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RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1980

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7 October 1980

CHINA REPORT**RED FLAG**

No. 15, 1 August 1980

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

CONTENTS

Marshal Ye Refers to Us as Young Tigers (inside front cover) (Zhang Zhenggang).....	1
Firmly Implement the Directives of the Central Authorities and Carry Out Well the Work in Xizang (pp 2-8) (Yang Jingren).....	2
Proceed From Reality To Quicken Mechanization in Agriculture (pp 9-12) (Zhao Dezun).....	15
A Visit to Northern Shaanxi--Preliminary Survey on Building Livestock Breeding and Forestry Bases on the Loess Plateau (pp 13-18) (Ren Fengping).....	24
It Is Imperative To Energetically Encourage the Practice of Investigation and Study (pp 19-23) (Ma Zhongyang).....	36
A Brief Account of Scientific and Technological Developments (pp 24-33) (Qian Sanqiang, et al.).....	46
Close Attention Should Be Paid To Achieving Economic Results (pp 34-37) (Chen Jiyuan).....	63
Apply the Method of Democratic Recommendation in Promoting Middle-Aged and Young Cadres (pp 38-40) (Kaifeng Municipal CCP Committee).....	71

In Dealing With the Cadres, We Should Not Just Hem and Haw But Must Impose Stern Demands on Them (pp 41-43) (Yue Ping).....	77
A Random Talk on the 'Theory of Material Benefit' (pp 42-44) (Jun Qi).....	80
Commenting on the Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea 'Special Federation' Advocated by the Le Duan Clique (pp 45-48, 33) (Tan Shi).....	84
We Should Welcome Frank Words (p 49) (Sha Qin, et al.).....	92
The Pamirs in Snowstorm (inside back cover) (Ye Yuzhong).....	94

MARSHAL YE REFERS TO US AS YOUNG TIGERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 inside front cover

[Water color painting by Zhang Zhenggang [1728 2973 0474]]



FIRMLY IMPLEMENT THE DIRECTIVES OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES AND CARRY OUT WELL THE WORK IN XIZANG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 2-8

[Article by Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088]]

[Text] In April the party Central Committee issued a "Circular on Transmitting 'The Summary of a Discussion of Work in Xizang.'" In May Hu Yaobang, CCP general secretary, and Wan Li, secretary of the Secretariat, led a central work team to make an inspection tour of Xizang. They issued many important orders on the work in Xizang. The broad masses of Xizang were elated, saying that the speeches of Comrades Hu Yaobang and Wan Li completely tallied with the actual conditions in Xizang. They also regarded the directives of the Central Committee as a milestone in the work in Xizang. In the spirit of the directives issued by the Central Committee, I have conducted an investigation and inspection in Xizang. The following are seven areas of work in Xizang:

1. Several Major Decisions Made by the Central Committee on the Work in Xizang Over the Past 30 Years

The "Circular on Transmitting 'The Summary of a Discussion of Work in Xizang'" put forth eight principles, and Comrade Hu Yaobang spoke of six important things in order to perform the strategic task of achieving prosperity for Xizang within 10 years. This is an important decision of the party Central Committee on the work in Xizang. It has been supported wholeheartedly by the people and cadres of all nationalities in Xizang. However, a small number of people still do not have a good understanding of this decision, and some are even skeptical about it. Therefore, we must continue to conduct propaganda, education and explanatory work. We must review the major decisions made over the past 30 years by the Central Committee on the work in Xizang so that we can have a better understanding of the recent decision.

The first major decision: The principle of peaceful liberation of Xizang was formulated in 1951. Implementation of this principle would be beneficial to reducing the severe barriers among nationalities formed over a

long historical period. It was in keeping with the aspirations of the people of the Zang nationality, the patriotic nationalities and the people of upper religious circles who favored the peaceful liberation of Xizang. However, the regional government of Xizang did not respond to this principle when it was first implemented. The PLA had no alternative but to enter and garrison Qamdo to propagate the party's policies and accelerate the peaceful liberation. Later the Xizang Regional Government changed its mind. In May 1951 it sent representatives to Beijing to sign an "Agreement of the Central People's Government and Xizang Regional Government on the Peaceful Liberation of Xizang" with representatives of the Central People's Government. Xizang was then peacefully liberated. It returned to the embrace of the motherland. This strengthened the unification of the motherland and unity among the nationalities of the country.

The second major decision: After the peaceful liberation of Xizang, the Central Committee formulated a prudent and moderate principle and decided not to carry out democratic reforms in Xizang during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. This was because Xizang was a special national region. It had more national characteristics than the interior and other minority national regions in the border areas. Moreover, severe nationality barriers existed at that time. We therefore had to adopt moderate policies instead of any other policies. Moreover, to carry out democratic reforms we needed to be provided with specific conditions. During the early postliberation period we lacked such conditions in the upper echelons, and the masses lacked a high level of consciousness and organization. The Central Committee therefore decided not to carry out any reforms during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. It was only the rebellion that occurred later which educated the masses and heightened their level of consciousness and accelerated the reforms.

The third major decision: When the armed rebellion occurred in Xizang in 1959, the Central Committee decided to put it down in order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and protect the interests of Xizang serfs. It also decided to carry out peaceful reforms in areas where rebellion did not occur and to adopt the policy of redemption toward feudal lords who did not rebel.

Marx and Engels once talked about the policy of redemption toward the bourgeois class. Lenin also thought of adopting this policy after the October Revolution. However, for various reasons he did not carry it out. Our party applied this policy successfully not only toward the bourgeois class but also toward the feudal lord class in Xizang which did not rebel. This was an important development of and contribution to Marxism.

The fourth major decision: In April 1961 the Central Committee formulated the policy of steady development in Xizang. It decided not to form any commune within 5 years so that the serfs could rest, build up

their strength and enjoy the benefits of the democratic reforms. As a result, production was developed, and the living conditions of peasants and herdsmen improved remarkably.

The above four decisions were slandered and even publicly criticized during the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a result of the influence of the ultraleftist line. Therefore, we must right the wrong and revive these decisions.

The important decision to "implement the eight principles, do the six important things and achieve prosperity within 10 years" was an important decision after the four cited above. This is the fifth major decision. To understand and implement this decision we must first have a good understanding of the above four decisions.

2. Problems Arising From Work in Xizang in Recent Years

Over the past 30 years the work in Xizang has achieved good results and made great contributions. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" our work on the whole has been successful. However, there are some problems. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out, we have been too slow in implementing the spirit of the party's third plenary session. Observations at cadres' meetings of the autonomous regions, prefectures and counties and the situations we have seen revealed six problems:

1. We have been slow in discussing the criterion of truth. Up to now, many places and units still have not unfolded the discussion of this question. This is the ideological reason why so many problems in Xizang have not been solved or solved properly.

2. We have been slow in implementing the policy toward people and in redressing unjust, false and wrong cases. This refers primarily to some important cases which have not even been reexamined, let alone redressed and corrected.

3. We have been slow in implementing the two documents of the Central Committee on agricultural problems. According to the directives of these two documents, Xizang needs more rest and strengthening than does the interior of the country. There should be more lenient policies and lighter burdens. However, Xizang has ignored the question of rest and recuperation, rather than try to reduce the various burdens of the people. It has been overcautious and restrained in carrying out more lenient policies and has made very slow progress.

4. We have been slow in implementing the policy of national regional autonomy and in realizing the rights of national autonomy. After the third plenary session, Xizang did not conscientiously eliminate the many "left" practices while carrying out nationality policies. It has not corrected the mistakes. It has neglected the rights of national autonomy,

national languages and writing and national characteristics and habits. We have also been slow in implementing various policies toward patriots of upper national and religious echelons.

5. We have been slow in solving problems of the leading groups. Some people in the leading groups are factional. Some even refuse to accept the spirit of the party's third plenary session. This situation has not improved.

6. We have been slow in calling people's attention to the ultraleftist ideology which ran counter to the third plenary session. We have not regarded opposing and overcoming such erroneous ideology as an important task.

These problems show that Xizang has been slow in implementing the spirit of the third plenary session. The leading comrades of Xizang said that the most important cause of these problems was the incorrect ideological line implemented by the Xizang Autonomous Region CCP Committee.

3. Strengthen Unity Among Nationalities

Since the liberation of Xizang the Han and Zang nationalities have established a good relationship and are united. However, due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, there have been some barriers between these two nationalities in recent years. The current international situation is complicated, and the enemy is always looking for a chance to take advantage of our nationality problems to disrupt our unity. To achieve the four modernizations in a situation characterized by stability and unity we must seize every opportunity to improve the relationship among nationalities and eliminate the barriers. Otherwise we will suffer grave losses.

Unity among nationalities is very important. We should attach primary importance to it in order to build a "united, prosperous and civilized new Xizang." Only when there is unity among nationalities can we successfully build our economy and culture and strengthen the unity of our motherland. Therefore, unity among nationalities is the basic guarantee for strengthening the unification of the motherland and for achieving prosperity and happiness for Xizang. We must try to solve nationality problems and further promote unity among nationalities.

The Zang nationality constitutes the majority of the population in Xizang, but the number of Han cadres and workers in Xizang is not small. To promote unity among nationalities we must first of all promote unity between Han cadres and Zang staff and workers. The PLA is an army of all nationalities. However, as most of them are Hans, the Zang people often regard the army-people relationship as a relationship among nationalities and the promotion of army-people unity as the promotion of unity among nationalities.

To promote unity among nationalities, the cadres and masses of various nationalities must respect, love, support and learn from one another. When problems emerge they should forgive one another.

In future years many Han cadres will be transferred to the interior of the country. We therefore must pay particular attention to the unity of nationalities. Han comrades to be transferred must start well and end well. Zang comrades must show concern and care for them.

To promote unity between the Han and Zang nationalities we should solve the following ideological problems:

1. How should we correctly treat the Zang nationality and region?

The Zangs are a hardworking, courageous, honest and wise nationality. The Zang people have been industriously and courageously engaged in production, struggle against the enemy, and transformation of the world under very poor living conditions. Their splendid national history and culture is an illustration of their wisdom. However, frankly speaking, their economy and culture are more backward than those of the Han nationality. This is a result of historical development. The exploiting classes of the Han and Zang nationalities rather than the Zang working people should be held responsible for this. Although most people have recognized the strong points of the Zang nationality, some still do not have a good understanding of them. We must continue to do propaganda work.

We must look at the whole picture of the Xizang region. On the one hand it is a cold place with a high altitude and inadequate oxygen. Living and working conditions are rather poor. On the other it has a vast territory and a vast expanse of grassland, dense forests, rich hydro-electric resources and various important minerals. We can say that it is a great treasure trove of China. This is the major aspect of the picture which our cadres must fully recognize. They must not pay attention only to its coldness, high altitude and lack of oxygen. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, an assistant to a high official, Zhao Erfeng, composed a reactionary poem which said that only "barren mountains and unruly rivers" were found in the Zang region. This is extremely ridiculous. It shows that the poet was not only reactionary but also completely ignorant of the geography of the Zang region. He was not only unaware of the magnificence of the land of the Zang region but also ignorant of the fact that the snow on the mountains in the Zang region was the source of the Huang He and Chang Jiang. We have full evidence to say that Xizang is a large treasure trove of China. It has great potential and a bright future. When developed, it will make important contributions to the socialist construction of China.

2. How should we correctly treat the Zang people's customs and habits which came into being as a result of historical development?

The Zangs eat barley and roasted barley flour, drink buttered tea and wear woolen clothes. The Mongols eat millet stir-fried in butter and drink tea with milk. The Hui, Uygur and some other nationalities do not eat pork but eat lamb and beef. The Chaoxian nationals eat husked rice. The Dai nationals living in Yunnan eat polished, glutinous rice. We must not neglect these customs and habits but must respect them. To do so we must properly arrange our production and supplies so that all are properly provided for. In the Han region, the south and the north have different customs and habits and must respect one another rather than arbitrarily seeking uniformity. This is even more true with regard to the customs and habits of different nationalities.

Customs and habits are closely related to geographical environment, production conditions and living conditions. Barley is a high-yield crop in Xizang. People love it. Winter wheat is also a high-yield crop, perhaps more highly productive than barley. However, the quality of winter wheat in Xizang is different from that of the interior of the country, because Xizang lacks oxygen. People do not like to eat it. Therefore, winter wheat is not welcome. The backward customs and habits of various nationalities can be changed gradually by the people themselves. We must not take their jobs into our hands. For example, the Zang people eat roasted barley flour and drink buttered tea. This is by no means a backward habit and should be preserved and developed. It is very erroneous to force people to change their customs, habits and appetites according to our own.

3. There should be mutual, rather than one-sided, aid among nationalities.

Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of this principle many times. However, our comrades have been able to see the aid given to national minorities by the Han nationality more than the other way round. This is wrong. We must fully understand that the Zang nationality has made important contributions to China and given much support to the Han nationality. Let us not mention events in the remote past but just look at the 13th century. The Xizang people helped Xizang to become part of the Chinese territory of the Yuan dynasty. Since then, Xizang has been an inseparable part of Chinese territory. The Zang people have created a splendid history and culture which have enriched the Chinese cultural treasure house. In the last years of the Qing dynasty the Zang people bravely resisted the British aggressors and defended our motherland. While liberating the whole country, the Zang nationality helped to realize the peaceful liberation of Xizang. At that time such comrades as Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme made valuable efforts. In 1959 the Zang people and the PLA made concerted efforts to suppress the rebellion. All these were important contributions to China. With regard to material aid, the

Zang nationality has provided the Hans with wool, pilose antler, musk and safflower. In return, the Han nationality has supplied the Zangs with tea, sugar and cloth. Over the past 30 years Xizang has supported the socialist construction of China by giving it a good deal of husbandry products and medicine. As the economy of Xizang develops, it will certainly use its rich resources to contribute more to the motherland.

The above three questions show that we should fully recognize the strong points and contribution of the Zang nationality and should not do otherwise. Still less should we despise the Zang nationality. The Zang cadres and people should do away with the incorrect ideas on the relationship among nationalities. Only when we have done so can we eliminate the barriers among nationalities and strengthen unity among them. Of course, this is not enough. To promote unity among nationalities we must also implement in an all-round way the party's policy toward nationalities, particularly the policy of national regional autonomy.

4. Firmly Implement the Policy of National Regional Autonomy

To strengthen unity among nationalities and achieve prosperity for Xizang we must give full play to the right of national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central Committee.

The policy of national regional autonomy is our party's basic policy toward our nationality problem. Its main purpose is to give national minorities the right to manage their own affairs. Stalin said that this policy enabled the minority nationalities to stand on their own feet. Other nationalities could only give them help and could never walk for them.

By national regional autonomy we mean the right of self-government. This is a basic Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on nationality problems. Lenin also meant this when he said: "All areas of the state that are distinguished by social peculiarities or by the national composition of the population must enjoy wide self-government and autonomy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 239)

What are the contents and rights of self-government of national regional autonomy? They are:

1. Autonomous organs must be composed of cadres of the nationality carrying out regional autonomy. In Xizang the majority of the cadres must be Zangs.
2. Autonomous regions must use the spoken and written language of that nationality practicing autonomy as the first language in exercising their functions and powers. They must primarily use their own language in handling official business, sending messages, issuing notices and teaching. Reports and speeches in the Han language should also be

translated into the languages of the national minorities. In Xizang the first language is the Zang language. Of course, the Han language should also be used.

3. Autonomous regions must work according to national and regional characteristics. They must suit measures to national and regional conditions and must avoid vague and indiscriminate generalizations.

4. Autonomous regions can formulate their own separate rules and decrees on national autonomy in keeping with the general principles of the state "Constitution" and law.

5. Autonomous regions have more financial rights than other areas at the same level.

6. Autonomous regions have more rights and interests than other areas at the same level with regard to the management of a distribution of profits from forests, pastures and mines.

7. Autonomous regions contiguous to foreign countries have the right to trade with them under normal conditions.

8. Autonomous regions must develop their own national science, culture and education.

9. Autonomous regions are allowed to reject or modify directives and regulations issued by the higher authorities concerned and not suited to their conditions. However, they must request permission in advance or report afterward.

On the whole, these are the basic rights of national autonomy and decisionmaking. We must give full play to these rights, particularly the rights of autonomy, in such a special national autonomous region as Xizang. In so doing we can more effectively strengthen unity among nationalities, consolidate the unification of the motherland, advance the political, economic and cultural development of minority nationalities and gradually eliminate the inequalities existing among different nationalities, so that all minority nationalities will achieve prosperity and become advanced nationalities.

To give full play to the rights of autonomy and do a good job in autonomous regions the party organs must also be nationalized. Han cadres working in party organs and other organs must respect the wishes of minority nationalities and work according to the characteristics of various autonomous regions. Minority cadres and Han cadres must be closely united and make concerted efforts for the revolution and construction of autonomous regions. This is very important.

5. Develop Xizang's Economy, Culture and Education

Owing to the severe sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our mistakes and shortcomings in implementing policy, the Xizang people are living a poor life. This is the greatest reality of Xizang. In order to carry out the directives of the Central Committee to eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity for Xizang, the Xizang Autonomous Region CCP Committee has decided to relax its economic policies, develop the economy and improve the people's living conditions by adhering to the socialist principle and to the spirit of "relax, relax and relax."

The most important measure to relax the policy is: to exempt Xizang from farm and husbandry taxes, to exempt it for 2 years from state purchases of farm and husbandry products, to abolish all forms of apportioning and to practice purchase at negotiated prices and purchase by exchanging goods according to the wishes of the masses. We must develop forestry, husbandry and farming in keeping with the actual conditions of various regions, take one crop as the key link and develop a diversified economy and insure all-round development. We must resolutely do away with the erroneous practice of disregarding reality, arbitrarily taking agriculture as the chief economy and taking grain as the key link. In industry we must vigorously develop national commodities and handicrafts to meet the urgent needs of the Zang people. We must fully respect the decisionmaking rights of production teams, which are to decide for themselves what to plant and how to plant. We must implement various forms of responsibility systems in connection with output and rewards and fix output quotas on a team basis or even on a household basis for those who live in remote areas. We must earnestly implement the policy of distribution according to work. The masses are to decide for themselves what livestock they will keep for personal needs. They should not be restrained. They can keep adequate plots and trees for private use. They can also develop border area trade. Production teams which are too big should be reduced.

The measures to relax the policy have been well received by the Xizang people. They compare the party's policy to "gold" and "sun." However, some people worry whether the policy will be implemented. They have three misgivings:

The first misgiving is: The economic policy is very good, but will it really be implemented? In the Central Committee this policy is like strong barley wine. However, when it is conveyed to lower authorities it gets more and more diluted, until at last it becomes water. We must explain this clearly to the masses and implement the policy to the letter. In order to implement the economic policy we must strengthen the party's leadership over economic work and mobilize the masses to give supervision to party and government departments and cadres at all levels. The masses should report to the party and government departments of higher levels, the autonomous region CCP Committee and even

the Central Committee if any department or cadre refuses to implement, partially implements or violates the policy.

The second misgiving is: Will the policy be changed again? We must tell the masses that our policy comes from practice and has been tested in practice. The current economic policy is formulated on the basis of our practical experiences and in accordance with the actual conditions of Xizang. It is supported by the masses and has been proved correct. Therefore, it will not be changed.

The third misgiving is: In the first and second years the policy will not be changed. However, in the third year, will the quotas be increased and the quotas exempted in the first and second years be taken back? We must assure the masses that we will definitely not do this. Moreover, we are considering exempting those places, communes and production teams in difficulty from state purchase quotas. We will implement the policy of light taxes and low state purchase quotas in minority nationality regions.

While implementing economic policy this year, we should guard against the following deviations:

First, we have exempted Xizang from state purchase and assigned quotas purchase this year, but we must watch out for assigned quotas purchase in disguised form under the pretext of "purchase at negotiated prices" after the autumn harvest.

Second, we must watch out for overaccumulation. In view of the present living conditions of the masses, we must save less provident funds, public welfare funds and grain reserves and distribute more to the masses.

Third, when the masses' incomes have increased slightly, it is imperative to prevent banks and supply and marketing cooperatives from seizing this opportunity to collect debts and prevent them from making the same mistakes that were made by other regions.

Fourth, we must guard against waste. We must educate the masses that when production is developed and income is increased we can eat more food, buy more clothes and commodities and build more houses. However, we must not be extravagant.

At present, since the autonomous region CCP Committee has successfully implemented the directives of the Central Committee, mobilized the enthusiasm of the farmers and herdsmen, strengthened field management and done a good job of grazing, crops and livestock are developing well. We must make further efforts to achieve a bumper harvest.

Xizang has an ancient, magnificent culture. We must strengthen the work of collecting (or even salvaging), rearranging, studying and transmitting the traditional cultural heritage, including Zang medicine, astronomy, meteorology, Zang opera, music, dance, painting and culture. On this foundation, we must also vigorously develop Zang culture with socialist content.

Xizang has many cultural relics and historic sites which are the precious wealth of our country. We must do a good job of protecting them.

To develop culture we must have a work team made up of a large number of enthusiastic experts. We must also help old craftsmen train apprentices and successors.

In the area of education, Xizang must pay primary attention to the Zang nationality, to secondary and primary schools, to public schools, to boarding schools and to scholarships. This suggestion is made on the basis of our practical experiences gained over the years in the educational field and is in accordance with actual conditions. It seems that only when Xizang has paid primary attention to the above areas can it develop its education.

In previous years it was common in Xizang that, when primary schools opened, 70 to 80 percent of school-age children went to school. In the second term the percentage dropped to 40 or 50. In the second year 30 percent would be regarded as good. Only about 10 students graduated from each primary school.

What is the reason for this? The most important reason is poverty. When students from poor families grow older, they have to earn workpoints and wages for their families. Thus, fewer and fewer children go to school. This results in a great increase in the number of illiterate people. It is a very serious question for the Zang nationality and other nationalities in Xizang. It directly affects the development of politics, economy and culture of the nationalities and must be brought to our attention. A nationality without culture can never be an advanced nationality.

The development of culture and education depends on the development of the economy and improvement of the people's material life. Poverty is the greatest reality of Xizang. Besides historical reasons, the poverty of Xizang is primarily the result of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and our shortcomings and mistakes while implementing the policy.

Therefore, to develop education in Xizang the state must give energetic support to it. However, to fundamentally solve this problem the Xizang people should develop their economy, eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity through self-reliance. Only this can fully develop education.

6. Strengthen United Front Work

During the "Great Cultural Revolution" Lin Biao and the "gang of four" severely disrupted united front work throughout the country and in Xizang. Under the influence of their ultraleftist line, some of our comrades thought that united front work could be ignored and done away with. This idea was completely wrong.

United front work is an important magic weapon in the history of the Chinese revolution, as well as in the new historical period. It should be strengthened and developed rather than canceled or weakened. We must fully mobilize all positive factors inside and outside the country, unite all forces that can be united and develop and expand revolutionary and patriotic united front work to achieve the four modernizations. We must realize the return of Taiwan to the motherland and accomplish our country's reunification. We must do a good job to win over the Dalai Lama group and the overseas Zang compatriots.

Our achievements are the main aspect of our united front work in Xizang. However, there is still much to do, and we must further strengthen this work. We must implement well the policy toward the patriots in the upper national and religious echelons. We should liberate those who should be liberated but have not been liberated. We should rapidly give a job to those who should have one and have had none. We should arrange for some people to do practical work. We must give earnest help to those living in difficulty.

We must implement in an all-round way the policy of religious freedom. Communist Party members should not take a neutral stand on religion. Marxism has always regarded religion as a social ideology and as the people's ideological belief. The question of religion can only be solved gradually by developing the economy and scientific culture (including necessary reforms) and raising the level of people's living conditions and scientific culture. It must by no means be treated with crude methods. Practice in the past and at present has repeatedly proved that treating religion with crude methods will not eliminate it but will arouse the people's religious feelings and promote the development of religion. Lang Da Ma [2597 6671 3854], Zang national history and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did this. We must comprehensively and correctly implement the party's policy of religious freedom, strengthen leadership over religious work, actively propagate scientific knowledge and unite all religious people to build a new Xizang.

7. Correct the Ideological Line

The ideological line is the basis of the political and organizational line. To do well the great deal of work mentioned above we must continue to emancipate our thinking, correct our ideological line and criticize the ultraleftist line.

We must truly understand that practice is the sole criterion of truth and make up for the missed lesson in the discussion of the criterion of truth. A thorough discussion of this question is an important matter in criticizing and eliminating the severe mistakes and pernicious influence of the "two whateverists" and in correcting the ideological line. We must genuinely do a good job in redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases by making up for the missed lesson, integrating with reality, summing up the specific experiences and lessons of the work in recent years, adding to our achievements and correcting our mistakes. .

It is of great significance to adhere to the four basic principles and to firmly grasp ideological and political work in the struggle to eliminate poverty and achieve prosperity for Xizang. This should not be neglected. Otherwise we will fail.

CSO: 4004

PROCEED FROM REALITY TO QUICKEN MECHANIZATION IN AGRICULTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 9-12

[Article by Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415]; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Editor's Note: Last year Heilongjiang Province selected 37 production brigades with better conditions to experiment with the massive employment of agricultural machinery. By employing complete sets of equipment with careful planning, paying more attention to more important tasks and working step by step, the province enabled a number of communes and production teams to achieve mechanization earlier than others and gained successful experiences. This is of great significance to the northeast region in bringing its agricultural superiority into play, hastening mechanization of agriculture and building bases of commodity grain and bean production. Other regions may take this experience as a reference. However, since natural and economic conditions differ vastly from region to region, in deciding how to mechanize its agriculture each region can only proceed from its own realities and cannot indiscriminately copy the experiences of another region.

Guided by the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and complying with the requirements of the two party Central Committee documents on agriculture, last year our province of Heilongjiang summed up the historical experiences of agricultural mechanization over the past 30 years and altered the method of distributing agricultural machinery equally to various production units. From among 16 counties we selected 37 production brigades with better conditions and experimented with the massive employment of agricultural machinery and the formation of complete sets of equipment. The experiment has markedly shown the superiority of mechanization and has pointed out a better path to hastening our province's agricultural mechanization.

Of the 37 brigades in the experiment, 22 enjoyed a more than 10 percent growth of output and a more than 20 percent rise in income last year, while 12 enjoyed a 1 to 10 percent output growth and a 10 to 20 percent income rise. The other three brigades had reduced output because of serious natural calamities, but their income did not fall, because grain prices rose and diversified occupations were well developed. Last year the total sown area in the 37 brigades was 470,000 mu, and the total output was 145 million jin, an increase of 14 percent over the previous year. Income from industrial and sideline occupations was 5.39 million yuan, an increase of 37.5 percent over the previous year. Some 6.85 million yuan in accumulation funds, 66.3 percent more than in the previous year, were withdrawn. The average income of each commune member from distribution by the collective was 190 yuan, 23 percent higher than in the previous year. Labor productivity rose markedly, and the average grain output of each laborer was 15,000 jin, double the provincial average. The proportion of grain used as a commodity was also raised, and on the average each laborer sold 7,889 jin of grain to the state, 30 percent more than in the previous year. Most of the production brigades in the experiment not only achieved increases in output, income, accumulation and contribution to the state, but also achieved gratifying progress in making labor organization a professional job, planting different crops in different regions, practicing management to run enterprises and making productive activities serve society.

/Massive employment of agricultural machinery and the formation of complete sets of equipment./ To fully bring the role of agricultural machinery into play we must proceed from the characteristics of mechanized large-scale production and mechanize every principal link of the entire production process, so that mechanized operation runs through the whole chain and powerful productive forces become available. Our province has carried out agricultural mechanization construction for over 30 years, and 95 percent of the entire province's production brigades have large or medium-sized tractors. Machinery has become an important means of production. Around 50 percent of the total sown area is sown and intertilled by machinery. Over 80 percent of the work of threshing, feed grinding and agricultural product processing is done by machines. The problem is that in the past, when we distributed machinery, we "sprinkled pepper over a large surface," giving some machinery to each unit, so that there were no complete sets and the machinery could not perform its function fully. This was one important reason for the low efficiency of machinery, high production costs and poor economic effectiveness. Last year we solved this problem initially by applying the new method of massively employing agricultural machinery and forming complete sets of equipment in 37 brigades in different regions producing different principal crops. Massively employing machinery and forming complete sets mainly means filling the gaps in the existing foundation. The wheat and bean production areas were chiefly given harvesting and transport machinery. Based on their features, the areas growing nonwheat food grains were chiefly given seven-share plows,

seeders, cultivators, trailers or machinery for top-dressing or deep soil-loosening. After such allocation, the production brigades under experimentation in the wheat and bean production areas achieved preliminary mechanization in soil preparation, sowing, intertilling, weeding, reaping, threshing and transportation. The production brigades under experimentation in the areas producing nonwheat food grains achieved preliminary mechanization in such links as soil preparation, sowing, intertilling, hulling and transportation. At present there is no non-wheat food-grain reaping machinery whose design is finalized and which is suited to our province's characteristics. Therefore, the degree of mechanization in the nonwheat food grain producing areas is lower than that in the wheat and bean producing areas. Because tractors and other agricultural machinery rationally form complete sets, the role of machinery can be brought into play. In the 37 brigades in the experiment, the average work capacity of the tractors reached 229.6 standard mu per horsepower, 27 percent higher than the provincial average of 180 standard mu per horsepower. Previously, those brigades generally spent over a month in spring sowing, but last year they spent only 7 to 10 days. These brigades worked the fastest, took the shortest time for sowing and sowed at an opportune time. Their summer hoeing progressed rapidly, and the frequency of shoveling and soil-loosening increased from 2 or 3 times to 4 or 5 times. The percentage of deep soil-loosening area increased from 20 or 30 percent to around 50 percent. In particular, after receiving combine harvesters, those brigades under experimentation in the wheat and bean producing areas could reap the wheat when it was ripe. Their losses were reduced, and on the average they reaped an additional 30 to 40 jin of wheat per mu. A combine harvester could reap an additional 70,000 jin of wheat annually. Facts have proved that massively employing machinery and forming complete sets are not just problems of the method of agricultural machinery allocation, but also problems related to the principle of developing agricultural mechanization with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Of course, those brigades massively employing machinery and forming complete sets must have certain conditions: that is, the masses must enthusiastically and eagerly demand quicker agricultural mechanization and the leaders must exercise stronger leadership, and there must be definite experiences in mechanization, a better foundation, such as having more machinery and equipment, as well as a greater ability to raise funds by themselves.

/Wealthier brigades to be mechanized first./ To massively employ agricultural machinery and form complete sets we must first solve the problem of funds. At present our country has a rather weak foundation and inadequate financial resources and cannot provide more funds for mechanization. We must rely mainly on the strength of the collective economy. However, the development of the collective economy is unbalanced in different communes and brigades. Some brigades are better off and can afford to purchase machinery, but some brigades are poorer and cannot do so. In view of this reality, different brigades do not start mechanization at the same time or achieve it at the same pace. They will advance wave

upon wave but not abreast. Thus, we need to mechanize the wealthy brigades first and then gradually mechanize others group by group. In the past, in some respects we did not duly consider the economic conditions of the brigades. All of them, whether rich or poor, had to meet the same requirement for purchasing machinery for agricultural mechanization. Consequently, the purchases of some communes and brigades exceeded what the collective economy could afford, and the enthusiasm of the masses was dampened. Last year we adopted the method of mechanizing the wealthy brigades first. The 37 brigades in the experiment invested a total of 5.58 million yuan, 78 percent of which, or 4.39 million yuan, was made available through the strength of the collective economy itself. Because the collective economy was rather strong, with little state support they could achieve preliminary mechanization in a year. For example, 11 production brigades of Beilian Commune, Keshan County, needed 3.30 million yuan for preliminary mechanization. Over the past 10 years they had raised 1.20 million yuan themselves. Last year they raised 1.10 million yuan and lacked a million yuan, which was made available by borrowing from the bank. This loan was repaid after the wheat was harvested. Last year the output and income of these 11 brigades increased. Their total grain output collectively grew by 72 percent over the previous year, their income from farming and sideline occupations grew by 80 percent, their accumulation funds increased 2.5 times, and the average income of each commune member distributed by the collective was 217 yuan. Practice has proved that an effective measure for hastening agricultural mechanization is to persist in mechanizing the wealthy brigades first, to let mechanization make the brigades better off, to mechanize the rural communes and brigades group by group in a planned way and to make them better off group by group. Do we ignore the poor brigades if we emphasize mechanizing the wealthy ones first? Of course not. Some communes and brigades are not so well off. Then their provincial or county authorities should try their best to support them and make them better off. While mechanizing the wealthy brigades first, we also simultaneously grasped the work of converting the poor brigades and helped them boost their output as fast as possible, so that the collective economy would be strengthened and conditions could be created for achieving mechanization. The fact that wealthy brigades are mechanized first and poor ones later does not involve the question of "despising the poor and loving the wealthy." The final goal is common affluence.

/Gradually change the two sets of costs involving machinery and horses into one set of costs and improve the economic effectiveness of agricultural mechanization./ Judging from the history of agricultural mechanization in agriculturally developed countries, it is a lengthy process to go from relying mainly on animal power to the coexistence of animal power and machinery and finally to replacing animals with machinery. We should enthusiastically create conditions for shortening this process as far as possible. In our province at present, machinery and horses exist together, and the problem of two sets of costs has not

been properly solved. In some areas, as the masses say: "It is as if two sets of musical instruments are used in one drama--two sets of costs are incurred for one piece of land; the horses consume fodder and the machines fuel oil, and grain output increases but not income." According to investigations of typical cases, expenses incurred by machinery generally constitutes 15 to 20 percent of agricultural production costs, and expenses incurred by horses around 30 percent. To reduce expenditures, some communes or brigades must let the horses remain idle while using the machinery, or let the machinery lie idle while using the horses. If this problem is not solved, it will be very difficult to alter the situation in which agricultural mechanization remains stagnant. Last year the 37 brigades in the experiment achieved progress in solving the problem of the coexistence of machinery and horses and of two sets of costs. Originally these brigades together had 3,869 draft horses. After massively employing machinery and forming complete sets, 1,486 draft horses, constituting 38.4 percent of the total, were replaced. In keeping with the principle of trying to be positive and prudent, some of the replaced horses were given to those communes and brigades which lacked farm animals as a supplementary motive power, some were given to the transport department for use in sideline occupations and some were exchanged for cattle and sheep for animal husbandry. Disposing of some and keeping the others not only helped solve the problem of two sets of costs but also enabled farmwork to continue when the machines were out of order. After the number of horses was reduced, production costs generally fell from around 20 yuan per mu to 15 or 16 yuan, a reduction of 15 to 20 percent. This is an important matter for Heilongjiang. Our province has 1.6 million draft horses, and if half of them are replaced by machines, we can annually reduce fodder grain consumption by 800 to 900 million jin, or reduce expenditures by over 300 million yuan. A major transformation accompanying the development of agricultural mechanization will be the replacement of animal power by machine power as the principal motive power. Obviously, this will involve a process of development between quantity and quality changes. This transformation can be accomplished gradually only if there is an accompanying increase in the number of machines and improvement in the standard of forming complete sets. We must seek truth from facts, do only what we are capable of, aim at what is advantageous to production, adopt reliable measures and feasible methods, gradually replace horses with machinery and change two sets of costs into one set. We must not be hasty and must not surpass the existing level of productive forces.

/Accommodate locally the labor force made redundant by mechanization and advance toward the depth and breadth of production./ After the massive employment of machinery and formation of complete sets, the degree of mechanization is raised, and generally the employment of the labor force can be reduced by 30 to 40 percent. It is very important to accommodate this redundant labor force. Ours is a socialist country, and we cannot let large numbers of peasants become unemployed after agricultural mechanization, as in the capitalist countries. We must find a way which

is suited to our realities. Our province has a great deal of land and natural resources but a small population. We must take full advantage of this superiority, vigorously promote agricultural mechanization and more rapidly build the bases of commodity grain and bean production. If the work is done properly, not only will the labor force made redundant by mechanization not constitute a burden, but they can be organized to play a more useful role in comprehensively developing farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery to radically alter the agricultural economic structure characterized by relying on only one kind of crop. After those 37 brigades had achieved preliminary mechanization last year, 6,465 workers, or 40 percent of their total labor force, were made redundant. In keeping with the local conditions of natural resources and the requirement for the comprehensive development of agriculture and the comprehensive construction of the countryside, the brigades accommodated these workers locally to advance toward the depth and breadth of production. First, some were accommodated in agricultural capital construction. They were organized into teams specializing in collecting manure, producing fertilizers, irrigation, water conservancy and planting trees and forests, so that mechanical and biological technical measures could be combined and conditions could be created for obtaining high and stable yields in agriculture. Second, some were accommodated in the rearing, breeding and planting occupations to vigorously develop animal husbandry and change the situation of a disproportion between farming and animal husbandry, as well as to vigorously develop the production of cash crops and simultaneously develop grain and cash crops. Third, some were accommodated in the processing of agricultural and sideline products to vigorously help establish enterprises run by communes and brigades, to help incorporate production, processing and sales in one chain and to help activate the rural economy. Thus, the redundant workers can be accommodated in appropriate positions, can fully contribute their abilities, can benefit from collective production and can share the wealth. Conversely, they also help accumulate funds for hastening mechanization. In this undertaking, somewhat greater difficulty in accommodating the labor force has been experienced by the regions in the plains producing nonwheat grains. Here there are no hills, water or prairies, so that there was less diversification in occupations. In such regions the labor force replaced by machinery should for the most part be employed in planting trees and forests, collecting manure, producing fertilizers, and participating in irrigation projects and enterprises run by communes and brigades. Accommodating the labor force locally is favorable to the development of the specialization and socialization of production. To do this we must emphatically grasp two kinds of work: First, we must organize various forces to serve agriculture better and raise the level of socialization of production. Second, we must gradually turn the sites of the communes into small towns of the countryside. In a planned way we must develop the communes' agricultural and sideline products processing industry, agricultural machinery maintenance and repair industry, transport industry, construction industry, commerce and service trades, so that centers

for serving agricultural production and the commune members' livelihood will be established. We must take the road to combining agriculture with industry and the towns with the countryside. In this way the prospects become very wide, and we need not worry about the employment of the redundant labor force.

/Vigorously grasp mechanization work over the entire area and organically combine the particular points with the entire area./ Over the past year our practice has been to combine the particular points with the entire area and to fan out from point to area. We had to duly grasp the massive formation of complete sets at particular points as well as the formation of complete sets over the entire area by stages, so that the wealthy brigades were mechanized first, the poor ones were assisted and the mediocre ones were brought along. This year the state has decided to give priority to satisfying our province's needs for agricultural machinery and has planned to allocate to us over 12,000 large and medium-sized tractors, 50 percent more than last year. Only 27 of these tractors will be used at the points undergoing experimentation in mechanization, and 73 percent will be employed over the entire area. We are persisting in the principle of requiring the poor brigades to rely mainly on themselves and to take state support as a subsidiary measure. We are enthusiastically helping them to develop production, open up diverse sources of income, accumulate funds and create conditions for gradually increasing their stock of machinery. We are also providing them with some loans and some small machines to promote their transformation. As for those mediocre brigades, we are selectively increasing their stock of complete sets of machinery according to their investment abilities and their practical needs in production, so that they can achieve mechanization step by step. To mechanize over the entire area we must likewise proceed from realities to do our work in a planned way with attention paid to focal points. We cannot do things in a simplistic way. Management of the existing agricultural machinery must be strengthened. Last year the average working capacity of the tractors in our province was rather low, merely 180 standard mu per horsepower. The work capacity differs vastly among various counties, with some attaining as high as 250 standard mu and some merely attaining around 100 standard mu per horsepower. The provincial average oil consumption was 0.77 kg per standard mu, and the figure for some brigades with high consumption was over 1 kg per standard mu. The three costs (fuel costs, repair costs and management costs) ranged from over 3 jiao to 6 or 7 jiao. If agricultural machinery is well managed, this year the provincial average working capacity of the tractors will exceed 200 standard mu per horsepower, the average oil consumption will be 0.75 kg per mu and the three costs will be below 5 jiao per mu. This will be equivalent to adding 5,000 tractors to the whole province without increasing investment or the number of complete sets of agricultural machinery. We must devote therefore our efforts to management, which must improve rapidly. This year we must comprehensively adopt economic methods to manage the agricultural machinery stations, teams and sets. We must practice the

agricultural machinery management method adopted by Kaoshan Commune of Suileng County, that is, "independent accounting, assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses, charging fixed fees, allocating work-points on a per mu basis, managing machinery on the basis of single items and giving both rewards and penalties." We must correct the phenomenon of "indulging in excessive collectivism" and link the machine operators' personal economic benefits with the amount and quality of work done, skill in handling the machinery, fuel consumption and so on, so that we can fully mobilize the agricultural machine operators' enthusiasm. In addition, we must vigorously strengthen technical training work for agricultural machinery personnel and strive to raise the standard of mechanized scientific farming. In our province, spring droughts, low temperatures and early frosts are very frequent. In view of this natural characteristic, we must use the machinery to race against time in farm work, conquer the "three calamities," protect seedlings and fight for bumper harvests. We must further improve the degree of mechanization in the whole province in several main jobs, such as sowing, inter-tilling, deep soil-loosening and top-dressing. We must also duly grasp repair and supply work and continuously improve "rear service" work. This is one important link in developing agricultural mechanization. The commune members are most worried about the inability to repair the machines when they are out of order and the lack of spare parts or fuel. In view of this problem, last year we summed up the experience of the Zhaozhou County agricultural machinery repair and manufacturing plant, which in conjunction with the local supply company practiced "integration of repair and supply and undertaking everything from the beginning to the end." Popularizing this experience, we strove to radically solve the problem of communes and brigades having to send many men everywhere to purchase spare parts. We summed up and popularized the experience of the Suihua County agricultural machinery repair and manufacturing plant, which practiced "setting up a retail outlet at the front door and running the factory at the rear," so that production, supply, marketing and repair were all incorporated in one chain. We also summed up and popularized the experience of the Suibin County agricultural machinery company, which "endeavored to perfect the basic skills," so that the quality of service was improved. The popularization of such experiences brought relatively marked improvements in the whole province's agricultural machinery "rear service" work and promoted the development of agricultural mechanization.

In 1979 the whole province was greatly affected by the success of the experiment in massively employing machinery and forming complete sets. Looking at the achievements of the brigades in the experiment, the vast numbers of cadres and the masses have more clearly perceived the superiority and brilliant prospects of agricultural mechanization. They enthusiastically requested that their own brigades be used for experiments in mechanization. Provincial, local and county authorities together examined the applications from brigades and made selections strictly

according to the criteria for experimental units. They decided that this year 742 brigades in the whole province would undergo experimentation, as compared with 37 last year. These wealthier brigades are taking one step before the others in becoming even wealthier and in carrying out mechanization. They will more powerfully propel the development of agricultural mechanization in our province.

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A VISIT TO NORTHERN SHAANXI--PRELIMINARY SURVEY ON BUILDING LIVESTOCK BREEDING AND FORESTRY BASES ON THE LOESS PLATEAU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 13-18

[Article by Ren Fengping [0117 0023 1627]]

[Text] Editor's Note: Recognizing the importance of grain and failing to recognize the necessity to grow grass, plant trees and develop livestock breeding and forestry is a one-sided understanding which once brought great harm to our country's agriculture. The author of this article conducted an investigation and, in accordance with the facts he heard and saw personally, has illustrated how overcoming such a one-sided understanding and adding to that the strengths of policies and science will bring about a new change and a bright future in agricultural production and in the peasants' livelihood.

In our propaganda work at present it is of extreme importance to carry out investigation and study in a down-to-earth manner and avoid empty talk. To change our style of work, boost the vigor for work and bring about a new writing style, we must vigorously advocate publishing good investigation reports in newspapers and journals.

"If We Want Northern Shaanxi To Become Rich, We Must Grow Grass and Plant Trees"

Recently our reporter conducted a month's "superficial" investigation on the loess plateau of northern Shaanxi (mainly the prefectures of Yulin and Yanan), and he has come up with a preliminary study of the questions of how to build a livestock breeding and forestry production base in the northwest region and how to vitalize the loess plateau region. His talks with some county, commune and production brigade cadres and commune

members show that the latter love to use the following pet phrase: "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must grow grass and plant trees."

This phrase enunciates the question of man's understanding of the laws of nature and also points up the fact that we have committed an extremely one-sided error in our previous effort to implement production policies. It also indicates the effective scientific measures for properly handling the relationships among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding in the future. Because in the past we have emphasized grain production alone, we have seriously ignored livestock breeding and forestry. We have even destroyed forests in order to open up land, reclaimed land for farm use and grown crops indiscriminately. We have caused great disharmony among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, upset the ecological balance, weakened our soil fertility, maintained a low and unstable level of agricultural production over an extended period of time and failed to improve the people's livelihood.

Agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding promote one another, and each is indispensable. Man's understanding of the laws of nature is like man's understanding of the laws of economics; that is, there should be a process of practice, understanding, more practice and more understanding. Sometimes, too, it is necessary to pay a high price or to suffer punishment by the laws of nature before one truly wakes up. The experiences and lessons of many communes and production brigades in northern Shaanxi show that to grasp grain production single-mindedly will only lead one to the dead end of "becoming poorer the more land one reclaims and reclaiming more land when one becomes poorer." Another path, one that is in accordance with the laws of nature, is the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding.

The saying "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must grow grass and plant trees" is the same thing as saying "If we want northern Shaanxi to become rich, we must run agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well." Why, then, do people prefer the former saying to the latter? This is because there has been too much empty talk about "agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding" in the past. Just as a county party committee secretary in northern Shaanxi once said: In the past, when we shouted "agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding," we were very firm verbally but very weak at heart. We had long understood what "integrating the three factors" meant, but we had never conscientiously acted in accordance with this policy. In fact, we only carried out agricultural production single-mindedly, because we felt that livestock breeding and forestry were like "distant water that could not quench present thirst." As a result, not only did we fail to promote grain, and not only did we have a meager output of marketable grain, but we could not even maintain self-sufficiency of grain for the agricultural population, and we even arbitrarily destroyed the rational structure of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding.

Nevertheless, once people truly understood through practice the law of nature that agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding promote one another, the situation changed radically. The Xiaosigou Production Brigade of Qinghua Commune in Yanan Municipality has only 29 households. In the past 10 years they have relentlessly grasped the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, made rational arrangements for the use of land in agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, and returned the distant and poor land for forestry and livestock breeding purposes. At the same time, they also grew grass and planted forests on the barren hillsides. Although the acreage of arable land was reduced from some 800 mu in 1970 to 400 mu in 1979, which meant reducing the average arable land for each person from 7.1 mu in 1970 to 2.9 mu in 1979, the per-mu output and total output of grain increased greatly. Total grain output increased from 62,000 jin in 1970 to 208,000 jin in 1979, an increase of over 200 percent. The grain ration for each commune member increased from some 400 jin in 1970 to 870 jin in 1979. The total income from agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and sideline undertakings of the whole production brigade increased every year and reached 44,900 yuan in 1979, an increase of 500 percent over that of 1970. The average income of every member of the labor force rose from 255 yuan in 1970 to 898 yuan in 1979, an increase of 252 percent. The average income of each person rose from 101 yuan in 1970 to 316 yuan in 1979, an increase of 212 percent. The individual income of each commune member rose from 55 yuan in 1970 to 176 yuan in 1979, an increase of 220 percent.

Growing grass is of particular importance on the undulating hills and ravines of the loess plateau in northern Shaanxi. At present many communes and production brigades in northern Shaanxi are grasping the task of growing grass in their gradual transition from taking agriculture as the primary factor to taking livestock breeding and forestry as the primary factors. Grass not only can provide fodder for goats and other draft animals but also can act as an effective fertilizer for improving soil fertility. It also can solve the fuel shortage problem for a portion of the commune and production brigades. The experiences of many communes and production brigades show that, to effect the transition from taking agriculture as the primary factor to taking forestry and livestock breeding as the primary factors, the first thing to be taken care of must be grass, for growing grass will yield quicker results than planting forests. Some people say: "Growing grass means growing grain." This is because sweet clover and alfalfa belong to the legume family and not only can produce manmade pastures in large amounts, thereby benefiting the development of livestock breeding, but also can improve soil, promote soil fertility and increase grain production. Xinsai Commune in Wuqi County is situated in the upper reaches of the Le River; it is high and cold, and its soil is poor, thereby making agricultural production extremely difficult. In the past 3 years it has vigorously developed green manure and sweet clover, practiced growing grass and growing crops by rotation, and brought about great results in promoting grain output

and increasing the income of the collective and the commune members. The Shugua Production Brigade of this commune has persisted in growing sweet clover every year since 1966. It has grown various kinds of crops and increased output by 30 to 100 percent.

The people of Qingjian County in Yulin Prefecture conducted a scientific analysis of the economic value of growing sweet clover. Through investigation they discovered that 1 mu of sweet clover can yield 4,000 jin of green grass, approximately 500 jin of grass stubble, 250 jin of ammonium carbonate, 77 jin of calcium superphosphate, 120 jin of potassium carbonate and a large amount of organic substance. The organic substance can be converted to humus, which is an agent for improving soil structure, a retainer of soil moisture and nutrients and a regulator of the physical structure of the soil, and it has a particular ability to improve soil and fertilize the land. The people of this county hold that only by grasping the growing of grass relentlessly and fertilizing the soil continuously can they truly realize high and stable outputs of grain at low cost. Last year the entire county grew some 166,000 mu of grass, including some 141,000 mu of sweet clover, some 13,000 mu of alfalfa and some 1,300 mu of sha-da-wang, thus realizing the demand for an average of 1 mu per person. Practice is a great school. Practice is the only criterion for testing the truth. Some people cherished three ideological "fears" toward growing grass (first, they are afraid that grasping grass will reduce grain; secondly, they are afraid that the effort may be futile; and thirdly, they are afraid that the commune members' income will be affected). These people have all raised their understanding in practice. The Shizegua Production Brigade of Donglahe Commune in Qingjian County vigorously persists in grasping the growing of grass. Every year it maintains the status of 1 mu per person, practices growing grass and crops by rotation, and increases grain output steadily year after year. The average grain output per person each year is maintained at over 800 jin. The sale of grass alone yields every person an average cash income of 17 yuan. The commune members all say happily: "Growing grass on a large scale is good, because it is a small investment that brings a ten thousand-fold profit." Practice makes people realize that in the undulating hills and ravines of northern Shaanxi the destruction of vegetation is the important cause of the decline of natural productivity and the slow development of social production. Thus, expanding the acreage for growing grass and planting forests, improving the factors for vegetation, and developing livestock breeding and forestry in order to maintain a normal proportional relationship among agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding will make it possible to swiftly change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi.

The planting of forests is also a fundamental measure for changing the undulating hills and ravines on the loess plateau of northern Shaanxi. Forests can preserve water resources, regulate climate and reduce disasters. People can understand and accept this. Thus, here we also emphasize the issue of grass. Practice has no limits, and understanding,

too, has no limits. People's understanding of the role of planting forests and building a forestry base is a practical process of further raising understanding and solving ideological problems. In his letter to the Yi County CCP Committee of Hebei Province, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "For many years, whenever we mentioned carrying out farmland capital construction, some of our comrades instantly thought of building water conservancy projects, producing chemical fertilizers and manufacturing tractors. Of course, I do not blindly oppose these things. But I feel that building forests is more important." He further pointed out: "Building forests is conserving water, building forests is producing grain, building forests is producing light industrial products and building forests is setting up local small-scale industries." Later, in other documents he added the following: "The vast majority of regions throughout the country should also vigorously grow grass. Localities with favorable conditions should give their commune members some barren hills, barren slopes and sandy patches on which to grow grass. Whoever grows grass owns what he or she grows." Acting precisely in accordance with the spirit of Comrade Hu Yaobang's opinion, the people of northern Shaanxi are determined to truly launch agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well in northern Shaanxi.

"The Bells Are Not Effective but the Policies Are"

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and under the guidance of the two documents on agriculture, a rural economic policy has been implemented by stages, and the countryside of northern Shaanxi has presented an unprecedented excellent situation. A momentum of truly running agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding well is gathering. Northern Shaanxi is large and sparsely populated; its economy is backward and its people are still not well off. In such a locality, if we pay attention to appropriately relaxing our policies, arousing the productive enthusiasm of the various production brigades and households to do things in a down-to-earth manner, suiting measures to conditions, propagating strengths and avoiding weaknesses, it is possible to speed up the pace of construction. In the past, as a result of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," almost every day some "tails of capitalism" were lopped off. The masses of commune members who bought some vegetables in the spring, some cucumbers in the summer, some saplings (tree saplings) in the fall and a basket woven from willow twigs in the winter were all labeled "tails of capitalism." Men who fed a lanha sheep (an improved fine-wool sheep) and women who fed a "nine-jin fowl" (hen) were also labeled "tails of capitalism." This seriously blunted the enthusiasm of the masses of commune members for developing production and seeking a richer life. On the other hand, we also must admit that in executing some policies in the past we imposed too many restrictions on and intervened too frequently in work. We did not dare take the actual situation of a locality into consideration and adopt effective policies and measures to suit the conditions of that locality in order to bring the potential of the

people and the land and the superiority of the natural resources into play. This was also an important factor restricting the enthusiasm of the masses. Recently the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee formally adopted a resolution on turning northern Shaanxi into livestock breeding and forestry production bases. To develop livestock breeding the provincial party committee decided to abolish all irrational restrictions and to advance boldly with the collectives and commune members. No restrictions will be imposed on the number of draft animals and hogs and goats raised by commune members. When a commune member raises a draft animal, localities with favorable conditions will designate roughly 1 mu of land on which he can grow fodder or will assign the production team to grow fodder collectively and supply fodder to the commune members. To accelerate the pace of forestry construction, the provincial party committee decided: The country has barren hills, barren land and barren deserts. Land which the state-run forestry farms cannot handle at present can be allotted to neighboring communes and production brigades to be built into forests. The forest belongs to whoever builds it. Also, the state and the collective can operate cooperatively and share the profits. A portion of the barren hills, barren land and barren deserts belonging to the collective can be given to commune members, who can grow grass and plant trees on it and own it. In addition, forestry authorization certificates are issued as a form of trust in the people. Such policies, which accord with the actual situation and with the urgent demands of the masses, have won the support of the broad masses of communes, production brigades and commune members. "The bells are not effective but the policies are" is how the cadres and masses sum up their personal experiences.

In northern Shaanxi at present, as a result of the relaxation of policies, in areas where there are barren hills, barren slopes and barren deserts, in addition to private plots and fodder plots every household is given 3 to 10 mu of fuel forests. In Qiaowan Commune, Jingbian County, every household is given 4 to 6 mu of fuel forests, and commune members are mobilized to grow grass. This spring, in addition to the 10,000 mu of forests built by the collective, the commune members built 3,500 mu of forests and planted 25,000 trees on all four sides of their residences. To solve the problem of a lack of saplings for commune members, the commune provided its members with some 50,000 poplar tree saplings, worth 2,500 yuan; some 6,000 apple tree saplings, worth some 1,300 yuan; some 500,000 jin of willow tree seeds, worth some 10,000 yuan; and some 10,000 willow trees, worth some 5,000 yuan. Liu Xingfu, a member of the No 2 production team of the Mujie Production Brigade, planted some 600 poplar and willow trees around his house and on the forest land allotted to him. Dang Qianshan, leader of the Wujiamu production team of the Qiaogouwan Production Brigade, planted some 600 poplars, some 200 willows and some 50 fruit trees.

Jizixian Commune in Fu County, Yanan Prefecture, has launched collective forest building by the commune and production brigades and at the same

time actively assists commune members to build forests, thereby greatly enhancing the speed of forestry construction. Last year and this spring the commune members throughout the commune planted trees on 1,993 mu of land; they planted 797,200 trees on the forest land and 150,000 trees around their houses, thereby reaching a total of 947,200 trees. To encourage the commune members to actively build forests, during the spring and fall forest-building seasons this commune's production teams arrange 7 to 10 days of individual forest-building time for commune members of every household and give 4 working-day workpoints for the building of 1 mu of forest. Also, they allow commune members to engage in the planting at intervals of forest grains, forest grass, forest legumes, forest vegetables and forest herbs, the yields from which go to the commune members themselves. Last year this measure produced 200,000 jin of grain and legume products and some 6,000 jin of oil-bearing products, herbs and other industrial crops.

In the past, when commune members went to work in the fields, they worked in obedience to the production team leaders. Now, before the sun rises, the commune members have already gone to work. In the past, people held that northern Shaanxi was a poor place that "was dry 9 out of 10 years and where the people were dependent on the heavens for their meals." Now the people no longer think so, but believe that the poverty over the years was caused primarily by the interference and sabotage of the ultra-left line. Furthermore, the excessively rigid policies also tied the people's hands and feet. Now the policies are correct, the people's enthusiasm for production is truly aroused, production has been brought to life and agriculture and livestock breeding and forestry will truly be promoted. A commune member of the Jingjie Production Brigade in Jinjitan Commune, Yulin County, said with emotion to county party committee first secretary Qu Kuanhai: "If we had not blindly curbed prosperity 10 years ago, we would have long since been rich. In the next 10 years, as long as the policies remain unchanged, we can still become rich."

"Scientific Research Workers Who Break Through Brambles and Thorns in the Adverse Situation"

In northern Shaanxi, in order to invigorate our country's agricultural, forestry and livestock breeding undertakings, many scientific research workers have fought in arduous circumstances over an extended period of time. They have braved the fierce sun and desert storms and have worked diligently day and night. Some people described their difficult life in the following words: "From a distance they look like coal miners; from nearby they look like beggars. Only by asking do we know they are from the forestry station." Of the many agricultural, forestry and livestock breeding scientific and technological workers I interviewed, most were from the Northwest Agricultural College. Some of the comrades came from agricultural and forestry institutes in places like Wuhan and Nanjing. They have all stood at their posts, broken through brambles

and thorns in adverse circumstances and brought forth outstanding results.

Chinese pine is an evergreen coniferous tree. It is a fine breed of tree of the timber-producing forest of northern Shaanxi. As a windbreak and to fix the sand it is more useful than the poplar. This is because the poplar sheds its leaves in winter; thus, when the wind is strongest in the winter and spring in northern Shaanxi, the poplar cannot help check the wind velocity. According to a determination by the Sand Control Research Institute, sand is whipped up when the wind velocity reaches 3.8 meters per second. In the Jingbian area the wind velocity in the winter and spring seasons reaches 7 to 8 meters per second. It is therefore necessary to rely on the evergreen Chinese pine, which is able to bring into play its special power of reducing wind velocity and fixing the sand.

In view of the geographical factors, Jingbian district in northern Shaanxi is situated in a dry grass region, with very little rainfall and strong and frequent winds in the winter and spring. The building of large areas of small-leaf poplars and drought-resistant willows has become a problem. This is because wind and sand are strong and the climate adverse, and small-leaf poplars are thereby unable to grow healthily and become "small old man" trees, while the drought-resistant willows simply die off. The resolution to this problem has already become an important topic for the scientific and technological workers. Nevertheless, how arduous a task indeed it is to plant large areas of Chinese pine and camphor pine in the wake of the wind and in the sand dunes!

To enable the Chinese pine to live and grow to maturity on the sand dunes, the most difficult problem is the nurturing of saplings. It is necessary not only to enable the pine seedlings to emerge from the soil alive, but also to enable the pine saplings to withstand such stern tests as wind corrosion, sand invasion and its own diseases (such as withering).

Who can break through this pass? Here we need fearless fighters who have resolute will, possess professional knowledge and are determined to shed their heart's blood for the four modernizations. Without these fighters it is pointless to talk about transforming nature and realizing the four modernizations.

Luo Bingchun, a female technician of the Shashimao forestry farm in Jingbian County is one resolute fighter who diligently nurtures Chinese pine in the wake of the wind and sandstorms. In the fall of 1963 this student, who graduated in the forestry profession from the Northwest Agricultural College, was assigned to work on the forestry farm of Jingbian County in northern Shaanxi. Two years after she began the work of nursing saplings, her research work was cut short for 10 years

as a result of the interference and sabotage of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In spite of this, Luo Bingchun did not lose her burning desire to turn the country green and build the northwest. After the smashing of the "gang of four," she disregarded her poor physical health and plunged into the urgent and heavy task of nursing saplings. In the short period between 1977 and 1979 she made outstanding contributions to the work of nursing saplings and building large areas of forest in the wake of the wind and sandstorms. She nursed 3.45 million Chinese pines, camphor pines and North China larches for the state, met the needs of building 2,600 mu of forests and insured a survival rate of over 70 percent.

Comrade Luo Bingchun dedicated all her energy to nursing saplings. To change the situation in which just one kind of tree was grown in the dry grass region, she tried in every way, by going through classmates, relatives and friends, to introduce more than 20 kinds of tree saplings. Then she tested them, carefully observed their development, explored the laws of nursing saplings and gradually unified the biological and ecological characteristics of the trees with the environmental characteristics of that locality. She conducted a large amount of scientific research and statistical analysis on seed sterilization, soil sterilization, fertilizer application and strengthening of saplings, and comparison between the growth of saplings and disease prevention. She formulated a set of methods for nursing saplings that display scientific ingenuity and accord with the particular ecology of that locality. Her work was acknowledged and commended by the higher-level leading organs.

Comrade Luo Bingchun lived a simple and frugal life. She was quiet and never talked about her hard work and contributions. She paid no attention to the rude intervention and unreasonable reproaches which she encountered in her work. She said, "To turn the motherland green and build and open up the vast northwest is the policy decision and call of the party Central Committee. As forestry scientific and technological personnel of new China we can only do our job well and must definitely not make a mess of it. This is our duty."

To do a good job of building livestock breeding and forestry bases, many scientific research workers working in northern Shaanxi have made many good suggestions, the primary ones being: (1) Properly solve the problem of talents moving to other places. For instance, there were 600 forestry scientific and technological personnel in Yulin Prefecture in 1965. In the last 15 years, not only was there no increase in number, but the number was reduced by 200 people. (2) Scientific research tasks undergo great changes and are unstable. Furthermore, there is not a sufficient scientific research fund, and the ascertained scientific research fund cannot be appropriated for the basic-level units in time. A serious phenomenon of "holdup in work due to poor organization" has appeared in scientific research work. On this issue, scientific research personnel express urgent concern. (3) Due to the inconvenient

transportation in northern Shaanxi, there is great difficulty in inviting professionals and professors from other places to come and lecture in northern Shaanxi. Many scientific and technological personnel have very little opportunity to learn from and exchange experience with advanced regions throughout the nation. A state of scientific and technological "isolation" has appeared. These personnel hope that higher-level leading departments and scientific committees at various levels can solve in a planned manner the problem of continuing education for scientific research personnel who are working in arduous circumstances and enable these workers to develop a broader vision, enhance their professional knowledge and serve the four modernizations in a better way.

We Do Not Have To Wait Until We Are Old To Move Mountains

Spending a month in northern Shaanxi, I could see everywhere the production enthusiasm of the thousands and tens of thousands of commune and production brigade member households which has been aroused by the party's policies, as well as the great momentum that has accompanied it. The peasants all said happily that "The policies have warmed the people's hearts, and there is gold all over the land," "The heavens may be ineffective, but the policies surely are effective," and "When the policies are correct, real vigor in production is aroused and a better and richer life is promised."

I am still using the growing of grass and building of forests as the example. The Shihuicha Production Brigade of Lijiacha Commune in Zichang County, Yanan Prefecture, has a total acreage of 33,000 mu, of which 5,360 mu is arable land, which means an average of 8 mu per person. Beginning this year it will grow grass and plant trees on 1,000 mu of land annually, so that by 1989 this production brigade will have 10,000 mu of grassland and 10,000 mu of forests. Is this plan "armchair strategy"? No. This past spring the production brigade grew grass on 895 mu of land, collectively built forest on 531 mu of land and built forest by individual commune members on 202 mu of land. To plant trees on a large scale this production brigade has already nursed 71.5 mu of tree saplings this year--the production brigade being responsible for 30.5 mu, the production teams for 17.5 mu and individual commune members for 23.5 mu. The Baiyangshuwan production team in the production brigade has 127 people and has developed 328 mu of forests, an average of 2.6 mu per person. This year the production team has nursed saplings on 4 mu of land, and individual commune members have nursed saplings on 78 mu of land. Commune members Xing Youfu, Xing Youcai, Xing Shengman and Zhang Zhian have nursed saplings on 3 mu of private plots. From 1949 to 1979 the Shihuicha Production Brigade developed 2,930 mu of forests, building an acreage of 100 mu of forests every year. From this year onward it will build 1,000 mu of forests every year. This speed is indeed impressive.

Another convincing model is the Mangkeng Production Brigade of Qinhe Commune in Yulin County, Yulin Prefecture. This production brigade is situated in the heart of the Maoniaosu Desert, 60 li northwest of the city of Yulin. Prior to 1971 there were very few attempts to grow grass and plant trees here. Shifting sand rolled incessantly, and drought and waterlogging occurred frequently. The entire production brigade had only 38 mu of scattered irrigated fields and some 700 willow trees. Every year only 70,000 to 80,000 jin of grain was produced. The livelihood of the masses was extremely poor. Many commune members basically sustained a living by going away to work. Nevertheless, in 1971, by summing up experiences and lessons and with the assistance of personnel from the Shaanxi provincial forestry scientific institute, this production brigade formulated a plan for the comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding and worked for 8 years in a down-to-earth manner. In addition to developing 600 mu of irrigated land, it established 20 forest prevention belts, 10 of which were primary belts and 10 secondary belts, with a total length of 30 li, as well as 16 li of belts surrounding the sand dunes. It also developed 300 mu of timber forests. Together with the trees which commune members planted around their houses, the production brigade now has a total of 131,000 trees, an average of 437 trees per person. It also set up apple orchards, Chinese wolfberry gardens and vineyards and developed nearly 100 mu of industrial forests. It built 6,300 mu of sand-fixing forests, chiefly using desert willow trees, covering 66 percent of the desert acreage. Last year every person in the production brigade increased his average grain possession from 300 jin in 1970 to 1,710 jin. The average grain ration for each person increased to some 500 jin, and the average distributed income for each person increased from 40 yuan in 1970 to 107 yuan. Since last year the members have been able to fell some trees. They sold 200 trees and obtained an income of some 4,000 yuan. Every year they are nursing saplings on more than 50 mu of land. Besides transplanting some of them, they are selling some 270,000 saplings every year, obtaining an annual income of some 8,000 yuan. Now they are continually building forests, with the target of transplanting 10,000 trees every year. By 1984 this production brigade will possess 200,000 trees, an average of 700 trees per person. From 1984 onward it will transplant 10,000 trees annually and at the same time fell 10,000 trees. The production brigade estimates that the felling of trees will bring in 200,000 yuan a year, an average of 700 yuan per person.

A plan to relax policies, readjust arrangements, accelerate the pace of building northern Shaanxi and turn northern Shaanxi into livestock breeding and forestry bases is now being formulated in a down-to-earth manner. All the people are continually emancipating their thinking, working in a down-to-earth manner, making efforts to suit measures to conditions and writing about their efforts. As long as we conscientiously implement the general and specific policies of the party Central Committee on developing production in the countryside, it is possible to swiftly change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi's economy. If

the state provides appropriate assistance, there will be an obvious change by 1985 and a big change by 1990 in the speed of building northern Shaanxi into a production base for livestock breeding and forestry and in the extent of improving the livelihood of the people of northern Shaanxi. This is what we mean by not having to wait until we are old to move mountains. Of course, this does not mean that we can underestimate the difficulty presented by our nation's large population and weak base. We also are not saying that this generation alone can accomplish this historical task. We should continue to give prominence to the spirit of the foolish old man in moving mountains and struggle arduously generation after generation. But as long as the policies we formulate protect and promote the development of productivity, we can speedily change the backward outlook of northern Shaanxi's economy.

Reviewing the talks by many professionals, professors and practical workers at the scientific conference on comprehensive harnessing of soil erosion in the northwest loess plateau, held in Xian this April by the State Agricultural Commission, the State Scientific Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and reviewing what I have seen and heard in this past month's visit to northern Shaanxi, I found particularly inspiring the introductory passage to an article by Comrade Tong Dalin, in which he said: "Are the loess plateau and the vast northwest deserted and poor? Yes and no. In the course of realizing the four modernizations, is this region destined to be more backward compared with the rich south? Not really. It all depends on the people's efforts."

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IT IS IMPERATIVE TO ENERGETICALLY ENCOURAGE THE PRACTICE OF INVESTIGATION AND STUDY

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[Article by Ma Zhongyang [7456 0112 2254]]

[Text] Carrying out investigation and study, which means the concrete application of our party's ideological line or materialist epistemological line, has always been a work style upheld by the party. It is the basis for getting to know a situation, implementing our policies and acquainting ourselves with and reforming the world. Without investigation and study it is entirely impossible to get to know new conditions and problems in our work or to successfully carry out the four modernizations. Furthermore, without investigation and study it is also impossible to implement the principle of seeking truth from facts, overcome subjectivism, strengthen and improve the leadership of the party and enhance the fighting capacity of the party. Therefore, it has become an issue worthy of our immediate attention to energetically encourage the practice of investigation and study.

I

The development of science requires investigation and study on a large scale; without them there can be no scientific development. The practice of the founders of Marxism-Leninism has provided very convincing proof of this point.

During his lengthy scientific research, Marx carried out detailed and thorough investigations and studies, setting a brilliant example for communists. When he was working on the book "Das Kapital," he spent 10 hours a day in the library, gathering a good deal of material, perusing some 1,500 books, making detailed excerpts and sorting out all kinds of related statistics and raw material. He said: "In doing research work one must have all the necessary data, analyze all their forms of development and probe into the internal relations of such forms." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 23) He never based himself on any unverified material. Science is by no means a kind of

selfish pleasure-seeking. Marx asked all those engaged in scientific studies to first of all use their knowledge to serve mankind. In his opinion, however, knowledge that has not been obtained through detailed and careful investigation and study is of no use of man.

In writing his book "Conditions of the Working Class in Britain," which was praised by Lenin as "an outstanding piece of work in world socialist literature," Engels made detailed studies of all the works previously published on the subject. He examined with a critical eye a great variety of official and unofficial documents and also spent 21 months touring many cities to personally carry out investigations. In this work there are detailed records and vivid descriptions of the living quarters and working conditions of the workers there.

To refute the narodniks, Lenin rigorously examined and collated material used in their works and pointed out what in those works was inconsistent with relevant facts, what facts had been distorted and what they had fabricated. Lenin held that whether the views of the narodniks conformed to the social economic conditions then in existence in Russia and to the actual historical situation should be the criterion for testing whether such viewpoints were correct. According to recollections by Lenin's relatives, while he was in prison Lenin spent his time primarily on scientific research. The great deal of material used in his book "Development of Capitalism in Russia" was gathered by him during his imprisonment. Once, when his relatives informed him that the imprisonment was nearing an end, Lenin replied: "So quick? But I have not yet collected all the necessary material."

What have the investigations and studies conducted by Marx, Engels and Lenin shown us?

First, Marxism is science, and scientific research requires a strictly scientific approach and methodology. However, we have experienced misfortunes in this respect. Kang Sheng, who once usurped the leadership of our cultural and educational field, claimed that random actions meant scientific research. In mid-October 1958 he told the principals of the country's agronomical colleges: "What is scientific research? There is no mystery about it. Scientific research means daring to take random actions." On 30 October 1958, speaking at the Hefei Engineering College, he said: "You must acquire the spirit of superciliousness," "and that means random actions," "because random actions mean scientific research." On 4 November 1958 Kang Sheng clamored in Shanghai: "What is called scientific research? It means being daring in taking random actions on a certain basis. Young people dare to do this." We affirm the significance of hypotheses or even fantasies in scientific research, but no achievements can be made through these without well-conceived and careful investigations and studies. Therefore, such hypotheses and fantasies have nothing to do with the "random actions" advocated by Kang Sheng. What could prevent disastrous results from our scientific

research with people such as Kang Sheng—who displayed not one iota of scientific attitude but were in fact antiscientific—at the helm of our cultural, educational and scientific research fields?

Second, scientific socialism is a branch of science and should be treated as such. Science is a subject of study but not, like religion, a subject of blind worship. The founders of scientific socialism never provided any immutable prototype, and scientific socialism cannot and should not provide any immutable "prototype" for people to "copy." Today we are practicing socialism, and it is imperative to explore concrete forms of socialism that suit the conditions of different countries by means of practical investigations and studies. In the vast garden of socialism we need a myriad of flowers in a profusion of colors, instead of a solitary flower in love with its own fragrance.

Third, without detailed data it is impossible to carry out research or judge the correctness of existing conclusions, nor is it possible to bring forth scientific and original opinions. Therefore, data forms the basis of scientific research. Without it, any research is at best a castle in the air.

Fourth, apart from making comparisons on historical and logical principles, scientific research also means using living or vivid examples in actual comparisons. Truth can only be identified through comparison with falsehood.

In a word, Marxism originated from investigation and study and also develops on such a basis. To further develop Marxism it is imperative to make more energetic efforts in investigation and study.

II

The development of the revolutionary cause depends a great deal upon investigation and study. Without it there will be no development. The history of our party has fully proved that. Whenever our party makes a point of investigation and study, it finds solid foundation on which to conduct its revolutionary activities and win smashing victories. Conversely, when it neglects investigation and study and does things on the basis of its assumptions, our work suffers severe setbacks.

Comrade Mao Zedong always paid serious attention to investigation and study. Many well-known investigation reports he wrote have a direct bearing on the formulation of our party's line, principles and policies. The "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," written in 1926, and the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in 1927 were the result of the investigations he focused on Chinese society during the party's infancy. His "Oppose Book Worship," written in May 1930, is an extremely important article on investigation and study. In this article Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the famous motto of "no

investigation, no right to speak," and he called on the entire party to "constantly keep ourselves informed of social conditions and carry out on-the-spot investigations." He particularly emphasized that the absence of such investigations would give rise to idealist assessments of class conditions and idealist instructions on work. He added that the result would be either opportunism or putschism. He offered sharp criticisms of this, saying: "Quite a few comrades always keep their eyes shut and talk nonsense, and for a communist that is disgraceful. How can a communist keep his eyes shut and talk nonsense? It won't do! It won't do!" We are opposed to becoming prejudiced by preconceptions, because "conclusions invariably come after investigation, not before." Some people try to obtain appropriate material through "investigations" to verify their preconceptions. Such a method will only encourage subjectivism and the practice of coercing others by means of administrative orders and is detrimental to our work style of carrying out investigation and study. We should be on guard against it.

It was after the CCP Central Committee reached the decision on investigation and study in 1941 that carrying out investigation and study became a regular practice within our party and very popular with our cadres. The Central Committee's decision pointed out the existence of impurity in our party's work style: "The leading organs of the entire party, as well as all the comrades within our party, have not yet gained a thorough understanding of the seriousness of the damage done to our revolutionary work over the past 20 years because of subjectivism and formalism, as well as our naivete and ignorance." Responding to the call by the Central Committee, the party carried out the rectification movement in Yanan. By means of investigations and studies of the various aspects of the party's revolutionary practice in the past, the entire party, especially its leading cadres, summed up such practice in a scientific way and unfolded extensive education in Marxism throughout the party. In this way the principle of seeking truth from facts came to be widely accepted and implemented in the party, while subjectivism underwent thorough criticism. With the entire party attaching great importance to the pertinent decisions of the party Central Committee and to articles written by Comrade Mao Zedong to rectify the party's work style, namely, the "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," investigation and study really transformed the work style of the party. Elevating investigation and study as a component part of the theory of knowledge to the level of world outlook and methodology and popularizing them among the cadres has been an accomplishment of our party.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: Deciding on principles for our work in the light of the actual situation is the most fundamental method of work that every communist must firmly bear in mind. Only through investigation and study can we accurately grasp the actual situation, and we cannot know the correct principle or policy to follow unless we make

clear the concrete situation involved. Investigation and study constitute the process of the application of the materialist epistemological line. Only through this process is it possible for man's understanding to deepen and for his subjective thinking to comply with objective reality. "Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat." We can win a battle only when we have come to know our own conditions and those of the enemy. In our practical work other than fighting wars, if we want to attain the expected results, we must also carry out investigation and study, gain a thorough understanding of all kinds of conditions involved, ascertain the objective laws governing the working of things and apply them to direct our own actions. That is why what we call freedom means the understanding of necessity.

"No investigation, no right to speak" is a Marxist work principle put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. It once played a very important role in our practical work. Regrettably, we have not always adhered to this principle. After the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we became imprudent in the wake of our tremendous victories. In 1957 there came the widening of the scope of the struggle against the rightists, and in 1958, in providing leadership in economic work, we went against the objective laws, deviated from the principles of carrying out thorough investigations and studies and of endorsing things only after testing them, committed the errors of "messing things up by giving wrong orders," "engaging in exaggeration and boasting" and "trying to effect the transition to communism prematurely," and seriously affected the economic life of the state as well as the people's livelihood. These errors constituted one of the primary causes of the difficulties that lasted for 3 years.

In January 1961 Comrade Mao Zedong called for "vigorously carrying out investigation and study" and "making this year one of seeking truth from facts." In response, central departments and all the provinces conducted a great number of investigations. To rectify the mistakes made in the previous few years, Comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Li Fuchun set forth the eight-character principle of "readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards" in order to restore the national economy. On the basis of investigations and studies, a series of work regulations were adopted in that year, including the 60 regulations on the people's commune, the 70 regulations on industry, the 60 regulations on higher education, and so on. In January 1962, at an enlarged Central Committee work conference, the party Central Committee called on the entire party to study democratic centralism, put democratic life on a sound footing and practice the "three don'ts." Under the guidance of these correct principles and policies, normal order in our economic and political life was rapidly restored.

However, just a few years later the entire party was thrown into greater convulsions, namely, the 10 catastrophic years. The work style of seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigation and study was

trampled on, and the entire party and country was subjected to large-scale destruction and tremendous disasters. On the one hand this was the result of the deliberate sabotage by counterrevolutionary careerists and conspirators, and on the other it was the result of violations of the principle of seeking truth from facts and carrying out investigation and study. This has been a bitter lesson for our party in our effort to seriously sum up past experiences.

Looking back over past history we can see that the practice of investigation and study has a direct bearing on the correctness of our party's line, principles and policies and is directly related to the success or failure of our cause. Therefore, if we make vigorous efforts to carry out investigation and study, we can certainly promote the development of the revolutionary cause and make our party flourish.

For our people to realize the four modernizations in accordance with actual conditions in our country is a new task. On the new Long March and to blaze a new and Chinese-style trail we must rely on our own efforts in practice and exploration. Only when we carry out thorough and careful investigation and study will we be able to gain accurate information about new conditions and find effective solutions to new problems now facing us. We must unswervingly abandon the kind of practices that mechanically copy formulas worked out by others in disregard of practical conditions in China. We must see to it that our cadres truly carry out investigations and studies on every matter they deal with and translate into action the motto of "no investigation, no right to speak"; we must also see to it that no one is allowed to make decisions or direct any work before he conducts investigation and study.

III

How do we conduct concrete investigation and study?

First, we must make preparations.

Ever since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have been gradually restoring the party's fine traditions. However, bringing order out of chaos remains an enormous task. There is still ideological ossification among us. The pernicious influence of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng has not yet been eradicated; instead, it is still stubbornly asserting itself in certain fields and units. Therefore, to do a good job of investigation and study we must first of all continue to emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts.

According to the opinions expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong over the years, to conduct investigation and study we must go into the very midst of the masses, drop pretentious airs, make ourselves willing pupils of the people and honestly and sincerely learn from them. At the same time we must guard against any tendency to enjoy listening only to favorable

comments while spurning sincere advice that might grate on our ears. We must learn to listen to the opinions of all sorts of people and allow others to give their opinions, no matter whether they are nice words or not and no matter whether they are in favor of or against our own ideas. Only in this way will people dare to speak their minds and will it be possible for us to obtain true information from investigations.

We must study party policies pertaining to the subjects of our investigations and studies; however, we must not turn them into restrictions that fetter us. In the process of investigation and study, if we discover that the actual situation conflicts with the party's policies, we must go against the actual situation but must report it to higher authorities exactly as it is. To do otherwise would mean negating the significance of investigation and study. Generally speaking, our party's policies are formulated on the basis of investigations, but it would be wrong to think that there is a solution that holds good for all time or can smooth out all sorts of complicated problems. Therefore, only when thorough investigations and studies are carried out and attention is paid to the implementation of party policies in the light of actual conditions can we insure the implementation of party policies in a concrete manner and enrich and improve them in the process.

Do investigation and study involve risks? It should be acknowledged that any action that upholds the principle of seeking truth from facts and insists on dialectical materialism inevitably will meet with all sorts of interference and opposition or even persecution. Conducting revolutionary activities will not be smooth sailing. However, under the socialist system it would not be a natural thing to have to take tremendous risks in conducting thorough investigations and studies. In the past some comrades were subjected to persecution and struggles due to the investigations and studies they carried out, but this occurred under exceptional circumstances when normal inner-party political life was impossible. We have now drawn lessons from this experience and written them into the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," providing protection against the recurrence of such things by means of relevant regulations incorporated in the documents on party laws and rules.

Second, do a good job of selecting typical examples and dissecting sparrows.

The purpose of investigation and study is to solve problems. What deserves our attention here is that we should make clear whether a subject of investigation is typical of its kind, that is to say, whether it is of universal significance. This is very important. What we called dissecting sparrows refers to analyses of typical examples. Therefore, we must first do a good job of selecting typical examples. In real life it is often the case that some advanced units are mystified by propaganda, and when people who really know the ropes examine these units they

can find much to comment about and will say that it is impossible to popularize the experiences of such-and-such advanced units. What is the reason? It is that such units have their special conditions and other units are incapable of using them as models. If other units are forced to copy such typical examples, there will be resentment, and no exact copy of the original model can be reproduced. For example, when investigations are conducted in the countryside we must not use the same examples all the time and must never try to employ exactly the same methods in different localities, where conditions are bound to be different. Even if what we deal with are units that have the same natural conditions, there are surely some units that are better, units that are mediocre and others that have fared poorly. In this kind of situation, it is good for us to make comparisons between the good and bad units during our investigations and studies, because by comparing we can distinguish.

There is one lesson to learn. We should let people carry out investigations and studies on advanced units that are well known throughout the country and allow people to air their opinions on them. In particular we should allow people to express any doubts about them or any ideas in opposition to the ways in which such advanced units are being run. However, over a fairly long period in the past, once certain units became "red banner" units, people usually were only allowed to visit them, learn from them and praise them; they were not allowed to conduct investigations into them, criticize them or voice opposition to the way things were done in them. At that time, if one raised some doubt about such units, one would be regarded as trying to "fell the banner." In this way, people could only pay tribute to such units but were not given access to the true features of such units. It seemed that people in those units were all "advanced" and that their deeds invariably were "exemplary." In fact, there are backward things in an advanced unit and advanced factors in a backward unit. Only such a point of view is in line with dialectics of the objective world. During the 10 catastrophic years some advanced units were reduced to the status of tools of the "gang of four" conjurers' magic wand and seemed to be capable of providing anything needed by the "gang." The first day the press reported on a certain unit reaping a bumper harvest, the next day there could be another report about the party branch in that unit being a model party branch, the third day there might be further reports on how well the unit's militiamen performed, and on the ensuing days there were followup reports about the excellence of the martial art skills of those militiamen. Because they were loaded with fancy phrases that exaggerated the merits of such units, these reports catered to the ultraleftist needs of the "gang of four" but completely distorted the true image of the units. Such fabrications surely arouse suspicions, and how can people who entertain such suspicions be blamed? What is gratifying is that lies have now been laid bare, idealism has gone bankrupt and the people no longer will cherish blind faith.

Third, we must carry out well-conceived investigations and thorough studies.

In conducting investigations we must guard against listening to opinions from only one side and still more against paying attention to only one aspect of our problems while paying no heed to the overall situation. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly told us that it is essential to carry out well-conceived and careful investigations. By this we meant that we must get to know not only the general situation but also the situation involving special subjects, and not only one aspect of a thing under review but also the other aspects of it. We must understand the present situation and history. We must grasp new questions as well as old ones. In our investigations, discussions should permit different conditions to be explained and different views aired, so that one person's knowledge can complement someone else's. In sum, we should strive to acquire comprehensive and systematic information during our investigations. Since we want to investigate actual situations, we cannot base ourselves on assumptions. Instead of issuing orders to the masses, we must become their willing pupils; instead of merely asking them to give information that we prefer, we must let the masses speak their minds freely.

By thorough studies we mean repeatedly checking the great deal of material we acquire and analyzing it by examining its relationships with other things and comparing them with historical facts. We must not entertain preconceptions; we must not try to draw any conclusion prematurely; and we must study both current and historical facts and ascertain the intrinsic relations of complicated facts and the laws governing the development of things.

Fourth, discard the dross and select the essential, eliminate the false and retain the true, proceed from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside.

This concerns the process of epistemological development from the stage of perceptual knowledge to the stage of rational knowledge. During our investigations, when we process the material already gathered, we must follow this procedure. First of all, we should discard the dross from the material and select the essential, eliminate the false and retain the true. What is the dross and what is the essential? The former means having a smattering of knowledge through cursory observation. The latter can be obtained by examining and checking the material over and over again. The false means what is fabricated, that which brings us trouble if we are duped by it. Therefore, we must be particularly on the lookout for this danger. For a long time in the past the proneness to boasting and exaggeration, as well as bureaucratism at higher levels and the practice of lower levels to report only good news and hold back unpleasant information, led to the strange situation in which people who had dished up false reports were commended, while those who had reported the truth were criticized, and in which people who made

exaggerated or false reports or made empty promises were promoted or entrusted with important tasks. Therefore, correcting the practice of trickery and deception is itself a struggle. Our failure to clear away such practice would mean that materialism would lose ground and that the rectification of the party's work style would be impossible. Hence, such a practice should never be allowed to exist within the party.

To deepen our understanding it is necessary to proceed from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside. This conforms to epistemological dialectics, which requires us to gain a more profound, accurate and comprehensive understanding of the interrelationships of things and the objective laws governing them. We usually say that we must avoid subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality, and to achieve this we must make earnest efforts to repeatedly study, ponder over and compare all material in our hands and process it before we can say that the task of a specific investigation and study is fundamentally fulfilled.

Energetically encouraging investigation and study is an urgent requirement of the four modernizations, as well as a task with which the times have charged us. This task also means promoting our understanding of objective reality and the situation in our country. Only when we have created an atmosphere of keenness to carry out investigation and study can we really bring our strong points into full play, avoid shortcomings and make plans for the four modernizations in light of the concrete situation.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

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[Article by Qian Sanqiang [6929 0005 1730], vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Cang Xiaohu [0221 1321 0735], Xu Liangying [6079 5328 5391], Li Peishan [2621 0160 3790] and Du Shiran [2629 4258 3544]]

[Text] Editor's Note: In order to improve and strengthen leadership in building modernization, each Communist Party member, especially leadership cadres at all levels, must definitely take pains to study science and technology and all types of specialized knowledge to become an expert in his professional work. This is an urgent task now facing the entire party. The following article, presented here for everyone to study, consists of the drafts of lectures which Professor Qian Sanqiang gave to the party Central Committee Secretariat. In the future we will continue to publish more articles of this type.

People are becoming more and more aware of the importance of science and technology, because they have already become a powerful force of social development, making enormous changes in the face of production in society and in the living conditions and spiritual outlook of mankind. Science has also changed the relationships between these factors. How science and technology actually developed; what historical periods they went through; what functions science and technology had in social development; what relationships exist between scientific experiment and production; and what things in the development of science are subject to laws--these are questions regarding which this article plans to make a brief, initial exposition.

1. Ancient Science and Technology (Prior to the 16th Century)

In the long historical periods of gradual development, ancient science and technology went through the social stages of primitive society, slave society and feudal society.

About 500,000 years ago (in the Peking Man period) mankind began to learn to use fire, and this gave an enormous impetus to the development of civilization. About 20,000 years ago men began to use the bow and arrow and gradually learned to tame and raise animals, raise crops, fire pottery, construct simple housing, perform rudimentary hand weaving and make observations on the growth of animals and plants, river flood periods and changes in star positions, all of which made him aware of the seasons for farm crops. All these developments belong to the budding stage of science and technology.

Between approximately 6,000 and 4,000 years ago the ancient centers of civilization, such as Babylon in the Tigris-Euphrates River valley (in present-day Iraq), the Nile River valley, the Ganges River valley and the Yellow River valley, gradually began to take shape. Sooner or later these areas developed slave societies, with a minority of people leaving physical labor to take up mental labor and producing writing systems. The work tools used gradually progressed from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age, and even some early iron tools were produced. The pyramids built in ancient Egypt and the exquisite bronzes of Shang and Zhou China are examples of the high levels of scientific and technological development attained in this period.

From the 7th century B.C. to the end of the 2nd century B.C., ancient Greece was the high point of slave society's scientific and technological development. Ancient Greece was the center of science and culture in ancient Europe, as well as an important point of origin of modern science. The city states of the Mediterranean coast produced a number of natural philosophers who began to smash the bonds of religious superstition and freely investigate all sorts of natural phenomena and produce a primitive theory of the elements and atomic theory. The great accomplishment of the classical school of Aristotle was that in addition to his philosophical work he carried out a great amount of work in such areas as the classification of animals, anatomy and embryo growth. The highest scientific accomplishment of ancient Greece was Euclid's "Elements of Geometry," and his scientific method of rigorous logical analogy was of enormous importance to the development of modern science. Somewhat later came Ptolemy's system of geocentricity and Galen's system of medicine. These two systems are the summation of ancient Greek astronomy and medicine.

The development of ancient China's science and technology occupies a special position in the world history of science and technology. China was the first country in the world to become a feudal society (the

Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods), and although China's scientific beginnings are small compared with those of ancient Greece, nonetheless, in the few hundred years until the Qin and Han dynasties, many departments of China's science and technology had formed their own special systems and in many ways surpassed those of the West. From the Han dynasty to the Tang dynasty there were over a thousand years of development, and in the Song and Yuan dynasties (the 10th through the 14th centuries) a high point was reached. The English historian of science Joseph Needham said: "From the 3rd to the 13th centuries (China) had a level of scientific knowledge that the West could not hope to overtake.... These Chinese inventions and discoveries far exceeded those of contemporary Europe, and this was especially true prior to the 15th century." (Joseph Needham, "Science and Civilization in China") Our four great inventions--gunpowder, the compass, printing and paper--greatly accelerated the rise of modern European civilization. Marx called them "prerequisites for the development of the bourgeoisie." In technology, ancient China also has a series of inventions and creations, for example: iron casting, ceramics, silk (silkworms, mulberries, weaving), and so on. Ancient China also made a number of contributions in mathematics and astronomy, as well as in other natural sciences. For example: the calculation of pi, numerical value solutions for equations of higher degree, abundant records on heavenly phenomena and earthquakes, relatively accurate historical methods, cartography, the earliest astronomical instruments and earthquake instruments, and so on. Chinese medicine and pharmacology even today have worldwide recognition as great treasure houses. To sum up the above, during the one thousand and several hundred years prior to the development of modern Western science, China's science and technology were in a great many areas superior to those of the contemporary Western world.

While ancient China's science and technology were continually absorbing the results of advances from nations in other parts of the world, they also were traveling both land and sea routes to spread their own accomplishments eastward to Korea and Japan and westward to the Arab nations and then onward to Europe, making contributions to the Renaissance and the eventual development of modern science and technology. This naturally brings up the question: Since ancient Chinese science and technology were in a position of world leadership for a thousand and several hundred years, why were modern science and technology not developed in China? This question is multifaceted and requires deep penetration and deep investigation. Considering it from the aspect of social causes, the self-sufficiency of the small peasant economy of the feudal rule later placed severe constraints on development of the production forces, long preventing the buds of capitalism in China from developing, while modern Western science was following the birth and development of capitalism to make continual developments. In China the feudal ruling class emphasized agriculture and repressed commerce, was contemptuous of skills, respected the classics and praised antiquity, and used the imperial examination system, all of which were severe

obstacles to the development of China's society and economy and science and technology.

2. Modern Science and Technology (the 16th to 19th Centuries)

Modern natural science is a product of the Renaissance. The Renaissance was a great movement of intellectual liberation in opposition to the confinements of feudal ideology, and it originated in Italy, which then was the most industrially and commercially advanced country. The original goal was to restore classical Greek culture. Around the time of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a large number of intellectuals from the Eastern Roman Empire, taking with them copies of ancient Greek and Roman texts, became scattered throughout the countries of Western Europe and lent precipitous development to this movement. Later the discovery of the American Continent (1492) and the opening of new navigation routes enabled West European industry and commerce to reach unprecedented heights, accelerating both the dissolution of the feudal system and the development of capitalism. During the thousand years of feudal society in Europe the church rigidly controlled thought, making science and all other thought slaves to theology, permitting only blind superstition and prohibiting independent thinking. People were expected to obey the church rather than investigate the natural phenomena before them. Living was preparation for ascent to heaven after death, rather than for life on earth. In spiritual opposition to this were the "worldly" people and Greek culture, which put the real world of nature at the center and which the newly risen city dwellers used in various degrees as a powerful weapon to destroy the bonds of ignorance repressing thought in the Middle Ages.

At that time the development of production technology also played a part in and provided conditions for scientific advances. Engels said: "After the Crusades, industry made tremendous developments and gave birth to new realities in mechanics (weaving, clockmaking, mills), chemistry (dyeing, metallurgy, winemaking) and physics (eyeglasses). These realities not only provided much material for observation, but also provided experimental techniques which differed from anything in the past and made possible the manufacture of new tools. It can be said that this was the very first time a truly systematic experimental science became possible." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 524)

Modern natural science is the continuation and development of ancient science, but the two have essential differences. Ancient science includes that of ancient Greece, China, India and Arabia in the Middle Ages. It basically was in the stage of description of phenomenon, summation of experience and speculative thought, expressed for the most part in an intuitive and unorganized form, while modern science (using physics as an example) combines systematic observations and experiments with a rigorous system of logic to form a system of scientific theory derived through experimental facts.

Because the growth of modern science shook the ideological foundations of feudal rule, from the very beginning it encountered harsh repression. The forerunners of modern science were tormented and persecuted, even to the point of death. The year 1543 saw natural science's declaration of independence from theology. In that year the Polish astronomer N. Copernicus (1473-1543), near death, published the work into which he had poured his lifeblood, "The Revolution of the Heavenly Orbs," thus offering a serious challenge to the geocentric world view officially sanctioned by the church. In that very same year the Netherlands anatomist A. Vesalius (1514-1564) published "The Structure of the Human Body," issuing a challenge to traditional concepts, and not long thereafter was persecuted by the church. The Italian philosopher G. Bruno (1548-1600) spent 7 years in jail and finally was burned at the stake for publicizing the works of Copernicus. The Italian physicist Galileo was put on trial at age 70 and died in prison.

Let us take Galileo as a representative of the founders of modern science. He advocated experimentation and observation as the fountain-head of scientific knowledge and as the standard for testing theories. Galileo used a telescope of his own manufacture to observe the heavens, discovered many astronomical phenomena and forcefully proved the Copernican theory of earthly movement. He carried out a series of experiments on the movement of objects and overthrew the traditional concepts of movement as represented by Aristotelian thought (which held that any movement of an object required a motive force and must have a fixed goal). Moreover, he used a precise mathematical model to describe the laws governing the motion of objects, thus creating scientific method by uniting mathematics with scientific experiments.

Using the foundation of Galileo's work and J. Kepler's (1571-1630) three laws on the movement of the planets, the English physicist I. Newton (1642-1727) summed up the laws of motion of objects into three fundamental laws of motion and one law of universal gravitation, and from this he established a complete system of mechanics theory. In this way he devised a closely knit unified theory of the laws of motion for earthly objects (the so-called "profane") and the laws of motion for heavenly objects (a part of the spiritual "heaven"), the two of which previously had been thought to be totally unrelated. This is physics, but it also can be described as the first great theoretical synthesis in the history of mankind's understanding of the natural world. Newtonian mechanics forms the foundation for all physics and astronomy and is the theoretical foundation for the engineering technology of all modern machinery, earthen and wooden structures, and communications and transportation. This great accomplishment enabled the world view of mechanical materialism to assume an ascendant position and rule the entire realm of natural science for the next 200 years.

The 16th and 17th centuries saw the establishment of modern science, and in all areas, whether scientific knowledge, scientific thought or

scientific methodology, a new era dawned. This is especially true of physics and astronomy, which reached new heights in the 17th century. With the invention of calculus, the discovery of the circulation of the blood, the invention of the microscope and the establishment of the concept of chemical elements, the fields of mathematics, biology and chemistry all made major advances. In the 1750's the Swedish scientist C. Linne [Linnaeus] (1707-1778) created a scientific system of taxonomy with his research and systematic arrangements in botanical taxonomy. In the 18th century the French chemist Lavoisier (1743-1794) overthrew the theory of fire as an element and gave a scientific explanation of the phenomenon of combustion, producing a great breakthrough in the advancement of chemistry.

In the history of the 18th century the most important events are the English Industrial Revolution and the French bourgeois-democratic revolution. These two great revolutions demonstrated the great influence of science on society, and they also provided a strong material foundation and powerful social guarantees for the advancement of science. After the bourgeoisie grasped power, they adopted policies to protect and encourage science, enabling it to increase its pace of development.

The Industrial Revolution began in the 1760's and was the first technological revolution in history since the rise of iron. It began with the mechanization of the weaving industry and is marked primarily by the widespread use of the steam engine. The main credit for improving the steam engine goes to the English craftsman J. Watt (1736-1819), who used the then new discovery of latent heat to improve the efficiency of the steam engine. The use of the steam engine ranks as mankind's greatest victory in taming natural forces since the discovery of the use of fire. After the steam engine came into widespread use, the 19th century saw the successive invention of the steamship (1807) and the steam locomotive (1814), producing a fundamental revolution in the communications and transportation industries. At the same time there were enormous developments in metallurgy, especially in steel refining, and in the machine industry. The results of this technological revolution are described in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848: "In the period of less than one hundred years that the bourgeoisie exercised class rule, the production forces created are more and greater than all those created in previous periods." In the 1860's there was an invention that exceeded even the steam engine in lightness and efficiency--the internal combustion engine. The invention of the steam engine was first a success in handicrafts and later a unification with scientific principles. The invention of the internal combustion engine can be attributed to scientific experiment; it was first advanced in theoretical form in 1862 and, with this leadership, was manufactured in 1876.

The French Revolution originated in the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment was an ideological movement in total opposition to the feudal traditions and had as its core content science and democracy. These are

explained as follows: One aspect spread the scientific knowledge represented by Newton and the materialist ideology represented by the French encyclopedia school, and the other aspect propagandized freedom, equality, democracy and systems of law advocating "innate human rights," "sovereign rights residing in the people," and "all men are equal before the law." This revolution brought a new face to French scientific enterprises and put them about 50 years ahead of the rest of the world (in mathematics the lead was even greater). The scientific measuring system (metric) now commonly used throughout the world and the present system of teaching science were both products of the French Revolution. The following 200 years of world history offered actual proof: Modern social development depends on science and democracy, and the modern state depends on internal driving forces for its existence.

After preparations in all fields during the 18th century, the 19th century then became the period for overall developments in science and technology. In the history of culture the 19th century is known as the "age of science." This is because: (1) Science directly exerted a great stimulus on production and on man's material livelihood, and, moreover, science began to exert a leadership function over production, which is clearly demonstrated by developments in electromagnetism, which then brought on the age of electric power, starting the second technological revolution (beginning in the 1870's). (2) Many branches of science, especially geology and biology, began as descriptions of observations, then acquired theoretical concepts, and gradually became unified fields of study. In each major area of science there were continual developments of fundamental significance, and, all the while, new fields of science were being established. (3) Scholarly activities and broad international scientific exchanges developed, more scientific groups were established, the misunderstandings of nationalism began to give way, and scientific thought, spirit and methods began to deeply penetrate people's minds.

The greatest 19th century accomplishments in natural science were in the theory of evolution and in electromagnetism. The English scientist C. Darwin (1809-1882) published "On the Origin of Species" in 1859, systematically explaining how all the untold numbers of plants and animals in the living world, including mankind, evolved from the simple to the complex and from lower to higher stages. Moreover, he offered the theory of natural selection to explain the evolution of living organisms. Darwin's theory of evolution was a summation of his predecessor's work in taxonomy, comparative anatomy, geopaleontology and evolutionary thought, with the addition of his own worldwide scientific observations and systematic research on the changes found in large numbers of plants and animals, all of which he organized and synthesized for over 20 years to achieve his results. Darwin's establishment of the theory of evolution fundamentally overthrew the "theory of divine creation," which has long dominated biological thought, and sent a shock wave through scholarly circles. "On the Origin of Species"

sold out on the very first day of publication. However, the theory of evolution was also subjected to opposition and attacked by religious circles and ideologically conservative scholars.

The evolution of cell theory and the theory of the conservation of energy were the three great discoveries used by Engels to establish the views on nature of dialectical materialism. Cell theory, established in 1838-1839, holds that all plants and animals are formed of cells, that cells are the basic unit of life, and that all organisms were developed from a single cell. This revealed the basic unity of life and affirmed that all organisms were developed from a single cell. This revealed the basic unity existing between all living phenomena. The theory of the conservation of energy (the law of conservation and transformation of energy) was independently discovered in the 1830's and 1840's in five countries by some 10 scientists in six or seven different fields through research on the efficiency of the steam engine, human metabolism and the like. It revealed the unity between all forms of movement in such areas as heat, machinery, electricity and chemistry and attained the second synthesis of physics. In addition, early in the 19th century (1803), on the basis of experiments, J. Dalton (1766-1844) established atomic theory, transforming the thought of ancient Greek philosophers into modern science and creating a new era in man's understanding of the structure of matter. In the 1830's the English geologist C. Lyell (1797-1875) summed up his predecessor's contributions to geology research, provided a great mass of new materials from new geologic investigations, and offered his theory of geologic evolution as well as a method to study geologic change. In 1869 the Russian chemist D. I. Mendeleev (1834-1907) discovered the law of periodicity of the chemical elements and revealed the periodic relationship between the characteristics of an element and its atomic number.

The 19th century was the beginning of the age of electric power. The use of electric power was the second technological revolution after the use of the steam engine. This technological revolution did not directly originate in production, but in scientific experiments and in research on electromagnetism. Electricity and magnetism are natural phenomena discovered over 2,000 years ago, but prior to the 19th century people thought they were unrelated. In the 19th century, with the invention of the electric battery (1800) and the effect of electric current (electric current can affect a magnetic needle) in 1819, research on the two made rapid advances. In 1831 the English worker-turned-scientist M. Faraday (1791-1867) discovered the law of electromagnetic induction (when a magnet and a conductor are moved in opposition, electric current is produced in the conductor); this is the theoretical basis of the electric generator, which opened the gates of the electric age and provided a new type of power for mankind. However, 35 years passed from the time of Faraday's experiments before the electric generator was put to use in production. To explain the phenomenon of electromagnetic induction, Faraday proposed the "field" concept, although

almost all physicists at that time felt this was wild and unorthodox thinking. But 20-30 years later the English theoretical physicist J. C. Maxwell (1831-1879) accepted Faraday's concept and, moreover, proved it with a description in mathematical language. In 1864 Maxwell summed up all electromagnetic phenomena in a number of mathematical equations. From these equations it can be deduced that the natural world has electromagnetic waves, that their speed of transmission is equal to that of light, and that light is but a very small portion of the wavelength of a special form of electromagnetism. The theories of Faraday and Maxwell not only predicted the existence of electromagnetism, but also revealed the unified basic nature of light, electricity and magnetism, thus completing the third great synthesis in physics and, moreover, opening new paths for modern man's material civilization. The prediction of the existence of electromagnetic waves was not proven until 1888, when the young German physicist H. R. Hertz (1857-1894) did so with experiments. The discovery of electromagnetic waves foretold the possibility of radio communication, yet the technology for this began to be developed only after 1895.

The second technological revolution began in the seventh decade of the 19th century, and at that time electric generators and electric motors of practical value were already being manufactured. In the 1880's the problems of long-distance electrical transmission also were solved. During his lifetime Marx was very concerned with this problem. After the invention of the incandescent lamp (1879), cities began to have modern lighting, the uses of electricity became more widespread and high-power electric power plants were built in response to demand. The wireless technology produced at the end of the 19th century was another powerful tool of communication in addition to the already widespread telegraph (invented in 1837) and telephone (invented in 1876). In this fashion, mankind began the historical use of electric power for motive force, illumination and communication (automatic control was added in the 20th century) as the foundation of modern civilized life.

The passage from experiments in electromagnetism and theoretical developments to the emergence of the electric age vividly expresses the entry of science into a relatively mature stage. As regards production developments, science not only functioned as a direct impetus but also had already moved in advance of production, exercising a leadership effect, and this was the beginning of a new relationship between the two.

In the final years of the 19th century, at the same time as the beginnings of the electric age, the converter steel refining process was invented in England, and there was a huge increase in the production of steel, which gave birth to the age of steel in the materials industry. In Germany, with rapid developments in the field of organic chemistry, the coal tar so disliked as a waste material began to receive comprehensive utilization, and the organic synthesis chemical industry began to grow.

3. Modern Science and Technology (the 20th Century)

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the advent of the revolution in physics brought natural science into a new historical stage—modern science. The appearance of atomic energy, the electronic computer and space technology in the 1940's and 1950's began to have extremely far-reaching effects, producing overall technological revolution, the third such revolution, and it still continues to develop both in depth and breadth.

From the theoretical system of physics (also called "classical physics") established by Galileo and Newton to the latter period of the 20th century, the discovery of the principle of the conservation of energy, the brilliant accomplishments of Faraday and Maxwell in the theory of electromagnetism, as well as victories in other fields tended to make many physicists believe that the theory of physics was close to completion and that all their followers could do was fill in some supplementary details and developments. This meant that in principle developments in physics had reached an apex. However, just at this time an insurmountable crisis appeared in the system of classical physics, one which originated in a series of new discoveries and in several experimental facts which the classical theory of physics could not explain. At that time the old school of physics thought to use a patchwork method to support the framework of classical physics, but the Jewish physicist A. Einstein (1879-1955) of Germany saw that the situation had an unavoidably revolutionary shape, and that the only way to solve the contradiction between the new experimental facts and the old theory of physics was to carry out basic reforms of the foundations of the theory of physics. In 1905 he first advanced the special theory of relativity and then in 1916 the general theory of relativity. The theory of relativity refutes Newton's concept of absolute space and time, revealing that there is an essential unity among space, time, matter and motion, and includes Newton's theory of mechanics within a special set of circumstances. The theory of relativity is the foundation of microphysics for the interior of the atom, as well as the theoretical foundation of astrophysics and cosmology. This was the fourth great synthesis in the physical sciences.

The German physicist Max Planck (1853-1947) sought to overcome the problems classical physics encountered in explaining the phenomenon of blackbody radiation, and in 1900 he offered the quantum hypotheses: When physical matter emits and absorbs radiation (i.e., electromagnetic waves), the transmission of energy is discontinuous, that is to say, energy is composed of the smallest units (the quantum) of division. Einstein was the first person to support the concept of the quantum, and he also helped to propagate it. In 1905 Einstein offered the theory of light quanta, believing that light had the characteristics of discontinuous particles. This was in opposition to the mid-19th century's seemingly incontrovertible wave theory of light. This was

the first time that mankind recognized the most fundamental characteristic of microcosmic matter—wave particle duality. But not until quantum theory was united with the theory of atomic structure were any rapid developments made or did they gain any general attention.

A fundamental feature of 20th century physics was the old concept that the atom could never be split and that it was forever unchanging, which made man's understanding of matter continually look from the macrocosm to the microcosm of the interior of the atom. At the end of the 19th century a series of startling discoveries began. In 1895 the German physicist W. K. Roentgen (1845-1923) discovered X-rays. In 1896 the French physicist A. H. Becquerel (1852-1908) discovered radioactivity. In 1897 the English physicist J. J. Thompson (1856-1940) discovered the electron. In 1898 the French physicist P. Curie (1859-1906) and his wife Marie Curie (1867-1934) discovered radium. In 1911 the English physicist E. Rutherford (1871-1937) used alpha rays to produce experimental proof of scattered rays. At the center of a 10^{-8} centimeter atom was a 10^{-12} - 10^{-13} centimeter positive nucleus, seemingly occupying the whole of the atom. In 1913 the Danish physicist N. Bohr (1885-1962) applied the quantum concept to Rutherford's model of the atom and its nucleus to point out that negatively charged electrons outside the atom revolved about the atom's nucleus on different orbits, and when the electron jumps its outer orbit to an inner orbit it emits an electromagnetic wave (including X-rays) of corresponding wavelength. The number of electrons in the atom corresponds to its number on Mendeleev's periodic chart of the elements, thus providing a theoretical explanation of Mendeleev's chart.

Although Bohr's theory of atomic structure was very successful in solving the problems of atomic physics, it nonetheless ran into some difficulties, especially in that there were some fundamental gaps of a theoretical and logical nature. The difficulties of the old quantum theory were overcome by a group of young physicists, including the Frenchman L. de Broglie (1892-), the German W. K. Heisenberg (1901-1976) and the Austrian E. Schroedinger (1887-1961). Between 1923 and 1928 they established the wave theory of matter, discovering that the electron was like all matter in resembling light, having the characteristics of both waves and particles, demonstrating the unity of the nature of waves and particles. Moreover, they established a completely logical system of quantum mechanics (wave mechanics), successfully revealing the fundamental laws of microcosmic matter and completing the fifth great synthesis in the physical sciences. Quantum mechanics gave great impetus to atomic and molecular physics and, moreover, built a bridge between chemistry and biology and physics and mathematics.

During World War I, experimental work in microphysics was halted, but it resumed immediately at the end of the war. In 1919 Rutherford thought that, if alpha particles were to bombard a relatively light nucleus at the speed an element naturally emits them, a transformation

would occur in the nucleus. This was proved through an experiment; after being bombarded by alpha rays, the nucleus of a hydrogen atom became an oxygen atom. Following this, in 1930 the German physicist W. Bothe (1891-1957) and others discovered that bombarding the relatively light nucleus of beryllium with alpha particles could produce a ray with a penetrating force far stronger than that of either X-rays or gamma rays. In 1932 the English physicist J. Chadwick (1891-1974) proved that these rays were neutrons. People immediately realized that the atomic nucleus was composed of neutrons and protons (a hydrogen atom nucleus). The discovery of the neutron greatly accelerated the progress of research in atomic physics. In 1934, after the husband and wife team of F. Joliot-Curie (1900-1958) and I. Joliot-Curie (1897-1956) discovered the phenomenon of artificial radiation, the Italian physicist E. Fermi (1901-1954) and his coworkers used slow neutrons to bombard atomic nuclei, resulting in the emission of artificial radiation from 37 different elements and also transforming the element in the very last position on the periodic chart. When they used neutrons to bombard the element uranium, which was found in the very last position on the periodic chart, they thought they would obtain a supranuclear element, but they actually derived a much more complex phenomenon, which they found to be inexplicable. In Germany at the end of 1938, O. Hahn (1879-1968) and F. Strassmann discovered that bombarding uranium with neutrons produced the element barium, having about half the atomic weight of uranium. This was the discovery of fission of heavy nuclei. This important discovery was proved by different methods in 19 laboratories throughout the world. Based on contemporary understanding of nuclear physics, many scientists had calculated that the process of nuclear fission of uranium would produce several neutrons and that these neutrons would induce nuclear fission in other uranium, this being the so-called "chain reaction." Consequently, several months later these calculations were proved experimentally at the same time in France, England and the United States. According to a formula on the relationship between mass and energy inferred in 1905 by Einstein in the special law of relativity, when fission of heavy nuclei occurs, the energy emitted is a million times greater than that of an ordinary chemical process. After the outbreak of World War II, the United States constructed an atomic reactor pile in 1942 under the leadership of E. Fermi. In 1945 the first atomic bomb was built. Atomic energy then came under man's control and initiated the third technological revolution in human history. Looking back on these 40-some years from the discovery of radiation to atomic energy, one sees once again the proof that science precedes production and has a leadership relationship with it.

After microphysics research had produced so great a "result" as atomic power, there were great advances in knowledge of the structure of the next level of matter beneath the nucleus, and new particles were continually discovered, reaching over 200 at present. The characteristics, structure and interchangeability of these new particles is the major theme of present-day particle physics. The most recent theoretical

research proves that electromagnetic and weak interaction are united, so the synthesis of theory again takes a step forward.

Following the rapid developments in physics, the production of new experimental techniques and stronger tools of observation, man's "visual powers," whether directed inward (the microcosm) or outward (the macrocosm), were enlarged a thousandfold: Man's "insight" is already effective at from 10^{-8} centimeters (a hundred millionth of a centimeter), the size of the atom, to under 10^{-13} centimeters (a billionth of a centimeter), the interior of an elementary particle. Man's "field of vision" has already expanded from a diameter of 100,000 light-years (1 light-year is about 1 trillion kilometers) of the Milky Way System to the 10 billion light-years of the cosmos. Among the array of technological equipment which most captures people's attention are the cyclotron, invented in 1932; the electron microscope, invented in 1934; and the radio telescope, invented in 1936. The year 1957 saw the beginning of successful launches of artificial satellites, with the subsequent development of spaceships and remote sensing technology. In the 1960's there was the substitution of enriched neutron sources in experimental reactor piles and the synchronic electron accelerator.

Modern technological equipment and modern physics theory were powerful stimulants for advances in chemistry, astronomy, geology and biology and, moreover, generated a large number of frontier sciences and overlapping sciences. Because of this, the natural sciences formed an organically unified body, deeply revealing the unity between different levels of matter. In the middle of the 19th century the newly formed scientific dialectical view of nature made great progress, and the domination of the mechanistic view of nature over the natural sciences was overthrown.

During the 20th century startling advances in biology were made, with enormous changes in research methods and scientific thought. The biological sciences were influenced by chemistry and physics; there were great changes in research methods, and biochemistry and genetics became the two liveliest branches of the biological sciences in the 20th century.

Around the 1930's, systematic research on a series of chemical changes in biological metabolism was performed with great success, and some research had already reached the molecular level. A great amount of work proved that in all organisms each and every chemical reaction involves over 10,000 enzymes (the main component is protein) in a catalytic function. The efficiency rate of these catalysts is 10^8 - 10^9 times higher than most organic or inorganic catalysts. Research in biochemistry also proves the basic similarity of many major metabolic processes in all sorts of organisms. For example, all oxygen-breathing creatures produce carbon dioxide and water through an identical chemical reaction—tricarboxylic circulation. At the center of the highly efficient storage and release of energy is the high energy phosphocreatine

found in the adenosine triphosphate molecule. It provided the energy necessary for such important tasks as muscle contraction and protein synthesis.

Long ago, in 1865, the Austrian geneticist G. Mendel (1822-1884) discovered the genetic laws named after him: that the hereditary traits of all living things are carried by sets of "particles" which are either dominant or recessive and which can separate in the genetic process and so on. However, his work remained buried for 35 years. Stimulus from the theory of evolution occasioned more rapid research in genetics at the end of the 19th century, and after Mendel's laws were rediscovered in 1900, many experiments proved that Mendel's laws were followed by everything from microorganisms to mankind. Around the 1920's a group of scientists led by the American T. H. Morgan (1866-1945) took steps to prove that what Mendel called particles are "genes," which are strung out on the chromosomes in the cell, and that genes are the transmitters of heredity. From the 1940's to the 1960's, geneticists progressed from the level of the cell to that of the molecule, producing a series of remarkable results: the proof that DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) carries the messages of heredity, and the discovery of the double helix structure of DNA, which clarified the fact that the genes are a fragment of the long DNA chain which is an organizational part of the chromosome. On this fragment is arranged a sequence of three threads of genetic signals, much like a secret code, which records and translates a series of responses, passing the organism's traits on to the next generation. Therefore, regarding chemical changes in an organism, besides the changes in molecular structure and changes in energy, there additionally is the concept of changes in information, again showing the unity of the biological world, this time on the level of genetic information. These accomplishments were the results of efforts by American, English and French microbiologists, almost 30 of whom received the Nobel Prize, the most famous being the Englishman F. H. C. Crick (1916-) and the American J. Watson (1928-). These great accomplishments are the accumulated results of long-term individual work and mutual interaction between genetics, biology and microbiology, plus the intellectual and methodological influences of the revolution in physics around the 1940's.

These accomplishments reveal the unity within living things at higher levels and especially show that, after the secrets of heredity had been unlocked to reveal the essential features of life, it was as though the winds of revolution had swept through the field of biology. This biological revolution, which has so thoroughly attracted people's attention, is a continuation of the revolution in physics. This period of development in biology thoroughly demonstrates the great driving forces that are contained in science. The problems posed in science were approached through scientific experiments and logical inferences and summed up as rules in accord with the activities of living objects. After these rules were recognized, progress was made in revealing the force they exerted in the scientific developments themselves and their function in

leading production. The rise of genetic engineering, deep medical research on difficult diseases and the pathology of hereditary diseases, investigations in immunology and pharmacology, and the nurturing of new crops in agriculture are all far-reaching influences produced by the revolution in biology.

At the beginning of the 20th century, with large-scale automobile production (starting in 1908), the invention of the airplane (1903) and the rapid growth of radio-electronics (the key was the invention in 1906 of the triode electron tube), the second technological revolution continued its ever-deeper development, and the level of industrial production was greatly increased. This was especially true of developments in electronics, which not only greatly promoted radio communications technology but also established the preparatory stages for automation and cybernation in production.

After the 1940's the period of the third technological revolution began with the appearance of the atomic energy industry (1942), electronic computers (1946) and space technology (1957). The technological content of this revolution was much more abundant than that of the two earlier revolutions, and the influences were even more far reaching. They included automatic controls, remote sensing, lasers (Einstein produced the theoretical basis for this in 1916) and other technologies, as well as the synthetic materials industry. At the same time, new forms of comprehensive theoretical bases appeared: cybernation, information theory and systems theory.

In the 20th century the leadership function of science over production technology no longer was primarily the application of science in developing single items of technology, but rather the opening up of whole new areas of technology and in the creation of whole new industries. For example, nuclear physics produced the atomic energy industry, the electronic computer was produced from mathematical logic and electronics, space technology was produced from fluid dynamics, materials science and electronics, electronic technology was produced from the physics of solids (semiconductors), and laser technology was produced from the quantum theory.

Because of the close association of science and production, because of the need for powerful technological equipment, and because of the large-scale development of comprehensive research centers, scientific enterprises were increasingly socialized, and the scope of research activities became ever greater, reaching enterprise scale, national scale and even international scale. Of course, a great many medium- and small-scale research units continued to exist, but with total personnel and funding much higher than in the past. The keys to success or failure in scientific enterprises are to manage things according to the laws of scientific development and the laws of economics and to have far-sighted, efficient scientific management.

4. Some Preliminary Views on the Special Features of Scientific and Technological Developments

1. Science originated in production and in the observation of natural phenomena, and in the early periods its development depended on the needs of production and society. Production in recent times has supplied experimental materials and the equipment and tools for experiments, thus creating conditions for experimental science. The development of capitalism was simultaneous with the very rapid developments in science and technology. When science and technology had developed to a certain level, they "became direct production forces" (Marx, "A Critique of Political Economy (Draft)") and, moreover, exerted a direct leadership function over production. The bourgeoisie placed control of the results of science and technology in their own hands, enabling production "to develop at an unheard-of speed and on an unheard-of scale." (Engels, "Anti-Duhring") Science and technology have already become an important organizational component of politics and economics in major capitalist countries, creating an enormous disproportionate development between the Third World and capitalism and becoming a serious problem confronting mankind.

2. Historically, science has been a driving force and a revolutionary power, but, on the other hand, science also did not develop spontaneously and required certain social conditions. To provide for their own benefit, the bourgeoisie needed science and technology and needed to control the services of the intellectuals in science and technology, so they adopted measures to protect, support and reward them and continually made adjustments in science and technology policies. Changes in the location of the world's centers of science of course are related to many factors, but one main factor is the correctness of the policies. Generally speaking, disregard of the development of science will result in permanent technological and scientific backwardness; disregard of the application of scientific research and disregard of technology and economics will prevent any rapid progress from being made.

3. The internal dynamic of scientific developments is found in objective facts and the theory of the unity of opposites. Its basis is experimentation and observation, and its mode of development is the hypothesis. Scientific development is a process of continual deepening of mankind's understanding of natural laws. Science is constantly being updated and constantly making progress; there are no unchanging, permanent conclusions or "ultimate truths." When experimental facts and previous theories develop unresolvable contradictions, there must be a revolution in scientific theory. However, this revolution is based upon the continuation and accumulation of knowledge and experience. The new can be created only by carrying forward mankind's extant knowledge and theories, subjecting new facts and theories to partial, indirect and even opposing sides to reflect the truth through analysis and comparison in all fields of expertise, finally arriving at a theoretical synthesis. At present,

because of developments in the computer and information sciences, science is again fermenting new syntheses and new breakthroughs in the penetration of the secrets of life through the understanding of matter on an even deeper level.

4. Science is a spiritual wealth jointly owned by all mankind. It has no boundaries and no class qualities. The right and wrong in science can be resolved only through discussion and debate, and it must exclude the obstacles of external interference and customary pressures. The basic conditions for the flourishing of science are political democracy and contention among all schools of thought. The results of science and technology can be applied on any level, the only difference being the correctness of the application and the purpose of the application. The historical development of the world's nations over these few hundred years reflects many different experiences. In our process of building the four modernizations, in addition to importing advanced technology from various countries, we must also make a wide selection among the different types of states and put them to our use.

(Parts 1-3 are of joint authorship; part 4 is by Qian Sanqiang.)

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CLOSE ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO ACHIEVING ECONOMIC RESULTS

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[Article by Chen Jiyuan [7115 0679 0337]]

[Text] The Pressing Need To Achieve Economic Results

In the past 30 years we have achieved great success in our socialist construction, which began in a state of "poverty and blankness." At present there are over 350,000 industrial enterprises in China. Fixed assets of the industrial enterprises owned by the state amount to 320,000 million yuan, equivalent to 25 times the fixed assets built up in the 1,000 years preceding liberation. However, we must see that our current production level and people's living standards are not commensurate with the scale of our economic construction and the huge amount of funds we have spent. There are, of course, many reasons for such a state of affairs, but paying no attention to economic results is considered to be one of the important reasons. The technical and economic indexes which reflect our economic results indicate that the gap between the world's advanced level and ours has not narrowed but instead has widened. Ignoring economic results has become the crux of the problems in our economic work.

For many years this fallacy was spread: Enterprises should be pre-occupied with only the political and not the economic side of the accounts, and they have nothing to do with economic results or economic responsibilities. Those who took care of material interests were branded as revisionists, and those who mouthed high-sounding words were taken as Marxists. In economic theory, people viewed the commodity economy as something which contradicted the socialist economy and denied that the means of production are a commodity; they held that in the process of socialist production attention should be paid only to utilization value and not to actual value, so that it was not necessary to calculate consumption, costs or profits or to practice strict business accounting. To achieve economic results one should first correct one's thinking, thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultra-leftist line and clarify the above-mentioned erroneous ideas.

The actual situation in China today is that the excessively high accumulation rate should continue to be lowered and that investments should not be greatly increased. Therefore, it is of great significance to achieve and enhance economic results in economic work. By achieving economic results we can gain funds and time, bringing the limited funds and the existing productive capacity into full play. Thus, we can strive to accelerate our economic growth by improving economic results.

What Is Meant by Economic Results?

When people are engaged in economic activities they use and spend a certain amount of labor (including human and materialized labor). The results of labor, however, may be satisfactory or unsatisfactory. By economic results we mean the comparison between the results of labor on the one hand and the amount of labor used and consumed on the other during economic activities. The amount of labor used during economic activities refers to the amount of materialized labor--including factory buildings, machinery and the reserve of raw materials needed to guarantee normal operations--which is used in the process of labor. Labor consumption refers to the actual labor consumption in the process of manufacturing products, including consumption of human and materialized labor. The comparison between the results of labor on the one hand and the amount of labor used and consumed on the other can be made in many ways. Therefore, there are many ways of expressing economic results. The comparison between the results of labor and the amount of labor used indicates the economic results of labor used, whereas the comparison between the results of labor and the consumption of labor shows the economic results of labor consumption, which can be divided into the economic results of human and materialized labor.

As long as the commodity economy exists, the comparison between labor consumption and the results of labor is generally expressed in the form of value, namely, the comparison between expenditures and income, or the comparison between costs and earnings. Its concrete expressions are as follows: the comparison between income and consumption of funds; the comparison between income and wages and that between income and costs, and so forth. The comparison between economic results and the amount of labor used can be expressed in the comparison between income and the amount of funds used. Fundamentally speaking, given the same quantity and quality of products, the less the labor consumption and amount of labor used, the better the economic results; the more these are used, the worse the economic results. This can be expressed in another way: given the use and consumption of the same amount of labor, the better the quality and results of labor, the greater the economic results; the poorer the quality and results of labor, the smaller the economic results. Therefore, as far as economic activities are concerned, economic results are inversely proportional to the amount of labor used and consumed and directly proportional to the results of labor.

To enhance economic results from different aspects, various kinds of indexes may be used to indicate economic results. These indexes are integrated with each other and mutually complementary, forming an index system to show the economic results. For example, the economic results of human labor can be checked by the index of labor productivity; the economic results of materialized labor can be checked by the amount of raw materials used to produce each unit of products and the number of products produced by each piece of equipment; and the economic results of human and materialized labor as well as those of labor used and consumed can be checked separately or comprehensively by various kinds of indexes, such as cost of products, wage profit rates, cost profit rates and funds profit rates.

In different societies, owing to the different nature of the relations of production, people make different appraisals of the nature, content and aim of economic results. The following are some distinctions with regard to appraisals of economic results given by socialist and capitalist systems:

1. The aim of capitalist production is to seek surplus value and its transferred form of profits. Therefore, the capitalists are concerned about the comparison between the profits they gain and the capital they pay in advance. That is to say, "gaining the greatest possible surplus value of surplus products with the least possible advance payment."

("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book 2, p 625) These are the economic results which the capitalists assiduously seek. Under a socialist system, since the aim of production has changed, the fundamental criterion for measuring economic results is the production of the most and best possible products needed by the laborers as well as society with the least possible amount of labor used and consumed.

2. Under a capitalist system, seeking surplus value is the sole motive in promoting production, and providing the laborers with the necessary means of subsistence is only for the sake of squeezing out surplus value, just like adding coal to the boilers or supplying livestock with forage. Therefore, as far as the economic results of labor consumption are concerned, the capitalists are concerned with gaining more profits by paying less capital in advance. Marx clearly pointed out: "Because of its contradictory and antagonistic nature, the mode of capitalist production which brings harm to the workers' lives and health and lowers their living standards is considered a way to conserve capital and is thus regarded as the means of increasing the rate of profits."

("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 102) Under a socialist system, the situation is completely the opposite. Society will not allow the conservation of actual labor or materialized labor if it harms the physical conditions of laborers and lowers their living standards. As far as the economic results of materialized labor are concerned, we are concerned about the conservation of human labor in order to provide the laborers with more spare time and make them develop in an all-round way--intellectually and physically.

3. The social production of capitalism is in a state of anarchy. Though a few enterprises pay attention to economic results, from the point of view of the whole society it is very difficult to do so. In a capitalist society the economic results achieved by the enterprises are frequently associated with a great waste of labor and products in the society. In socialist public ownership, it is not merely a few enterprises that must pay attention to achieving economic results, but the economic activities of the entire society that must and can be taken as a whole in paying attention to achieving economic results. Fundamentally speaking, in a socialist society the economic results achieved by a few enterprises are in keeping with those achieved by the whole society. The former is the foundation of the latter. However, these two are sometimes contradictory. Under such circumstances, the economic results achieved by a few enterprises should be subordinated to those achieved by the whole society.

How To Achieve Better Economic Results

Under a socialist system, economic results are determined by many factors, such as politics, economy, science and technology and natural conditions, and are the outcome of the comprehensive activities of society, enterprises or individuals. Take the economic factor, for example. It can be divided briefly into those factors which determine economic results within the bounds of society and those factors which determine economic results within the bounds of enterprises. In the determination of economic results the role of different factors is interrelated and interconnected. To achieve the best economic results we must be good not only at making economic policy within the bounds of society but also at dealing with the work within the bounds of enterprises.

A socialist economy is a planned economy based on public ownership. Economic policy within the bounds of society plays a decisive role in economic results. To sum up past experience, avoid a great waste of manpower, materials and financial resources and obtain the best economic results, we should emphasize the solution of the following problems.

A big effort should be made to strike an overall balance and especially to deal with the relationship between speed and proportion. The aim of accomplishing socialist production is to develop the national economy at high speed. However, high speed should be based on rational proportions; without the latter the former is merely empty talk. The saying that speed ranks first and proportion second and that the latter should be subordinated to the former is erroneous in theory and harmful in practice. High speed which is founded on a subjective wish is beyond the possibilities of objective conditions and harms the proportionate development of the national economy. As a result, there is more haste and less speed. Instead of gaining high speed, eventually we have to lower the speed. In the past we blindly went after high speed, over-emphasizing the growth of the accumulation rate and exceeding the

capabilities of the state's financial and material resources. This led to a serious disproportion between accumulation and consumption, and the production of consumer goods was put aside. As a result, there was little improvement in the people's living standards, and the enthusiasm of the masses was dampened. Instead of gaining high speed, we had to greatly lower the rate of economic development. In the past, in order to blindly go after high speed, we overemphasized giving priority to the development of heavy industry. As the total scale of growth of heavy industry was beyond the capacity of agriculture and light industry, we had to put aside the growth of agriculture and light industry. Thus, the development of the economy was seriously affected. Therefore, when working out future plans we must stick to the principle of seeking truth from facts and doing what is possible. In addition, we must make a big effort to strike an overall balance, including the balance of finance, credits and materials, to guarantee the sustained, planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy and prevent ups and downs and the occurrence of an abnormal situation in the development of the national economy.

We must give play to strong points and make a rational distribution of production in line with the characteristics and advantages of different places. The layout of production will have a direct bearing on economic results. In the past we used to follow the same pattern by stressing that all localities should build up complete, independent and self-supporting economic systems. Even areas with little or no coal and iron ore were urged to go in for the development of steel and coal industries in a big way and areas suitable for the growing of industrial crops were asked to be self-sufficient in grain. Such a practice runs counter to economic and natural laws, retards the economic development of localities and brings about poor economic results. We must get rid of narrow views of small-scale producers and carry on socialist modernization with the thinking of social large-scale production. Regional plans with a scientific basis should be formulated. Each locality should proceed from reality and build up economic structures which bring their superiority into full play, including the natural superiority (climate, soil and resources) and economic superiority (technical force, managerial experience and traditional technique and arts). Each locality should have its own focal point and peculiarity. In regions with rich deposits of iron ore, coal, petroleum and nonferrous metals, emphasis should be placed on exploring for and making use of these resources. In regions where the machine building industry and the light and textile industries are well developed and there are ample supplies of raw materials, stress should be laid on developing the machine building and the light and textile industries. In regions where industrial crops are traditionally planted or natural conditions are suitable for growing them, emphasis should be laid on developing industrial crops. In regions where there are rich forest reserves and grasslands, priority should be given to expanding forestry and animal husbandry. In short, we must give play to strong points and try by every means to make the limited manpower and material

and financial resources attain the greatest possible economic results. We cannot make a rational distribution of production in different localities without the guidance of state plans. Under the guidance of unified planning, all localities should strengthen economic coordination and turn the regional superiority into the superiority which is needed for the realization of the four modernizations. Based on the economic structure of the best regions, the national economic structure built by striking an overall balance will attain the greatest economic results.

Regulation by planning should be integrated with that by the market. A socialist economy is a planned commodity economy built on the foundation of public ownership. It is different from a capitalist commodity economy and is a commodity economy guided by planning. It is also different from a communist planned economy and is a planned economy based on a commodity economy. Such specific features of a socialist economy have objectively determined that only by integrating regulation by planning with that by the market can we exercise effective guidance over the development of the socialist economy. We cannot afford to coordinate the complicated economic activities of society through guidance by planning alone. When social production is arranged in a conscious and planned way in society, we must simultaneously utilize the law of value to regulate the social economy, so that by readjusting itself constantly and automatically the socialist economy can maintain the appropriate ratio required by social production and society and develop in a planned and proportionate way. Therefore, we must protect socialist competition. Such competition plays and has played an even greater role in promoting the development of production of enterprises, improving the quality of products and services, making the products meet the needs of the market and getting rid of bureaucratic ways of doing things. Facts have proven that without socialist competition it is hard to improve economic results.

We must carry out specialized coordination and make enterprises change their nature of "big and complete" or "small and complete." For the past year or so, in many provinces, municipalities and industrial departments, "big and complete" or "small and complete" enterprises have been reorganized in the course of the readjustment of the economy. Specialized production is organized according to products, parts and technology. All this has played an important role in attaining better economic results. Take the four "small and complete" electrical machinery plants attached to the Beijing Bureau of Machinery, for example. They were reorganized and divided into four general assembly plants, three specialized plants for the production of spare parts and technology and two rear-service plants. In 1979 their output and profits increased by more than 30 percent. Having organized the capabilities for equipment maintenance and repair, the Tianjing First Bureau of Machine Building Industry restored the general plant for equipment maintenance and repair. As a result, the maintenance capacity increased by 45 percent, and the varieties of spare parts reached over 340, with efficiency 6 times higher than before.

Of course, the factors which determine economic results within the bounds of society are by no means confined to the aspects mentioned above. However, improving the work is of vital importance for achieving better economic results.

Within the bounds of enterprises there are many factors which influence economic results. We should therefore do a lot of work in this regard. This includes:

--Handling economic affairs by economic means, expanding the autonomy of enterprises and strictly practicing the system of business accounting. For the past year or so an experiment has been going on in some units to apply such economic measures as retaining a certain amount of profits, paying a fixed assets tax and issuing credits for investment in capital construction. Since the material interests of the enterprise and individuals are linked with their fruits of labor, we can bring into full play the enthusiasm of enterprises and workers. In this way they will make full and effective use of fixed assets and combat waste in capital construction investment. Thus, visible economic results are achieved, with output going up, quality improved, production costs lowered and profits increased. In 1979, of 100 experimental local enterprises in Sichuan Province, 84 increased their total output value by 14.9 percent, profits by 33 percent and profits turned over to the higher authorities by 24.2 percent compared with 1978. This is convincing proof. Now we have made a good start in handling economic affairs by economic means. We must sum up experiences, gradually set up an effective system of handling economic affairs by economic means which are suited to the specific conditions of our country and create conditions for raising economic results of enterprises by a big margin.

--Tapping the potentials of the existing enterprises, renovating or transforming them and giving full play to their potentials. Practice has proved that upgrading existing enterprises before building new ones requires less investment and achieves better economic results. Take the Lanzhou chemical industrial corporation, for example. By diverting only 56 million yuan of funds, it succeeded in tapping the potentials and increasing the productive capacity by as much as 100,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, whereas the newly built Liujiaxia chemical fertilizer plant, which used the same amount of investment, only managed to have a productive capacity of 50,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, or only half that of the former. Take another example--the Lanzhou plate glass factory. When it was newly built the investment required was as much as 18 million yuan, and it had a productive capacity of 750,000 standard packing boxes. The average investment required for a productive capacity of 10,000 standard packing boxes was 240,000 yuan. After tapping potentials and carrying out renovation and transformation, it increased its productive capacity to a million standard packing boxes, and the fund diverted was 1.27 million yuan. The fund needed for the increased production of every 10,000 standard packing boxes averaged out to 50,000 yuan, equivalent to

one-fifth the previous investment. Facts have shown that to attain better economic results we must rely on the existing enterprises and take them as a forward position for the realization of the four modernizations. We must increase output, profits and speed through the tapping of potentials, renovation and transformation.

To achieve better economic results we need to adopt other measures, such as enhancing the administrative and managerial levels of enterprises, unfolding technical innovations and applying advanced technology and equipment, further eliminating the pernicious influence of the so-called "corruption is a crime and waste is in the nature of things," increasing production and practicing economy, and broadening sources of income and reducing expenditures.

To pay attention to economic results we must get rid of one-sidedness and have an all-sided point of view. Emphasis should be placed on handling the relations between partial and overall results, between direct and indirect results and between immediate and long-term results.

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APPLY THE METHOD OF DEMOCRATIC RECOMMENDATION IN PROMOTING MIDDLE-AGED AND YOUNG CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 38-40

[Article by the Kaifeng Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] To seriously select successors and boldly promote middle-aged and young cadres is our party's important strategic policy and an important measure for achieving the four modernizations. At present we must promote large numbers of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to leadership posts. In light of our understanding, we must continue to emancipate the mind and doggedly follow the mass line. Only in this way can we do this job well.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the leading groups at all levels in our Kaifeng Municipality have been consolidated and have undergone fundamental changes. The overwhelming majority of them perform well or relatively well, but they still leave much to be desired in satisfying the requirements of the four modernizations. The masses say that some of our existing leading groups are "groups seeking the firm implementation of policy" and "groups committed to launching movements" and are not groups devoted to the four modernizations. To change such a situation and gradually reinforce the ranks of cadres with young and trained people, we must promote a number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres who firmly adhere to the party's ideological and political lines, possess professional knowledge and leadership abilities and have been tempered and tested at the grassroots levels--cadres to consolidate various leading groups. This is a major, urgent task confronting our municipal party committee. To do this job well we must do a lot of work. In the second half of last year and the first half of this year, respectively, we prepared two preliminary lists showing leading cadres at the county level and their equivalents who had been nominated. A comparison between the two lists showed that the first contained a large number of old people and people with a low cultural standard and too few cadres trained in special fields. The second provided more younger people and more people with a high cultural standard, especially those trained in special fields. The two lists--the first unsatisfactorily

prepared and the second satisfactorily prepared—reflected two different ways of thinking and two different approaches. Last year we had not fully emancipated our minds and were not very clear about the kind of people required by the four modernizations. As a result, we adopted the old approach of relying solely on the Organizational Department and a small number of leading cadres to nominate people for office behind closed doors and in a relatively secret way. Thus, some outstanding trained people were not discovered. This year we repeatedly studied the documents of the Fifth Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and the relevant speeches by the leading comrades of the party Central Committee. We also studied the experiences of other areas. We had a relatively clear idea of the kind of people required in the new period. We became bolder. Therefore, on the basis of summing up experiences we adopted the methods of democratic recommendation by the masses and investigation by the Organizational Department. Only in this way was a relatively satisfactory list worked out. This shows that, so long as we follow the correct ideological line, use proper methods and really rely on the masses to select qualified people for office, outstanding trained people geared to the needs of the four modernizations will come to the fore.

In ordinary times we used to say that we must trust and rely on the masses and consult them on all matters. But when it comes to the concrete business of promoting and using cadres, some comrades are not so bold. When we first started using the method of democratic recommendation to promote middle-aged and young cadres, some comrades said that we had always relied on the Organizational Department to investigate and promote cadres. How could the masses know the cadres better than those handling cadre work? Practice provided a good answer to this question. This time, 137 leading cadres were selected for the preliminary list of candidates through democratic recommendation by the masses. Eighty-four of them, or over 60 percent, originally had been left out by the Organizational Department. Most of them were technical cadres trained in special fields. It can be seen that the masses of people have greater foresight and a clearer idea of the cadres than the Organizational Department. The ancients said: "Winged steeds are often seen, but there are few Bo Le's capable of discerning horses." From the period immediately after liberation to 1966 there were 2,205 graduates of institutes of higher learning and 1,872 graduates of secondary colleges in our Kaifeng Municipality. How can it be said that no qualified people can be found among all of them to fill important posts? It can be said that "winged steeds" remain to be discovered by "Bo Le's." Where are the "Bo Le's"? Practice shows that there are more "Bo Le's" among the masses. As our cadres live among the masses, their every speech, every movement and every strong or weak point is clear to the masses. Their attitude toward the party's ideological and political lines, their way of thinking, their professional level, their leadership abilities and their style are observed and personally sensed by the masses in ordinary times. The masses know well who can become a good

leader in the four modernizations effort. Generally speaking, our Organizational Department is relatively clear about a cadre's family background, his circle of friends, his work experience, and so forth. But, restricted by objective factors, the comrades of the Organizational Department cannot possibly keep in constant touch with every cadre. What they know about a cadre's actual performance is often secondhand and abstract, and not so direct and concrete as what the masses know. If we do not follow the mass line and refrain from listening to opinions from all quarters at every level, we are liable to be deceived by appearances and be one-sided. Therefore, the method of combining democratic recommendation by the masses with an investigation by the Organizational Department is a good way of discovering talent and promoting outstanding trained people.

In recommending cadres democratically we not only arouse the masses to nominate people but invite them to spell out the reasons for their recommendation, to put forward views about what is expected of a nominee and to help the party committee assign people to jobs commensurate with their abilities and make the most of people's talents. As the masses of people constantly mix with cadres, they know something about their special characteristics and their special training in a particular field; they know which ones are material for "a commander" or "a general." When it comes to the offer of jobs, the masses, after discussions and comparisons, can often put forward very good ideas about what a cadre they have recommended is good for and whether he is fit for production management or for party and government work. The tractor factory had in its employ a medium-level technical cadre who graduated from a college of engineering in 1959. This comrade had basic training in a special field and actual experience in production. He followed a correct ideological and political line and had relatively good organizational and leadership abilities. The party committee was originally prepared to promote him as an assistant factory manager. Later the masses were aroused to democratically recommend cadres. Those in the factory who recommended him represented the majority. A fairly large number of comrades in their letters of recommendation spelled out the reasons why they had nominated him. They also clearly suggested that he should be allowed to act as factory manager. After further investigation by the Organizational Department and a serious study by the factory party committee, the suggestion was considered to be a good one and was resolutely adopted. At present the party committees of various units that have adopted the method of recommending cadres democratically have seriously analyzed and studied things in light of the views put forward by the masses. Based on the peculiar characteristics of the recommended cadres and guided by the principle of making the most of everyone's talents, they have formulated plans and "followed a definite direction in training." They are prepared to promote a person as soon as he is ripe for promotion.

Some comrades have sometimes wondered whether the practice of democratically recommending cadres runs counter to the principle of party

control over cadres. We hold that this does not run counter to that principle. On the contrary, it is entirely compatible with it. In all matters we should not set party leadership and the mass line in opposition. The same applies to the matter of promoting and using cadres. Party control over cadres means that, under the leadership of the party committee, we must follow the party's organizational line and its policy on cadres in training, promoting, using and supervising cadres and insure the implementation of the party's political line organizationally. Are we not prompted by the realization of this aim when we fully arouse the masses to action? Through democratic discussion and recommendation and to strengthen the various leadership groups, we promote those outstanding cadres who are in the prime of life, adhere to the party's ideological and political lines, combine professional knowledge with leadership abilities, have been tempered and tested and are full of promise. In promoting and using cadres the leadership organ concerned seriously listens to the opinions and suggestions from the masses before making a decision. This will only make the leadership organ see things in much broader terms and make more correct decisions. What is wrong with this? This is entirely compatible with the principle of party control over cadres. If we do not follow the mass line in doing cadre work and make a mystery of it, this will not promote proper party control over cadres. Many of our comrades have personal experience in this respect. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" we have achieved great results in our cadre work. But there have also been some shortcomings. For instance, we have very seldom got in touch with the intellectuals and have not known them well, to say nothing of promoting them. The chief reason why this has happened is that we have not been guided by correct thoughts and have been under the influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In addition, this has to do with our not having paid attention to the opinions of the masses. The masses have the greatest respect for facts. They understand and know intellectuals well by working along with them. Their assessment of what the latter say and do is relatively objective. Since the shift in emphasis in the party's work, the masses have not been happy with the lack of specialized and technical cadres among leading groups. They have urgently demanded that those who know the ropes lead them in promoting the four modernizations. In recent years, precisely because we have combined attention to mass opinions with a serious study of the party's policy on intellectuals, we have improved our work and paid relatively serious attention to training and promoting intellectuals. Therefore, following the mass line can help us emancipate our minds, overcome one-sidedness, promote cadres in light of the actual needs of the four modernizations and do a better job of controlling and using cadres.

In democratically recommending middle-aged and young cadres, some comrades have also worried that this may lead to factionalism, making it impossible for them to do their job well. Undoubtedly we should pay attention to factionalism. But practice shows that, so long as we strengthen leadership in a down-to-earth manner and do our work

conscientiously, such a situation is not likely to arise. As far as the conditions in Kaifeng are concerned, every one of us is fed up with factionalism. We want stability and unity very badly. We bitterly hate the factional activities of a small number of people. Factionalism among the masses has to a large extent been overcome. The overwhelming majority of people know the situation as a whole and take the collective interests into consideration. They show great enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility in properly promoting leading cadres. This time there was no factional trouble in the process of democratically recommending cadres in over 50 units throughout the municipality. The masses were very interested in our party's cadre work and very eager to air their views. A female cadre of the Nanguan District wrote three letters of recommendation. After she had prepared the first one, she felt that the person she had recommended was not good enough. She wrote another letter. When she was going to cast her vote, she again felt that her reasons for the recommendation were not convincing enough. After serious consideration, she wrote another letter of recommendation. Only then did she drop her cherished vote into the box. The masses have taken the business of recommendation very seriously, because they clearly see that the leading cadres are leaders in the four modernizations and representatives of mass interests. Whether the person elected is capable of properly wielding and exercising power for the people concerns the four modernizations and the future of the unit or enterprise involved. This also has a direct bearing on the personal interests of the voters. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of comrades who participate in recommendation are enthusiastic, serious and responsible in their approach.

To do this job well it is of great importance to strengthen party leadership. We first let the Organizational Department of the municipal party committee conduct experiments in six units. With the experience acquired, work was started in certain units where the leading groups had followed a correct ideological and political line, factionalism had been basically eliminated and the leadership was relatively strong. As far as the conditions of various units are concerned, to do a good job of democratically recommending cadres we must act as follows: 1) We must properly arouse people ideologically and organize everyone to seriously study the relevant documents well, to get a clear idea about the great significance of promoting middle-aged and young cadres and to have an overall understanding and grasp of the requirements for promoting cadres. 2) We must demand that everyone develop a sense of responsibility as the master of the house, correctly exercise democratic rights, officially vote for a person after full discussion and deliberation and give his reasons for doing so. 3) The results of voting are taken care of in a concentrated manner by the leading responsible comrades of the party committee and the Organizational Department and referred to the higher-level party organization and the Organizational Department of the municipal CCP committee and not announced to the public. 4) The Organizational Department is allowed to consider the persons recommended by

the masses, one by one. Based on a comprehensive analysis of the reasons given for recommendation and the results of investigation, the party committee formulates plans for training and promotion.

This way of following the mass line in promoting middle-aged and young cadres will help to restructure the ranks of cadres. It is also a good way to let the masses of people be masters of the house. It is widely hailed by the masses of cadres and people. Many leading comrades said: "By arousing the masses fully and promoting cadres openly, we can have better foresight, see things clearly, have the right person elected, win mass support and feel secure. It is really 'a good way of selection.'" The masses of people said: "By being allowed to recommend leading cadres, we are really treated as masters of the house; we trust the cadres selected this way." However, our work has only just begun. Some shortcomings, such as a relatively small circle of people participating in democratically recommending cadres, slightly too few workers being involved in recommendation, and so forth, are unavoidable. In the future we must continue to make studies and improvements in practice so as to discover and promote more trained people for the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

IN DEALING WITH THE CADRES, WE SHOULD NOT JUST HEM AND HAW BUT MUST IMPOSE STERN DEMANDS ON THEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 41-43

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]]

[Text] Leading cadres must make strict demands on themselves and on the cadres in areas, departments and units under their jurisdiction and must uphold the party's principles in everything. This is a most important issue.

Today there are too many good fellows. Hemming and hawing, they are casual and indulgent, leave principles aside and seek only harmony and peace. This situation is found everywhere. They do not distinguish between right and wrong. First of all, they do not support and encourage the correct views and the cadres who uphold principles and act according to the party policies, while they fail to criticize, educate or punish the wrong ideas and those who violate organizational discipline and pursue incorrect practices. In the second place, they do not distinguish between the superior and the inferior. Those who have knowledge and ability, an emancipated ideology and an active mind and who are skillful in studying problems and courageous in innovating are not employed rationally or promoted to leadership posts, while the mediocre and inept receive appointments, and some of them can only be promoted, never demoted. Their incompetency is overlooked and the dissatisfaction of the masses ignored. In the third place, they do not distinguish between the diligent and the lazy. Those who study hard, work vigorously and labor actively fail to receive commendation or concern, while those who seek no improvement, eat three meals a day and do no work are condoned. The inevitable consequence of such practice is slackness in organization and sluggishness in work, making it impossible to thoroughly implement the party's lines and policies and to cultivate and train cadres.

Why do some leading cadres hem and haw? The reasons are many sided. Objectively, as a result of the 10-year disruption of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," indifference and slackness have become a habit. At

times, when one individual conscientiously performs work, he encounters all kinds of difficulties due to the lack of coordination on the part of everyone else. At other times, when a leader grasps the work tightly, he inevitably offends others and is regarded as someone who likes to create discord. Therefore, some leading cadres have the negative feeling that it is better to do less than more. Subjectively, it is mainly a case of several kinds of fear existing in the mind, such as the fear of offending the superior and losing one's job, the fear of offending everyone and losing one's votes, the fear of offending one's colleagues and making it hard to work with them, the fear of being accused of suffering from the remnant ultraleftwing poison if one is strict in criticizing and handling, etc. Some people say: "Today, relationships are very important. If they are not handled properly, one will suffer a disadvantage." To them, promoting "relationships" is advantageous, while the quality of one's work is of no importance. Therefore, they would rather be casual than uphold principles.

Hemming and hawing toward the cadres and failing to give a definite opinion on issues are not the upright attitude of a Communist Party member but the undesirable bureaucratic practice of the feudal society. A prime minister in the Tang dynasty by the name of Su Weidao was always compliant. His motto was: "Do not be decisive and clear in handling matters, because one will be blamed for errors. By being ambiguous, one will straddle both sides." ("Ancient History of Tang," Vol 94) He was therefore known as "Ambiguity Su." Such a philosophy of the feudal bureaucrats is incompatible with the proletarian world philosophy. To the cadres of our party, especially the leading cadres at various levels, the interests of the party and the people are above everything else, and regardless of the time and place, they must firmly uphold the correct principles and wage a relentless struggle against all incorrect ideas and conduct. To raise the party's fighting strength and pursue the four modernizations, we must wipe out the undesirable old ideas and obsolete practices. Inevitably we will infringe on the interests of those who are unwilling to improve and progress and offend those who follow unhealthy trends and evil practices, or who even violate law and disrupt discipline. If we abandon principles for fear of offending others and fail to demand strictly of the cadres, it will be detrimental to our work.

Naturally, to make strict demands on the cadres does not mean that we should be overbearing. We firmly oppose the practice followed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" toward revolutionary cadres in the past: that is, of capitalizing on their errors, hitting them with a club, attaching labels on them and carrying out "cruel struggles and ruthless attacks." Our party has always stressed the flexible combination of the solemnity of principles and the method. Even when it comes to comrades who have made mistakes, we must also start from the standpoint of cherishing them, present the facts and give the reasons with the attitude of rendering help, and patiently conduct a critical education. As regards

those who temporarily fail to see the light, we must wait patiently and help them temper and reform themselves in practice. We also oppose impractical demands which cannot be fulfilled even after a vigorous effort, because they are not genuine strict demands but will damage the cadres' enthusiasm. As for the practice of exaggerated and excessive criticism of defects and errors, this will only turn the cadres into cautious "gentlemen," always feeling ill at ease and apprehensive, and it will also be detrimental to their growth.

Then, how do we make strict demands on the cadres? In accordance with the party's organizational line and the criterion of a Red and expert cadre, we must strictly supervise and examine their manifestations, so that we will distinguish clearly between right and wrong, merits and mistakes, and reward and punishment. We must firmly support, actively encourage and boldly promote those in their prime who firmly follow the party's political and ideological lines, possess specialized knowledge and leadership ability, work diligently, and are honest, upright and unselfish. We must boldly conduct a critical education of, and at times severely handle, those whose ideological and political lines are incorrect, who seek special privileges and follow bureaucratism, or who even violate the law and disrupt discipline. On the question of upholding party principles and observing party discipline, we must treat all cadres with equality and make matter-of-fact evaluations. Thus, with demands and inspections, commendations and criticisms, reward and punishment, promotions and dismissals, we will encourage the healthy trends, check the evil practices and thoroughly correct the idea of sharing the same amount of food whether one works or not.

To make strict demands on the cadres, leaders must first make strict demands on themselves. "Teaching by example is better than teaching by words." If one cannot set an example, one will not be able to make strict demands on others. How can one make strict demands on others if, for instance, one seeks special privileges while mobilizing others to struggle arduously, promotes relationships while asking others to act according to principles, stands high above the masses while appealing to others to penetrate reality, remains satisfied with an amateur status while urging others to study their profession, etc.? No attention is paid to the words of some leaders, not because their words are unreasonable, but because their words differ from their deeds and they have lost credibility.

As long as we uphold the party's principles, make strict demands, conscientiously perform ideological work, stimulate the lofty aspirations of all the cadres, and unite and pursue the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, our cadre ranks will grow rapidly.

6080

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A RANDOM TALK ON THE 'THEORY OF MATERIAL BENEFIT'

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[Article by Jun Qi [1498 1505]]

[Text] A common saying today is: "Get some material benefit." The main idea is to leave revolutionary ideals and the four modernizations aside and instead find the means to acquire some money and material things and improve one's life. This idea is also found among some party members and cadres. Let us tentatively call it the "theory of material benefit" and analyze it.

Material benefit means material advantages actually enjoyed. If it refers to material interests gained after expending labor, it gives no cause for much criticism. Marx once pointed out: Everything that people strive for in their struggles is linked with their interests. Lu Xun [7627 6598] also said: "One is survival; two is food and clothes; three is development." The final goal of revolution is to eliminate exploitation and the classes, build a communist society with an advanced material and spiritual civilization and satisfy to the maximum the people's needs in all aspects. Communist Party members are not ascetics or puritans. The cause for which they struggle also includes the material interests of individuals, except that, during the 10 years of calamity, Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng [1660 3932], in their dictionary, obliterated developing production, improving life and feeling concerned for the material interests of the masses; they denounced these as "revisionism." They misrepresented their ultra-leftwing political slogan as revolutionary ideals and hoodwinked the people with lies and exaggerations. Today, when we are bringing order out of chaos, some people, including certain Communist Party members and cadres, have gone from one extreme to the other, heaving a deep sigh and saying that they are "disillusioned with this mortal world. They feel that everything is false, empty and remote and that only "material benefits" are tangible and visible. Shelving the revolutionary ideals and disregarding the interests of the party and the people, they constantly stretch their long arms to grab some benefit and defend their selfish conduct plausibly.

Their first argument is: "Discuss ideals less; think more of material benefits.... Communism is remote, and only material benefits are realistic." This is a sort of pragmatism. Everyone has ideals, but the question is: What kind of ideals? Are they to promote the welfare of mankind and society, or are they to further the desires of individuals and cliques for power, material things and interests? A Communist Party member should establish a noble communist ideal. This ideal is built on the foundation of the scientific understanding of the law of social development, not on groundless imagination. Though requiring a long time for its realization, it will be realized. Without the communist ideal, one is not a true Communist Party member. Stalin said: "A great energy can only emerge for a great goal." Only with a great ideal can there be a great strength. Only by establishing a firm communist life and world philosophy will one have a firm standpoint, with great foresight, broad vision and full energy. One will not become conceited over victory or discouraged over defeat, fighting as long as one lives and exhausting oneself until death. To realize their great ideals, countless revolutionary martyrs, one stepping into the breach as another fell, struggled courageously, risking their lives and shedding their blood and never hesitating to sacrifice themselves for the cause. China's socialist reality today is chiefly the realization of the ideals of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. In other words, on this great land of China some of the revolutionary ideals for which they sacrificed themselves have been realized, some are in the course of being realized and others will be realized. Naturally we must also understand that the revolutionary road is long and tortuous, but as long as we adhere to our chosen course, practice what we advocate and struggle generation after generation, "internationale" will emerge in the history of mankind. Many Communist Party members link the concrete work they perform with lofty ideals, with the cause of the party and the people, making achievements and contributions. Today we stress the principle of "to each according to his labor" and material incentive, but we must also emphasize the principle of "from each according to his ability" and lofty ideals. Concentrating on material benefits and ignoring ambition, enjoying prosperity and being unable to withstand misfortunes, being joyful when the revolution is successful and pessimistic when encountering setbacks are not the proper spirit of a Communist Party member. Those with a shallow vision and narrow outlook, who hanker after immediate benefits, forget their class origin and lose their ambition for some small advantages, do not deserve the glorious title of Communist Party members.

Their second argument is: "I do not have much to do with the four modernizations, but I am closely linked with material benefits.... Regardless of what happens to the state, modernize the family first." Under the guidance of such ideology, some party members and cadres are indifferent to the four modernization construction but eagerly pursue personal enjoyment, always hoping to reap some profit by utilizing all kinds of opportunities. They have turned completely upside down the relationships between personal and collective interests, temporary and

long-range benefits. The four modernization construction is where the fundamental interests of our party and our people lie, and it is closely linked with the individual. If the four modernizations are not advanced and material wealth is not increased, how can we improve the people's life or the well-being of the individual and the family? Instead of adding bricks and tiles to the four modernization construction, some people undermine the foundation of socialism. Such a practice is truly reprehensible. To buy some inexpensive foreign merchandise for the "small family," they exhaust every means to find an excuse to go abroad, without regard to the waste of state funds. To make some private gain for the small unit (actually for the individual), they unscrupulously damage the interests of the state and the people by such means as arbitrarily raising prices and indiscriminately issuing bonuses. To gain some trivial personal advantage, they do not hesitate to convert the public into the private and invent such ingenious pretexts as "trial viewing," "trial listening," "trial wearing," "trial using," "trial tasting," etc. Such practices are far removed from the demands of the party's political line. According to a common saying, "avarice knows no bounds." The unscrupulous pursuit of personal enjoyment will not only fail to satisfy personal desires but make it impossible to concentrate on the four modernization construction. Only by concentrating on the four modernization construction and turning our beloved country into a powerful socialist state will we lay the material foundation to improve individual and family living. We must never lose a great deal for something small and forget the interests of the whole for personal gain. A Communist Party member must, at all times, observe the following principle: Whenever there is a conflict of interest between the individual and the state, between the temporary and the long-range, or between the partial and the whole, we must subordinate ourselves to the collective, the long-range and the whole. In other words, it is a question of controlling the secondary situation with the overall situation and subordinating the minor principle to the major principle. Only by keeping the four modernizations in mind at all times, envisioning the overall situation and emancipating oneself from the shackles of fame and profit will one stand high and see far. Otherwise, if one confines oneself in a small personal world and racks one's brains over personal profit, it will be difficult to realize one's aspirations, no matter how beautiful they are, and one inevitably will drop out of the ranks of the times.

Their third argument is: "With power, one can act.... Do something for oneself, for the family and for the children." Even if one makes a mistake for this reason, it will only be "a spell of self-criticism and an entire life of comfort." This is the "theory" of some party members and cadres who pursue private gain and seek special privileges by means of the power of their office. This obviously is extremely wrong. Who has given us our power? What must we do with it? The power of any cadre or work personnel is granted by the people and can only be used to protect the people, create welfare for the people and serve the people heart and soul, not to make private gain or serve oneself or one's

relatives. We are the public servants of the people, not their masters. At no time may we separate ourselves from the people. If we go against the will of the masses, we will lose our qualification as public servants, and the people have the right to recall the power they granted. As the Chinese Communist Party is the party in power, many party members and cadres perform leadership work in party and government organs, economic units and all kinds of work posts, and most of them serve the party and the state with all their heart and all their might. However, permeated with feudal consciousness and bourgeois ideology, a minority of them abuse the power of office, convert the public into the private, squander state funds for banquets and gifts and waste the people's money. They engage in undesirable practices and arrange pleasant work and good pay for their children, relatives and friends by all kinds of improper means. All these things affect the enthusiasm of the masses for the four modernizations and damage the party's prestige. The Communist Party must stress the principle of building the party to serve the interests of the people. In face of an issue, whether the public or the private comes first is an important criterion to determine whether a Communist Party member has truly established a communist life philosophy. Selflessness, arduous struggle, being first to bear the hardships and last to enjoy the comforts, anticipating the people's concerns and enjoying the pleasures after them--these are the noble qualities required of a Communist Party member. This is the reason why Communist Party members are progressive and why they are "created of special material." A party member, especially a party cadre, will lose his qualifications if he places personal interest above the party interest and seeks private benefits for himself, his family and his children. Scrambling for power and profit and pursuing malpractices for selfish ends are intolerable to party discipline and state law as well as contemptible.

The above discussion warrants our serious attention. Among the masses the mediocre "theory of material benefit" must not be permitted to spread; among party members and cadres it must not have a foothold. The individualist "theory of material benefit" is incompatible with the superior tradition of the party and the vanguard role of a party member. If one hankers after fame and profit and has no lofty goals in mind, how can one lead the masses to make the country strong and advance courageously? If one is indifferent to the affairs of the state, but thinks only of one's enjoyment and concentrates on one's own "cozy nest," how can one lead the masses to work vigorously and improve rapidly and to promote the four modernizations with their entire effort? If one harms others to benefit oneself and seeks special privileges, how can one lead the masses to serve the public selflessly and struggle arduously? In one word, when a person is not upright, how can he rectify others? Communist Party members who are determined to reform should possess an epochal and class feeling of responsibility, stimulate their revolutionary spirit and stand in the foremost ranks of the four modernization construction!

6080

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COMMENTING ON THE VIETNAM-LAOS-KAMPUCHEA 'SPECIAL FEDERATION' ADVOCATED BY THE LE DUAN CLIQUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 pp 45-48, 33

[Commentary by Tan Shi [6223 3290]]

[Text] After invading and annexing Laos and Kampuchea, Vietnam's Le Duan clique hurriedly concocted an "Indochina federation" similar to that which was imposed by the colonialists on the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and which had disappeared when the colonial rule came to an end. When they thought that their invasion and annexation of Laos and Kampuchea had become a fait accompli and that these two countries had already been consolidated under their control, they discarded their scruples. On 2 February 1980 Le Duan declared that from now on the "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea should be "continuously strengthened." On 19 April their propaganda minister, Hoang Tung, said blatantly: "Facts are facts: The three Indochinese countries-- Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea--have already united." People "may call them whatever they like" but "no one can alter this fact." All this thoroughly demonstrates their ambition to permanently occupy and annex the two neighboring countries.

The Le Duan clique has long harbored a desire to concoct an "Indochina federation" or so-called "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. What is the real nature of this federation?

1. The Federation Is a Variety of Contemporary Colonialism

To deceive world opinion and the people of the three Indochinese nations, the Le Duan clique has fabricated a number of absurd lies, stating that their relations with Laos and Kampuchea are "special relations of a kind seldom seen and of a truly exemplary nature, characterized by boundless loyalty and honesty," a "brilliant manifestation of the correct combination of genuine patriotism and pure proletarian internationalism," and so forth. Now let us see how they have treated Laos and Kampuchea under the guise of so-called "pure internationalism" and "special relations of honesty."

Laos

After the war the Le Duan clique refused to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Laos. Instead, they increased the number of their troops in Laos to 50,000 or 60,000, further strengthening their military control over the country. They occupied mines and military bases in Laos without taking the Laotian authorities into account. Without the permission of the Vietnamese occupation authorities, no Laotian is allowed to go in and out of these areas. More than 6,000 Vietnamese administrative officers have been sent to Laos as "advisers" to control various departments of the Laotian central authorities or even grassroots units in charge of politics, diplomacy, economics, military affairs, culture, and so forth. Resolutions and important documents of the Laotian party Central Committee and government are formulated in Hanoi. Administration of personnel is also controlled by the Vietnamese. The transfer, promotion and punishment of cadres at all levels of the Laotian central authorities and local governments have to be decided by the Vietnamese "advisers." Bodyguards of some senior leaders are Vietnamese. The Le Duan clique has resorted to various conspiratorial means to attack and isolate the Laotian patriotic forces and has sent thousands of spies to Laos. Groups of "unreliable" Laotian senior and middle-ranking cadres have been sent to Hanoi to "study" or are kept under close surveillance in Laos.

In July 1977 a Vietnamese party and government delegation led by Le Duan visited Laos and imposed a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" and a "boundary treaty" on Laos. They have annexed a vast territory in Laos and legalized their nationwide control and military occupation of the country.

Under the control of the Le Duan clique, Laos' natural resources have been wantonly plundered, and the nation's economy has been severely sabotaged. Mineral products, timber, local products, and so forth have been continuously sent to Vietnam by "special" means. Goods sent to Laos by the international community have been constantly withheld or commandeered by Vietnam. No effort has been made to restore industrial and agricultural production in Laos. Instead, production has been devastated, and the people's livelihood is getting worse and worse. In the face of the brutal rule of the Vietnamese invaders and economic bankruptcy, more than 300,000 Laotian people (one-tenth of the country's population) have been forced to leave their country and escape to foreign countries. The people of Meo nationality, who have a good tradition of resisting foreign invaders, have been incessantly encircled and slaughtered by the Vietnamese occupation troops in recent years, and the whole race faces extermination. In the meantime, the Le Duan clique has moved a large number of Vietnamese to Laos. According to reports by foreign news agencies, more than 100,000 Vietnamese have now been moved to Saravane and Attopeu in Laos.

Kampuchea

The Le Duan clique has a bitter hatred of the Democratic Kampuchean Government and people, who are upholding national independence and opposing the "federation of Indochina." As early as the war of resistance against the United States, they were already trying to control the revolutionary power of Kampuchea from within with the help of their agents, but the plot did not succeed. After the war the Le Duan clique regarded the "shelter" areas provided by Kampuchea for the Vietnamese troops during the war as Vietnam's territory and refused to withdraw their troops from these areas, which they later turned into forward positions for invading Kampuchea. Moreover, they occasionally carried out subversive activities against Kampuchea, but they were always foiled in their attempts. Therefore, with the support of the Soviet hegemonists, the Le Duan clique brazenly decided to launch a full-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. In November 1978, after signing a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" with the Soviet Union--a de facto treaty of military alliance--the Le Duan clique sent hundreds of thousands of troops to invade Kampuchea in December and brought back their running dog, Heng Samrin, to Phnom Penh. A puppet regime was thus propped up at bayonet point. In February 1979 the Le Duan clique concocted the so-called Vietnamese-Kampuchean "treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation," trying to legalize their invasion of Kampuchea. They committed all manner of crimes, such as burning, killing and looting wherever they went in Kampuchea. They looted large amounts of gold, silver and antiques from the Kampuchean imperial palace and statues, relief sculptures and so forth from Angkor Wat. They also stole relief goods provided to the Kampuchean people by the international community. In addition, they reaped and seized the rice crops of the Kampuchean people. They relentlessly slaughtered the Kampuchean people with chemical poisons and chemical weapons. The Le Duan clique's military invasion and occupation of Kampuchea has brought an unprecedented catastrophe to the country. Tens of thousands of Kampuchean people have been slaughtered by the Vietnamese aggressor troops in this barbarous war, and more than a million Kampuchean people were compelled to leave their homelands and escape to the Thai-Kampuchean border. Those who stay at home are suffering from hunger, sickness and misery. In addition, the Le Duan clique has imported a great number of Vietnamese into Kampuchea. Only 6 months after the invasion of Kampuchea, more than 200,000 Vietnamese had been moved to Kampuchea. They are scattered along the coastal and eastern provinces of Kampuchea. Recently, Vietnamese immigrants have been installed in some western provinces such as Battambang.

The Le Duan clique, however, has been unable to fulfill its plan of completely occupying Kampuchea. The Vietnamese aggressor troops have been vigorously resisted by the Kampuchean Army and people led by the Democratic Kampuchean Government. The aggressors have become bogged down in a quagmire. The Democratic Kampuchean Government, which is carrying out a patriotic struggle, continues to be recognized all over the world by

countries that uphold justice. Peace-loving people throughout the world sympathize with and support Kampuchea.

It is obvious that the so-called "Indochina federation," or "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea as the Le Duan clique calls it, actually consists of the Vietnamese regional hegemonists' annexation of and colonial rule over two neighboring countries whose independence and sovereignty are universally recognized. If there is any distinction to be made between this type of colonial rule and that of neocolonialism, it is this: Vietnam, under the rule of the Le Duan clique, is utterly destitute. The Le Duan clique is unable to "export commodities or capital" to foreign countries. The only thing they can do is to exercise brutal military rule and loot and plunder. Such colonialism has emerged from the womb of a nation which was subjected to feudalism and colonialism for a long time. This nation once won its independence after many years of warfare. However, it has now become an appendage to social imperialism, because it has been betrayed by its ruling clique. Judging from its specific characteristics, it can be regarded as a variety of contemporary colonialism.

2. The Inherited Traditions of the Vietnamese Feudal Dynasties and French Colonialism

After the Vietnamese small hegemonists had succeeded in their invasion and occupation of Laos and Kampuchea, the Soviet big hegemonists sent a greetings message in the name of one of their organizations, saying: "The long-cherished 'wish from the days of old' of forming a close federation has been successfully realized." The Soviet Union tried to use history to cover up Vietnam's aggression, but such an act became more of a hindrance than a help. If we review history, we discover how the Vietnamese feudal ruling class "longed" to annex Laos and Kampuchea "from the days of old."

From the days of old, various nationalities with different historical backgrounds have lived in the area which we now call Indochina. The Vietnamese nationality lived along Vietnam's coastal area north of 10 degrees north latitude, around the middle and lower reaches of the Red River, where a sovereign state of the Vietnamese feudal dynasty was founded in the 10th century. In an area located between 18 and 12 degrees north latitude lived the Chiem nationality, who believed in Brahmanism. The state of Zhancheng was founded there after the 2d century. The Thai and Lao nationalities lived in the western mountain areas which extended southward from the west bank of the Red River on China's border and the east bank of the Mekong River to the border of present-day Kampuchea. Present-day Kampuchea and the southern part of Vietnam were the territory of the Zhenla state (present-day Kampuchea), which was founded in the 1st century.

After establishing their dynasty, the Vietnamese feudal ruling class regarded southward and westward expansion as its basic national policy. Vietnamese history books blatantly praised this process of expansion as the "southward march." After a protracted southward invasion, the Vietnamese feudal rulers completely annexed all the territories of the civilized ancient state of Zhancheng in 1693. The Chiem nationality was ruthlessly exterminated. A great number of the Chiem people were slaughtered, and many of them were captured and became serfs working in the feudal manors. The rest were driven to the remote, thickly forested mountains in the west, and they lived together with primitive tribes. After occupying the land of the Chiem people, the Vietnamese aristocrats, bureaucrats and landlords rented it to Vietnamese immigrants and exploited them through a high land rent.

In the mid-15th century the Vietnamese feudal ruling class gradually expanded westward, occupying a vast territory on the west bank of the Red River where the Thai nationalities lived. Afterward, they attacked the Xiem Khoung Plain and the Plain of Jars and once occupied Luang Prabang. The Vietnamese were later forced to retreat after they were defeated by Laos. In 1827 the Vietnamese feudal dynasty once again occupied Vientiane and the vast territories in the middle and upper parts of Laos and looted Luang Prabang. The Kingdom of Lan Chang was founded on Laotian territory in the 8th century, when the prefectures of Zhenjing, Zhenbian, Zhenning and Zhenman were set up in order to control Laos.

After annexing Zhencheng, the Vietnamese feudal rulers continued their southwestern drive and carried out armed intervention in Kampuchea. In 1699 the Vietnamese troops pressed on to Phnom Penh, once forcing the Kampuchean king to surrender. After 1753 the Vietnamese feudal rulers annexed the whole area of Shuizhenla (the present-day Mekong Delta in the southern part of Vietnam) and employed Vietnamese immigrants to reclaim wasteland. Because a large number of Vietnamese had emigrated to Kampuchea, the Khmer nationality became a minority nationality. In 1834 the Vietnamese Nguyen dynasty, which had seized power with the support of the French colonialists, occupied Phnom Penh, turning Kampuchea into Vietnam's "City of Zhenxi," which was directly ruled by Vietnamese officials. The Kampuchean people carried out an armed struggle everywhere against the Vietnamese, and with support from Thailand they later expelled the Vietnamese troops. In 1845 the Nguyen dynasty again sent troops to invade Kampuchea, forcing the Kampuchean king to accept a king of the Khmer installed by the Nguyen dynasty and to submit to the "suzerainty" of Vietnam.

The task which the Vietnamese feudal ruling class had not thoroughly accomplished was later carried out and completed by the French colonialists. After occupying the southern part of Vietnam, the French colonialists invaded and occupied Kampuchea in 1863, the whole of Vietnam in 1885 and Laos in 1893. In 1887 the French merged Vietnam and Kampuchea, which they had occupied, into a "French Indochinese

federation." Laos was later amalgamated into the federation, which was administered by the French governor in Indochina. This "Indochina federation" was a colonialist yoke imposed on the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea by bayonets.

Reviewing this phase of history, we can see very clearly that the purpose of the Le Duan clique's southwestern expansion to annex Laos and Kampuchea is to realize the "long-cherished" dream of the Vietnamese feudal dynasty and inherit the mantle of the French colonialists. The process of the Le Duan clique's expansion and annexation is the same as that of the feudal dynasty and colonialists in history, which is one characterized by bloody massacre, plunder, genocide and the exodus of a large number of people.

3. A Component Part of the Global Strategy of Soviet Social Imperialism

The annexation of Laos and Kampuchea and the establishment of an "Indochina federation" are important steps in the Le Duan clique's invasion of and expansion into Southeast Asia and toward their becoming regional small hegemonists. They are also a component part of the global strategy of Soviet social imperialism.

To vie for global hegemonism, Soviet social imperialism has long been trying to establish and control a "security system in Asia." In the meantime, it badly needs bases in Southeast Asia to step up its further southward expansion, such as naval and air bases at Cam Ranh Bay, Da Nang, Xin Shan Yi [2450 1472 0001] and Saigon in Vietnam, Kompong Som in Kampuchea, the Plain of Jars in Laos, and so forth. If the Soviet Union is successful in implementing the plan, it will be able to advance a further 4,000 km southward to the western Pacific area, threaten the Strait of Malacca and link up its strategic deployments in the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union will also coordinate its further westward drive by land toward the Gulf area with its southward strategic advance, linking them with the main battlefront in Europe. Thus, the strategic system of global hegemony and expansion will be complete. Therefore, the Soviet Union needs a henchman who will provide military bases and serve as a ruffian. The Le Duan clique has thus been selected. This is the main reason why the Soviet global hegemonists have been generous enough to foster the Vietnamese regional hegemonists with daily "aid" amounting to \$3 million.

The Le Duan clique has set its mind on becoming a hegemonist in Southeast Asia. While extending its control over Laos and carrying out a full-scale invasion of Kampuchea, they openly said that "Indochina is the key for opening the gate to Southeast Asia." They are now speeding up their "strategy of attack" by maintaining a powerful military force of 1.2 million men in a country with a population of 50 million. Vietnam, which is economically destitute and on the verge of bankruptcy, is not able to afford endless external expansion and military aggression.

Therefore, it is the Le Duan clique's inexorable logic to throw themselves into the arms of the Soviet social imperialists and embark on the road of openly opposing China, invading and annexing Laos and Kampuchea and carrying out aggression and expansion in Southeast Asia. Not long ago the Le Duan clique said with great candor: "We have never spent a single cent on arms and munitions, because they are all supplied by our Soviet friends." This shows how closely the Vietnamese regional hegemonists have embraced the Soviet global hegemonists. The Le Duan clique relies on the political support and military and economic aid of the Soviet Union. It is by means of this support and aid that the Soviet Union controls Vietnam, firmly binding it to the Soviet war chariot and using the Vietnamese to serve its global strategy. Of late the Le Duan clique has openly proclaimed: "The cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union has developed into an all-round cooperation and federation." This shows how the Le Duan clique, which claims to be "nonaligned," has become the henchman and accomplice of Soviet social imperialism at the expense of the national independence, sovereignty, livelihood and property of the Vietnamese people.

4. Hell on Earth for the People of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea

After the death of Chairman Ho Chi Minh and the unification of Vietnam, the Le Duan clique resorted to all sorts of schemes and intrigues to seize the leadership of the party and state. Motivated by their long-cherished ideas of big Vietnamese chauvinism, which they have been developing viciously, the Le Duan clique has expeditiously embarked on the road of oppressing the domestic population and minority nationalities, carrying out external aggression and expansion and bullying and humiliating the small and weak neighboring nations.

The Le Duan clique pursues factional and autocratic rule at home, casts aside people who disagree with them and frames honest and innocent people. They are implementing a policy of national oppression, abrogating the rights of the two national autonomous regions established long ago in the northern and northwestern parts of Vietnam and depriving the national minorities of their autonomous rights. The Le Duan clique is carrying out a wholesale campaign of "purifying the border," slaughtering, persecuting and expelling people of various nationalities living along the northern borders. They are bloodily suppressing various nationalities in the western plains. In the meantime, they are expelling and persecuting Chinese residents and Vietnamese residents of Chinese origin throughout the country, thereby committing the most brutal and ruthless crimes of racism in modern history.

Today, under the rule and occupation of the Le Duan clique, the so-called "Indochina federation" has become a hell on earth for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Various nationalities in Laos and Kampuchea and some nationalities in Vietnam, such as the (Dai Y), Khmer, Hoa, Thai, Nung, Meo, Dao, Lap Dac, Chiem, and so forth are bullied by the big

Vietnamese chauvinists. The broad masses of the Vietnamese people have been severely harmed as a result of reactionary policies implemented by the Le Duan clique at home and abroad. The Le Duan clique cannot but admit that in Vietnam people lack grain, factories are short of materials, farmland is impoverished because of the lack of fertilizers, daily necessities are in short supply, foreign exchange has dried up and creditors are knocking at the door again and again. Under the brutal and fascist rule of secret agents, the Vietnamese people have been deprived of all their democratic rights, and thousands upon thousands of cadres and masses have been thrown into labor camps. Not being able to withstand the oppression and miserable life, millions of Vietnamese have fled their country through various channels. Foreign reporters who visited Vietnam last June said that Vietnam "has become a land of terror, hatred and poverty."

Through the above analyses we can see very clearly that the Le Duan clique is intrinsically a national chauvinist and reactionary group which has inherited the mantle of feudal rulers and colonialists and closely embraced social imperialism. It is trying to permanently and forcibly annex two independent and sovereign states and nations which have a long history and cultural traditions. All this runs counter to the trend of history. Our revolutionary teacher Engels pointed out: "No one can subjugate a nation without receiving punishment." The perverse acts of the Le Duan clique are apt to meet with firm resistance from the people of Kampuchea and Laos. It will be strongly condemned and punished by just and peaceable countries and peoples throughout the world. The Vietnamese people, whose suffering and hardship is increasing from day to day, will come around to the realization that they must rise against the suppression, invasion and expansion of the Le Duan clique. The Le Duan clique is being increasingly isolated from the world community and the broad masses of people, and it has found that things are becoming increasingly difficult. The clique's efforts at pursuing regional hegemonism and concocting some sort of "Indochina federation" or so-called "special federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea will inevitably end in failure.

CSO: 4004

WE SHOULD WELCOME FRANK WORDS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 p 49

[Article by Shaqin [3097], Boxiang [0130 4382] and Zhiliang [1807 5328]]

[Text] In our contacts with some leading cadres we sometimes hear the following complaints: Certain comrades like to "raise objections," certain comrades "do not follow instructions well," etc. Such words from the leaders deserve attention. We recall an old proverb which states: "The questioning of one man is worth more than the yes of 1,000." It means that when we are listening to the views of others, the sound of the agreement of 1,000 people cannot compare with the frank words of one person. Today, to admonish our leading comrades with this proverb appears to be highly necessary.

Those who agree and those who question are two kinds of people with entirely different kinds of attitudes. When the leader makes a statement, those of the former kind disregard the right or wrong and say yes continuously, displaying complete obedience, while those of the latter kind think independently and determine whether it is compatible with reality before deciding on how to carry it out. When inspecting and summarizing work, the former lavish unprincipled flatteries, give all credit to the leader, take their cue from him and cover up the mistakes and defects, while the latter seek the truth from the facts, conscientiously summarize the experiences, make no exaggeration of the achievements, give no quarter when discussing problems, uphold the principles and possess the courage to criticize. One can thus see that the fundamental distinction between the two kinds of people is as follows: To the former, personal gain or loss comes first, and the superior is the most important; to the latter, the party's interest comes first, and the truth is the most important. It reflects two different ideological lines and qualities.

In real life it is often easy to hear the sound of agreement but difficult to listen to the sound of questioning, because the patriarchal practice has become a habit for some people. Some leading cadres like to hear agreement from all their subordinates. Others, though verbally

advocating "full democracy," "criticism from the masses" and "no retaliation, no labeling and no clubbing," the moment the masses express critical views and reveal the defects and errors in work, feel that the "skeleton in the closet" is exposed and that they have "lost dignity." They either resort to every means to reject such opinions and accuse the dissenters of "pride and conceit" and "lack of respect for the leaders," or they hold a grudge, seek the opportunity to retaliate and force the dissenters to wear small shoes. These are the remnants of the feudal idea of special privilege and call for conscientious handling.

It is easy to be compliant and difficult to question. Though the saying that "expressing opinions brings disadvantages, and it is better to be docile" is wrong, it is commonplace in everyday life. Being compliant rather than questioning is linked with the leadership, because it is preferred by some leaders. Therefore, to truly develop democracy we must start from the leadership. A leader must detest the sound of agreement and welcome the questioning words, "bowing to the words of wisdom...glad to hear of his own mistakes." Only thus will a democratic atmosphere be created whereby people will say all they know and say it without reservation and express their opinions, including sharp criticisms, face to face; only thus can we activate the enthusiasm of the broad masses and further the party's work.

Naturally, advocating questioning words does not mean encouraging extreme democracy or permitting objections to the lines and policies of the party Central Committee; what it means is to pool the wisdom of the masses and promote the four modernization construction. As long as our leaders at all levels possess an unselfish open mind and welcome the questioning words from all sides, and as long as the broad ranks of party members and cadres develop the revolutionary spirit of seeking truth from facts and exercising conscientious responsibility, then our party's cause will flourish more and more.

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CSO: 4004

THE PAMIRS IN SNOWSTORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 80 inside back cover

[Woodcut by Ye Yuzhong [0673 3022 0022]]



CSO: 4004

END

