national forms to express the content of socialist ideology is required in creating the gratifying spectacle of a hundred flowers in full bloom in our multinational field of literature and art. This is the key to a flourishing minority literature and art in the new historical period.

Revolutionary literature and art on minority subject matters are the outcome of the reflection of the conditions of daily life of the minority people in the brains of the revolutionary writers. Therefore, without going deep into the life experiences of these people and without maintaining close contact with them it will be impossible to produce any literary and artistic work which can effectively reflect their struggles and retain their national flavor. At present there are still many problems and shortcomings in the literary and artistic works reflecting the minority people's life experience of struggle. In some of these works the characters, costumes and certain customs depicted may be genuine representations of minority life, yet from the personal habits and traits and the inner world of the characters presented we cannot detect any national flavor. Some literary and artistic works have been based on assumptions. For example, it is the habit of Mongolian herdsmen to mount their horses on the right side, yet they are shown mounting on the left. Again, Tibetan peasants do not eat fish, yet they are shown treating their guests to a plate of fish. This poses a sharp question, namely,

the need for literary and art workers to go deep into the minority nationality areas to observe their lifestyle and their ways of struggle and to learn from these people. This problem exists in varying degrees among both Han authors writing on minority topics and minority authors themselves. In the 30 years since the liberation there have been phenomenal economic and cultural developments in the minority nationality areas. Yet compared with the country's interior they are still backward and their people still suffer hardship. All writers and artists having the lofty aspiration of enlivening minority literature and art should cherish a warm love of the party and the socialist motherland and overcome the difficulties by unconditionally and wholeheartedly joining the minority masses on a long-term basis. They should share every weal and woe with them and learn from their literary and artistic heritage. From this heritage they can draw rich ideological and artistic nourishment for creating literary and artistic work with rich national flavor and content.

Fourthly, literary and art workers should use the correct historical materialistic viewpoint in reflecting the militant life of the minority nationalities.

One of the important tasks for minority literature and art (including the work of Han writers using the way of life in the minority nationalities as their subject matter) is the use of the historical materialistic viewpoint in correctly portraying national relations and in disseminating the ideas of national equality in order to promote national unity. There are quite a few problems in this respect which call for serious and in-depth exploration and study.

In the long process of historical development, all nationalities which combine to form the Chinese nation have their own historical heroes who deserve to be glorified in literature and art. Genghis Khan was one of them. At the time of Genghis Khan the Mongolian nationality was at a historical stage in which the primitive society was disintegrating and the feudal system was just beginning. He unified China with the sword and laid a firm foundation for the Yuan dynasty. An outright rejection of Genghis Khan, who was one of history's outstanding politicians and military geniuses, simply because of the devastations of war is obviously inconsistent with the historical materialistic approach or the Marxist national concept. The book "Secret History of Mongol" is a literary work of great value and is full of praise for Genghis Khan. Yet for many years it has received hardly any notice. I feel that this is not correct. Hereafter, in literary and artistic works portraying minority historical figures we should use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods, seek truth from facts and restore the true form of history. This will be helpful to national solidarity and will enable all nationalities to take the socialist road of common development.

There are also some problems with literary and artistic works reflecting the realities of life in the minority areas. For example, in some works the Han cadres are portrayed as "superhuman" or as "saviors" who seem to be infallible, because they always appear at the most critical moment to save the situation. Minority heroes, though included in such works, are usually depicted as naive, crude and requiring a long process of education. Some works even distort the history of the revolutionary struggle of minority nationalities or lack a truthful and typical historical background; they thus fail to correctly express the role of party leadership and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the minority masses. These problems should be carefully studied and solved.

It must be mentioned that the above problems with literary and artistic creation among the minority nationalities, compared with the great achievements in the 17 years [before the Great Cultural Revolution] and the 3 years and more [after it], are, after all, only minor issues of secondary importance. All these questions can be solved gradually through exploration and practice. The downfall of the "gang of four" has ushered in the spring of hope for socialist literature and art. The minority literary and art workers are full of confidence in the future and are determined to carry on the struggle to further enrich the socialist literary and art treasure house of our country, which is formed of many minority nationalities.

9411

CSO: 4004

ON DISARMAMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 pp 45-48

[Article by Yan Fa [0917 3127]]

[Text] The 1980's were declared to be the second "disarmament decade" by the UN General Assembly. However, just as China's representatives recently pointed out at a meeting of the disarmament committee in Geneva, in the earliest days of the second "disarmament decade" "people did not hear the sound of peace but the rumble of gunfire of armed invaders. This is an ill omen." Because of this, people are concerned about the way to struggle for disarmament and safeguard world peace.

A prominent issue in the current struggle for disarmament is the disarmament fraud and plot of the superpowers, particularly of the Soviet Union. People still remember that the Soviet leaders once suggested "turning swords into plowshares" and "building a world of three no's-- no weapons, no armies and no wars." The Soviet Union and the United States announced at the United Nations their joint statement of principles on complete disarmament and proposed a draft treaty on complete disarmament. They also produced other disarmament documents consisting of a multitude of items. The Soviet Union took part in bilateral talks to limit strategic weapons, in Central European regional disarmament talks and in talks held by the Geneva Disarmament Commission and suggested the convening of an international disarmament conference. It attempted to create a "disarmament banner" for itself through these activities. However, what was the result? It did not "turn swords into plowshares," but replaced butter with guns, spent more than 10 percent of its GNP on armament expansion and established the largest "superarsenal" in the world. In the past 10 years and more it has increased the number of its strategic missiles and nuclear warheads many times, of its tanks by more than 10,000, and of its military aircraft by several thousand and has boosted its naval fleet by a big margin. The quality of its weapons has been improved, and its armed forces have been increased by more than 1 million men. The grim facts show that it is impossible to make progress in disarmament without frustrating the false disarmament of the Soviet hegemonists.

The false disarmament of the Soviet hegemonists is not a simple, expedient policy. It has been carefully designed according to the changes in their military strength and their foreign policy needs. The Soviet Union once vigorously trumpeted complete and total disarmament. However, when it wanted to restrain other people by means of partial disarmament, it cried for "partial disarmament" and stressed that it aimed at "concrete achievements." The Soviet Union once opposed national liberation wars and made the exaggerated claim that a single spark could cause a nuclear war. However, when it wanted to launch its "global offensive" and expand in the Third World, it stressed that "military detente should not be interpreted as not supporting national liberation movements." Such were its tactics.

To carry out false disarmament, the Soviet Union has also signed treaties with other countries to deceive and restrain them. It boasted that it had made more than 70 proposals on disarmament. However, were these proposals really beneficial to disarmament? If we carefully analyze these proposals, treaties it took part in formulating or draft treaties it suggested, we can see that these were nothing but restrictions on other countries.

Take, for example, the nuclear disarmament vigorously played up by the Soviet Union. After a large number of nuclear tests were carried out in the atmosphere, the Soviet Union and the United States signed the partial test ban treaty in 1963. However, this treaty did not prohibit underground nuclear tests. After repeated underground nuclear tests, they signed the treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear tests in 1974. However, this treaty did not prohibit underground nuclear tests of less than 150,000 ton-grade. Two years later the Soviet Union and the United States signed the treaty on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. The treaty prohibited nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes of over 150,000 ton-grade but stipulated that such explosions could be conducted after bilateral consultations. Since there were technical difficulties in distinguishing between nuclear tests for peaceful purposes and those for testing weapons, these clauses in the treaty allowed the two countries to conduct nuclear tests under the pretext of nuclear tests for peaceful purposes. This shows that such treaties were signed in keeping with the actual needs of the armaments race of the superpowers. Which treaty really prevented them from conducting nuclear tests to improve and perfect nuclear weapons? The treaty on nuclear nonproliferation signed in 1968 imposed extremely harsh restrictions on nonnuclear signatory countries. The Soviet Union announced one-sidedly that the treaty had become "international law" and attempted to impose it on nonsignatory countries. Soviet leaders proclaimed that "nuclear nonproliferation has become an important principle of international law." "Even nonsignatory countries should take it into consideration." However, this treaty only stipulated that the nuclear powers should commit themselves to hold "sincere talks" rather than actually reduce their nuclear weapons. It did not affect their nuclear expansion. The treaty on the noninstallation of nuclear weapons on the seabed in 1972 stipulated that nuclear weapons and launching equipment should not be installed on the seabed,

but it did not touch upon the submarines which were then moving about. Thus, Soviet nuclear submarines armed with guided missiles could freely intrude into one place or another. The draft treaty on safeguarding the security of nonnuclear countries put forward by the Soviet Union in 1978 stipulated that nuclear weapons should not be used against nonnuclear signatory countries which did not produce or seek to produce nuclear weapons. That is to say, nuclear weapons could be used against countries which would not sign the treaty or assume the role proposed by the Soviet Union. Under the pretext of safeguarding the security of nonnuclear countries, this treaty actually strengthened the nuclear monopoly and threatened countries which opposed nuclear monopoly by the Soviet Union.

Let us once again look at the Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks. In 1972 the two countries advanced the "principle of equitable security" in the treaty to limit antimissile missiles. In 1974 their agreement to limit strategic weapons stipulated a "ceiling" for strategic missiles. What were the so-called "principle of equitable security" and "ceiling"? In fact, they were rules governing the next Soviet-U.S. arms race. The stipulated "ceiling" greatly exceeded the actual number of missiles they possessed. Such rules were no new creation. Before World War II the armament of German, Italian and Japanese fascism was rapidly being developed while armament talks were demanding "equitable armament" and stipulating various armament ratios. In the 1970's the Soviet Union was shielded by the "principle of equitable security" and the limitations on strategic weapons when it successfully caught up with and surpassed the United States. No wonder the Soviet Union vigorously played up "the principle of equitable security" and boasted that the "duty to limit strategic weapons" is "the most important international law."

Analyzing the foreign policy of the tsarist Russian government, Engels pointed out that one of its characteristics was the "use of restrictive clauses in international law to undermine Britain's naval superiority." ("Foreign Policy of the Tsarist Russian Government," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 28) The Soviet Union is still trumpeting that "disarmament is a principle of international law." It aims at formulating some restrictive clauses in international law to undermine its opponent's strength and the defensive capabilities of medium-sized and small countries. However, the disarmament fraud of the Soviet Union cannot be concealed. It will gradually be exposed. In their speeches at the UN special session on disarmament the leaders of some countries said: "No one will agree if some people intend to engage in hegemonistic politics by controlling armaments under the pretext of peace or intend to establish a discriminatory class system in international law." It was precisely such a "discriminatory class system" that the Soviet Union wanted to establish in the international law on disarmament.

The above-mentioned facts show that false disarmament is the major obstacle to genuine disarmament. Only when we expose the various tricks of the Soviet Union's false disarmament can we pave the way for genuine disarmament.

Historical lessons on disarmament are still fresh in people's minds. From modern history we can see that disarmament and armament expansion always went together. Before World War I the European powers were armed to the teeth. The people at that time strongly demanded and waged struggles for disarmament. However, all efforts to achieve disarmament and oppose war were futile. World War I finally broke out. After the war, various imperialist powers were involved in a new armaments race. To deceive the people and impose restrictions on their opponents, they simultaneously conducted some "disarmament" activities--the Washington conference in 1922, the London conference on limiting naval armament in 1930 and 1935, the series of disarmament talks held by the League of Nations and the 1932 international disarmament conference in Geneva which more than 60 countries attended. However, while holding disarmament talks the fascist aggressor countries were expanding their armaments. Less than two decades after World War I, World War II broke out. The superpowers are currently conducting another armaments race. The Soviet hegemonists in particular are accelerating their military expansion. They are gaining superiority over their opponents. The armaments race has become more dangerous under new historical conditions, particularly since the production of nuclear missiles. The amount of money and manpower consumed in the armaments race is more alarming and the struggle for disarmament and safeguarding peace more necessary than at any other time in the past.

Historically the struggle for disarmament has never stopped the expansion of armaments, and two world wars finally broke out. Imperialism was the cause. During imperialist times the powers tried to pursue expansionism and crush their opponents through armaments expansion. They invariably launched aggressive wars to scramble for hegemonism and divide the world, which led to the world wars.

The danger of a new war is growing. However, there are also possibilities to delay a war and favorable conditions for disarmament and safeguarding peace.

The vast numbers of people are the direct victims of the armaments race and the war policies of the superpowers. In peacetime the people bear the heavy burden of providing for soldiers and paying taxes. In war they are the first to suffer. The superpowers' armament expansion is severely threatening the security, independence and economic development of medium-sized and small countries. Therefore, people of all countries strongly oppose the armaments race and the war policies pursued by the superpowers.

The people of all countries have a better understanding and consciousness of the nature of Soviet aggression and expansion and the danger of a new war. The world is becoming more and more united in opposing Soviet hegemonism. The people have strongly protested against the Soviet aggressors, particularly since the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan

by Soviet troops. Many countries have applied economic, technological and diplomatic sanctions against the Soviet aggressors. Soviet hegemonists have become more isolated than ever and will meet with greater difficulties and setbacks in their future armaments expansion, aggression and expansion.

We must realize the significance of the rise of the Third World countries. They have struggled hard to achieve disarmament and to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace. More and more Third World countries have realized the danger of armaments expansion and the aggressive policies pursued by the superpowers. Some have clearly pointed out: "The intensification of the armaments race is actually caused by the superpowers' scrambling for world hegemony and for control over the destiny of other countries. To make progress in disarmament we must end their scramble." Obviously, only if we resolutely oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers, particularly that of the very aggressive Soviet Union, can we create favorable conditions to safeguard world peace and strive for disarmament.

At the first summit conference held in 1961 the nonaligned countries suggested that the United Nations hold a special session on disarmament and maintained that "nonaligned countries should take part in all international disarmament talks." As the strength of the Third World countries grows, they will play a more important role in international struggles and exert more influence in the international struggle for disarmament. At the suggestion of nonaligned countries and other medium-sized and small countries, the United Nations held a special session on disarmament in 1978 and the first meeting of the UN disarmament committee in 1979. The reorganized committee on disarmament in Geneva will continue to hold meetings. These disarmament meetings reflect the desire of medium-sized and small countries to play a positive role. They demanded that new disarmament principles and overall plans be formulated, disarmament organizations be reorganized, the Soviet-U.S. cochairmanship be abolished and the member countries take turns holding the chairmanship. They emphasized that the superpowers should assume "special duties" in disarmament. Some countries even pointed out that "it is a cunning method" to "shift their duty onto the majority of the countries which have the minimum of defensive arms." Some countries revealed that the Soviet-U.S. joint statement of principle on complete and total disarmament and the corresponding draft treaty put forward by the Soviet Union are merely "scraps of paper" and that the partial test ban treaty is "entirely useless" for disarmament. "Those treaties which preserved special privileges for some countries and discriminated against others are unjust." Many countries have made reasonable suggestions. They have suggested that nonnuclear zones be established in Africa and the Middle East and a zone of peace be set up in the Indian Ocean. They oppose the superpowers' expanding their spheres of influence in that zone. They have also demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops. They are currently taking an active part in the struggle for disarmament and cracking down on the superpowers' fraud in disguising their contention for hegemonism by controlling disarmament and by false

disarmament. They are integrating this struggle with the struggle to oppose the policies of war and aggression implemented by hegemonists and to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and security of all countries. They are also making contributions to genuinely safeguarding world peace through the struggle for disarmament.

The current source of war is imperialism and social imperialism. The imperialist and social imperialist superpowers maintain huge armies to suppress the people's resistance at home, to carry out policies of aggression and expansion abroad and to strive for world hegemony. Only when we have eliminated the source of war can we finally solve the problem of disarmament. Before that day comes, all peace-loving countries have the right to maintain and strengthen their own defensive capabilities to deal with the daily increasing threat of hegemonistic aggression and war and to safeguard state sovereignty, national independence and world peace. Therefore, to solve the problem of disarmament we must oppose the arms expansion and war preparations of hegemonists and reduce the superpowers' huge stockpile of armaments. The superpowers must take the lead in disarmament. This is a basic principle of disarmament. Nuclear countries which possess the largest nuclear arsenals should take the lead in reducing nuclear weapons. This should be the first indispensable step in nuclear disarmament. We must attach equal importance to and integrate the disarmament of conventional and nuclear weapons. The superpowers that possess the largest military arsenals should assume special duties in the disarmament of conventional weapons. We must persist in the struggle for disarmament, reveal the danger of a new war which the superpowers may wage and mobilize the people of the world to contain and undermine the activities of arms expansion and war preparations conducted by the hegemonists. This will play a positive role in postponing a world war and in safeguarding world peace.

CSO: 4004

ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE WRITING AND COMPILATION OF LOCAL CHRONICLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 p 49

[Letter from reader Liu Weiyi [0491 4885 3010]]

[Text] Local chronicles are an important cultural legacy of our country. They provide comprehensive and detailed descriptions of the construction projects, changes, demarcation of areas, mountains, rivers, mountain passes, ferry crossings, historical sites, monasteries, products, feudal land tax, disasters, customs, officials, personalities, literature and art, as well as historical data for the natural and social sciences. They are praised as the "book of comprehensive knowledge" and the "encyclopedia of a region." Zhang Xuecheng [4545 1331 6134] of the Qing dynasty highly regarded the role of local chronicles and said that they could "fill the gaps in history, rectify historical errors, supply details to sketchy historical accounts and continue the narration of what history has left unfinished." Therefore, people have always attached importance to the writing and compilation of local chronicles.

The "Description of Nanyang Scenery" compiled at the bidding of Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han dynasty has been called the earliest representative work of local chronicles. In the age of Daye in the Sul dynasty the emperor "called on all regions in the country to describe their local customs, productions and topography in the form of books." This was the beginning of the writing and compilation of local chronicles in response to the call of the central authorities. In the Tang dynasty it was decreed that the local chronicles of every prefecture and county, mainly consisting of maps, be revised every 3 years. Following the Tang system, the Song dynasty decreed that "the maps should be brought up to date every leap year." During the reigns of Kangxi, Yongcheng and Qianlong the emperors issued edicts on many occasions stipulating the revision and compilation of these chronicles and decreed that the provinces, prefectures and counties should revise their own chronicles every 60 years. This brought about the appearance of local chronicles not only in provinces, prefectures and counties but also in many fairly large townships. The local chronicle was then at the zenith of its popularity. After the 1911 Revolution, Lu Xun compiled his "Collection

of Anecdotes of Huiji County," Wang Guowei [3769 0943 4850] compiled his "Zhejiang General Chronicle," and Huang Yanpei [7806 3508 1014] compiled his "Chronicle of Chuansha County." These are all well-known local chronicles in the People's Republic.

According to preliminary statistics, there are now more than 8,500 types of local chronicles in our country, and more than 80 percent of them were written and compiled during or before the Qing dynasty. No local chronicle has been produced in the vast majority of provinces and counties in the past seven or eight decades, and the outlook for this time-honored tradition of writing and compiling local chronicles is precarious. To change this situation, in 1958 Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the compilation of local chronicles, and Comrade Zhou Enlai also instructed that the economic, scientific and technological data for local chronicles be systematically compiled, so that we could make the past serve the present. In 1959 he again inquired about the compilation of these chronicles and gave this directive to the Bureau of State Archives: "Collect all the local chronicles, old and new." Thanks to the attention of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, Sichuan, Hunan, Hubei, Gansu, Qinghai and other provinces set up special organs for compiling provincial chronicles, and more than 150 counties also did the same for their own. However, all these works died an untimely death in the 10-year rampage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Now should be the time for the work of writing and compiling local chronicles to be included in the agendas of the leading organs at the provincial, prefectural and county levels, as well as in the field of historical study.

In the past seven or eight decades our revolution has passed through many different stages, and phenomenal changes have occurred in various localities. Therefore, the compilation by the localities of new local chronicles with correct viewpoints, rich content and systematic arrangements should help "guide our future with past experiences." This not only is necessary for the four modernizations but also will be a tremendous achievement which will last throughout eternity. If we do not attend to this job while the revolutionaries of the older generation, who know what has actually happened, still remain, or if we have to wait a few more years, it may not be possible for us to collect many valuable first-hand data. The work of writing and compiling such chronicles will be much harder, because these data, once lost, can never be recovered. Local chronicles will become blank while they are entrusted to our care. Then how shall we account for this blank to our posterity?

If the exploiting classes in history can preserve a continuity of local chronicles, why cannot we, the proletariat, produce new local chronicles with historical materialism as our guiding thought? This is a crucial issue which deserves the great attention of the leaders at various levels. They should consider the writing and compiling of local chronicles their unshirkable responsibility which must be well attended to. The masses should be aroused and all available forces mobilized to do this job well. Only thus can we make the writing and compilation of local chronicles a success.

9411

CSO: 4004

86

EARLY SPRING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Wen Ke [2429 4430]]



初春 (木刻)

文科

CSO: 4004

END



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT THE DIRECTOR