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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 1, 1 January 1983

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## CHINA REPORT

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

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ON QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 2-10

[Article by Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721]]

[Text] Editor's note: On 24 April 1982, Comrade Hu Yaobang met Comrade Deng Liqun and some other comrades and made an important speech on the party's ideological and political work. In this speech, apart from citing the party's historical experience to demonstrate the importance of ideological and political work, Comrade Hu Yaobang also proceeded from current realities and gave a detailed exposition of the nature, aims and tasks of the party's ideological and political work, the special features of this work and the basic methods suited to it, and raised questions of building an ideological and political work force and issues currently meriting attention on the ideological front. This speech by Comrade Hu Yaobang is of great importance for the whole party in summing up experiences in ideological and political work, overcoming laxity and weakness in leadership over ideological and political work and creating a new situation in ideological and political work.

Our party's achievements in leading and uniting the masses to wage great struggles and constantly win victory are inseparable from the fact that the party has consistently attached importance to ideological and political work. After its founding, the party used various types of newspapers and publications, books and other forms to extensively publicize Marxism-Leninism and the victory of the October Revolution in Russia. This played an effective role in enlightening China's worker-peasant masses and intellectuals. We first set up a political work system in the Red Army during the Jinggangshan period. The cardinal link in political work was to educate the cadres and fighters in revolutionary ideology and arouse their revolutionary consciousness. During the entire period of the 10-year land revolution, despite very poor material and other conditions, we defeated frequent encirclements by the enemy, expanded the Red Army and the bases,

completed the unprecedented 25,000-li Long March, and in the end carried on. After that we experienced the 8-year war of resistance to Japan and the liberation war, which lasted more than 3 years, and gained victory throughout the land. What did we depend on? Fundamentally speaking, our victory was gained because our party's line, principles and policies were correct, and our party closely integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution; and because our party represented the interests of the people of the whole country, and our party members and fighters fought hard and made bloody sacrifices to liberate the people of the whole country, and were thus able to mobilize and lead the masses to wage victorious struggles. An important method adopted by the whole party throughout this period was to enhance the masses' revolutionary consciousness by means of ideological and political work. The entire historical experience of our party shows that the development and victory of our cause were built on the foundation of correct leadership and conscious masses; and after the condition of correct leadership had been gained, the masses' consciousness was the decisive factor. We therefore say that skill in ideological and political work is an important characteristic distinguishing our party from other political parties and is an extremely important condition for winning victory in revolution and construction.

At present, our party's ideological and political work is in many respects and links not done as well as in the past. It could be said that many of the party's fine traditions have been discarded. Failure to attach importance to ideological and political work and an inability to do this work are universal phenomena. Of course there are many reasons for this, and one of them is that we have not summed up well, systematically and profoundly, the experiences in ideological and political work in light of the practice of revolution and construction since the founding of the state. A major task that ought to be carried out by the party organizations of every place, department and unit is to investigate seriously and study, sum up the positive and negative historical experiences in ideological and political work, and form a complete set of correct viewpoints and methods. This task should in particular be grasped well by the party's propaganda departments.

In a talk in July 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that there was laxity and weakness in party leadership over ideological and political work. This criticism hit the nail right on the head and raised a key question on our ideological front. The central authorities therefore convened the forum on problems on the ideological front and afterwards issued documents; these were conveyed and discussed in all departments and localities. At that time, apart from tackling problems of bourgeois liberalization in a few aspects, including literature and art creation, the other fields were basically untouched. 'It is evident that it is by no means easy to solve the problems in connection with reality in all aspects in accordance with the Central Committee's demand. That is to say, people did not think that the central authorities' guiding principles applied in their case. Is this not called taking one's seat according to the ticket number? Certain comrades can often never find room for the central instructions in their units or implement them in their actions. Right at the start of 1982,

the Central Committee emphasized promoting the building of socialist spiritual civilization, hitting at serious economic crimes, and carrying out structural reforms. As soon as these three issues were tackled, the laxity and weakness in ideological and political work was further changed. Ideological and political work cannot be tackled in a general way; instead we should relentlessly grasp one or two main issues at a time. In this respect, our party's ideological and political work has still not been properly implemented in many ways, and the problems of laxity and weakness still exist among the leaders of many departments and places.

The work of many departments and places has improved in recent years, but ideological and political work has still not been well grasped. This is a basic matter. This does not mean that the comrades doing ideological and political work are no good; the great majority of them are good comrades. Nor does it mean that our comrades have no standards; many of them do. It seems that a main problem on the ideological front is that there is not enough systematic summation of experiences and not enough study of the current ideological state and characteristics of the cadres and masses, while the methods used are not very apt. Hence the whole party must systematically and deeply ponder this question. On this occasion I am just raising questions and giving a few personal views; I hope everyone will study them.

#### What Is Our Party's Ideological and Political Work

In order to sum up experience, we must first have a clear idea of what ideological and political work is. There would seem to be no problem here. The targets of ideological and political work are people and their thinking, viewpoints and standpoint. Our party's ideological and political work is aimed at solving problems in people's thinking, viewpoint and political standpoint, and mobilizing the cadres and masses to attain the current and the long-term goals of the revolution. Is there anything unclear about this? But actually there is. In fact, the thinking of many comrades is still muddled and even stupid. It is therefore extremely important to truly clarify this issue.

We are faced with the problem of method in our study of things. The method told us by Marx is to start with the most universal and basic things in order to reveal their essence. In studying capitalist society, Marx precisely started with the most simple, universal and basic relationship, that is, the exchange of commodities. He wrote "Das Kapital," which became a classic in political economy. The historical materialism of Marxist philosophy began with people's food, clothing and housing needs, which meant that people have to engage in production, and reached the conclusion that productive force determines production relations and the economic base determines the superstructure. It will be recalled that when Comrade Mao Zedong criticized dogmatism and subjectivism at the central revolutionary base, he said that people have to eat, roads are for people to walk on, after walking people need to sleep, and bullets can kill people. Why did Comrade Mao Zedong say these things? Because the dogmatists at that time issued an order requiring the army to march 120 li in 1 night and then wipe



out the enemy. Was this possible? And so Comrade Mao Zedong used the most universal and basic reasoning to refute them; this was using materialism to oppose subjectivism. The theory of scientific socialism also begins with class analysis and clarifies the issues of how there were no classes at the start of human history, how classes formed, developed and changed, and how to eliminate classes and attain the communist society of the proletariat, and so on.

Therefore, when studying how to strengthen ideological and political work, we must grasp the fundamental and essential parts of this work by utilizing Marxist methods and analyzing phenomena and at the same time, we should point out and clarify many confused ideas.

For example, is it right to say that ideological and political work is to organize people to study the central leadership's documents? This answer of course includes some truth, but it does not touch the essence of ideological and political work.

For another example, some people say that ideological and political work is to commend good people and good things, advanced figures and deeds and to sum up and publicize advanced experiences. This is also somewhat true, but it does not touch the essence of ideological and political work either.

For another example, it is said that ideological and political work is to carry out criticism and self-criticism. Of course, criticism and self-criticism constitute an important method in ideological and political work, but this definition again does not reveal the essence of this work.

The above propositions do point out some important facts and forms of ideological and political work from different angles, but they fail to explain the most essential aspect of ideological and political work. Therefore, it is necessary for us to discuss and study ideological and political work so as to enable people to truly realize the essence of ideological and political work, that is, the purpose and task of this work and the relationship of this work with other work, and first of all, with economic work. Through study and discussion, we can correct various confused ideas about this question.

#### What Is the Purpose and Task of Ideological and Political Work

In a word, the purpose and task of ideological and political work is to enhance people's capacity for understanding and remolding the world. To say this in more detail, it is to educate party members and cadres, educate the broad masses, the working class as a whole and the people as a whole in revolutionary ideology and spirit, that is, in communist ideology, in Marxist basic theory and Mao Zedong Thought, which combines the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete practice of the revolution and construction in China so as to enlighten and enhance people's revolutionary consciousness, to enable people to establish correct standpoints and viewpoints and master correct thinking methods and work methods and to improve people's capacity for understanding and reforming the world through repeated practice.

In the essay "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong points out: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world comprises the fulfillment of the following tasks: to change the objective world and at the same time, their own subjective world--to change their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and the objective world." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 272-273) We communists, as the vanguards of the proletariat, should not only play an exemplary role in fulfilling the tasks of changing both the objective and their own subjective world, but should also, through ideological and political work, influence and attract more and more people to fulfill these tasks. We should make more and more people understand: "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world." (ibid., p 273) We must get a good grasp of this epistemology of dialectical materialism so as to ensure our party's ideological and political work is closely related around the fundamental purpose and task of understanding and remolding the world.

It is of course not easy to enhance the capacity for understanding the objective world, including the capacity for observation, analysis and distinguishing. This is because the objective world is so complex that nobody can acquire a clear knowledge of it in a short while. Moreover, since social practice is developing continuously, as individuals, no person can have complete knowledge. On this issue, we have committed many errors for a fairly long time. For example, some people and some things were said to be constantly and absolutely correct. Of course, this was at variance with the facts. "The movement of change in the world of objective reality is never ending and so is man's cognition of truth through practice." (ibid., p 272) All truths are relative in the long course of human cognition with absolute truth being included in relative truth. Absolute truth is a sum total of innumerable relative truths. Man's cognition can merely approach absolute truth through relative truths while the limits and degrees of the approach have to be conditioned by historical circumstances. Therefore, it is impossible that some people are omniscient and omnipotent and it is not possible that some people are always correct.

Our ideological and political work is to publicize the party's line, principles and policies for revolution and construction and struggle objectives, strategies and methods among the vast number of party members, cadres and the masses, and to educate them in these things so as to enlighten and enhance their revolutionary consciousness and enable them to consciously and willingly follow the party's political leadership. In this way, it can effect ideological and political mobilization which arouses great strength so as to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks of revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong underlined the great importance of ideological and political work in his essay "On Protracted War." Apart from a special section on "Political Mobilization for the War of Resistance," he also pointed out in the section entitled "The Army and the People Are the Foundation of Victory": "The reform of our military system requires its modernization and improved

technical equipment, without which we cannot drive the enemy back across the Yalu Jiang. In our employment of troops we need progressive, flexible strategies and tactics, without which we likewise cannot win victory. Nevertheless, soldiers are the foundation of an army; unless they are imbued with a progressive political spirit, and unless such a spirit is fostered through progressive political work, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity between officers and men, impossible to arouse to the full their enthusiasm for the war of resistance and impossible to provide a sound basis for the most effective use of all our technical equipment and tactics." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 478) Though here Mao Zedong referred to war, the principle expounded by him still holds true in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

In order to build socialism, we should not only build a high level of material civilization, continuously develop and improve the material and technical foundation for the socialist system, but should also build a high level of spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, which is also an essential requirement of the socialist system. Our construction will not be able to go on smoothly without improving the revolutionary consciousness of the vast number of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other masses, without enlightening their firm belief in communism, without encouraging them to show initiative, creativity and enthusiasm in building socialism, without arousing their senses of honor, pride and responsibility toward their work, and particularly without requiring the vast number of our party members, league members and cadres to play an exemplary role in these areas. It will even be very difficult for us to achieve our goals if we fail to do a good job in the above areas, because there are various ideas in people's minds; both communist and noncommunist ideology exist simultaneously. There are capitalist ideology, feudal ideology as well as the backward ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. All kinds of nonproletarian ideology will impede our correct implementing of the party's line, principles and policies and hinder us from carrying out unswerving struggle which is necessary for the realization of the tasks set forth by our party. It will also prevent us from remolding both the objective world and our own subjective world. Without eliminating nonproletarian ideology, our revolution will not succeed and our construction will not be successful. The purpose of ideological and political work is to sweep away these things. This is also a sanitation and hygiene movement and a movement of general cleaning. All of us should set to work and do cleaning every day and only by sweeping in a proper way can we achieve results.

Thus, our party's ideological and political work should first function in strengthening, encouraging and arousing people's belief, enthusiasm, willpower and morale. That is what we often say--firm and scientific faith, revolutionary enthusiasm, staunch willpower and high morale. If ideological and political work remain only at the stage of understanding the world and fail to encourage people to change the world in practice, then it will only be empty talk. Enhancing people's revolutionary consciousness means that we should strengthen and enhance the revolutionary faith, enthusiasm, fighting will and resolution of a vast number of party members, cadres and masses. It should be noticed that in the course of revolution and construction,

various erroneous ideas and actions will continually arise among the people, such as actions of excess, cowardliness and retrogression. Our comrades who are engaged in ideological and political work should be good at promptly perceiving new situations and studying new problems so as to correctly and effectively educate and help people to promptly correct their erroneous understanding, standpoint and method in the course of understanding and changing the world. They should even do this work in advance and take preventive measures so as to solve problems in their embryonic stage or enable people to have sufficient mental preparation before problems appear. Thus, through repeated practice, deepening our cognition and enhancing our capacity for changing the world are the fundamental purposes and tasks of ideological and political work of our party which take the changing of the world as its own mission. All of our comrades engaging in ideological and political work must clearly realize this point and should never lump together some specific parts and methods of ideological and political work with our fundamental purposes and tasks. The specific parts and concrete methods and means of ideological and political work may be diverse and changeable with different historical conditions, circumstances and specific objects. If we only pay attention to means and methods or only remember some individual and concrete items but forget the fundamental purpose and task, our ideological and political work will not reap good results and the comrades who are engaging in this work cannot improve themselves either.

#### What Are the Features of Ideological and Political Work

Any work or any department has its own features. To understand things, we must begin with their features. Anyone who has a clear understanding of the features of his own department and its relationship to other things can do his work with good results. The features of ideological and political work are derived from the object of its given tasks. As mentioned above, the object of ideological and political work is men. We must straighten out the thinking, viewpoint and standpoint of men. This is different from economic work. It is also not completely like the work of the organizational department.

The scope of ideological and political work is very broad. There are people in every department or unit. People think. Therefore, every department or unit must do ideological and political work. All work is done by people. In the process of physical or mental work, people would think this way or that. Therefore, in doing anything, we must do ideological and political work. Comrade Mao Zedong said that ideological and political work is a guarantee for economic work. In a broad sense, ideological and political work should be the guarantee for all work. Given a good performance in ideological problems, half the battle is won. No department or unit can ever forget ideological and political work in doing any work.

Ideological and political work calls for, first of all, the solution of the problem of ideological awareness and the problem of a political stand. Lenin said many times that Marxism cannot automatically spring up in workers' minds but must be instilled into them. Later, Comrade Mao Zedong also said on many occasions that we must enlighten and educate people. We must advocate such

virtues as love for the motherland, love for the people, love for labor, love for science and love for socialism and carry out education in patriotism, internationalism, collectivism, communism and education in dialectical materialism and the world outlook represented by historical materialism. We must resist capitalist, feudalist and other decadent ideas. We must imbue people with revolutionary ideals, moral principles and a sense of discipline. We must raise people's consciousness as the masters. These are undoubtedly the most constant and most general contents of ideological and political work.

In "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the three major principles of political work in the army--unity between officers and men, unity between the army and the people and the disintegration of the enemy troops. What is meant here is actually the correct handling of the relationship between men. In building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, we must also pay good attention to the proper handling of relationships of this kind, such as the relationship between workers and peasants, the relationship between the worker-peasant masses and intellectuals, the relationship between cadres and the masses, the relationship among people of all nationalities of the country, the relationship between the Chinese people and the people of various countries, the relationship between the Chinese proletariat and the bourgeoisie in foreign countries, and so forth. We must also correctly handle the relationship between various kinds of people in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in social life. Of course, also involved here are some fundamental policies of our party and state. It is not just the business of the ideological and political work department. But our ideological and political work must be conducive to unity among people of all nationalities of the country and people in all circles and to unity between the Chinese people and the people of various countries in the world. Given firm unity at home and international unity, we can, in the process of socialist construction, overcome various difficulties, effectively resist domestic and external enemies and achieve our goals in a relatively short period of time and at a relatively small cost.

Unlike economic, technical and other material things, changes in people's thinking are governed by different laws. Therefore, unlike the economic department, we, in doing ideological and political work, cannot formulate annual plans or 5-year plans and set clear-cut goals. A few years ago, I told the comrades of the propaganda department that the work of the propaganda department could not be just a matter of calling one conference a year. The planning department can call just one conference a year and take care of such matters as what are the goals for the year, how much money is to be spent, how large are the supplies of things required and how to bring about a balance. The organization department generally can also meet once a year. If the propaganda department meets just once a year, setting forth several tasks in a sweeping manner, many problems cannot be properly solved. The propaganda department must call many meetings a year--large, medium-sized and small meetings. Mainly small meetings must be called. A meeting should be held with a particular problem in mind. The comrades concerned must be brought together for a joint discussion. Concerning how to

understand and approach things, how to carry out publicity and education and how to adhere to principle and foster a sense of propriety, we must seek actual results; and in a word, where there are existing problems and especially where an ideological trend of a general nature is discovered, we must immediately call a meeting, make an analysis and work out a few rules for implementation. The results of certain kinds of work must be summed up promptly. For example, the "civilization and courtesy month," "five stresses and four beauties" and other campaigns launched throughout the country must be summed up in time. We must study what effects have been produced, determine if there is any typical example, if there is any problem and what are the future plans. In my opinion, the propaganda departments at all levels must, in light of the progress of work and changes in people's thinking, tackle a number of problems in a given year and make studies to find five solutions.

The fundamental principle of ideological and political work means conducting education and persuasion of people and does not mean adopting coercive and forceful methods or issuing administrative orders. Concerning the problems of ideology and understanding among the people, we must adopt the principle of clearing the way and providing guidance and opposing the principle of blocking it. The principle of clearing the way and providing guidance is the correct principle for ideological and political work. We must guide while clearing the way and clear the way while guiding, and both clear the way and guide. Clearing the way means providing wide opportunities for airing views and pooling the wisdom of the masses. Guiding means teaching with skill and patience and conducting education by persuasion. We must seek truth from facts, convince people with reason, and stress practical results. We must go deep among the people and patiently conduct arduous and meticulous work in light of the ideological state of the masses. If we rely on coercion and force regarding people's ideological problems, and if we rely on big and empty talk, boasting and lies over matters for which it is necessary to mobilize the masses, we are acting in a way totally opposite to all of our party's principles, including the correct principle of ideological education.

Since ideological and political work means educating and persuading people and raising their revolutionary consciousness and their ability to understand things, apart from relying on the broad masses of party members and people to do it, we must rely on cadres to tackle the large amount of work. Therefore, the propaganda and political work departments' organizing and guiding such work must first properly do the work concerning cadres, educating and persuading them and raising their revolutionary consciousness and their ability to understand things. The first four volumes of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" mentioned the theory of the Chinese revolution and pointed out the line, strategies and general and specific policies for work at all stages. As far as the object of education is concerned, we must first carry out ideological and political work among cadres, educating and convincing them, so that they understand the principle of revolution. Then through the cadres, we must educate, unite and guide the masses, thus achieving victory in revolution.

Of the articles in which Comrade Mao Zedong systematically defined ideological and political work, the earliest was the Gutian congress resolution written in 1929. At that time, subjectivism prevailed and nonproletarian ideas were rife. This resolution enabled the worker-peasant Red Army to be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to basically eliminate the influences of the old-type army. This was also first aimed at cadres. When it came to the problem of mistreating and beating and taunting soldiers, who was mentioned? It was the cadres who were mentioned. Such articles as "The Situation and Tasks of the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan" and "On Protracted War" also first mentioned the need to convince cadres. Given the correct thinking of cadres and a raised level on their part, the job of carrying out ideological education among workers, peasants and fighters is rendered relatively easy.

The time our party did ideological and political work well was the period of the Red Army, the period of Yanan or the period shortly after the founding of the PRC. Later, for a period of time, under the influence of "leftist" mistakes, ideological and political work was gradually turned into a means used by leaders in coping with ordinary workers, peasants, fighters and intellectuals. The reputation of ideological and political work became stained, with very bad consequences. To certain cadres, it seemed that only the common people had incorrect ideas and that they themselves were all right. To them, it seemed that raising revolutionary consciousness and the ability to understand things involved only the common people and that this had nothing to do with themselves. Certain leadership cadres also think that they themselves were many times wiser than ordinary ones and that there was basically no need for them to undergo transformation. Comrade Mao Zedong criticized this erroneous trend many times. Facts proved to be the opposite of what they had thought. Many kinds of work were not done well and even chaos and losses resulted. This was first blamed on the problem of ideological awareness and political stand involving cadres and party members, or on the problem of style. With the thinking of cadres raised and wrong things overcome, the job was made easy.

Therefore, in doing ideological and political work, we must first solve the ideological problems among cadres. To change the state of a lack of organization and discipline in the production of coal and charcoal, the leaders of the Ministry of Coal Industry first worked on cadres at all levels. The first rule was for cadres to work side by side with the rank and file. The second was to transfer those cadres originally working on the surface of the ground to work below the surface. The third rule was to criticize the lethargic state of cadres. Did not Comrade Mao Zedong often mention the need to "move the god"? The god means the common people. To "move the god" means doing ideological and political work, including the need for cadres to set personal examples by taking part in collective production and labor and mingling with the masses as one.

After the founding of the PRC, we paid relatively serious attention in the first few years to the training of cadres on a rotating basis, their education and the elevation of their cultural, scientific and theoretical levels. The pity was that we did not stick it out. We missed many favorable

opportunities. This was a great mistake. Now, the party Central Committee is determined to carry out education and training for cadres, give them training on a rotating basis and improve their caliber. It has called on all our cadres to think more of the affairs of the state and of the people and not to place their personal affairs first. Those people who become obsessed with subjectivism all day can get nowhere. We must encourage cadres to devote the great part of their time after work to reading. They must pick up some books on theory, on science and on particular trades and raise their cultural and ideological levels.

Only by understanding and grasping the features of ideological and political work can we work out correct methods. Without understanding China's features, our party could not have guided the Chinese revolution to victory and cannot guide socialist modernization to victory. Without understanding the features of ideological and political work, we cannot possibly improve and strengthen ideological and political work and bring about the vigorous development of this kind of work to achieve marked new progress.

#### Educators Must First Be Educated

Since ideological and political work consists chiefly of education this is in fact a question of how to strengthen the ranks of ideological and political workers. It is necessary for educators to have not only a correct ideological viewpoint and political stand but also correct ways and methods.

There are two forms of education: one is education by argument and reasoning and another is education in terms of images (chiefly through literature and art). It is necessary for educators to be familiar with these two forms of education and to be good at applying them in their work.

How is our education by argument and reasoning at present? The problem in this respect lies chiefly in the lack of conviction. What is referred to as lack of conviction is that we do not sufficiently explain the truth, that it does not produce vigorous agitation and that it fails to move the people. There are only two forms of education by argument and reasoning: one is orally, such as speeches, reports, transmission of documents, talks, arguments, criticism and self-criticism; another is by writing, such as resolutions, instructions, theoretical works, popular literature, commentaries and news reports. There are two major common failings in many of our articles and speeches: The first is that we only apply the deductive method and that we do not or seldom apply the method of analysis. We often infer from one concept what and how we should do without so much as presenting the facts and reasoning things out or making concrete analyses according to facts or reasoning things out while recounting. Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong were different. When we read their major works, we become aware of an outstanding feature, that is, they make concrete analyses of concrete problems and are very convincing. Take Comrade Mao Zedong's article, "On Protracted War," for example. First it analyzes and compares the actual conditions of both China and Japan and their strong and weak points and says that the theory of national subjugation is wrong and that the theory of quick victory is likewise wrong. Then it amply presents the facts and



reasons things out through detailed analysis, argument and reasoning. The second common failing is that we load our articles or speeches with too many concepts, with one concept linked with another and big concepts linked with small ones. Why is it that many people are unwilling to listen to a report or a speech or read a thesis or an editorial? We should find the cause not only from the audience or readers but also from ourselves, which is chiefly because we do not penetratingly analyze and dissect problems and clearly reason things out.

Our education in terms of images is chiefly reflected in the problems that exist in literature and art. In addition to bad political tendencies, unhealthy ideology and feelings and a bad social effect in some works, there are also some works which lack appeal and have little social effect. The CPC Central Committee pointed out before the "Cultural Revolution" that there was a defect of formalism and generalization in our literary and art creation. This hit home as far as the literary and art features are concerned. Our education in terms of images lacks appeal so that people do not want to read them. It fails to strike a sympathetic chord in their ideas and feelings and in the depth of their souls after they read it and it fails to produce repercussions and exert a perceptible influence.

Why is it that our education by argument and reasoning carries little conviction and that our education in terms of images lacks appeal? This is because our educators fail to master the laws governing these two kinds of education. Therefore, it is necessary for all trades and services, first of all the propaganda, cultural and educational departments that have a direct relationship with ideological and political work, to receive some training in basic methods. All trades and services, whether in party work or in ideological and political work, should have their own basic knowledge and professional skills. We should not consider that only those who engage in economic and technical work face a problem of specialization.

It will be impossible for our cadres in various trades and services, and the leading cadres in particular, to do their work well if they do not have some basic training in professional knowledge, do not have professional skills and do not become experts.

Educators must first be educated. As far as ideological viewpoint and political stand are concerned, there are three main requirements:

1. Our revolutionary consciousness, knowledge in various aspects and our abilities in recognizing some aspects of objective things should always be higher, greater and stronger than other people's and we should be a little ahead of them. If you want to persuade other people to have confidence in socialism, you should first have conviction. If you vacillate and have no conviction, how can you enhance other people's conviction?
2. It is necessary to understand the specific law governing ideological and political work, be familiar with the specific features of our work and, proceeding from practice, correctly apply the objective law in our work. This is not merely a professional question for it is first of all a question of ideological and political standards.

3. We should set an example not only by giving verbal directions but also by teaching others by our own examples and by integrating both of them. If you do not match your deeds with your words, no matter how well you talk, people will not listen to you; if you talk about wholehearted service to the people but you do not serve the people even half-heartedly, this will exert a very bad influence. Why is it that, at present, some people do not have strength and good effect in doing ideological and political work? An important reason is that they do not set an example. If a person can set an example, his speech can carry weight. This is a most important condition in doing a good job of ideological and political work. In mobilizing the masses to do something, all party members, particularly party cadres holding leading positions, should first be able to do it.

#### Some Problems We Should Pay Attention to on the Current Ideological Front

The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that it is still necessary to continuously eliminate "leftist" things on the political, economic and ideological fronts. At the same time it is necessary to pay serious attention to and deal seriously with bourgeois liberalization and pay attention to overcoming feudal things. We should never lower our guard. The idea that "leftist" things have been completely eliminated as a result of bringing order out of chaos is not correct. Actually, we should still exert great efforts to fight against them in the future. Some people who were extremely "leftist" during the "Cultural Revolution" are now extremely rightist. They jump from one extreme to another. Of course, this kind of person is very few in number. We should make a practical analysis that conforms with principles in order to determine which are "leftist" and which are rightist things on the political, economic and ideological fronts and in various different tasks and specific problems. We should oppose either "leftist" or "rightist" things, as appropriate. We should not treat different things as the same.

The open-door policy has brought us many beneficial things. But it has also brought us many germs. Therefore, we should adopt dual tactics. On the one hand, we should resolutely implement the open-door policy, because this policy is correct. On the other hand, we should resolutely resist decadent capitalist things, including the bourgeois ideology and way of life. There are at least two kinds of "sugar-coated bullets," including money, beautiful women, foreign goods and so forth, which corrupt us materially. The other kind is spiritual "sugar-coated bullets," including decadent capitalist ideological viewpoints, culture, art, way of life and so forth, which corrode us ideologically, erode our fighting will and convictions, and confuse our minds. Every nation has its advanced and backward things. With respect to all foreign things, we should acquire the concept of one divides into two. In other words, we should absorb good things from others, but resolutely resist those decadent and backward things. Socialism and capitalism are two different worlds. We are building a socialist spiritual civilization which is, by and large, much loftier than capitalism. With respect to the open-door policy we are now implementing, there are also various comments from the outside world. We should also adopt the attitude of analysis by adhering to our Marxist stand,

viewpoints, methods and principles without being swayed by comments from the outside world.

With respect to press reporting, first, we should not report news worshipping things foreign; second, we should pay attention to policy; third, we should clearly check on things before publishing reports and avoid boastful and exaggerated reports. With respect to reports from the capitalist world, our newspapers and periodicals should be very serious and careful and should adopt an attitude of analysis and criticism. We should never eulogize them or engage in so-called pure objective reporting. Being an ideological matter, the press cannot be without a class nature. When class is eliminated in the future throughout the world, there will still be rights and wrongs, let alone not only when class struggle is still very acute and complicated, as at present on the world scale. With regard to the achievements of scientific research, advanced technology and rational methods of management in the capitalist world, we may report them and advocate learning from them but we should absorb, digest or develop them in light of the actual conditions in our country and according to our specific conditions. As to its social system, its decadent ideological viewpoints and all things diametrically opposed to socialism, we should never eulogize them.

With regard to literature and art, particularly films, operas and novels, we should avoid indiscriminate and excessive learning from the skill and art of the West. We should not completely and uncritically accept artistic viewpoints of the West. To deal with those who wantonly and brazenly spread bourgeois poison, the first step we should take is to criticize them. If they turn a deaf ear to our criticism, we should transfer them to other posts. If they refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions or persist in their mistakes, the third step we should take is to take disciplinary measures against them. Those who deliberately spread ideological poison, slander our socialist system, instigate the worship of foreign things and fawning on foreign powers and carry out feudal and superstitious activities should be condemned by the public opinion of society. Those who truly cause serious consequences should be legally accountable. What do we rely on to maintain popular morale if we do not rely on Marxism in practicing socialism and in building our country into a powerful modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy? Once our spiritual pillar of fighting for communism collapses and once the four pillars of abiding by the four fundamental principles collapse, will it still be possible for the great building of our Chinese nation not to topple? Once a nation has collapsed spiritually, its politics, economy and culture will also break down completely. There are many lessons drawn from such incidents. Under the conditions of implementing the open-door policy toward foreign countries, Communist Party members and party cadres, our middle-ranking and senior cadres in particular, should keep a clear head. They should firmly believe in Marxism, pay attention to communist purity and apply the proletarian world outlook to observe and handle problems. We should stick to the patriotic stand and the stand of the masses and proletariat. We should never fall captive to bourgeois ideology.

Finally, I would like to stress that since ideological and political work is so important, its task is so arduous and it is so indispensable to the victory of revolution and construction, it is necessary for our party organizations at various levels to put this work in an important position, place it on the important agenda of the party committees, strengthen their leadership over ideological and political work, and attach importance to strengthening the ranks of ideological and political workers. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "All departments and organizations should shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work. This applies to the Communist Party, the Youth League, government departments in charge of this work, and especially to heads of educational institutions and teachers." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") "The first secretaries of the party committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should personally tackle this question." ("Speech at the CPC's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Only by paying attention to and studying this question will it be possible to energetically overcome the lax and weak situation that exists in the leadership over ideological and political work; to correctly solve the various problems that exist in the ranks of ideological and political workers; and to bring into full play the role of ideological and political work in mobilizing and ensuring the realization of the party's tasks in the new period.

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DOING A GOOD JOB IN YOUTH WORK IS AN IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PARTY

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[Editorial]

[Text] The 11th National Congress of the CYL which took place shortly after the 12th National Congress of the CPC was a meeting which had historical significance of great proportions. The meeting illustrated the fighting spirit and the heavy responsibility of the youth of the nation to achieve the arduous guiding principles outlined in the 12th National Congress of the CPC, which they will do with one spirit and one heart under the guidance of the CYL with vitality and courage. The youth of today are to be a new generation to carry forward the revolution and forge ahead into the future, making themselves milestones in the glorious annals of the Chinese youth movement. We extend our heartfelt wishes for complete success to the congress.

Our party has always stressed the importance of youth work. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as more and more order has been brought out of chaos, youth work has become a task of increasing importance to the party and the people. Many of the older generation of revolutionaries have with much thought and consideration been very concerned with the education and maturity of young people, illustrating their concern too with the future of the party and the state. The party Central Committee has put a great deal of energy into youth work and the construction of the CYL and it has produced directives many times over relating to guiding ideology, guiding principles, work methods and cadres' work approaches, the contents of which have been extremely profound and far-reaching and of great and long-term significance. The 12th CPC National Congress drew up guidelines and directives relating to major problems facing the CYL at the moment, the quality and purpose of the CYL, ideological and organizational construction in party-league relations and league-masses relations, all of which were fitting to the requirements of the new historical era in socialist modernized construction. On behalf of the entire party, the party Central Committee set up models for emphasizing youth problems and strengthening leadership in youth work.

The concern and attention that the party is giving youth work has its roots in our party's deep understanding of its own mission and its conscious

understanding and appreciation of objective rules and laws. The realization of communist ideals is a very long historical process requiring generation upon generation of constant struggle and a long, unbroken process of replacement and cooperation. This, therefore, spurs on the party to invest more of its own vision in the youth of today. The extent to which a party, an organization or a leader possesses strategic vision and political far-sightedness is reflected to a certain degree in his or its concern for youth and youth work. To win youth is to win the future. Whoever wants to concern him or herself with the future of the revolutionary cause must also concern him or herself with youth work, working for the education and nurturing of the younger generation.

In order that the causes of the party be passed down from generation to generation, with their glory and luster never fading, not only is there a need for revolutionization in the cadre ranks as well as youthfulness, knowledgeability and expertise along with bold and timely selection of a batch of middle-aged cadres in their prime, equipped with talent and good morals to enrich every level of leadership groups. What is also needed is special concern for the healthy maturity and growth of the younger generation. We must expend a great deal of effort in creating a new generation of people filled with ideals, morals, culture and discipline. In accordance with natural and historical rules, the revolutionary causes which our party has initiated will unavoidably be passed down onto the shoulders of the younger generation. Future causes will be initiated and constructed by them and the history of the future will be written by them. Succession of duty, in the broadest terms, means succession of duty by a whole generation, it is the succession of the new generation to the old, it is the succession of the revolutionary torch kindled by the older generation; it is the work of the revolutionary causes of the party passed down through generation after generation and it is not simply a question of taking over various positions of leadership or leadership duties. Only on the basis of the emergence of hundreds and thousands of successors from amidst the masses, can true successors for positions of leadership be more effectively nurtured, prepared and selected. Thus, carrying out good youth work on this younger generation so that even more young people will develop into aware communists is the fundamental construction on which the question of succession will be solved, it is also work which will increase the whole party's and the people of every nationality's confidence and aspirations in the future. We must not on any account underestimate the importance of this work.

Although youth represents "the future," it is also "the present." Today's youth represents the most lively force in the development of our country's economy, culture and other causes. As everyone knows, China is one of the world's oldest civilizations, but in terms of its population structure it is also a very young nation with young people today representing more than half of the total work force. The vastness of the countryside is home to 70 percent of China's youth. In addition the numbers of educated or "intellectual" youth are constantly increasing. The present generation of youth will see the best part of their lives during the next 20 to 30 years, and this period of time represents a decisive stage in our country's march toward socialist modernization. Success or failure of the modernization

program depends to a very large extent on the drive and vitality of this generation of youth as well as the extent of their communist consciousness and the level of their scientific and cultural understanding and knowledge. In our march toward the glorious targets of the year 2000, the party has thrown these important issues such as the training of young talent and the exploitation of the potential of youth into the very middle of this tactical "game of chess." The complex and difficult construction and restructuring tasks facing this new historical era demand even more than before the increased awareness and struggling of youth, demand even more than before that the youth of today pass down the glorious traditions of the party and that they constantly open up and develop new vistas for our great cause, making further contributions and adding new luster.

In our great cause to construct a modernized, highly civilized, socialist country with a high degree of democracy, the party and the people place great hopes on the young, eagerly hoping that the youth of today will be the heroic "shock brigade" and vanguard builders of a socialist spiritual and material civilization. We trust that this new young generation with a passionate love and respect for the new socialist lifestyle, will be able to shoulder this historic task. In the last few years the emergence of more than a million new Long March shock workers, more than half a million model youth teams and youth service brigades has already produced glorious records for the youth of China in construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. In fact, all we must do is strive to arouse the spirit of historical responsibility in this new young generation, as well as the sense of being masters of their own society, and they will recognize the importance in this new era to commit themselves to the cause of modernizing the motherland and bringing prosperity and strength thus enriching national self-esteem and self-confidence, so that we may all heroically labor for the four modernizations program, steadfastly study in line with the demands of the four modernizations and develop new styles in line with the needs of the four modernizations. Thus, realization of "the basic turns for the better" and the "quadrupling of production output" and the aims to revitalize China are given further hope and greater assurances.

In the past few years, social problems of all kinds have been reflected to a large extent in the youth of today. Problems relating to higher education, employment, housing, wages and marriage have become burdens for youth, affecting both their thinking and their vitality. Implementation of the open-door policy and policies relating to injecting life into the domestic economy have resulted in some negative influences becoming apparent in some young people. These influences and problems to be found amongst some of China's youth often affect society as a whole, leaving their mark on family life, in schools, organizations, work units, even affecting the party's style of work and the mood of society. This only stresses the importance of giving more than average attention to youth problems and youth work. In order to catalyse the stable, coordinated development of social life and bring about the smooth running of modernized construction, we must expend greater effort in the education of young people, setting up good conditions for youth work and solving more problems relating to young people which can be solved. A few years ago problems of conviction and mood in some people

attracted general concern and discussion in society. Because of the thorough attention that the party gave this situation by organizing strength in every area, steadfastly carrying out ideological work, actively solving objective problems, providing youth with encouragement, guidance and concern, and relying to a great extent on young people teaching and educating themselves, giving full rein to the use of positive models and "internal motive force," thus gradually creating a healthy public opinion and an upward, positive mood, and thereby helping the increasing firmness of communist conviction in the broad masses of the youth while the general mood continued to improve, positively influencing improvements in the overall mood of society.

After positive affirmation of progress amongst youth and successes in youth work, the party's 12th national congress went on to clearly point out that youth work was still lagging behind modern requirements. A change in this situation requires work in many areas and the key to this work is the strengthening and perfection of leadership in youth work. All levels of the party organization should come to a closer understanding of the youth of China, studying problems related to youth and carrying out the leadership work in accordance with the specific rules and regulations relating to youth work and in line with the characteristics of the youth of today. Cadres of both the party and the CYL should go to factories, the villages and young students, in fact to all places where young people are to be found and get into close contact with the young people, discussing personal matters and listening to their opinions and feelings. The cadres must make investigations amongst the young people and must carry out propaganda work while getting a direct understanding, making direct observations and analyses of the situation and feeling the ideological "pulse" of young people and opening up a heart-to-heart link road between the party and young people. Only in this way may we hope to have any persuasiveness and attraction in our ideological work with young people and only in this way can we hope to win their confidence and their admiration. We should make friends with the young people of China in order that we may overcome bureaucratism and improve our work style. We must also organize our forces to carry out systematic investigations and research into the more outstanding and larger problems evident amongst the youth of today, such as ideological problems or those of a policy-making nature. Upon making such investigations we should draw up various suitable solutions and solve the problems gradually according to their gravity.

Today, in our struggle to open up a new era of socialist modernized construction we must pay special attention and show great concern for educating young people in patriotism and communist ideology as well as questions of studying culture, knowledge and the sciences. We must make them fully understand that without the guidance of communist ideology and without modern scientific and cultural knowledge it is impossible to carry out socialist modernized construction. We trust that as long as the young of today study the great works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong as well as party documents, and as long as they adopt a scientific attitude in their handling of any social trends of thought, then they will be able to approach and imbibe Marxism through their own practical experience and they will be able



to constantly raise their communist consciousness. As far as getting to grips with necessary scientific knowledge, production technology and specialized skills for modernized construction is concerned, this is even more a question of young people carrying out their own hard work and arduous study. Here it is necessary that we help raise their consciousness, clear up their ideology and help and encourage them to take the correct ideological road. Every level of the party organization should ensure that such work appears on their daily agenda and they should actively set up the necessary conditions for the healthy development and maturity of young people, using every measure and work method possible to encourage and assist young people to study Marxism as well as scientific and cultural works. We must help young people establish a study mentality aimed at the motherland and the people, and teach young people to cherish labor and come to understand that today's studies will result in better laboring tomorrow and that study is in no way a means to shake off labor in the future. We should place lofty aspirations in the hearts of young people and should teach them the need to go wherever they are most needed in the motherland. We must help young people to actively train themselves to become cultured, scientifically knowledgeable workers with a communist consciousness.

As the mass organization of the advanced youth of China, the CYL is the party's right hand and also its reserve army with a direct responsibility to youth work. Every level of the party organization should depend on the organization of the CYL to mobilize enthusiasm in every area so that youth work correctly becomes a socially related cause central to the CYL. In accordance with the demands of new party documents, party organizations should steadfastly support the CYL's implementation of their work, mobilizing enthusiasm and creativity, based on the characteristics and needs of the youth masses, thereby giving full rein to the CYL's role as a shock brigade and its role as a bridge link with young people. We must direct the CYL to serve young people by offering help in discussing major problems and working out their personal lifestyles, thereby actively helping young people to clear up any problems they may have connected with their thinking, their work of their lives in general. We must provide CYL cadres with directives, offer them subjects to handle and work methods so that they may go straight into the practical situation, amongst the masses, opening up new phases in their work. The party organization should ensure that young cadres are selected for positions within the CYL to give them full rein and undergo suitable training. We must actively help and encourage the CYL to improve and perfect the CYL's system of leadership, readjusting and reconstructing every level of the league, in particular the grassroots levels, and making alterations in certain areas, such as a certain slackness that exists in villages. Thus the CYL may become a school for young people to study communism in a practical sense.

Youth work is a kind of work with a very strong social nature to it. The natural superiority of our socialist system provides reliable assurances that the whole party and the entire society will together express their full concern for the development and wholesome maturity of young people. We must establish everywhere, throughout society, in every region and in every department a solid feeling of concern for youth work and concern for the

descendants of the revolution. Every region should ensure that construction work for youth education and youth activities enters construction planning, and should decide to invest more into this cause which is an embodiment of the future. All departments, organizations and work units should adopt a positive attitude and do their utmost in youth work. Educational, propaganda and cultural departments should take on more work involving young people and make efforts to strengthen idealistic, moral, disciplinary, cultural and legal education in young people. We ardently hope that artists, writers and journalists will turn out more healthy, inspirational work thus providing an even better service to the nurturing of the new generation of socialists. We believe that so long as the party gives sufficient attention, leadership is strengthened, the organization of the CYL is made dependable and the forces of every area of society are mobilized, then youth work in China will see the flourishing development of a new era in the glorious implementation of socialist modernized construction.

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THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS THE GENERAL PROGRAM FOR RUNNING THE COUNTRY WELL AND GIVING THE PEOPLE PEACE AND SECURITY DURING THE NEW PERIOD

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[Article by Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429], Xiao Weiyun [5135 5588 0061] and Xu Chongde [6079 1504 1795]]

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC solemnly approved the "Constitution of the PRC" and promulgated it for implementation. This is a great event in the political life of our country. The new constitution has scientifically summed up the historical experience of the prolonged revolution and construction of the people of our country and stipulated the basic system and basic tasks for our state. It meets the demands of the people, suits our national conditions, represents the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout our country and meets the requirements of the socialist modernization. It is, therefore, a general program for running the country well and giving the people peace and security during the new historical period in our country.

#### A Summary of Historical Experiences

The reason why the new constitution can serve as a general program for running the country well and giving the people peace and security is because it has conscientiously summed up the historical experiences since the founding of the PRC. True, there must be political, economic, ideological and many other factors for a socialist cause to be prosperous, but undoubtedly, one of the important factors lies in whether we attach enough importance in our guiding ideology to the legal system.

During the initial period after the founding of the new China, we did attach importance to the legal system. At that time, it was impossible for us to formulate a constitution, but on the eve of the founding of the PRC in 1949, we drew up a "Common Program" which played the role of a provisional constitution. This program was approved under the direct leadership of the CPC by a plenum of the CPPCC. It served as a guiding principle that the people of all nationalities throughout our country had to observe and it played an important role in real life in the initial period after the founding of the PRC.

In September 1954, the First Session of the First NPC drew up our country's first socialist constitution. This was a relatively perfect constitution. It defined and stipulated the principles of people's democracy and socialism in the form of a fundamental law. At that time, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that the constitution "must be implemented by each and every one of the people in our country. Personnel of the state organs must especially take the lead in doing so." Because at that time the guiding principles and basic policies of the party were correct, the constitution clearly reflected these policies and moreover all the party attached importance to the implementation of that constitution, that constitution served as the legal system in promoting and guaranteeing the transformation from new democracy to socialism in our country.

After 1957, along with the emergence and development of "leftist" mistakes, our sense of a socialist legal system weakened in our guiding ideology, democratic centralism was undermined, the work of the state gradually left the orbit of the constitution and the legal system and even some correct principles of great importance in the constitution were wrongly criticized. During the 10 years of civil disorder, democratic life was very abnormal, the constitution lost its authority and there was nothing to guarantee the just rights and personal security of the people. As a result, a basic-level general election did not take place for more than 10 years, sessions of the NPC were suspended for 10 years in a row and our national economy incurred tremendous losses. In 1975, the Fourth NPC held a session and approved our country's second constitution, in which among other things, clauses about "persisting in carrying on the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and "enforcing an all-round dictatorship" were written. Thus, the guiding ideology of that second constitution was wrong.

In October 1976, the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was smashed. In March 1978, the First Session of the Fifth NPC promulgated our country's third constitution. Because of the limitations of the historical conditions, that constitution could not be free from some of the influence of "leftism." The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December the same year marked a great turning point of far-reaching historical significance. One of the great contributions of that session was the emphasis that it placed on the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the socialist legal system. It was mainly from that time on that all the party and all the people in our country began anew to pay attention to the constitution and legal system. At the same time, the party and the state have done a great deal of work to strengthen the socialist legal system.

Since 1979, the key to the work of the whole nation has been shifted onto economic construction. Through 4 years of hard work, our country's economy has embarked on a path of healthy and sound development. Education, science and culture have become initially prosperous, the unity between the three basic forces of workers, peasants and intellectuals has been strengthened and the relationships of equality and unity among all the nationalities have been strengthened, the patriotic united front has been further expanded, and the socialist democracy and legal system has undergone improvement and

perfection. All these great achievements demanded reflection in our fundamental law. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have fulfilled the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in our guiding ideology, formulated many correct principles and policies and adopted many major measures that have been proved by practice to be effective. All these need to be stipulated in the new socialist constitution, and thus we will make our constitution a powerful weapon for our socialist modernization.

The 12th party congress has formulated a correct program for the creation of an overall new situation in our socialist modernization and put forward the goal of gradually achieving the four modernizations and building up our country into a socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. In the new historical period, in order to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the country, satisfactorily rule and build up our country, ensure the prosperous development of the cause of our socialist modernization and victoriously fulfill the general task and the magnificent strategic goal put forward by the 12th party congress, our state must have a new general program and a new fundamental cardinal law. The recently promulgated new constitution is precisely such a general program and fundamental law.

The New Constitution Is a Powerful Weapon for Running the Country Well and Giving the People Peace and Security in the New Period

The role of the new constitution in guaranteeing the long-term good rule and stability of our country is mainly reflected in the following aspects:

1) It stipulates that the basic task for the state in the new period is to concentrate its strength on carrying out socialist modernization. The consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, the stability of social order and the improvement of the people's material and cultural lives must after all be determined by the success of the socialist modernization. In order to ensure the vigorous development of the social productive force, the new constitution provides relatively perfect stipulations on the socialist economic system in our country in the light of the actual level and need of the development of the productive force at present. The new constitution enacts the principle of developing a diversified form of economy under the prerequisite of persisting in maintaining the leading position of the state-run economy and the implementation of the principle of taking the planned economy as the core and supplementing it with the regulation of market mechanism and stipulates the decisionmaking power and democratic management in our state-owned enterprises and collective economic organizations. Besides, it also provides that foreigners are allowed to invest in and carry out economic cooperation with China according to the law. These important new stipulations reflect the guidelines and achievements of the reform in our economic structure and the objective economic law of socialism. They are of very great significance in promoting the overall upsurge of our socialist economy and ensuring our country's prosperous development.

2) It stipulates the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. This will ensure the correct direction of and provide a tremendously great motivation for the construction of socialist material civilization. Apart from enacting that the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is a basic task of our country, it also makes clear and definite stipulations on the way of building the socialist spiritual civilization. In the sphere of cultural construction, the new constitution enacts some special stipulations on developing by the state the undertakings of education, science, medical service, sanitation, sport and culture. Concerning ideological construction, the new constitution stipulates, "The state strengthens the building of socialist spiritual civilization through spreading education in high ideals and morality, general education and education in discipline and the legal system, and through promoting the formulation and observance of rules of conduct and common pledges by different sections of the people in urban and rural areas." Furthermore, it stipulates that "the state advocates the civic virtues of love for the motherland, for the people, for labor, for science and for socialism; it educates the people in patriotism, collectivism, internationalism and communism and in dialectical and historical materialism; it combats capitalist feudalist and other decadent ideas." These stipulations facilitate raising the scientific and cultural level of the people all over the country, training all kinds of professional personnel and achieving the modernization of our science and technology. They also facilitate turning our people into a people with ideals, virtues, education and sense of discipline, developing within the people relationships of unity, friendship and mutual assistance and stirring up their revolutionary spirit to jointly strive in the struggle for the fulfillment of the basic task of the new period. These regulations are favorable to improving social order, changing the general mood of society, eliminating and cracking down on all kinds of unhealthy trends and practices, resisting the erosion of all kinds of corruptive ideology and establishing fine morality and the general mood in society.

3) It stipulates that we should strive to develop a higher degree of socialist democracy, which is an important guarantee for the construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. The new constitution makes the following important stipulations on the development of socialist democracy: (1) It enacts that our country is a socialist country with a people's democratic dictatorship. Our people's democratic dictatorship is in essence a proletarian dictatorship. However, the term, people's democratic dictatorship, can more clearly show our country's class situation and the broad foundation and democratic nature of our state power. This dictatorship guarantees the most extensive possible democracy within our broad masses of the people and dictatorship is only enforced against a very small number of enemies. (2) According to the principle of democratic centralism, it has strengthened and developed our country's basic political system--the system of people's congresses, in order to ensure that the people can more satisfactorily exercise their state power through the NPC and the various levels of local people's congresses and that the state organs can more effectively lead and organize socialist modernizations. (3) It extends the socialist democracy into all the aspects of our political, economic, cultural and social life. It stipulates that the people can

manage the affairs of the state, the economic and cultural undertakings and the social affairs through all kinds of channels and forms in accordance with the law, including forming the basic-level autonomous mass organizations such as neighborhood committees and village residents committees and including the democratic management in state-owned and collective economic organizations. (4) It adds some new clauses on the basic rights of citizens to the stipulations in the 1954 constitution. For example, it grants a citizen the right to criticize and give suggestions to the personnel of the state and prohibits any encroachment on the personal dignity of a citizen. Moreover, it has made all these stipulations more practical, clear and definite. (5) It expands the power of nationality autonomy and the decision-making power of local governments and fully respects and guarantees the democratic rights of the minority nationalities in managing their own internal affairs. (6) It stipulates that we should continue to consolidate and develop the broad patriotic united front led by the CPC, participated in by all the democratic parties and mass bodies and consisting of all the socialist laborers and all the patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland. These stipulations are of great significance in safeguarding the unification of the state, the unity of the people and the unity of all nationalities throughout our country and in consolidating and developing the lively political situation of peace, stability and unity. At the same time, it can really ensure that the people can act as the masters of the country and arouse their sense of responsibility as masters of the country and the creative spirit of the millions of our people in order to satisfactorily develop our great socialist country.

The new constitution closely combines socialist democracy with the development of the socialist legal system. Thus, it serves as the legal foundation for perfecting the socialist legal system as well as the foundation for systemizing and legalizing socialist democracy. The new constitution provides a series of new regulations of great importance for the perfection of the socialist legal system. Among these regulations are the clauses related to earnestly ensuring the implementation of the constitution and to the safeguarding of the integrity and dignity of the socialist legal system. At the same time, in the chapter "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens," it has restored the principle of all citizens being equal before the law and stipulates that every citizen enjoys the rights provided by the constitution and the law and must, at the same time, perform the duties prescribed by the constitution and law and that in enjoying his freedom and exercising his rights, a citizen must not injure the interests of the state, the community or the collective or encroach on the freedom and rights of another citizen. All these stipulations on the nature of the principle related to the perfection of the socialist legal system are of very great significance in ensuring the implementation and observation of the constitution and law, establishing fine production, work and social order and maintaining a permanent peace and stable rule in our country.

## Conscientiously Ensure the Implementation of the New Constitution

Having formulated our new constitution, we must conscientiously implement it in our real life and really manage to strictly observe and enforce all the laws that have been promulgated and punish without exception all offenders against the law. Only by so doing can we give play to the role of the constitution as a cardinal law. In our country, because the constitution and law failed to be observed for a long time in the past, the broad masses of the people naturally show very great concern over the question of whether the constitution can be implemented and observed. The new constitution has summed up both the positive and negative experiences in the development of the socialist legal system in the past 30 and more years since the founding of the PRC and provides a series of new stipulations on guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution. This embodies the will of the people all over the country and reflects the general trend of events. These stipulations are mainly on the following aspects:

1. The new constitution clearly stipulates that it is the fundamental law of the state and has supreme legal authority. By the term of fundamental law, it means that it defines the basic system and basic tasks of the state in legal form and embodies the fundamental interests of the people of our country. That is why it has supreme legal authority and no law or administrative or local laws or regulations are allowed to conflict with it. This is why all organizations and individuals must regard the constitution as the fundamental guiding principle for their actions, must observe the constitution and the law and must be held responsible for any violation against the constitution or the law. Thus, we will be able to guarantee the supreme legal authority of the constitution and safeguard its dignity and prevent any violation against it.

The new constitution furthermore stipulates the strict procedures for the revision of the constitution. A revision must be moved by the NPC Standing Committee or one-third of the NPC deputies and must be approved by a majority of two-thirds of all the members of NPC deputies. This strict provision on the procedure of revising the constitution is by no means a pure question of procedure or method. It is aimed at enabling the constitution to fully reflect and embody the will and interests of the people and facilitating maintaining the stability of the constitution.

2. The new constitution strengthens supervision on the implementation of the constitution. In order to guarantee the implementation of the constitution, it should not only clearly define its position and role in the law but should also set up an organ to supervise the implementation of the constitution and punish offenders who have violated the constitution, thus ensuring that all organizations and individuals really observe the constitution. The new constitution stipulates that the NPC is entitled to supervise the implementation of the constitution and to change or cancel any inappropriate resolution of its Standing Committee. At the same time, it stipulates that the NPC Standing Committee is entitled to explain the constitution, supervise the implementation of the constitution and delete any administrative laws or regulations formulated by and any resolutions



and orders issued by the State Council that conflict with the constitution and law and to delete any local laws or regulations or any resolution formulated by any provincial, regional or municipal organ of state power that conflict with the constitution, law or the administrative laws or regulations. According to the NPC Organization Act, the NPC and the special committees led by its Standing Committee are entitled to examine and discuss the State Council's administrative laws and regulations and decisions and orders and the local laws, regulations and decisions formulated or issued by any provincial, regional or municipal organ of state power that are regarded by the NPC Standing Committee as being in conflict with the constitution and law and submitted by the committee for examination and discussion. It can furthermore report on these laws, regulations, decisions and orders to the NPC Standing Committee. These regulations are more detailed, feasible and vigorous than those in the 1954 and 1978 constitutions.

3. Our 1 billion people are a tremendously great force for safeguarding and guaranteeing the constitution. The new constitution attaches great importance to mobilizing the people throughout the country to safeguard the constitution and guarantee its implementation, stipulating that the people of all nationalities throughout the country, all the state organs, the armed forces, all political parties, mass bodies, enterprises and undertakings are endowed with the duties of safeguarding the dignity and guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution. Relying on the people for strength in safeguarding the constitution and striking the root of the idea of guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution deep among the people is a distinguishing feature of our country in guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution. Of course, in order to give full play to the great strength of the 1 billion people in safeguarding the constitution, we should continue to carry out widespread propaganda of the new constitution among the masses of the people and organize them to study it in order to make the principle and system stipulated in the constitution strike deep root in the hearts of the people. There are bound to be obstacles in implementing the new constitution. Therefore, we should moreover mobilize the people to fight against any activities that violate the constitution. Thus, being safeguarded and supervised by the broad masses of socialist-minded people, the implementation of the new constitution will certainly be earnestly guaranteed.

4. The key to guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution lies in that the CPC and the people of all nationalities throughout the country jointly safeguard the constitution and guarantee its implementation. The new constitution stipulates, "All state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings must abide by the constitution and the law." The "all political parties" mentioned here certainly include the CPC. The party constitution also clearly stipulates, "The party must act within the limits of the constitution and law." This shows that the CPC attaches extremely great importance to the constitution and is determined to fight for safeguarding the dignity of the constitution. The CPC represents the interests of the Chinese people and beside these, it has no special interests of its own,

It leads the people to formulate the new constitution and will also safeguard the constitution and guarantee its implementation jointly with all the people in the country.

Because of the leading position of our party in the state, if only all the CPC members, especially CPC leading cadres, can set examples by their own actions in satisfactorily observing and safeguarding the dignity of the constitution, they will surely produce a fine and great influence on the broad masses of the people and make them even more consciously observe it. When under the party's leadership, the people throughout our country make joint efforts to ensure the implementation of the constitution, we will be able to give full play to the role of the new constitution in running the country well and giving the people peace and security.

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COMRADE MAO ZEDONG INITIATED THE NEW STYLE OF MAKING INVESTIGATION AND STUDY--A STUDY OF 'MAO ZEDONG'S WRITINGS ON RURAL SURVEYS'

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[Article by Wu Shengmin [0702 3932 3046]]

[Text] At a time when the whole party and people throughout the country are firmly implementing the spirit of the 12th party congress, "Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" edited by the CPC Central Committee Documents Research Office has been published. The publication of this volume of documents has provided us with a powerful ideological weapon for upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought in the new historical period and for investigating and studying new conditions and problems in socialist modernization. Comrade Mao Zedong made a great deal of rural surveys during the Northern Expedition and the agrarian revolutionary war. Regardless of whether on the shore of the Xiangjiang River and the foothills of Jinggang Mountains, or the banks of Ganjiang River and the Wuyi Mountains, there are mementos of the glorious achievements of his investigation and study. During the agrarian revolutionary war in particular, in those war-ridden years and on the march fighting from the south to the north, he always made use of every opportunity to conduct investigation and study and wrote numerous rich and profound Marxist-Leninist survey findings. During the war of resistance against Japan, he personally edited a part of the survey findings saved from the war into a book entitled "Rural Surveys" and also wrote the preface as well as the postscript. The "Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" (hereinafter referred to in brief as "Writings") published at present, is a revised and enlarged edition based on the book "Rural Surveys." The whole book contains a total of 17 chapters divided into two parts. The first part discusses the investigation and study articles and speeches, and the second part is on survey findings and land laws.

In Chapter Four of Part I of "Writings," Comrade Mao Zedong collectively and systematically expounded his theory on investigation and study. This theory was a systematic summary and generalization of the rich experience he accumulated in investigation and study. In "Oppose Book Worship" written in May 1930, Comrade Mao Zedong for the first time incisively expounded his theory of investigation and study and put forward his famous thesis "no investigation, no right to speak." The "Circular of the General Political Department on Taking a Census and Land Conditions" issued by Comrade Mao Zedong on

2 April 1931, in the capacity of director of the General Political Department, was an important historical document. It put forward for the first time the important slogan of "No correct investigation, likewise no right to speak." This supplemented and developed the thesis of "no investigation, no right to speak." The two works, "Foreword and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" and "On Rural Surveys," written by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1941, further summed up the experiences of the rural surveys he carried out during the Northern Expedition and the agrarian revolutionary war. After the publication of these two works, Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on investigation and study was found scattered in many of his works. However, the four works included in "Writings" have clearly generalized and thoroughly expounded some of the basic points of this theory. This unique scientific theory is an important aspect of the valuable legacy he left to us and it is also an integral part of the whole of Mao Zedong Thought.

Part II of "Writings" contains 11 survey findings and two "land laws." "Examples of Chinese Tenant-Peasant Life" was one of the earliest of the unique rural surveys made by Comrade Mao Zedong that had been preserved. From the hypothetical condition of the expenditure and income of typical tenant-peasants, he arrived at the general conclusion that the Chinese tenant-peasants must be operating at a great loss under the heavy rent system in China at that time. The Xinwu survey was the most ambitious survey carried out by Comrade Mao Zedong. The work contained about 80,000 characters. It recorded in detail and analyzed such conditions as the old land relations and the agrarian struggle. This work devoted an entire chapter some 30,000 characters long to "the commerce of Xinwu" and constituted the only systematic findings left by Comrade Mao Zedong from his urban and rural surveys. The Xingguo survey carried out by Comrade Mao Zedong was only slightly smaller in scale, and it made up for what was missing in the Xinwu survey. The contents of "Xinwu Survey" and "Xingguo Survey" were extremely rich and profound and contained many brilliant expositions. They are Marxist sociological works of scientific value. The famous works "Changgangxiang Survey" and "Caixixiang Survey" by Comrade Mao Zedong summed up and popularized the typical experiences of two model villages in the Central Soviet Area which made a success of the building of political power, economy, culture and education during the revolutionary war. This is an example of the use of typical examples to direct work employed by Comrade Mao Zedong in the form of survey reports. These two findings have provided valuable historical materials for the study of the building of central revolutionary base areas and the history of the Chinese revolution. The many findings in "Writings" have unfolded before us a panoramic picture of the agrarian revolution of former years. After reading through "Writings," I closed the book and was lost in thought. Undoubtedly I will be motivated by Comrade Mao Zedong's enthusiastic revolutionary spirit of conducting thoroughgoing and painstaking investigation and study and will obtain great inspiration and enlightenment.

## I

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The victory of the Chinese revolutionary struggle depends on Chinese comrades who understand conditions in China."

("Writings," p 7; hereafter only the page number of the quotation will be given.) This sentence embodied the spirit of seeking truth from facts as well as maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands, resisted the tendency of book worship prevailing at that time, and stressed the importance of understanding conditions in China by means of investigation and study. According to him, maintaining investigation and study and having a practical understanding of conditions in China had an important bearing on the success and failure of the Chinese revolution. Precisely for the sake of finding out the real conditions in China, exploring the law and path of the Chinese revolution and charting a course for the Chinese revolution to the other shore of victory, Comrade Mao Zedong ushered in an era of new style of investigation and study and pointed out the correct orientation as well as basic method for the Chinese revolution to our party.

In "Foreword and Postscript to 'Rural Survey,'" Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Without genuine and concrete understanding of the actual condition of classes in Chinese society, there cannot be genuine and effective leadership." (p 15) During the Northern Expedition, he went on many occasions to the countryside, towns, factories and mines to carry out investigation and study of the classes in Chinese society, and wrote the brilliant works "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan." These two works analyzed the economic position of the classes in Chinese society and their attitude toward the revolution, discussed such basic questions as the essence, target and leadership as well as allied forces of the Chinese revolution, progressively evolved into the basic ideology of the Chinese revolution and laid the theoretical foundation for mapping out the general line of our new democratic revolution.

After the failure of the Northern Expedition, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Zedong diligently searched for a revolutionary path in keeping with conditions in China. On the basis of extensive investigation and study, he summed up his personal experience in the struggle to open up the revolutionary base areas of Jinggang Mountains, southern Jiangxi and western Fujian, drew on the experience of our party in the struggle to establish other revolutionary base areas, and in October and November 1928, wrote "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" and "The Struggle in Jinggang Mountains." In January 1930, he wrote such important historical documents as "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire." He expounded and proved the reasons and conditions why Red political power can exist for a long time in China and pointed out the future and aspiration of the Chinese revolution, which enabled the party members as well as the worker and peasant masses to strengthen their confidence in the victory of the revolution. What deserves to be pointed out here is the brilliant idea of "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants" proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong, which in theory and practice pointed out that the path of the Chinese revolution, characterized by encircling the cities from the rural areas, was different from the Russian October Revolution. This was also a flying leap of his in the ideological process of finding a correct path for the Chinese revolution as well as his new contribution to the

Marxist-Leninist theory of the state. This Chinese-type path of seizing political power with armed force brought about the victory of the Chinese revolution.

During the agrarian revolutionary war, by means of investigation and study Comrade Mao Zedong also formulated policies and principles suited to the path of the Chinese revolution, such as agrarian revolution policies, policies for the building of political power, economy and culture and education of revolution base areas, policies for the building of people's armed forces and proletarian political power as well as a complete set of strategic and tactical principles of guerrilla warfare. The enormous amount of rural surveys conducted by Comrade Mao Zedong provided him with a reliable basis to more promptly and properly solve basic policies in the agrarian revolution. For example, in the Xinwu survey of May 1930, when he discovered that in taking from those who have too much and giving to those who have too little the rich peasants only handed over the poor land but were unwilling to part with the good land, he realized that "the method of solving the problem of rich peasants is not just taking from those who have too much and giving to those who have too little but also to take from the fat to pad the lean." (p 22) Therefore at the Tingzhou meeting (also called the Nanyang meeting) which he called in the same year, a resolution on the problem of rich peasants was adopted which correctly stipulated that apart from "taking from those who have too much and giving to those who have too little," the principle of "taking from the fat to pad the lean" should also be added. This was an important policy decision restricting the rich peasants and benefiting the poor peasants, and thereby developed the agrarian revolution in depth. Then there was also the case of the question of land ownership. Since the slogan of "State ownership of land" put forward at the "August 7 meeting," regardless of whether in the "land law" of the Jinggang Mountains or the "land law" of Xingguo County, they both stipulated that land ownership belonged to the government and not to the peasants, and the peasants were only entitled to use the land. For a long time, because the ownership of the peasants over the land had not been determined, the enthusiasm of the peasants for production was seriously affected. Comrade Mao Zedong discovered this problem as a result of investigation, and in a letter to the soviet government of Jiangxi on 28 February 1931, he clearly instructed, "The provincial soviet should notify local government at various levels" that the land already distributed could be "privately owned" by the farmers and was "inviolable," and "they could decide for themselves on its lend and lease and buying or selling." This correctly solved the land ownership problem left hanging for many years, aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of peasants for developing agricultural production and greatly consolidated the victory of the agrarian revolution.

In short, the process of investigation and study was the process used by Comrade Mao Zedong to understand the Chinese revolution and to solve the problems of the Chinese revolution. The fact that he could solve some of the important issues of the Chinese revolution and made tremendous contributions to the Chinese revolution during the Northern Expedition and the agrarian revolutionary war was inseparable from his long and persistent investigation and study.

## II

Investigation and study mean learning from the masses and seeking truth from the masses. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." (p 17) This is an irreversible truth. The masses are practitioners of production struggle as well as class struggle and perceivers of social practice. Therefore, the masses have most practical experience, most abundant knowledge, most profound wisdom and greatest creativity. This is the basic reason why every one of us must go deep among the masses for investigation and study and to seek the truth.

The practice of Comrade Mao Zedong's investigation and study showed that he respected the masses and regarded them as his teachers. Each time he talked with the people who supplied him with information in investigation and study, the feeling of profound gratefulness could be found in his words and expressions. When he talked about two old gentlemen who supplied him with materials on urban problems in "Xinwu Survey," he said: "I thank the two gentlemen for their instructions. They have enabled me like a young pupil to start learning something about the condition of urban commerce. I am indeed extremely delighted." (p 56) In "Foreword and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" he recalled calling on some cadres, peasants, scholars, prison officials, merchants and revenue clerks and called them his "esteemed teachers" for "they taught me many things I have not heard of before." (p 16) The fact that Comrade Mao Zedong could respect the masses as teachers, earnestly learn from the masses, feel an urgent need to learn from the masses and consider learning from the masses a delightful experience was because he had used the Marxist concept of the masses are the makers of history to guide his own action. People who do not understand this viewpoint cannot look up to the masses. They do not believe that the masses have infinite wisdom or that the masses are the best teachers and will definitely not learn from them.

There must be a correct attitude of learning from the masses. The correct attitude is to properly carry out the basic conditions for investigation and study. What is the correct attitude of learning from the masses? As Comrade Mao Zedong said, we must shed the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and become willing pupils. In other words, we must modestly study and must not feel ashamed to ask and learn from our subordinates. We must have the courage to acknowledge our ignorance and willingly learn from the masses with the attitude of pupils. Otherwise, the masses will in turn fail to genuinely give their views and it will be very difficult to learn anything from them. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "My aspiration is to learn from the masses together with the comrades of the whole party and continue to be a pupil." (p 18) Looking through the rural survey findings in "Writings," we can see that every chapter embodied the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's willingness to be a pupil. In discussing his own experience of learning from the masses in rural surveys, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "I must show them respect and diligence as a pupil and adopt a friendly attitude, otherwise they will ignore me, not tell me all they know and not say things

without reserve." (p 16) In every survey, he always personally took notes, asked questions one by one and carried out discussions with people without the slightest inhibition. His respectful and diligent as well as comradely attitude of "asking questions and taking notes" left a lasting impression on the minds of the people interviewed. The modest attitude of learning from the masses showed by Comrade Mao Zedong in the surveys is our best example and will always merit our emulation.

### III

In his "Circular of the General Political Department on the Census and Land Conditions," Comrade Mao Zedong proposed: "Our slogan is: 1) No investigation, no right to speak. 2) No correct investigation, likewise no right to speak." This informs us that we must not only carry out investigation, but we must also carry out correct investigation. If we carry out investigation but not correct investigation, this will be like making no investigation at all and the right to speak should be stopped. From this, we can see the importance of whether correct investigation has been carried out or not.

The correct investigation advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong is basically investigation carried out under the guidance of the basic concept of Marxism. In carrying out social investigation in class society, we must use the method of class analysis. This was the consistent advocacy of Comrade Mao Zedong. In "Oppose Book Worship" he criticized the investigation mistakes of the Fourth Army because many people at that time did not know how to use the method of class analysis, and held that the result of the investigation was as trivial as "a grocer's account." He pointed out that the principal method of investigation is to dissect the classes in society, obtain a correct appraisal of the classes and formulate a correct tactic of struggle. From an examination of the practice of investigation and study carried out by Comrade Mao Zedong, we will discover that the method of class analysis permeated the entire process of every one of his investigations and was reflected in every chapter he wrote. The method of class analysis is the basic method of Marxism, and an effective weapon for carrying out correct investigation in class society.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Conclusions invariably come after investigation and not before." (p 2) This is an important premise as well as the minimum demand leading to correct investigation. The method of sticking to an inherent preconceived idea and the mental "reference frame" to engage into investigation to find "evidence" for ourselves, is a bad subjective style that will not only deceive ourselves but also others. Because this kind of bad subjective style is draped in the mantle of "investigation," it will be even more confusing, and therefore greatly jeopardize the cause of our party. Comrade Mao Zedong's rural survey findings informed us that the investigation he had carried out was based on the given features of things, and that he had adopted an objective and scientific attitude regarding facts. When he wrote about the pitiable plight of the peasants selling their children in the "Xinwu Survey," he said: "All my investigations have been very carefully conducted and I have not been excessive in my words. I have always



suspected the truthfulness of the 'selling of wife and children' in the accounts of others, so I carefully asked the peasants of Xinwu this time whether or not such things happened?" (p 150)

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed the need to carry out meticulous and thoroughgoing investigation and study. Meticulous investigation means adopting a comprehensive attitude and carrying out systematic and historical investigation. We must not only understand one side of a matter and problem, but we must also understand the other side of a matter and problem. We not only must understand the history of a thing. Looking at the sky from the bottom of a well, looking at a leopard through a bamboo tube and being satisfied with an isolated or one-sided view without being able to observe a thing in its entirety, we will not be able to find out about and solve the problem. Thoroughgoing investigation means we must understand the true picture of a thing, find out about the essence of the thing and discover the law governing the thing. If we only look at flowers while riding on horseback, or like a dragonfly skimming the surface of the water, look at a thing from afar, we will only gain a superficial understanding through cursory observation, the findings collected will be sloppy and slapdash and the things we hear might be rumors and gossip. Then this kind of investigation will only be a waste of time and effort. In "Xinwu Survey," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our study of urban problems is also like our study of rural problems. We must concentrate on studying one place thoroughly." "If we only look at flowers while riding on horseback, or, as certain comrade said 'drop in everywhere for a brief visit,' we will never be able to understand the problems in depth as long as we live." (p 56)

Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to the detailed study of all available materials, but at the same time, he also laid emphasis on grasping the main points. "The more materials collected the better, but we must grasp the main point or characteristic (principal aspect of the contradiction)." (p 25) Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: If there are 10 things and if you have investigated 9 of them, but if the 9 things you have investigated are only secondary things and you have cast away the principal thing, then you still have no right to speak.

The objective world is constantly changing. Investigation and study must be regularly and constantly carried out, and can never stop. Man's knowledge of things must go through a process, and cannot be completed the first time. Therefore, we must keep on making unremitting investigation and study. Understanding the world is not an easy matter. New things are constantly appearing and new problems are constantly emerging. If investigation and study are not constantly maintained, man's knowledge will lag behind objective reality and the mind will gradually become ossified.

Half a century has elapsed since the slogan of "No correct investigation, likewise no right to speak" made by Comrade Mao Zedong, but on reading it today we are still deeply touched. It is still of guiding significance to our investigation and study.

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Investigation and study are important because they are the central link integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In other words, investigation and study are the bridge spanning theory and practice. In the early days of our party, Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to investigation and study and to integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He was the earliest of our party leaders to understand investigation and study. In the later part of the 1920's and the early part of the 1930's there was a prevailing tendency within our party to dogmatize Marxism and to sanctify foreign experiences. Comrade Mao Zedong developed a school of his own, boldly and consciously advocated integrating Marxist principles with actual conditions in China and openly opposed book worship which divorced theory from reality. By means of investigation and study, he thoroughly acquainted himself with the essence of Marxism and really mastered the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism. By means of investigation and study, he profoundly acquainted himself with conditions in China and correctly understood the law governing the Chinese revolution. In the process of persistently carrying out unremitting investigation and study, he constantly pushed forward the great cause of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and founded Mao Zedong Thought, a guiding ideology of our party with Chinese characteristics suited to conditions in China, with himself as the chief representative. In a certain sense, investigation and study are the cornerstone for the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

The publication of "Writings" is of great important significance to our study and research of the practice and theory of Comrade Mao Zedong's investigation and study and to the study and research of Mao Zedong Thought as well as the history of the Chinese revolution. Socialist modernization is a brandnew subject. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must carry forward the fine tradition of investigation and study initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, keep on studying new conditions, solving new problems and creating new situations so as to progressively achieve our grand goal and fulfill the arduous but glorious mission entrusted to us by history.

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HOW DO THE RURAL AREAS IN NORTHERN SICHUAN STAND UP AND BECOME RICH?

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[Article by Tan Qilong [6223 0796 7893]]

[Text] Editor's note: This investigation report deals with the question of how the rural areas in northern Sichuan are to stand up and become rich. Nevertheless, it touches at great length upon the universal questions of developing the economy in mountain areas, which the various localities can take as reference. Ours is a country with numerous hills. We have a lot of favorable conditions in developing the economy in mountain areas. The mountain areas are rich in natural resources and have great potential for production. Speeding up the construction of mountain areas and changing the economic outlook of mountain areas is an important subject in rural work. The various localities should emancipate the mind, use their brains and, on the basis of conscientiously conducting investigation and study, formulate an overall plan. They should proceed from the actual situations in various localities, adjust measures to the local conditions, actively develop diversified undertakings and give full scope to the superiority of the mountain areas. They should further implement the various policies of the party, mobilize the broad sections of cadres and masses, carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and open up a new situation in the construction of mountain areas.

Comrade Hu Yaobang once raised with me the question of how northern Sichuan can speedily stand up and become rich economically. With this question in mind, I went on an inspection tour to 21 counties and cities in northern Sichuan. My general impression was a sense of gratification mixed with anxiety. I was glad because the situation was excellent, the people's minds were at rest, the way to abolish poverty had been found and there was every prospect to stand up and become rich. I was anxious because our arable land was limited, we were short of grain and we faced a lot of difficulties in

changing the situation which was characterized by destruction of forests in opening up land and a unitary operation.

Geographically speaking, northern Sichuan can be divided into mountain areas and hilly lands. The soil and weather in the hilly lands are suitable for the growth of farm crops. However, we have a huge population but limited land. Forest cover is generally less than 10 percent and there is frequent drought. The basic feature of the mountain areas is numerous hills and steep slopes with narrow valleys. Arable lands are few and scattered. In addition, there are all sorts of natural disasters, particularly the threats of continuous heavy rain in autumn and low temperature. For a long time, grain output has been low and unstable. There are great limitations to agricultural development. On the other hand, we have a vast territory, rich natural resources, ample rainfall and favorable conditions to develop forestry and animal husbandry. In accordance with the different natural features and advantages, we should mainly engage in farming and all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupation and fishery in the hilly lands. In the mountain areas, however, we should resolutely implement the principle of "putting the development of forestry first, developing both agriculture and animal husbandry simultaneously and stimulating the all-round development of diversified undertakings." Although there are certain differences in the principle of production, the common problem of developing the rural economy in northern Sichuan is to correctly handle the relationship between developing grain production and developing forestry and diversified undertakings. In the light of the experience gained in a number of typical communes and brigades and after consulting on many occasions comrades from the prefectural and county CPC committees and some other grassroots levels, I think, in an effort to make the rural areas in northern Sichuan speedily stand up and become rich, it is necessary to solve the problems of forest destruction and the disruption of the ecological balance and thus remove the root of poverty; energetically develop diversified undertakings and thus plant the root of prosperity; and ensure the steady increase of grain output in order to gain a firm foothold.

#### Protecting and Developing Forestry Is a Fundamental Policy for Getting Rid of Poverty in Northern Sichuan

For a long time in the past, economic development has been slow in northern Sichuan. The roots lie in the destruction of forests to open up land and the single development of grain production, which has resulted in a malignant circle economically and ecologically. As a result of the movement of going in for steel in a big way in 1958 and the indiscriminate felling of trees as well as the practice of opening up land on steep slopes which has not completely stopped at present, forest resources in northern Sichuan have fallen drastically and the damage to vegetation is serious. This has brought about serious consequences. The first is frequent natural calamities in the mountain areas. Little rainfall results in a drought and ample rainfall results in waterlogging. The layer of soil has become thinner with erosion. Grain production remains at a low level and the output of many forest, sideline, local and special products has also fallen by a great margin. We are still unable to restore their production to the highest

historical level. The second is the loss of water and erosion of soil, which has brought disaster to the lower reaches. The Fujiang, Tuojiang and Jialingjing Rivers, the main tributaries of the Changjiang River originating from the mountain areas in northern Sichuan, wash away as much as 250 million tons of mud and sand every year. If there is torrential rain in the upper reaches, it will result in flood and in exceptionally great flood peaks and flow in the mainstream. The exceptionally great flood in 1981 was precisely caused by this. It can be said that the lack of forests in the mountains has resulted in the loss of soil and sand and that the root cause of floods in the basin lies in the upper reaches of the rivers. If we fail to change the ecological imbalance, not only will it be impossible for northern Sichuan to become rich, it will still continuously suffer at the hands of nature. Therefore, it is imperative to regard the development of forestry as a primary factor by which northern Sichuan will stand up and become rich. We should adopt decisive measures and adhere to them unswervingly.

There are many favorable conditions for developing forestry in northern Sichuan. It has a vast area suitable for growing trees, and rainfall and weather are both moderate. So long as we close off the hillsides, the forests will grow. Some localities, such as Nanjiang and Jiange Counties and the Baisha industrial and agricultural district, closed off the hillsides 7-8 years ago and the pine forest on the hillsides is now ready for selective cutting. In Guangyuan County, the 400,000 mu of land afforested by aerial sowing has now grown into green forest. In recent years, successful experience has been gained in the artificial planting of fast growing and highly productive commercial forests. In developing forestry, we should adjust measures according to the local conditions. We should develop commercial forests to a greater extent in remote mountains and hills. Nearby hills are suitable for planting economic forests. Bazhong County's Huacong District, which is situated in remote hills, has succeeded in planting more than 2,000 mu of forests. There, the hilltops are green, trees grow between the terrace fields and the forests in the deep ravines are denser. This method of afforestation does not occupy grain land. It can conserve water and soil and regulate weather. In hilly counties such as Nanchong and Pengan, they plant a lot of economic forests, such as tangerine and mulberry trees, along roads and rivers and around villages and houses as well as on barren hilltops. This can yield good and quick results and act as farm shelter-forest. Whether in closing off the hillsides to facilitate afforestation or planting trees, it is necessary to strengthen management, consolidate and stabilize the right over the hills and forests and consolidate the achievements of the forestry responsibility system. With respect to acts in violation of the forest law and village code, it is necessary to adopt strict disciplinary measures. In afforestation, we should promptly grasp the raising of seedlings and pay attention to science, such as the right trees in the right places, selection of improved varieties and the cultivation of mixed forests. So long as we pay attention to the four measures, namely closing hillsides, afforestation, planting trees and strengthening management, and adhere to them for 5-10 years, forestry in northern Sichuan will present a new outlook.

## Energetically Developing Diversified Undertakings Constitutes a Major Channel by Which Northern Sichuan Becomes Rich

Northern Sichuan has little cultivated land on a per capita basis and can provide little commodity grain. However, it has favorable conditions to develop diversified undertakings. It is therefore necessary to go in for diversified undertakings in a big way on the basis of steady growth in grain production.

Diversified undertakings in the hilly land of northern Sichuan consist chiefly of the following: mulberry, fruit, paulownia, bamboo, hemp, oil, pigs, birds and fish. Northern Sichuan has a predominant position particularly in mulberry, tangerine and paulownia nuts. In Longcan commune, Pengan County, mulberry trees have been extensively planted along the paths leading to the fields and on hilltops. The commune has an average of 207 trees for each person. The year before last, each household raised an average of 1.82 pieces of silkworms [refers to pieces of paper with silkworm eggs on them] with an average income of 47.8 yuan from cocoons for each person. In the No 6 production team of the No 13 production brigade, Qingxi commune, Pengan County, the 50 households only have 50 mu of grain fields. The team gathers 600,000 jin of red tangerines each year, accounting for 94.8 percent of the total income from agricultural and sideline occupation. The per capita distributed income in this commune is 366 yuan.

There are broader channels for diversified undertakings in the mountain areas. Developing forests, bamboo, dried fruit, paulownia nuts, tea, medicinal materials, edible fungus, tremella, day lily, cattle-raising, goat-raising and mineral products can make people rich. Over the past decade and more, the Liulinpo production team in Yudai commune, Wanyuan County, has afforested 2,000 mu of land by planting 7,000 fruit and paulownia trees. Their per capita distributed income the year before last was 301 yuan of which 104 yuan was income from forestry. The Dashuba production team in Hongxing commune, Nanjiang County, has taken advantage of the ample grass slopes to raise an average of 2.9 cows, 5 goats and 5.6 pigs per household. Income from animal husbandry alone amounts to an average of 102 yuan for each person. Anchang production brigade in Changgui commune, Pingwu County, mined 31.9 taels of gold in the first quarter of last year. This income accounted for 185 yuan for each household, an average of 39 yuan for each person. Moreover, there are great prospects for developing weaving, wine making, building materials and the processing of farm produce. So long as the various communes and brigades proceed from their own peculiarities and engage in one or two key items for 3, 5 or 10 years, they will be able to become rich.

In developing diversified undertakings, it is necessary to combine long-term plans with short-term ones by using the latter to support the former. It is necessary to give scope to our superiority and give prominence to the key points. Some lines yield quick results and others have long production cycles. Only by combining both of them will it be possible to develop them on our own efforts and open up more channels toward prosperity. Guangyuan, Wangcang and Wanyuan Counties plan to greatly develop the production of

poultry, eggs, milk, vegetables, fruit, flowers, plants and handicraft articles in order to meet the needs of people in industrial and mining areas and in cities and increase the income of the peasants. At the same time, in light of the new demands of the peasants following the increases in their income, they develop the production of building materials, contract the construction of peasant houses and develop service trades in order to meet the needs of peasants in their livelihood.

In developing diversified undertakings, it is necessary to bring into full play the initiative of both the collective and the individual. In recent years, household sideline production has developed fairly speedily. Income from this source accounts for 40-50 percent of the total income of the peasants and there is still a great potential for further development. At present, over 80 percent of the production teams in northern Sichuan have instituted the "double-contract" system. After the land is contracted, there is generally about 30 percent of surplus labor in the production teams. We should find a way out for this through diversified undertakings. In the future, with the further implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output and the development of commodity production in the rural areas, there will be more labor force shifting to specialized production and the rural economy will gradually develop in the direction of specialization and mass production. Therefore, it is necessary to attach importance to and support the various specialized households and households doing specialized jobs which have emerged in the rural areas, and promote various forms of joint operations and management so that those who have operational and technical skills can give full play to their talents.

Diversified undertakings basically deal in commodity production. It is necessary to solve the problems of circulation, processing, transport and storage. Dazhu County has gained some experiences in this respect. The financial and commercial departments of that county have made great efforts to help develop production. At the same time, they have also tried by every possible means to push the sale of farm produce and sideline products. The supply and marketing cooperatives have developed various joint managements by expanding the shares and revising the system. In addition to the agricultural-commercial business joint management, they have also engaged in joint production with 48 orchards and in joint production, processing and sales of mushrooms with 739 production teams and 1 tin factory. Along with banks, food companies, veterinary stations and the foreign trade department, they have also signed multilateral contracts with specialized households and households specializing in raising cattle, chickens and rabbits and supported them with funds, fodder and the sale of produce. When engaging in processing trades, it is necessary to take the road of joint operation and break the bounds of different trades, ownership and administrative areas. We should not build duplicate factories in every locality. The Bazhong Tin Factory has developed the production of tomatoes, asparagus, mushrooms and green sword beans by setting up bases of raw materials production in the rural areas of Bazhong County as well as in Pingchang, Yilong and Cangxi Counties. In 1 year, the rural communes, production brigades and teams in Bazhong County have increased their income by 4 million yuan.

Ensuring the Steady Growth of Grain Production Constitutes a Fundamental Condition for Developing Forestry and Diversified Undertakings and Enabling Northern Sichuan To Get Prosperous

In readjusting the internal structure of agriculture and speeding up the development of forestry and diversified undertakings, we base ourselves on the steady growth of grain production. Due to grain shortage in some localities, the phenomenon of destroying forests to open up land has not been completely stopped and diversified undertakings have failed to make any headway. Most counties in northern Sichuan have increased their grain production in recent years. The peasants have basically enough food to eat. However, after fulfilling the quotas for the state purchase and extra purchase, the average amount of grain for each person and the grain ration distributed from the collective are still lower than the average level in the province. In the hilly land of northern Sichuan, it is necessary to stabilize the area sown to grain and strive to raise per-unit output. In developing diversified undertakings, it is necessary to refrain from occupying, or strive to occupy less, grain fields. We should develop diversified undertakings along roads and rivers, around villages and houses and in the slopes and water fronts or develop specialized items which do not occupy cultivated land. In making contributions to the state, the mountain areas should chiefly provide more and better forest, animal, local and special products but not in grain. However, when these localities do not have a high grain production level and there is a transportation problem, they should not rely on importing grain to solve their food problem. Therefore, the counties situated in the mountain areas of northern Sichuan should strive to be more than self-sufficient in grain and make up for a crop failure with a bumper harvest and, on this basis, gradually readjust crop arrangements by planting trees and growing grass on the steep slopes which are not suitable for growing grain.

In order to ensure a steady growth in grain production, it is imperative to tackle key scientific problems, do a good job of scientific farming and devote a lot of time and energy to the improvement of per-unit yield. In Qingchuan and Pingwu Counties which are situated in a mountainous area, the average wheat output is less than 200 jin per mu, corn output is less than 300 jin and rice output is a little over 500 jin. In Yuechi and Nanchong Counties which lie in a hilly area, the average rice output is only a little over 600 jin per mu, about 300 jin less than Pengxi and Lezhi Counties in central Sichuan. However, there are also models which achieved a high yield over a large area. For example, rice output in Dazhu County is 805 jin per mu and corn output in Guangan County is 800 jin per mu. This shows that there is still a great potential to increase grain production. Their chief experience in increasing per-unit yield in the hilly area is to actively disseminate improved varieties, reform the farming system and cultivation techniques and, where there are water facilities, transform winter paddy field and raise the multiple crop index. Their experience in increasing per-unit yield in the mountain area is to adopt, in light of local specific and natural conditions, measures for utilizing the favorable and avoiding the unfavorable conditions in an effort to increase production; cultivate and promote crop varieties which are



resistant to low temperature and drought, mature early and are highly productive; improve the combination of varieties; and base ourselves on overcoming autumn frost, low temperature and other disasters. While applying the scientific and technological achievements in modern agriculture, it is necessary to pay attention to integrating the utilization with maintenance of land by intensive cultivation, frequent application of organic fertilizer and soil improvement. We should not discard the valuable experience of our traditional farming techniques.

In order to raise grain production levels in mountain areas, it is imperative to change the practice of opening up land everywhere and that of extensive growing for a meager harvest. It is necessary to concentrate our energy on cultivating the basic land, such as the flat land in the river valleys and the land at a slope of less than 25 degrees, and strive to achieve high and stable yields. It is necessary to engage in farm land capital construction in a planned way, improve irrigation facilities and make the layer of cultivated soil thicker. Some slope land can be transformed into terraced land. In this way, we can markedly increase per-unit yield. Under the existing conditions, it is impossible to stop cultivating land with a slope of over 25 degrees. However, it is necessary to stop cultivating land which yields only a score or a hundred jin per mu but which brings about ecological imbalance. This is a practice in which we lose more than we gain. We should therefore plant trees and grow grass on the land. Some peasants also note the advantages of this practice. In Shanguoshi commune, Qingchuan County, a militia company commander made a contract for 7.5 mu of cultivated land. He put in a lot of time on increasing the per-unit yield in the 5 mu of flat land and succeeded in gathering 590 jin of wheat per mu. He planted trees and grew grass on the other 2.5 mu of slope land. The experiment of growing rye grass on the slope has been successful in that county. The grass can be harvested three times a year with a per-mu yield of more than 20,000 jin. The grass can be used to feed cattle. Its annual output value is more than 300 yuan, much more worthwhile than growing grain. Naturally, this readjustment can be gradually and specifically arranged according to the population in various localities, the degree of self-sufficiency in grain and the land area suitable for farming. We should not act with undue haste.

#### Adopting Correct and Vigorous Policies and Measures Ensures the Speedy Development of the Rural Economy in Northern Sichuan

To speed up the rural economic development in northern Sichuan, in addition to conscientiously implementing and continuously carrying out the existing policies, we should also further study and solve some problems.

1. It is necessary to appropriately expand investment in forestry.

Since the founding of the PRC, the state has invested a lot of money on water conservancy construction, particularly on the construction of reservoirs. However, investment in forestry has been next to nothing. From 1950 to 1980, total investment on agricultural capital construction in our province came to 3,179 million yuan. Of this, investment on water

conservancy projects came to 2,485 million yuan, accounting for 78.2 percent of the total investment, while investment in forestry construction came to only 97.11 million yuan, accounting for only 3 percent of the total investment. In 1981, the construction fund for water conservation was reduced to some extent and the fund for forestry construction was increased to some extent, but the latter accounted for only some 10 percent of the former. Our experience and lessons over the years have taught us that, in dealing with floods and droughts, it is impossible to solve the problems once and for all by paying attention only to engineering measures without paying attention to biological measures of protecting the ecological balance, such as planting trees and growing grass. This will also result in serious soil erosion and the silting up of ponds and reservoirs, which causes a great waste. For this reason, it is necessary for the state and localities to appropriately expand their investment on forestry. In 1981, our province set up a forestry development fund system, which allocates several million yuan annually as subsidies for planting several hundred thousand mu of fast growing and highly productive forests. Our province is situated in the upper reaches of the Changjiang River. The serious situation of excessive felling of forests for many years in the past and the drastic reduction of forest cover has made it necessary to list the building of a shelter-forest in the upper reaches of the Changjiang River as a key construction project of the state.

2. It is necessary to further relax some rural policies, particularly the policies on mountain areas.

Experience has told us that appropriate relaxation of policies can speedily increase social wealth. Those barren hills and slopes which are unsuitable for the collectives to manage can be assigned to a greater extent to commune members as private or responsibility hills for planting trees. Where conditions permit, we can give commune members a free hand in breeding cattle and goats. We should energetically encourage commune members to develop small orchards and mulberry and tea gardens and to plant other economic forests in front of and behind their houses, in private plots and hills and in places designated by production teams. The income derived from this belongs to the commune members themselves. A retired disabled serviceman in Changxing commune, Tongjiang County, planted 120 pear, apple and tangerine trees in his family orchard. He had an income of more than 400 yuan last year. There is nothing wrong in encouraging the peasants to speedily become rich by this method!

3. We should engage in essential construction through fund raising and joint ventures.

Many comrades from the prefectures and counties said that the mountain areas are rich in natural resources and they will speedily stand up if communications, small power stations and processing trades are developed. At present, the state should appropriately concentrate funds on key construction projects. This is where our overall interests lie. Under the guidance of state planning, the various localities should primarily rely on their own efforts in essential construction. We should promote, on a voluntary and

mutually beneficial basis, various forms of fund raising and joint ventures by breaking down the barriers between different regions and trades and between various forms of ownership. We especially encourage Chengdu, Chongqing and economically developed counties as well as state enterprises with the necessary conditions to adopt various methods, such as economic combination and technological cooperation, to help counties in the mountain area and a small number of areas inhabited by the minority nationalities develop processing trades and engage in the primary processing and comprehensive utilization of products.

4. Speed up the structural reform of secondary education by turning some ordinary middle schools into secondary vocational ones.

The unitary structure of the existing secondary education is quite irrational. After inspecting various localities in northern Sichuan, I felt all the more the seriousness of the problem. The teaching in junior and senior middle schools in the rural areas centers around the objective of training students for university. However, very few students can enter universities. A large number of students have to take part in agricultural labor after graduation, but they do not learn professional knowledge and skills at schools. On the other hand, with the development of production, the rural areas urgently need technical personnel with specialized knowledge. For example, it is necessary to run a silkworm and mulberry school and a horticultural (orange) school in Nanchong Prefecture which is abundant in tangerine, silkworms and mulberry. After making some experiments and preparations, the various counties in the interior of the province can turn an ordinary middle school into a secondary vocational school (practicing the principle of from the commune, to the commune without undertaking assignments of jobs) and ordinary middle schools can offer vocational and technical courses in senior classes. After the ordinary middle schools have been turned into secondary vocational schools, their sources of outlay remain unchanged with the educational departments being responsible for unified management and assigning more teachers to specialized fields. The relevant departments should support them.

5. We should continuously implement the policy of reducing the grain burden of counties in the mountain area and give them more initiative in grain and finance.

In order to implement the principle of production in the mountain area and help poor production teams and areas inhabited by the minority nationalities rehabilitate and develop production, the provincial CPC committee decided in 1980 to allocate 395 million jin of grain as a subsidy and reduce the grain burden of some production teams which were short of grain for many years. This has promoted forestry, animal husbandry and the construction of bases for diversified undertakings and yielded very good results. The policy was originally fixed to be valid for 3 years. In accordance with the requests from various localities, it should be further implemented and will remain unchanged until 1990. In order to give counties in the mountain area more initiative in grain problems and thus facilitate the readjustment of agricultural structure, we can adopt the method of

Gulin County by fixing grain output for counties in the mountain area. In accordance with the existing differences in purchase and sale, some counties can be given fixed subsidies, some can turn over fixed quantities of grain to the state and some can keep their balance through their own efforts. This policy should absolutely remain unchanged for a few years. At the same time, with respect to some counties in the mountain area which have been unable to make ends meet for years running, we can experiment in the method of fixed financial subsidies in order to speed up the economic development of the mountain area.

In the current investigation, I visited scores of advanced communes and production brigades which had their own peculiarities in building material and socialist spiritual civilization. All of them have something in common, that is, they have a realistic plan and a good leading body. This shows that in order to stand up and become rich, the rural areas in northern Sichuan should have correct principles and policies. They should also formulate plans and consolidate the leading bodies. Only in this way will it be possible for the broad sections of cadres and masses to have a clear-cut objective of struggle and the spirit of rousing themselves and thus speed up the building of material and socialist spiritual civilization.

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IN NO WAY SHOULD THE CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION FRONT BE BLINDLY OVEREXTENDED ANYMORE!

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[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] Economic life in our country today has one problem well worth consideration, and that is that since the rational readjustments and cutbacks in the capital construction front during the last several years, there emerged last year a tendency of blind overextension. The overall scale of investments in fixed assets last year surpassed all previous records and surpassed national plans by a relatively large extent. Some regions added on additional projects to those already included in the plans of which a large number were processing industries. In addition, a fairly large proportion of investments earmarked in state plans for use in renovation of enterprise equipment and technical transformations was in fact used for capital construction. If this situation is allowed to continue unabated and without restrictions, then the scale of investments may actually exceed the limits permitted by the state's capacity with the result that the balance of the national economy would once again be destroyed, thus presenting problems for future development.

Some comrades react in such a way that as soon as they talk of the struggle for achieving the tactical target of quadrupling total production output of industry and agriculture by the year 2000, they immediately start to frantically add new construction projects, extending the sphere of essential construction and increasing new productive forces. Such eagerness is totally understandable but we cannot carry out our work on the basis of subjective wishes. Instead we must base our work on the objective present situation in China and thus work in a planned and regular way. We must strive for real economic results.

Today, the level of national revenue in China is low. The many years under the influence of "leftist" erroneous thinking created low economic results and efficiency and this situation has as yet still not been essentially changed. After the great successes achieved in readjustments to the proportions between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, the internal economic structure of industry still illustrates some irrational areas and still needs further readjustments. Restructuring of the economic

system of management has only just begun, and thus there are still serious problems of disorder in enterprise management, also needing speedy reorganization. Other factors such as energy and communications shortages, outdated equipment in enterprises and backward technology have also meant that the present and future development for several years to come of the national economy is being hit by severe restrictions. Working on the basis of an objective look at China's present situation, the 12th National Congress of the CPC has ruled that in the last 20 years of this century we must divide our development into two different stages. Before entering a new period of economic prosperity we must undergo a 10-year period of preparation, during which time we can establish firmer foundations, gather together our strength and set up necessary conditions. The Sixth 5-Year Plan places great emphasis on improving economic results and stresses that we should not force ourselves to go all out for an unrealistically high speed of development. Thus, today we must put our hearts and souls into struggling to achieve the 20-year tactical targets, and of primary importance are our concerted efforts to establish firm foundations followed by further implementation of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading measures. In addition, we must actively strive to improve and perfect management and administration, promote technological advances and use every way possible to raise the economic results of existing enterprises. However, we must on no account eagerly but blindly overextend the sphere of essential construction by setting up new projects. Whether or not we can seek out limited funds for investment in fixed assets depends on planned and centralized utilization of the funds with larger amount being used for more important projects so that we may use the funds to establish firm foundations in the most needy areas. This includes mainly emphasizing construction projects related to energy, communications and renovation of equipment in existing enterprises and technological transformations.

The solution to problems of energy and transport shortages obviously lies to a very large extent in improving and perfecting management and in improving technology so that considerable savings in energy may be made, and in improving efficiency rates in transportation. What is more, the potential in this area is in fact enormous. If we do not now begin to implement planned and emphasized essential construction so that in the next few years we may see continuous increases in energy production capacity and transportation capacity, then we will not be able to fundamentally solve contradictions between supply and demand of energy to be found in the further development of the national economy, nor contradictions between transportation capacity and growth in transportation needs. Similarly, if we do not now start to implement planned and emphasized renovation of equipment in existing enterprises as well as technical transformations, but continue to allow a situation to drag on in which enterprises are equipped with outdated machinery and technology is backward, then there is no chance of a fundamental change in low levels of economic efficiency and results.

While collectively using investment in fixed assets in these two main areas, we must restrict their use in other areas, in particular in construction of processing industries not included in state planning. In general, it seems that programs in the processing industry are worthwhile, especially

those involving small enterprises where investment for essential construction is small, construction periods short, results quicker than in major construction programs involving energy or communications. But, this is only taking a partial look at the situation. The problems only become clear when we look at it in an all-round, comprehensive way. The problems facing our processing industries are: In some cases production capacity has already produced a glut (tobacco and alcohol), in some cases production capacity is restricted by short supplies of energy, transportation and raw materials so that they do not see full expression, in some cases there is an urgent need for technical transformations and improvements in economic efficiency and results. Thus, from an overall point of view, essential construction programs in the processing industries should not be considered as the most pressing matters of the moment and if work in this area is cut down a little bit it will not greatly affect the general situation, unlike construction work on energy and transportation and renovation of enterprise equipment and technical transformation, where if work is not carried out now, enormous damages will be incurred for a long time in the future which will prove difficult to put right. If we do not make a distinction between important and less important programs, and if we blindly overextend the scale of essential construction then our precious and limited funds will be spread too thinly, resulting in important construction programs dragging on for long periods of time due to lack of financial and material guarantees, thus using up financing over a much longer period of time instead of being turned into production capacity. And even if they do have potential production capacity, shortages of energy and raw materials may still prevent production, thus creating new damage.

One response to this is, well, I have raised my own funds and am not using state investments, so I can personally solve problems of supplies of building materials and energy, therefore why can I not add on a few more processing industry programs that are needed in certain areas, in addition to the state plans? Such an attitude reflects a lack of all-round appreciation of the situation. The socialist national economy is an organic whole and funds personally raised by a region, a department or an enterprise are also the funds of socialist construction. If limited funds, energy and raw materials are overused here, then they will be underused in other areas. If too much funding is used in construction programs related to the processing industries outside state planning, then this will only aggravate shortages in supplies of energy, raw materials and communications and transportation and putting the squeeze on essential construction projects and technical transformations of a much more urgent and vital nature within the state plans or, alternatively, putting pressure on maintenance and upkeep of existing production and equipment and the needs of the people's welfare. Under a situation of such imbalance, how would it be possible to continue implementing the principles of readjustment, restructuring, upgrading and reorganization? Working in this way can only obstruct the healthy development of the national economy focusing on improvements in economic efficiency.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese people have suffered more than once from the effects of dislocations in the national

economy as a result of overextension of capital construction fronts. In the last 2 years we have begun to feel the relief produced by readjustments to proportions in the national economy. Blind overextension of capital construction fronts, dislocations in the national economy, setbacks, suffering, cutbacks on the scale of capital investment, readjustments to proportional relations, smooth development, relief, blind overextension of the scale of capital construction again... This vicious circle causes great damage to the national economy. The scar has healed so we have forgotten the pain, but have we forgotten our lesson too?

Only if we firmly establish a way of thinking which reflects the concept of the country as a game of chess can we successfully solve the problems of limiting the scale of investments in fixed assets and correcting the areas of their application. Things which seem profitable and feasible from one angle should be put on a more objective set of scales to see whether in fact they are a good idea. If they are, then they should be implemented. If they are not, then they should on no account be implemented. This is the objective demand put on every angle of the socialist publicly owned economy by itself. It is also the correct attitude that leading cadres of every level should adopt. If everyone works in this way, then as overall development takes place, there are even greater guarantees that each individual angle will also develop. This is in fact exactly what Comrade Chen Yun said recently, "Only by successfully carrying out major revolutions and major construction work in the country can we ensure the realization of every small revolution and all small construction work." If any work is carried out based on partial and uneven observation and one-sided interests, not only will it serve no interest to the overall situation, it will also in the long run be of no interest to the originally small part. For in a unified socialist economy, things which are of no interest to the overall situation never come to anything.

We must strengthen the concept of planning and underline the earnestness of state planning. Proportional and planned development is the basic nature and inherent advantage of the socialist economy. Expressing regional, departmental and enterprise enthusiasm must be integrated with submission to unified state planning. We must inject life into the economy but, just as Comrade Chen Yun recently pointed out, "Injecting life into the economy must be done under planned guidance and should not be done independently of planning guidance." The shortcomings that exist in the planning management system are at this moment being tackled with restructuring work, and progress has already been made in overcoming problems in such areas as excessive centralization of management powers. Such work is very positive. Nevertheless, tendencies which undermine and destroy unified state planning have in fact been on the increase. This is one of the reasons for blind overextension of the scale of capital construction. In order to ensure that the scale of investments in fixed assets does not exceed the load that the country can actually bear and to ensure that such investments are used in such a way as to meet the demands of the development of the national economy, we must strengthen and improve unified state planning. In his report relating to the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Premier Zhao Ziyang announced relevant State Council regulations which bear heavily on this subject and every region,



department and work unit should strictly conform with and carry out these regulations. All investments in fixed assets, regardless of whether they are included in state estimates, are privately and individually raised funds or bank loans, must all be entered into the unified state plans and may not transgress the plans without authority. Capital construction programs must all, in accordance with regulations, be ratified by the relevant state bodies and no work unit or individual has the authority to approve or decide on a construction program. Investments in capital construction should be organized together by the Construction Bank and the use to which the investments are put should be watched and checked according to planning by the bank. All construction programs must be carried out strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations of capital construction, with thorough preconstruction feasibility studies and technological back-up as well as good surveying and design before construction goes ahead. Making decisions too lightly, over-hasty actions, insufficient surveying, insufficient design work, insufficient construction work, endless delays and extensions of construction deadlines, limitless additions to investment costs and lack of responsibility cannot be allowed to continue. We must also restructure rules and regulations which adversely affect the implementation of equipment renovation and technical transformations in enterprise, as well as adopting economic measures to motivate enterprise enthusiasm in carrying out technical transformation.

We believe that if everyone comes to understand and appreciate that we must work on the basis of objective assessment of the actual situation, an overall, inclusive view of the situation, aiming at raising economic results throughout the entire national economy, while strengthening our awareness of the need to submit to unified state planning, then we will without doubt be able to quickly put a stop to this tendency of blindly overextending capital investment fronts. Thus, we will be able to gather together and use in important construction programs and technical transformations our limited investments in fixed assets, thereby laying a solid foundation for future, healthier development of the national economy.

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A BOATMAN AND A PHILOSOPHER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 p 30

[Article by Qi Hua [0796 5478]]

[Text] Marx told his daughter a "short and world-wise Arabian fable." It reads: "Once there was a boatman who got ready to steer a boat in a river torrent, on which there was a philosopher who wanted to go to the other side of the river. Consequently, there transpired the following dialogue: Philosopher: Boatman, do you know history? Boatman: I don't! Philosopher: Then you have lost half of your life! The philosopher again asked: Have you ever studied mathematics? Boatman: I haven't! Philosopher: Then you have lost more than half of your life! The moment the philosopher finished speaking, the wind blew and overturned the boat. Both the philosopher and boatman were thrown into the river. Accordingly, the boatman cried out: Can you swim? Philosopher: I can't! Boatman: Then you are bound to lose the whole of your life!"

Marx vividly expressed his view on the relationship between science and reality with this minor fable. He held that any science which cannot solve practical problems is useless and any person, no matter how great he is and how profound the knowledge he possesses, who can only indulge in exaggeration in a manner being divorced from practice and who fails to take root in the soil of reality in an earnest, down-to-earth and firm manner is doomed to 100 percent failure.

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## THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE FOR GENETICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan. 83 pp 31-35

[Article by Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823]]

[Text] Heredity and variation are the basic nature of life, they are natural phenomena that appeared simultaneously with the appearance of the world of living things. For a very long period, mankind has intentionally or not been probing into the mystery of heredity. But it was not until 1865 when Mendel published his book "Experiments on Plant Hybridization" that the basic law of heredity began to be exposed. Since then, the study of heredity began to be included in science to form a strict branch of natural science--genetics.

During a period of more than 10 decades, genetics has experienced the development stages of classic genetics, cell genetics and molecular genetics. At the present stage, more definite answers have been made with regard to some basic questions about genetics, such as the material foundation for heredity and variation and heredity features of how embryos change into complete bodies according to a certain sequence of time and space. And on this understanding, people have actively reformed the features of some living things so that these things will serve certain goals of mankind.

### The Basic Principles of Genetics

There is no movement in the world that departs from substance. Life is the high form of the movement of substance, heredity is a basic nature of life and therefore heredity naturally has its own material foundation and this material foundation is termed as chemical molecules of DNA. It has been proven that the fragment of DNA constitutes the basic unit of heredity--the gene. Gene genetics represent a theoretical system for explaining heredity and variation from the point of the structure and variation of genes.

People's understanding of the character of genes has developed deeper and deeper from the macroscopic to the microscopic level and yet continuous effort is being made to completely probe into the character of genes.

Peas have either white flowers or red flowers while the peas themselves are either plump or shrunken. After 8 years of experiments, Mendel found that

hybridization between the peas with white flowers with those with red flowers resulted in peas with red flowers. But when the new species are self-pollinated, they will bring about a new generation with white flowers. He was enlightened by this phenomenon and he pointed out that such a macroscopic character of a living substance is determined by a suppositive heredity gene (it is now termed as the gene with concrete substance). A heredity gene exists in twin within a cell but singly in generative cell and when the two sexes of generative cells are combined, heredity genes will become double again. In addition to heredity genes there is also dominant gene and a single dominant gene which enables a living substance to show the character that is decided by itself such as producing red flowers. Dominant genes will be able to show the character they decide such as producing white flowers only when they appear in pairs. If we used "A" to represent the gene that is producing red flowers and "a" to represent the gene that is producing white flowers, the first generation of hybridization should be Aa and therefore the genes are still producing red flowers. But when Aa is having self-pollination, male and female generative cells will respectively have two types of "A" and "a" and these two types have four combinations of AA, Aa, aA and aa. The former three combinations produce red flowers and the last one produces white flowers, with a proportion of three to one.

The work carried out by Mendel has opened up the correct way for exposing the law of heredity by starting from the study of the nature of gene. This discovery shows that the gene is not an abstract symbol, it is a substance that really exists and it can be used as a target for experiment and study.

For the majority of living substances, the only mutual relations between former and latter generations is generative cell. Therefore, it is no doubt that the gene is passed down through the generative cell. The nucleus of the male and female generative cells are limited in size and the size of cytoplasm differs very much from each other. For example, the human ovum is 60,000 times bigger than human sperm. But parents have the same role of deciding the heredity features of their children. And this situation shows that nuclei are the main carrying bodies of the genes. But it does not mean that there is no possibility of the existence of few genes inside the outer cells of the nucleus.

In what part of the nucleus does the gene exist? Early this century, people found that cells carry out meiosis to form generative cells and as a result, there appear with the nucleus cudgel-type structures that can be dyed-- chromosomes. These chromosomes change from pairs to singles and enter into two cells and consequently the number of chromosomes in a generative cell decreases by a half. When the generative cells are from the two different sexes combine, one coming from the chromosome of the father and the other one from the chromosome of the mother, the chromosomes are again paired. There is a parallel relation between this movement of chromosome and the form of the transfer of gene to clearly show that the gene is above the chromosome. American scientist Morgan and his students have made important contributions in proving that genes exist above the chromosomes in linear sequence. Around the 1930's and influenced by Morgan's theory of genes, scholars in China carried out experiments on fruitflies and lady birds and

made important and creative discoveries about the roles of gene in the growth of individual substance and its change during the variation of substance; up to now this discovery is generally accepted as having classic significance.

Thanks to the development of science, mankind's field of vision has been expanded to space and has penetrated into tiny layers of the structures of substances. In the early 1950's, Huasheng [5478 3932] and Kelike [9034 6849 0344] put forth double-spiral structural model of DNA and consequently they have been able to explain the chemical structure and biological foundation of gene on the basis of molecules. This discovery is not only an important breakthrough in the scale of biology but also a brilliant achievement of the whole natural science and its significance can be matched with any scientific discovery that has so far been made.

DNA is an important part of the chromosome with the exception of few low-grade living substances such as virus and bacteriophage that have ribonucleic acid (RNA) and heredity substance, DNA is the carrying substance for transferring information of all the living substances that have so far been known. DNA is a long-thread-type big molecule of living substance and it is formed by four different types of hydroxide ion and nucleotide. A gene is a section of DNA molecules and includes several to tens of thousands of nucleotide. Every three of the interlinked nucleotides constitute a heredity code to decide the kind of amino acid. Amino acids are the basic unit for the composition of protein. Mainly there are 20 different types of amino acid that are determined by different heredity codes. In other words, the types, characters and function of the protein of the various macroscopic characters in the body of living substances are determined by the types and arrangement of amino acid, that is to say, they are determined by the types and the sequence of arrangement of the amino acid inside DNA molecules. Through heredity code, the heredity information that is brought by DNA controls the types of the synthesized protein and consequently this protein turns into the character of the living body. DNA can reproduce itself and through the process of cell division and fertilization passes down the heredity code to the next generation. A gene is subject to a certain readjustment and control and plays its own role in different cells and times. Therefore the synthesis of the protein that is decided by a gene has a certain sequence of time and space to realize cell division and body growth. Once the types and sequence of arrangement of the nucleotide inside a gene change, the heredity code will also change and consequently there will appear abnormal composition of protein to affect the normal metabolism inside the cells and cause abnormal characters such as the death of living substances or diseases. If such changed genes exist in generative cells, there will appear variations in the next generation. This biological evolution that is formed through a long chain of heredity and variation from one generation to another can be proved scientifically on the basis of molecules.

Right from the beginning of the development of genetics up to now, various suppositions and definitions have been put forth in different periods while the tests on scientific experiments tell us that the nature of studying

genes and their reproduction, transfer and role should become the main line and orientation of the study of genetics. Following the deepening of the understanding of the gene, greater development will be made in the study of genetics.

#### The Important Roles of Genetics

Genetics have a very close relation with industry, agriculture and medical science and other sectors. Fine strains of bacteria that are needed by biological fermentation industries such as antibiotics and glutamic acid and high yielding and fine strains of livestock and crops and the prevention and treatment of hereditary diseases, all these required us to select fine strains and put forth medical measures under the theoretical guidance of genetics. As molecular genetics is developing, genetics will make increasingly greater contributions to the socialist modernization program.

Reforms of the heredity of living things can be carried out not only through individual hybridization and selection of strains in a planned way but can also be realized through transforming different levels of nucleus, chromosomes and genes. Gene projects in the 1970's included processing and transforming heredity substances at the molecular level according to the needs of mankind so as to enable us to produce the products of the outside genes within living bodies and create new species of living substances. Gene projects have provided effective experiment measures for basic study of such higher living things as the division of cells, growth and the appearance of tumors; these projects have also opened up a new road for major changes in such sectors as industry, agriculture, national defense and medicines. The appearance of gene projects has helped prove the correctness of the theory of gene heredity and it means an important breakthrough of the heredity in bringing happiness to mankind. At present, the use of the technology of gene projects has given rise to a new industry. Some advanced countries have set up organizations and departments for special study and production by using this technology. There are more than 100 pharmaceutical, foodstuff, energy and mining companies and factories in America that have already set up the departments of heredity projects. Active study in this aspect is also being carried out in China.

The function of genes basically can be divided into two categories. The first category is to determine the composition of protein. Certain genes produce certain proteins and they are called structural genes. Another category is to regulate and control the activities of structural genes so as to decide the timing of the activity and closing of structural genes and these genes are called regulating and controlling genes. In the mid-1970's, some types of nucleic acid restriction enzyme (enzyme is protein) that are able to differ the order of certain nucleotide on the basis of DNA molecules and to cut off DNA molecules between two nucleotides. Therefore the different types of nucleic acid restriction enzyme can be used to cut off different DNA fragments. These fragments contain the required genes or a certain synthesized plasmid that is composed of the DNA that has departed from bacteria cells. Sometimes it is also necessary at the same time to link the DNA order that has regulating roles with structural genes. Plasma

are able to move among bacterium, enter into daughter cells along the differentiation of cells and to reproduce themselves without relying on bacteria chromosomes. Thus to make use of these features it is possible to make an outside gene plasmid enter into bacteria. As bacteria are quick in generating while plasma are able to reproduce themselves, it is possible for outside genes to expand many reproduction in a short period and the products of genes will consequently be increased by many times. According to this basic principle these features can be widely used in producing the proteins with scarce resources (such as enzymes) or peptides (such as hormones). For example, human insulin can only be extracted from the human pancreas while the obstructive substance of the human body must be isolated from the cells of the bodies of those suffering from virus infection. These medicines are effective in various degrees in treating such diseases that are caused by diabetes and viruses and in treating tumors. But in the past, the production of these medicines was very limited. Now the difficulty of producing these medicines has been resolved by DNA reorganization technology. To link the genes of human body that are producing insulin and obstructive substances with bacteria plasmid and then insert them into the colonbacillus will enable them to expand inside cells and synthesize insulin with obstructive substances.

Such technology can be used in agriculture by putting the genes characterized by disease-resistance, high yielding, fine strains and nitrogen fixation into crops cells to produce new species that cannot be achieved under natural conditions or through normal breeding methods.

Genetics is directly related to human health and birth control and its significance in this aspect has been increasingly demonstrated. Following the liberation of China, diseases that seriously threaten the life of the people such as plague, typhus, cholera and smallpox have been basically put under control. At the same time, owing to the fact that in developing industrial and agricultural production we did not pay enough attention to fully controlling the three wastes, environmental pollution is becoming more serious and this situation has resulted in higher disease recurrence rate and death rate of those suffering from malignant tumors and heredity diseases. It has become an urgent subject of study as how to prevent such diseases.

Present statistics showed that so far there are more than 2,800 forms that are determined by individual genes and many of these forms are heredity diseases and they do not include the forms that are determined by many genes. Malignant tumors are closely related with the structure and function of the genes inside cells and some are even determined by particular genes. Therefore the basic theory of heredity can be regarded as a theoretical foundation for suggesting prevention measures. For example, all chemical substances that are able to induce genes to make a sudden change are basically the cause of cancer. Therefore the sudden change of bacterium can be used to examine carcinogenic substances in a big way to replace the traditional experiments on cancer through animals and this method is rapid, precise and simple and with less spending. In addition, it has been encouraged in a big way in China that a couple of parents can only have one

child and this measure is aimed at controlling the growth of population and stepping up the modernization program. Under this condition, it is imperative to do a good job of preventing and curing heredity diseases and ensuring healthy physical and mental growth of children, and this work is an important matter that not only concerns millions of families but also relates to the future of the people of various nationalities in China. Statistics about other countries show that the percentage of the new babies suffering from hereditary diseases is in the range of 3 to 10.5 percent. So far there are no such statistics in China; but if we calculate on the lowest percentage of 3 percent, of the more than 18 million babies born annually in China, more than 500,000 are suffering from heredity diseases! Such patients are characterized by idiotic behavior, low mentality, malformation and inborn heart disease; some die prematurely, some lose their labor capability when they grow and they are not able to take care of themselves and some have heavy spiritual burdens. This situation is a tragedy both to the families of the patients and to society. Therefore it is imperative to popularize genetics knowledge so that the broad masses of the people will be able to avoid marriages among close relatives because with such marriages, the percentage of the hereditary diseases suffered by children is much higher. It is better for pregnant women whose family members have a record of heredity diseases to have checks before they give birth. Even during the first 3 months of pregnancy, it is necessary to check whether a baby inside the womb has serious hereditary shortcomings so as to stop or terminate the pregnancy and avoid the birth of a sick child. If such children are detected when they are still babies, it is necessary to take medical measures by controlling the nourishment of their diet so as to control and cure the disease. Of course, the best way is to use gene projects to mend the roles of these defective genes. This aspect is the orientation for real nucleus gene projects. Although there is no example of success in this work, it is by no means beyond our reach.

#### My Views on the Prospects of Genetics

Genetics is an advanced branch of biological science and the study of this sector is very active. But the development of genetics in China was tortuous. In the early days of liberation, we followed the so-called Miqulin [4717 6726 2651] theory that was advocated by Lishenke [2621 2773 4430] of the Soviet Union and consequently the theory of genes was labeled with political slogans such as "bourgeois," "reactionary" and "idealist" and it was prohibited in universities and research organizations. In 1956, Chairman Mao put forth the famous principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and genetics was once again liberated in China and its situation gradually improved. Heredity courses have been set up in universities, heredity specialties have been formed and college students and postgraduates have been enrolled to train a great number of specialized staff in genetics. Research organizations have been set up and workers in genetics with different academic viewpoints have their own scientific research bases. Certain progress has been made in the study of basic sciences such as cell genetics, biochemical genetics, human genetics, microorganism genetics and developmental genetics. These achievements have filled in some gaps to become closer to advanced foreign standards.



During the 10 turbulent years, the "gang of four" went against historical trends to create a disaster to the whole revolutionary cause of China while the education and research work of genetics was almost completely stopped. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," genetics began to be active again and began its second "renaissance." Through recalling the development of genetics in China according to the specific conditions of the country, I put the following views as how to further develop genetics.

1. It is necessary to uphold the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the principle of having practice as the sole criterion of truth.

Because of historical reasons, academic contention in genetics is always a subject that draws people's attention. Therefore it is necessary to resolutely continue to display academic democracy and mobilize the initiative of various aspects. At the same time, it is necessary to uphold the Marxist basic principle of having practice as the sole criterion of truth. In appraising a theory or a viewpoint of genetics, appraising the level of a scientific research achievement, appraising the work of a unit or the achievements of a heredity worker, it is necessary to proceed from reality, display democracy and to let scientists to discuss freely and make conclusions according to objective effectiveness. Academic contention is aimed at analyzing and clarifying what is wrong and right scientifically so as to foster a strict style of study. Any theory that has been denied and discarded by practice, any viewpoint and conjecture without factual foundation can in no way be propagated by using "contention" as an excuse; nor should effort be made to seek foundation for such theory and viewpoint. It is because the purpose of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" is to clarify truth and promote the development of science that strict and responsible attitude must be taken in this aspect.

2. It is necessary to persist in linking theory with reality and make contributions to the modernization program.

In studying genetics it is necessary to pay attention to solving the various concrete problems in industrial and agricultural production, medicine and health and the construction of national defense. At the same time, it is necessary to sum up and probe theoretically and pay attention to exposing internal laws. At present, the key of the theoretical study of genetics is to really grasp the structure, function and regulating of real nuclei cell genes. This work is the starting point for genetics and molecular biology in further exposing the nature of life. In applied study, it is necessary to speed up the use of DNA technology such as reorganization outside body, gene Kelong [0344 7127] and combination of cells, concentrate finance and manpower, define certain units and make breakthrough in selected sectors of gene projects. The subjects for making breakthrough must be defined according to the national conditions of China and it is not necessary to follow the experiences of other countries.

3. It is necessary to pay attention to mutual integration between genetics and other sciences and pay attention to training specialized staff in genetics.

The history of the development of genetics over the past several decades showed that the rapid development of genetics is to a great extent caused by mutual integration of cytology, chemistry, physics and mathematics. Such integration has enabled people to develop from the understanding of heredity substances to abstract codes and then to objective bodies, from cells to nucleus and chromosomes and then into the inside of DNA molecules. In the future, the further development of genetics will no doubt require more from the part of science; the development of science will also promote the development of genetics. In improving such scientific technology and concepts of mathematics, physics, chemistry and computers in the process of the study of genetics, it is required that people must have the basic knowledge of genetics and that specialized staff must grasp the technology and concepts of the above-mentioned sciences in carrying out research work. Therefore in training such staff, it is necessary to strengthen basic theory and basic operation and pay attention to the penetration and exchange among scientific branches.

The level of the genetics in China at present is still lagging behind the advanced level of other countries whether in basic theoretical study or in experiments. But we have the leadership of the party, the advantages of the socialist system and spiritual encouragement from the 12th party congress. Therefore as long as we are able to learn from foreign experiences selectively, spare no efforts and avoid "working like a swarm of bees," we are sure to promote the genetics of our country into the world advanced level and make contributions to the great cause of the modernization program of the motherland.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERARY CRITICISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 36-39

[Article by Liang Dalin [2733 1129 2651]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Literature represents an important component part of the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, as well as the construction of culture and ideology. We should ensure that literature plays an even bigger role in the development of a new phase in modernized construction and hence it is vital that we strengthen and increase literary criticism.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, literary criticism has achieved great successes in terms of bringing order out of chaos in literature and creating new prosperity. However, there still exists one aspect of it which is not in line with the present trend of development in literature.

Literary criticism should constantly research and solve new situations and new problems in the literary world. In order to do this, I feel that it is important to tackle the following few related questions on a dialectical basis:

/1. It is vital that we strengthen the theoretical base of Marxism and also the intimate relation between this base and creative reality and day-to-day reality./

Theoretical literary criticism is guided by Marxist-Leninist thinking. However, as a result of a lack of a solid theoretical Marxist foundation in the literary world from the very beginning, compounded by the 10 years of social turmoil wrought by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cronies, as well as insufficient work over the last few years in teaching the literary world the theories of Marxism, the standard of Marxist theory to be found amongst the ranks of literary critics has become even more obviously lacking in relation to the demands of modern life in China. In the case of some immediately pressing important theoretical questions in the literary world, such as the question of the relation between communism and humanitarianism, questions of truth and tendentiousness and questions of subjective and objective

aesthetics, there have been a great number of articles produced, with discussion indeed animated. However, discussion of these topics has lacked the appearance of articles with a higher standard of theoretical foundation. Comparative examination of the theoretical criticism in such areas as the cinema, the theater, music and art clearly compound these weaknesses. One important factor generating this kind of situation is a general lack in a solid theoretical foundation in Marxist philosophy. Despite the fact that Marxist guidance is insufficient in certain areas of literary criticism, a few people show disregard and suspicion of Marxist and Maoist thinking and thus spread incorrect ideas about literature, which is hardly surprising. The situation in literary criticism and literary creativity make pressing demands on the world of literary theory. All kinds of literary trends and schools of thought in the literary world must be systematically researched using ample material to produce a Marxist evaluation. Thus, we must encourage the literary world to study Marxism so that it may strengthen its own theoretical basis. This will be an important move in improving the quality of literary criticism.

In addition to insufficient preparation and awareness of the basis of Marxist theory, another phenomenon exists, and that is a tendency toward dogmatism in some theoretical research, of divorce from creative reality and day-to-day reality. Some comrades are unable to shake off the influence of the concept that "words are truth," and thus are unable to comprehend new theoretical questions arising out of new trends and developments. Some educational research departments do not put enough emphasis on studying literary creation and criticism and thus, in their comments on modern popular works, they class such things as "popular literature" of no artistic value. Some commentators copiously quote the classics and various explanatory notes relating to the classics to deduce that one cannot use Marxism to research and examine lively and vigorous questions relating to reality that are generated in the literary world, implying that it makes very dry reading and one gains even less from doing so.

We can discern in the works of a few young writers of today, tendencies toward egoism, social-Darwinism, religious idealism and Western bourgeois modernism. This is a new situation in literary creation. Our literary critics should take note of this situation, research it and provide effective guidance for these writers. The works of these writers are different from those which directly depart from the party's leadership and the socialist road and they are also different from those which are commercial, vulgar, ridiculous and slipshod. Most of these young authors are well-intentioned and their motivation is often to strive for deliverance from the pain of their wounds, reflecting modern man's struggles and aspirations. However, because of their inexperience and their failure to use communist ideology in their examination and consideration of life, these writers' world outlook and moral thinking become confused. Thus only reasoned literary criticism based in Marxist theory, making a deep and concrete analysis of present creative reality can be of any help in improving them and their work.

Literary criticism should examine and research new situations with eagerness, solving new problems at the same time. The question facing us today is how literary creation can make still further progress in an even more glorious new phase of development? Some people say that creative work cannot develop, that it is merely made up of criticisms of liberalization and that such criticism should stop. Other people say that literary criticism now shows a fear of bringing up the former idea that literature should serve politics and that it is high time we returned to this doctrine. We should throw some light onto both of these rather one-sided views. What we must remember is that today's writers and readers are no longer satisfied with merely opening former wounds or wallowing in bygone "erroneous thinking." The party leadership has brought about an historic change and thus literature should also bring about a similar change by joining together yesterday, today and tomorrow, correctly integrating them with the demands of the new masses and the new era, making profound observations and experiences in this incomparably broad life of the four modernizations, and giving true reflection and embodiment to this new rainbow-colored world and its inhabitants. Achieving this requires intense probing and practical experience on the part of the writers and authors. In addition, it requires that they breathe as one with the critics, sharing a common mission in life, thereby making great contributions to literary theory.

/2. We must emphasize the ideological content of analysis and strengthen the analysis of literary expression./

In the last few years, there have been many articles written investigating standards of literary criticism. Some of these have examined the formulation of political and literary standards while others have discussed Engel's standards of using aesthetic and historical viewpoints in assessing an item of work. Some of these articles express the opinion that the standards of literary criticism should bring together truth, goodness and beauty. Such discussions are without doubt of benefit in helping people develop their thinking and tackle new problems and ideas, but literary criticism still needs a set of standards which everyone may agree on and which reflect the rules of literature. In his article "Bourgeois Liberalization and Other Topics," Comrade Hu Qiaomu spoke of standards for criticism of literary works and said: "A certain proportion of literary work requires an evaluation of both ideological content and artistic style." This statement is very accurate and relevant to the question of standards for literary criticism. Standards for literary criticism should integrate analysis of ideological content and literary expression in a piece of work. In a macroscopic view of literature, the content of a piece of writing cannot divorce itself from politics. The everyday life content of a piece of literary work cannot avoid being stamped with the brand of politics. Literary criticism must take an accurate political viewpoint. It is a question of politics and not society alone, and yet this does not mean that literature must contain political tendencies nor must political standards be taken to absolute extremes. This however, does not mean that one can totally ignore the ideological content of a piece of literature. To confine ourselves solely to discussing artistic style and ignore ideological content and social effects will not be of great use or benefit to the piece of literature under

discussion. Of course, having said this, we should be cautious not to overlook an examination of artistic skill and style. The target of literary criticism is of course literature, thus, in addition to research into the ideological content of literature, literary criticism should also stress artistic analysis. It should make use of Marxist aesthetics to research and examine artistic and literary skill, probing the rules and guidelines of literature, pointing out shortcomings and artistic charm embodied in the literature. Such criticism may also draw on literary skills in foreign literature, making use of the essence of its better qualities. For a long time in the past, literary criticism of some works used to overemphasize political standards and ignore artistic considerations even to the extent of labeling discussion of artistic value as heresy and perniciously influential. Today, one finds some critiques which, while discussing widely the important topic of ideology and thus approaching more closely a political handling, still lack the strength of logical tightness to be found in true political discussions. In their treatment of literary characters, they merely tend to discuss their ideological behavior or make a political appraisal of the characters, failing to dissect the artistic form of the work. Even fewer are the good articles which carry out penetrating analysis into language, structure and details of a piece of literature. This tendency to ignore artistic analysis in literature is a big barrier to improving the quality of literary criticism and promoting creativity.

/3. Support the ideological struggle on two tactical fronts./

In his report to the 12th National Congress of the CPC, Comrade Hu Yaobang urged that we develop the ideological struggle on two tactical fronts, and he said that this was entirely in keeping with literary criticism. We must not misinterpret literary criticism as merely something to point out shortcomings or mistakes. In actual fact, Mr Lu Xun pointed out a long time ago the two tasks he defined as "destroying weeds" and "watering the sweet-scented osmanthus." Accomplishments in literary circles in the last few years have been very much in evidence and indeed, such successes have formed our main trends. Thus it is, that literary criticism should confirm and acknowledge such success and gather and collate experience from every aspect of literature. Of course, mistakes have appeared in literature, but these have only formed a minor aspect although they should not of course be ignored. Today, the problem is that support of broad trends and criticism of minor divergencies both display lack of depth and vitality.

There has always been discussion in the world of critics about how the literary world should be viewed. One of the main points in the discussion and argument has been whether "leftist" influence is most important or whether the influence of bourgeois liberalization is the most important. There is no simple answer to this question. Correct principles tell us to start from an objective viewpoint and support an ideological struggle on two tactical fronts. In the last few years, the main task of the tactical literary front has been to liberate literature from the shackles of "leftism." For some time before the forum on the question of national ideological fronts, some leaders and commentators in the literary world displayed slackness and weakness in face of the deviational influence of

bourgeois liberalization, thus their vigilance dropped and some extremely serious situations involving liberalization were not forcefully criticized. Some individual comrades in the literary world even went to the extent of denying the objective existence of bourgeois liberalization. At that time, the need and task of criticizing bourgeois liberalization was very obvious. Today, we should still get to concrete grips with the situation by basing ourselves on objective views of the situation as it really is. It should be pointed out that there has been both underemphasis and also overexaggeration of the deviational influence of "leftism" and bourgeois liberalization. Even today, some comrades assume an ambiguous attitude toward criticizing bourgeois liberalization, illustrating a conflict deep within their hearts. Other comrades are unclear about where to draw the line, and thus enlarge and extend everything even to the extent of taking up a "leftist" stance in classifying some relatively good pieces of work and relatively new concepts and ideas (for example the idea of arguing against taking political standards first and literary standards second) as expressions of liberalization. There is also insufficient correct attention paid to "leftist" tendencies and insufficient criticism for improvement. On the other hand there are also cases of overexaggeration and even liberalized stands in fighting "leftist" tendencies. Indeed, some individuals even go so far as to say that communist ideological education is "the utmost extreme of leftism." This is of course absolutely absurd. Today, we must make sure that "leftist" ideology does not raise its head. Literary criticism should base itself on objective viewing of the actual situation, devoting itself to working for realistic results and supporting the ideological struggle on two tactical fronts, while ensuring that while concentrating on one kind of incorrect tendency, the other is not forgotten or ignored. Nor should we become entangled in arguments as to whether "leftism" or liberalization is the more important or serious of the two fronts. Different situations require concrete analysis, which will result in different conclusions. It is not a question of generalizing and lumping everything together.

/4. We need militancy, scientific application and a healthy Marxist style of writing./

This so-called militancy mainly means taking a clearcut stand and supporting our principles. Our banner is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, as is communism. Literary criticism must without fail support the communist banner and support the four essential principles as well as the direction pointed out by the 12th National Congress of the CPC. We cannot be ambiguous or weak when dealing with the banner, the principles and the direction. The communist movement already has a glorious history of over 100 years, and Communist Party members are every day putting into glorious practice the causes of communism. Naturally, in the preliminary stages of socialism and communism we cannot achieve or implement systems or policies of elevated stages of communism, but, while we construct the socialist modernized material civilization we must on no account slacken in our work to construct a socialist spiritual civilization centered on communist ideology. Literature and art, as one of the important component parts of this spiritual civilization, should assume the responsibility of carrying out communist education to the people by means of art and literature and it should give rise to the

emergence of idealistic, moral, cultured and disciplined new socialist citizens. Many writers have made gratifying achievements toward this end. However, a small number of works have incorrectly depicted bourgeois morality as communist morality, while others wrongly take the socialist world view as a feudal world view. In terms of idealism, such works either advocate individual struggles for financial and status advancement or exaggerate and play up uncertainty of the future, depicting life as essentially an illusion. None of this corresponds to the requirements of a socialist spiritual civilization. Literary criticism should raise high the banner of communist ideology, drawing clear distinctions between positive and negative and between good and evil, giving expression to the fighting tradition of revolutionary literature.

Of course this kind of militancy should be integrated with a scientific backup. Literary criticism is essentially a type of scientific research, an activity of art appreciation and should thus adhere to the rules of literature, experiencing and observing both the bitter and the sweet, pointing out the good and bad points in a piece of work. It should commend but not allow the commended to rest on their laurels, it should criticize but not come down too hard on the criticized. In both cases, truth should be sought from the facts, taking care to examine the entire piece of work and thoroughly examining its tendencies and merits and demerits. Attention should be paid to the author, linking up his or her historical and social conditions and making appropriate comments.

Literary criticism in recent years has seen the emergence into the literary world of a new tendency of presenting the facts and reasoning things out. In the national playwriting symposium in 1980 this was fully embodied and endorsed. In this symposium, truthful and factual criticism was carried out against incorrect tendencies in creative writing in line with the spirit of these principles, while the authors concerned were filled with warm feelings of respect and unity. This new tendency has provided us with fresh experience in correctly opening up discussion of literary criticism. However, as a result of incurring unfair censure from a small number of people, these experiences have not been able to achieve full implementation or expression. As a result of the intense concern of the party Central Committee, the national symposium on questions of tactical ideological fronts was opened in 1981. Criticism of "Bitter Love" satisfactorily concluded with a turn for the better and criticism in the literary world and self-criticism both saw development. In terms of overall trends, odious practices such as jumping on people's mistakes and shortcomings, labeling people and coming down hard on people have all greatly improved, as too has the apathetic one-sidedness of "muting ten thousand horses." Results have since been very good.

In order to introduce science into literary criticism, in general the best method is to adopt free discussion. Expression should be given to differing opinions, so that both sides of the argument are aired. There should be criticism and counter-criticism. Using discussion and guidance, when the time is ripe, right and wrong will become clear and correct conclusions will be drawn.



The principle embodied in "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" still holds true. Disagreement among people is a common phenomenon. In our discussions and disagreements we should uphold Mao Zedong's formula "unite-criticize-unite." In this way, we may clarify our ideology and unite all comrades. We must welcome people's criticism when mistakes and shortcomings appear and we must display even more courage in self-criticism and should not cover up or conceal our mistakes and errors. Activities such as deliberately complicating issues, making groundless accusations and exaggeration as well as tendencies toward strong division because of differing opinions, especially party divisions, do nothing to help the correct development of literary criticism and are also at odds with the demands of a socialist spiritual civilization. The literary world and the world of critics and commentators should work together to overcome these kinds of phenomena and, taking the spirit of the 12th National Congress of the CPC as their foundation, they should unite together as closely as possible.

Today, China's literary world is inspired with political enthusiasm, studying, propagating and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and actively involved in considering ways of opening up new vistas for socialist literature. How may we construct and develop a socialist literature bearing the hallmark of the Chinese? How should literary creativity adapt itself to these great historical changes and correctly reflect the social contradictions within modernized construction? How should it, in its struggle, portray the new men and women who shine with the light of communist ideology and other similar models? How may it intensify and develop revolutionary realism and constantly improve the quality of creativity? How may help be given to writers to involve themselves fully in life and improve their thinking and artistic mastery? In general, how may expression be given to the role of literature within socialist spiritual civilization? This is an important question to pose for literary criticism. Under the encouragement and guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, literary criticism must and will follow in the footsteps of the whole literary cause and see the emergence of a fresh and new era.

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THE WAY COMRADE MAO ZEDONG STUDIED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 40-43

[Article by Qiu Dexin [6726 1795 2450] and Xu Zhongyuan [1776 0022 6678]]

[Text] Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary. He was at the same time a learned and knowledgeable scholar well versed in both modern and ancient learning. In his difficult job of leading the Chinese revolution and building new China he was constantly in close touch with the actual situation in China, maintained his studies of the works of Marx and Lenin, extending and developing into new spheres of knowledge, setting himself up as a glorious example for us.

I

Comrade Mao Zedong often said that scholarly study and research offer no shortcuts or easy ways out but require that one values one's time and be hard working and thorough. One can eat less food, and sleep less, but books must be read. Even when burdened with pressing military duties and when the situation on the battlefield was tense, he fully exploited marching, resting and consolidation time for the armies with his reading and studying. During the years of socialist revolution and construction, burdened with hard and arduous work he still made use of every moment, before meals, after meals and even while on the toilet to study and read. When he was busy during the day he simply cut down on his sleep time to study. He cherished every single last minute and second of his time to seek truth so that he might solve the practical problems facing China's revolution and construction.

In the summer of 1947, during one especially arduous march before the battle of Shajiadian, Comrade Mao Zedong and some military advisers approached some trees to rest for a while. Hardly had the comrades sat down than he suddenly recited with great zest the words of the Song dynasty poet Xin Qiji's poem "On the Mountain Road" and said: "It is not enough to learn to fire a gun. One must learn hard about culture and study the reasons for revolution. When one has studied culture and the reasons for revolution, one will understand." Having said this he then took up a book and began to read.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said to a responsible comrade: At the moment we are digging trenches in the mountainside, but in the future we will govern the towns and cities. Read a book as thin as thin in 1 year, in 2 years you'll read two and in 3 years three! If you go on like that then in several tens of years you'll read several tens of books and thus you'll gradually grasp Marxism-Leninism, won't you?! Not only did Mao Zedong say this, he also practiced what he preached in a laudable manner. When the central government bodies evacuated from Yanan, most of Comrade Mao Zedong's books were sent to the eastern banks of the Huanghe River. Because he wanted to study on the marches from one battle to another in northern Shaanxi, he personally drew up a list of books he wanted and had some Marxist-Leninist books, some philosophy books and some books by military authors sent back from the eastern Huanghe. These books were ones that he often read, and among them was "Anti-Duhring" which was collected in the Red Army's 1933 attack on Zhangzhou, and which on the Long March he cherished so much that he kept it constantly at his side. After this point, wherever the armies went, so did these books.

Among Mao Zedong's collection of books was "On the Development of Monism From a Historical Viewpoint" by Plekhanov. Mao Zedong received this book on 24 December 1945, and the next day he had read 11 pages while by the following day he read as far as page 27. Between the 27th and the 29th he only managed to read 14 pages since he was occupied with the drafting of central government directives for Dongbei. By 31 December, he had read as far as page 43. On 4 January 1946 he had reached page 59. He spent half the night on 4 January reading another 6 pages and by 5 January he had reached page 92. Thus, in a fairly short space of time he completed a book over 300 pages long.

In the summer of 1947 the famous scholar Comrade Zhou Gucheng was invited to go swimming with Comrade Mao Zedong at Zhongnanhai. Afterwards when on the shore again, Mao Zedong simply threw on an old pair of pajamas, picked up the book "Han Shu" and threw himself into discussion with Comrade Zhou Gucheng. Comrade Mao Zedong turned to the "biographies" on page 39 and, pointing to a section in which Zhao Congguo advocated garrison troops and peasants opening up wasteland and growing food grain in the northeast, he said: This man really knows how to stick to his convictions. At the start, the number of people who praised and welcomed his ideas only amounted to about 10 or 20 percent, while his opponents made up the other 80 or 90 percent. But by the very end his supporters numbered around 80 or 90 percent and his opponents only made up about 10 or 20 percent. Whether in the past or today, man must accept the truth and this is a process. Every time Mao Zedong went swimming, whether at Beidaihe, the Yangtse, the Lushan Reservoir or the Xiangjiang, he almost always read before taking his dip and of course afterwards as well.

In March 1958 Comrade Mao Zedong presided over a meeting in Chengdu. During the 20-odd days of the meeting, so that his reading wouldn't be held up, he took his meals in his office. When he ate he would push the documents, books and other reading materials to one side and raise his rice bowl to eat. Before the last mouthful of food had even reached his stomach he would already be engrossed again in his reading or studies.

In the 1970's, Comrade Mao Zedong's physical condition constantly deteriorated, as he was affected by a constant stream of various illnesses. In the last few years of his life he still managed to continue his reading with amazing willpower and determination. He was unable to read small print clearly and thus he turned to books with larger print. From the end of 1973 to the beginning of 1976 he read a total of some several tens of large print books. For those books which did not exist in large print he resorted to the use of a magnifying glass. He once ran a fever of over 39 degrees and for 2 or 3 days he ate very little, was unable to get up and lay on his bed, still reading. In the middle of July 1975, acting on the personal advice of Comrade Zhou Enlai, he underwent an eye operation and for a while afterwards was unable to read, and so he asked other people to read to him. When his sight was restored, he continued as usual to read books and documents. However, his doctors prescribed that he only read for from between 15 and 30 minutes each day. This was of course very frustrating for someone with a passion like his for reading. In fact, the amount of time he did spend reading and studying each day far exceeded what the doctors had prescribed. Even in the last few hours before this man's heart finally ceased to beat, when he was too weak to speak, he still motioned to the staff to read to him and when he heard sections that to him were particularly satisfying, there appeared the very faintest traces of a smile on his face.

Mao Zedong's life was a revolutionary life and a fighting life. It was also a life of sincere ideals and addiction to work and study. He was a man who lived his life to the very end, who studied to the end, who never rested and never ceased to study and learn.

## II

It is impossible to envisage someone who did not have a high theoretical understanding of Marxism-Leninism being able to lead the revolution in China, a country with such an enormous population and vast land mass and complex situation. Thus, in the revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong always read with indefatigable diligence everything he could of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin as well as other Marxist-Leninist literature. He used his reading to analyze and solve China's practical problems.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out many times that if one wants to study Marxism-Leninism one simply has to read studiously, sit down and really bury oneself in it. It is not like reading a novel, where one reads 10 lines a day and only gets a very superficial understanding from quickly skimming over the book. One must take a close look at and really study every word and every phrase, diligently grasping the meaning. Mao Zedong read "Das Kapital" way back in the days of Yanan. Reprints appeared in 1953 and 1957 and a large print version came out in 1968 and each time, Comrade Mao Zedong reread several selected passages again. Even up until a short time before his death he would still read the book and make annotations in the margin. The first time he read the "Communist Manifesto" was in 1920 when he came to Beijing. He reread it countless times afterwards. He was able to recite almost all of the manifesto's most pertinent parts. When he died, two copies of the "Communist Manifesto" published during the war years were still lying by his side.

Judging from the existing, extremely incomplete information that we have, Comrade Mao Zedong spent the last few decades of his life reading the works of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin. Not only did this include the collected works, selected works, collated monographs and off-prints, it also included specialized reading of Marxist politics, economics, philosophy, military affairs, history and literature. The Marxist-Leninist works that he read helped enrich and develop in a practical sense his application of Marxist-Leninist theories as a basis for solving concrete questions related to China's revolution and construction.

Take, for example, "A Course in Dialectical Materialism" which he read at Yanan. Comrade Mao Zedong spent in all around 6 months making a 33,000-word commentary and annotation on the two editions of this book, the longest of which was around 1,000 words long. These annotations contained a concise outline of the original with the essential points intact as well as simplification of certain points. They also contain criticisms and extensions of the original and correct propositions linked to the actual situation in China's revolutionary struggle. For example, in the case of the question of Chinese national unity in resisting Japanese aggression, he pointed out the confusion existing inside and outside the party at that time and in the relevant section of the book he wrote: "The correct watchword in today's struggle is to unite in one front against Japanese aggression and the first problem is to achieve domestic peace and cooperation between the communists and the nationalists." "National contradictions among the Chinese should be solved by unifying into one united front with the bourgeoisie." He said that the Leninist party had also had a period of cooperation with the bourgeoisie and thus he held up the call for concerted attack by converging columns. In principle the cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party was a concerted attack by converging columns, although the way it was embodied was different. The so-called converging columns were the political independence of class and the party while the concerted attack was the unified battle line. He stressed that: "Today, the question of whether the national calamity can be solved depends on whether the unified battle line is able to expand, develop and consolidate." These annotations are an important embodiment of Mao Zedong's ideology of a nationally unified battle line to counter Japanese aggression.

From the founding of new China until the beginning of the 1960's, in order to adapt to the new situations in the socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong read and studied, in addition to such tomes as "Das Kapital" and "A Critique of Political Economy," works by Lenin and Stalin dealing with political economy, as well as literature discussing Lenin and Stalin's leadership of the Soviet people in carrying out socialist economic construction. From 1958 until 1961 Comrade Mao Zedong read many times Stalin's "Problems of Soviet Socialist Economy." He still mainly concentrated on bringing together several comrades to read this work of Stalin's as well as the Soviet publication "Textbook on Political Economy" (Third Edition) and by integrating these works with the actual situation in the Chinese socialist revolution and construction both read and discussed the topic. In 1958 he pointed out some mistakes of a "leftist" tendency in our party's work as well as erroneous thinking in some individuals and in the

first Zhengzhou meeting of November of that year he personally publicized this work of Stalin's and, integrating it with the actual situation in China he pointed out that for a certain period of time we should not try and eradicate commodity production, but, instead, we should develop commodity production even more. By this time we had already a socialist system of public ownership of the means of production and the system of exploitation had already been eradicated, thus at that stage in China the development of commodity production could not lead to capitalism. This speech played an important role in unifying the ideology of comrades throughout the party and overcoming erroneous tendencies.

Thus Comrade Mao Zedong may be called one of the party's great Marxists who made enormous contributions, one of the most important of which was his constant study of Marxism-Leninism, and his generalized use of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in practice in China's revolution and construction. Although he made mistakes in his later years he is still worthy of being a model for the party in how to study, use and develop the theories of Marxism-Leninism.

### III

Only by grasping all the spiritual wealth created by mankind can one become a true communist. Reading was both a habit and an addiction for Mao Zedong, and it was also an integral part of his revolutionary activities. In the last few decades, his revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit as well as his scrupulous scientific attitude extended his reading to areas of knowledge encompassing both ancient and modern, foreign and Chinese. From the books remaining in Mao Zedong's former residence in Zhongnanhai we can see that in addition to the classic works of Marxism-Leninism, there are also all kinds of books on social sciences and the natural sciences. He read in large quantities and he read widely, he was an inspiration and there are few university scholars who can compare.

All his life, Comrade Mao Zedong had an ardent passion for the works of Lu Xun. In August 1938 when the "Collected Works of Lu Xun" were published, his admiration was enormous and whenever he had time he would read the publication. When in 1949 he traveled abroad for official visits, he took several of the books along with him. Later, when off-prints were published he made annotations and comments in many of them. At the end of 1973 the large print, bound edition came out and once again he reread some parts. In August 1975 despite serious illness which weakened him, his trembling hand nevertheless wrote on one page of book five of volume five of the bound edition of the collected works, "Eat Rotten Apples." This was originally from the passage "Concerning Translation (2)" which he had asked his staff to read to him. Lu Xun had used the example of eating a rotten apple to explain how one should correctly treat the sick and the ill. Mao Zedong was in complete agreement with his opinion. When the staff who were reading to him reached this passage he repeated with a look of joy on his face, "That's right, that's right!"

Comrade Mao Zedong was a mine of historical knowledge. Among the books that he had was the 24 history books of the Wuying Palace edition of the 12th year of Qian Long. From the notes and various diacritics he made in the book one can see that he read this enormous tome of 850 books from beginning to end. The pertinent remarks and his careful reading are of great educational benefit to one who might read the work now. Toward the end of the 1950's he urged everyone to read the section of "The History of the Three Kingdoms" entitled "Guo Jia." Guo Jia was wise and resourceful and whenever Cao Cao had a very important matter to settle, he always asked Guo Jia to oblige and thus a plan would be formulated on the basis of Guo Jia and other important strategists' opinions. What Mao Zedong hoped for in asking everyone to read "Guo Jia" was that leading cadres on all levels would think more and plan more when talking and working and thus cut down on and oppose arbitrary decisionmaking based on little planning. Under his suggestion many cadres thoroughly read "Guo Jia" and from it gained historical enlightenment and thus the book helped a great deal in correcting some of the headaches that existed within the party at the time as well as some erroneous tendencies to veer away from reality.

Comrade Mao Zedong also loved to read ancient literature, and he read nearly everything from "The Water Margin," "The Journey to the West," the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "The Dream of the Red Chamber." He once said that in reading the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" not only should one consider war and foreign policy but also organization. Liu Bei, Guan Yu, Zhang Fei, Zhao Yun and Zhu Geliang were all northerners and organized troops to move southward. When they reached Sichuan they established a very good base area with the "regional cadres." Mao Zedong used this story from history to illustrate that cadres from other areas must without fail unite with local cadres before any productive work may be undertaken. He lectured that Cao Cao, leaving for south of the river, needed to establish a commander to look after things and so he found a young member of the union called Zhou Yu to be superintendent. No one was happy with the decision but later they won a great battle. He used this story to explain that choice of cadres should not be according to age or finances but according to talent with both ability and political integrity.

Mao Zedong once said that the natural sciences represent a weapon with which we may gain our freedom. He read Copernicus, Bruno, Sakata, Masalchi, Li Siguang, Zhu Kezhen, Yang Zhenning, etc.--the major scientific writers as well as much important scientific literature such as Darwin's "The Origin of the Species" and Huxley's "Theory of Terrestrial Evolution." Some of these he reread several times. At the end of the 1950's he personally carried out research in agriculture, soil, machinery, physics, chemistry, hydrology and meteorology through his reading, thus setting himself up for us as a model of the student of the sciences. His personal development in the natural sciences also produced some important views. For example, he disagreed that the proton and the neutron together formed the most basic particle in the atomic nucleus. He felt that the proton and the neutron were separable. He wittily remarked, Do you believe me? If you don't believe me then prove me wrong. Later, of course, scientists were to discover the antiproton and the antineutron, thus proving his theory.

The 12th CPC National Congress has outlined the glorious target of opening up and developing a new aspect in socialist modernized construction. Its realization requires thorough revolutionization, youthfulness, knowledge-ability and specialization of our talents. Thus every party member, every cadre and every revolutionary comrade should heed the call of the party Central Committee and steadfastly study Marxism. In addition we should all learn the necessary theoretical knowledge for our line of work as well as management know-how and technological knowledge. If we can all emulate Comrade Mao Zedong and cherish every moment of our time, work hard, study and read over a period of many years then the level of Marxist theory in the party and the standard of scientific knowledge throughout the population will constantly rise.

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THE MORE WE STUDY, THE GREATER OUR CONFIDENCE AND THE HIGHER OUR  
ASPIRATIONS--UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATING THE 12TH PARTY CONGRESS  
DOCUMENTS STUDY CLASS FOR LEADING CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 44-46

[Article by the Propaganda Department of the Shandong Provincial CPC Com-  
mittee]

[Text] In order to organize the leading cadres of organs at the provincial level to study well the 12th party congress documents and to simultaneously promote the study of the broad masses of party members and cadres, the provincial CPC committee, beginning the last 10 days of September last year, held study classes for leading cadres of organs at the provincial level. The study class, lasting 3 weeks, has now been held three times. Altogether, 612 people have attended the study classes and 28 responsible comrades including secretaries, members of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee, vice chairmen of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, deputy governors and vice chairmen of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress also participated in the study. All the participants universally agreed that the methods which the provincial CPC committee adopted for running the study class attended by those who were released from work in a centralized way enabled the participants to concentrate their efforts on study with their time ensured, thus yielding satisfactory results. In the course of the whole study, the high upsurge of the enthusiasm of the participants, the seriousness of their attitude toward study and their lively presentation of speeches were unprecedented for many years. Many comrades have said: "Studying documents has never suited us as well as the present situation. The more we study, the greater our confidence, the higher our aspirations and the fuller our drive."

The contents of the study class are the 12th party congress documents, with stress being put on the 12th party congress report, and including the selective study of related important documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and part of the works of Comrade Chen Yun in a certain period after the founding of the PRC. The aim of studying these documents and works in a selective way is to help the participants deepen their comprehension of the documents of relevant parts of the 12th party congress report and further understand the continuity and unanimity

of the spirit of the 12th party congress and that of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, understand that the principles and tasks formulated by the 12th party congress are the substantiation and development of the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which are based on a more profound understanding of the objective laws of, and the more comprehensive summarization of the Chinese socialist modernization program. In order to easily grasp the focal points and essence of the documents and arouse the participants to ponder problems, the focal points of the study of every part of the 12th party congress report have been pointed out and questions for deliberation have been set.

The study class is run on the basis of widespread study with the aim of conducting the study intensively. The provincial CPC committee demanded that the comrades who participate in the study thoroughly comprehend and grasp the major contents and essence of the 12th party congress documents and effectively unify their thinking in the spirit of the 12th party congress; earnestly sum up experiences and lessons in light of the realities of specific affiliated organizations and departments; make earnest efforts to sum up experiences and lessons; and enhance revolutionary vigor and implement the series of guidelines and principles and policies formulated by the 12th party congress in an exemplary way. Following this demand, the study class has laid particular attention on the following questions:

1. Understanding the correctness of the CPC's line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. All the participants hold that in acquiring an understanding of the great and historic change, of the fact that the present stage is one of the best historical stages since the founding of the PRC and of the unanimity of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and of the 12th party congress, it is important to seek satisfactory solutions to understanding the correctness of the CPC's line, principles and policies worked out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Reviewing the great changes which have taken place on various fronts and the course of the changes in their own thinking, the comrades attending the study class have profoundly felt that acquiring an early understanding of and achieving early and genuine unity in thinking in the CPC's line, principles and policies will produce the desired results early; having a late understanding of and achieving late and genuine unity in thinking will adversely affect the work. One veteran comrade of the CPC committee of an organ at the provincial level said: "Previously, I worried that the responsibility system would result in the practice of 'working alone.' Later, I made up my mind to go to the lower levels to see what had happened and was sincerely convinced by what I heard with my own ears from the masses while touring and inspecting many places. I was almost exhausted to illness, but I was cured of the 'illness' in my mind. An important question of understanding has thus been solved." In light of the profound changes in the four prefectures in northwestern Shandong Province, such as Dezhou, Liucheng, Heze and Huimin, which have overcome being and and become prosperous and made three big steps forward in 3 years, many leading comrades said that in the past we became anxious at the mention of these four prefectures. The provincial authorities sent work teams to help them many

times but the problems remained unsolved. However, during the 3 years after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and particularly by 1981, the total output of grain had increased by 440 million jin; that of cotton, by 480 percent; and the per capita distribution increased by more than 200 percent. In 1982 there were again big increases in this respect. In coming into their own, the four prefectures in northwestern Shandong Province depended on the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the past some comrades had some worries and doubts about the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and their problems were basically solved through the study of the "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." It was through this study of the 12th party congress report that their problems were thoroughly solved. Quite a few comrades have reported that people have "four unexpecteds" about the changes that have taken place since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee: 1) They never expected the country to change so fast; 2) they never expected the country to change so much; 3) they never expected such real change; and 4) they never expected the country to change in such an orderly manner. Looking back at the changes in the country and making an appraisal of the CPC's line, the more we appraise it, the more correct it will be; looking back at the changes in the country and making an appraisal of the CPC Central Committee, the more we appraise it, the wiser it will be; and looking back at the changes in the country and making an appraisal of the four modernizations, the more we appraise them, the greater the hope we have. All the participants have, through study, further understood that the great and historic change since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is an absolutely true fact. The fundamental reason for achieving this change lies in the correctness of the CPC's line, principles and policies. In order to fulfill the general task during the new stage, the leading bodies and leading cadres must take the lead in implementing in an exemplary way the correct program, principles and policies formulated by the 12th party congress.

2. Having confidence in quadrupling the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural production. This is the question which everybody was most concerned with and discussed most enthusiastically. At the beginning of study, there was a widespread lack of confidence in the realization of quadrupling output value. In the course of study, the provincial CPC committee paid attention to solving this problem by dealing with each case on its merits. First, some comrades did not really know whether or not the quadrupling of output value could be realized due to a lack of understanding of the existing economic foundation and conditions of the whole province. For this reason, the study class invited responsible comrades in charge of the economic work to give guidance lectures and make an analysis of the conditions of Shandong Province. Everyone came to realize, through such analysis, that in accordance with the requirements of quadrupling output value, the total output value of industry and agriculture throughout the province would increase to approximately 210 billion yuan by the year 2000 on the basis of 52.3 billion yuan in 1980, or an average rate of 7.2 percent increase a year in the coming 20 years. The total output value of industry and agriculture of the province in the 32 years after the founding of the

PRC showed a yearly increase of 8.7 percent. Obviously, the quadrupling of output value is not impossible. By making an analysis of the fairly sound material and technical foundation which we already had at hand and the favorable conditions for developing the economy, all the participants thought that we had good grounds for achieving an average annual increase of 7.2 percent. Second, some comrades who worked in the economic departments failed to see the potential for developing the economy because they proceeded from the existing conditions in energy and paid too rigid attention to the figures in accounting books. Therefore, the more they calculated accounts, the more difficulties they saw and the lesser the confidence they had. For this reason, the provincial CPC committee demanded that we emancipate our minds, broaden our horizon and calculate active accounts. In particular, analysis of economic development since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has enabled all the participants to see the enormous potential for economic development. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the total output value of industry and agriculture throughout the province increased at an average annual rate of 7.3 percent, significantly surpassing the average yearly increase of 4.4 percent in the previous 29 years; light industrial production increased at an average rate of 13.8 percent a year, also substantially exceeding the average yearly increase of 10.2 percent in the past 29 years. After its service orientation was readjusted, the production of heavy industry also increased. The production of heavy industry in the first 8 months of 1982 showed an increase of 7.8 percent over the same period in 1981. Many comrades have said that by exclusively calculating dead accounts no one could expect that production would have expanded so fast. In the days to come, the CPC's correct principles and policies will take root even more in the hearts of the people, advanced science and technology will be popularized and applied at a faster pace and the potential for the development of production is still enormous. Third, some units which fall into the category of strategic priority, such as coal and petroleum, had heavy responsibilities to undertake and great pressure to bear. The provincial CPC committee emphatically helped the comrades of these departments to analyze their favorable conditions. For example, previously, the provincial coal bureau paid too much attention to its difficulties. But, through analyzing coal resources and the favorable conditions of Shandong Province, it came to realize that it would be entirely possible to realize a doubled output of coal by the year 2000. The electrical power departments advanced that so long as their potential was brought into full play, annual electrical energy production by the year 2000 would possibly be over 400 percent more than in 1980. The comrades on the fronts of science and technology as well as culture and education held that the 12th party congress had put science and education in the higher plane of strategic priority. This was the first such endeavor ever made in all our party congresses and they were happy about it. By comparing the requirements of the modernization program, they found where they lagged behind in work and thus enhanced their sense of responsibility and urgency. Judged from the present situation, the leading cadres of the units directly affiliated to the provincial CPC committee have quite satisfactorily solved and achieved relative unity in confidence in the quadrupling of output value.

3. Building a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. In the course of study, attention should be paid to the following three things: First, we must acquire, from the higher plane of politics and theory, a better understanding of the importance and necessity of building socialist spiritual civilization and enhance consciousness to grasp well the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Through summing up our experiences and lessons, and in particular, through summing up the lessons in which there emerged such erroneous tendencies as "doing everything for the sake of money" as the result of some units neglecting the ideological and political work in the last few years, we must help all the participants realize that while building a high level of material civilization, we inevitably have to carry out the building of socialist spiritual civilization. If not, we will lose our bearings and not have the possibility to march ahead to the long-range objective of communism. Second, we must have a correct understanding of the relationship between carrying forward the communist spirit and implementing the CPC's present principles and policies. Some comrades worry whether or not encouraging the communist spirit will deviate from reality. Through study, everyone has come to realize that as a party member, from the very day he joins the party, he must foster the lofty ideal of communism and put into practice his pledge to struggle for the realization of communism. Carrying forward the communist spirit is, therefore, the proper meaning of the subject, and moreover, implementing the CPC's present principles and policies in an exemplary way is a practical step in our endeavor to realize communism. The two form an integral whole. The argument that sets the displaying of the communist spirit against the implementation of the CPC's principles and policies is a method of approaching problems in a metaphysical way. Third, we must stress that while building socialist spiritual civilization, we must prevent "leftist" things from gaining ground. We had profound experience and lessons in this respect in the past. It will not do to carry out the modernization program without paying attention to communist ideology, but we must not regard whatever can be done in the future as a reality. At present, particular efforts should be made to distinguish communism from egalitarianism and the practice of everybody eating "from the same big pot" and prevent some people from negating the effective principles and policies which have been implemented in recent years by taking advantage of spreading communist ideology.

4. Creating a new situation in the state of the spirit. In the course of study, all the participants analyzed the incongruities between the present state of mind of the cadres and the modernization program, which find expression mainly in lack of the sense of responsibility and urgency; being satisfied with the existing state of affairs, not seeking to forge ahead and lacking the spirit of doing pioneering work; being "afraid" in confronting something, having no regard for principles and showing a serious lack of responsibility; the wane of revolutionary will and being seriously imbued with individualist thinking; and in the indulgence of some unhealthy practices. Many comrades dared to lay bare the ugliness in their innermost thoughts and to conduct self-criticism in light of their ideological realities. In particular, communist ideology--a thing which "gives oneself a lift"--was rightly grasped. It was widely reported that the participants were shaken up a lot and, through study, they genuinely regained high

revolutionary aspirations and revolutionary enthusiasm. Many comrades have showed that they should do what they say and from now on enhance revolutionary vigor, make a good start, set strict demands on themselves, and strive to stand before the party with a clear conscience when the day of the registration of party members comes. Some veteran comrades have said with emotion: "We old fellows are confronted with a test, that is, how to adopt a correct attitude toward ourselves. We must not rack our brains on houses and positions, because when we die a natural death, we cannot carry our house to see Marx. The only thing belonging to an individual is the people's evaluation of his behavior during his lifetime. Even if we leave a good name to posterity, we can, after all, see Marx without blushing and our heart throbbing in shame." Some comrades who previously failed to understand why they should withdraw to the second line or completely retire have now been convinced through study. They said: "Making revolution as long as one lives does not mean holding lifelong posts. Discard the word 'I' and you will come round to everything."

In terms of concrete organization and leadership and methods of study, we stressed the following things: 1) Read the documents from beginning to end and thoroughly understand them. Holding group discussions was also aimed at obtaining a deeper understanding of the documents. Notes and outlines of speeches were encouraged. 2) Relate our study to the realities of our thinking and work. Through study, everybody was encouraged to achieve a big leap in ideology, a new improvement in the work and a remarkable change in work style. The provincial CPC committee has clearly pointed out that whether or not we can solve our problems in light of actual conditions is an important indication of weighing up the quality and results of our study and also the key to carrying out our study intensively. 3) Do a good job in giving guidance in study. We mainly adopted an elicitation method under which leading comrades talked about what they have learned in study and organized coaching teams to go right to the study groups to give the latter guidance in study in a manner of having an informed discussion. 4) Do a good job in organizational and leadership work. In every term of the study class, the responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government and the provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference who took part in the study formed a leading group. They participated in and offered leadership to the study. In order to easily organize the study, the study class was divided into dozens of study groups according to the departments they are attached to and the responsible comrades of the various departments who took part in the study were appointed study group leaders. The study class rigorously enforced study discipline, stipulated rules and regulations on asking for leave. Those who are absent from study for a week should attend the study anew. When a term of the study class is over, every study group writes a summary report on the study to the provincial CPC committee. These measures have played an important role in guaranteeing and stimulating the running of the study class well.

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WILL VARIOUS LOCALITIES QUADRUPLE THE GROSS VALUE OF THEIR AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 46-47

[Article by Zhou Dezhong [0719 1795 0022]]

[Text] In the course of study, some comrades have raised a question, that is, will various localities quadruple the gross value of their agricultural output while realizing the objective of quadrupling the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural production throughout the country by the end of this century?

The objective of quadrupling output value formulated by the 12th party congress is calculated according to the combined total output value of industry and agriculture rather than the separate total output value of industry and agriculture. Whether or not the gross value of agricultural output should be quadrupled depends on our needs and capabilities, of which a concrete analysis should be made.

As everybody knows, the harmonious development of industry and agriculture does not mean that industry and agriculture should go hand in hand. We are now still constantly probing the problem of how to properly arrange the ratio between agriculture and light industry on the one hand and heavy industry on the other hand in accordance with the laws governing the socialist economic development of our country. We have taken detours since the founding of the PRC. Excessive priority was given to heavy industry and the growth rate of agriculture was low for some time in the past. This resulted in imbalances in the national economy. Through a few years of readjustment, in the total output value of industry and agriculture in 1981, agriculture made up 30.9 percent and industry, 69.1 percent. The ratio was leaning toward rationality. In addition, industrial and agricultural production both have their own characteristics. The course of the reproduction of the agricultural economy and that of the reproduction of nature are integrated together. Highly seasonal, agricultural production has a rather long production cycle and is significantly restricted and affected by environmental conditions, but there is not such a close relationship between the industrial economy and the environment. Generally speaking, the growth rate of industry is higher than that of agriculture. Seen from the rather long 1953-1981 period, China's gross value of agricultural

output showed an average yearly increase of 3.5 percent; that of industrial output, 10.8 percent, and the 2 constituted a 1:3 ratio. This indicates that the increase of the output value of agriculture is a little slow when compared with industry. The state has not demanded that the various localities throughout the nation quadruple the annual gross value of their agricultural output by the end of this century. However, this does not mean that all the various localities cannot increase their output value.

First, we must see that the vast rural areas of our country are undergoing a great change. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the various policies which have enjoyed immense popular support, and in particular the introduction of the various forms of the production responsibility system, have put an end to the incongruities between the relations of production and the productive forces in the collective economy, brought about a new emancipation in the productive forces and a great upsurge in the enthusiasm for production by the masses of peasants. In the 3 years between 1979 and 1981, the total output value of agriculture increased at an average rate of 5.6 percent, much higher than the average yearly increase of 3.5 percent recorded during the 1953-1981 period. At present, changes have taken place in two ways in the rural economy: One is the transformation from a self-supporting or semi-self-supporting economy to the increasingly developed commodity production and the other is the transformation from traditional agriculture to modern agriculture. We must fully realize that in the next nearly 20 years, with the reform of the economic system and economic structure in the Chinese countryside, the agricultural production structure and layout will become more and more rational, advanced science and technology will be applied extensively and the agricultural productive forces will further expand.

Second, we must still be clear about agriculture, including the farming industry, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations, fishery and the processing industry of farm produce and sideline products and others. Not only various industries have their own unique laws of development but the different sectors of the same industry also have their own characteristics. We must therefore work out their growth rates in accordance with concrete conditions. For example, grain production in the farming industry between 1953 and 1980 showed an average yearly increase of 2.4 percent; the total output of grain in 1980 amounted to 641.1 billion jin. If the average annual rate of increase in the first 10 years from 1981 is 2 percent, and in the next decade is 2.1 percent, the total output of grain by the year 2000 will total 960 billion jin, or an increase of 50 percent within the next 20 years. This demand cannot be considered high and can therefore be materialized or possibly even surpassed. By the year 2000, there will be big increases in the production of most industrial crops, such as oil-bearing crops, sugar crops, tea and dried and fresh fruits, and meat, milk and aquatic products. We must also see that China is very rich in land resources. The existing cultivated land occupies only 1/10 of the total area of China's territory with the per capita rural population using no more than 2 mu. Therefore, we must make an issue of the land all over the country, rather than set our eyes exclusively on the existing cultivated land. Apart from doing a good job in the farming industry, we must



simultaneously grasp forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery and vigorously chant the "scripture of land and sea."

For quite some time, priority has been basically given to the production of raw material products in the rural areas of our country. Transporting farm produce to the cities which are far from the producing areas and then being processed there has not only caused damage and waste to farm produce but also restricted the opportunity to employ rural workers and the comprehensive utilization of farm produce. In the days to come, we must gradually change this state of affairs and do our utmost to carry out rough machining or final machining of farm produce and sideline products on the spot or at the nearest convenient places and put them to multiple uses and thus achieve multiple increases in their value. This will not only solve the employment problem of the surplus rural labor power but will also increase social wealth. This also means increasing the output value of agriculture.

What we have mentioned above shows that taking the country as a whole, it is correct not to clearly define the demand of quadrupling the annual gross value of agricultural output. The various localities should formulate their own objectives of struggle which are fit for the specific localities in the spirit of the 12th party congress and in a manner suited to local conditions. Ours is a big country. The natural and geographical conditions and the level of economic development of the various localities are not entirely the same and the leadership techniques of the leaders are also different. Therefore, the agricultural growth rate of the various localities cannot possibly be the same. It is estimated that of the more than 2,100 counties throughout the country, some counties, and in particular the existing counties which fall into the category of medium and low-yield counties, can quadruple their output value and even surpass that figure; on the other hand, due to various reasons, some counties may not be able to reach the objective of quadrupling their output value by the turn of this century. In fact, over the last few years, there have emerged a batch of localities whose gross value of agricultural production has increased at a fairly fast pace. For example, compared with 1978, in 1981, 43 counties in the northwestern regions of Shandong Province at least doubled their output value, and Xinyang Prefecture of Henan Province increased the total output value of its agriculture by 63 percent. Compared with 1975, in 1981, the total agricultural output value of Ganquan County in Shaanxi Province increased by 144.8 percent and that of Yongqia County in Zhejiang Province by 102 percent and so on. The experience of such advanced localities deserves our study.

In order to quadruple output value, we must calculate accounts but we must not concentrate on making an issue of the word "calculation." What is important at present is to make the objective of quadrupling output value the conscious demand and action of the masses. The leaders must proceed from actual conditions, do the work in a down-to-earth manner and in particular, with the county as the unit, draw up the plans for the development of the specific localities on the basis of the investigation of natural resources and the division of agriculture, seek effective ways for bringing into play the strong points in production of the specific localities and proceed to work out the measures which promise better economic results and to arouse the masses to work hard and do solid work.

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WHAT ARE ECONOMIC LEVERS AND HOW ARE THEY RELATED TO ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 47-48

[Article by Wang Jiye [3769 4480 2814]]

[Text] In order to effectively manage the national economy, we must not only adopt administrative measures but also put economic levers to use. By economic levers, we mean such economic measures as pricing, profit, taxation and credits which the state uses to affect and readjust social production, distribution, exchange and consumption. The application of economic levers can encourage or restrict the production of some products and prevent some production units from concentrating on output value and profits at the expense of state plans and social needs. In managing the economy with economic levers, the most important thing is that we must have a correct pricing policy and a correct tax policy. For example, when the production of certain products is in excess of the normal market needs, apart from adopting mandatory planning to control such production, the state should readjust such production by means of such economic levers as pricing and taxation so as to strike a relative balance between production and demand. Preferential treatment in terms of pricing and taxation should be granted to the enterprises which produce commodities which are in strained and short supply so as to encourage them to increase production and meet market needs. In this way, the enthusiasm of the enterprises for production can be guided in the direction of the requirements of state planning.

In making use of economic levers, attention should be paid to the following things: First, the application of economic levers has a bearing on the material interests of the state, the production units and the working people. Effective use of economic levers can help the production units and the working people be more concerned about the operation and management of enterprises, raise product quality, stress economic results, fulfill the tasks of state plans in an overall manner and develop the socialist economy at a faster pace, but misuse of economic levers can also affect the material interests of the production units and their workers, dampen their enthusiasm for production and finally do harm to the development of the whole socialist economy. Second, in readjusting production with economic levers, we must pay close attention to the flexible use of economic levers in light of concrete conditions. For example, when some products have

changed from not meeting the demand to supply exceeding demand, some corresponding alterations should be made in the existing economic measures which are designated for increasing production. When we say that we must be flexible in making use of economic levers, we mean apply them in a flexible way within certain limits and under the guidance of state planning, rather than breaking away from state planning. If we do not, we are bound to be operating blindly. Third, since various economic levers interact with each other, while putting them to use, we must link one with another and put them under unified control and disposal according to the requirements of state planning. For example, we must not encourage increasing production in terms of pricing on the one hand and restrict production by means of credits and taxation on the other hand, and vice versa.

By administrative measures, we mean that administrative leading bodies manage the economy by means of economic decrees, economic policies and mandatory planning, and the transmission of tasks to the lower levels. In the economic life of our country, administrative measures are divided into three categories: The first category consists of the administrative measures which have legal effect. These include the laws governing economic planning, capital construction, pricing control, tax, the borrowing or lending of money, the opening and closing of enterprises, economic contracts and so on. The second category consists of the administrative measures which have a binding force. For example, mandatory planning in management planning has final authority and a binding force. The planning units and units responsible for executing plans at various levels must strictly observe and resolutely implement mandatory planning and ensure its fulfillment. The third category consists of the administrative measures of a policy character, such as the related economic policies stipulated by the state for practicing regulation by market mechanism.

Fundamentally speaking, administrative measures and economic levers form an integral whole which is manifested in the following things: First, in the objective of planning. Both administrative measures and economic levers are put under state unity and application and must serve the operating of the planned economy. Second, in economic bases. In order to manage the economy in an effective and lively way, while adopting administrative measures and economic levers, we must have economic bases and act in compliance with the objective economic laws and pay full attention, in some circumstances, to the natural laws. Third, in realizing the harmony of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Being able to concurrently apply administrative measures and economic levers to the correct handling of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual is a major strong point of the socialist economy.

There also exist contradictions between administrative measures and economic levers. Concrete manifestations of such contradictions are as follows:

The contradiction between centralization and decentralization. In making use of administrative measures to manage the economy, it is relatively easy to practice centralized and unified management. However, centralization must be appropriate and conducive to arousing the enthusiasm of all sides

concerned. Managing the economy with economic levers is relatively right for proper decentralization. If everything is handled by means of administrative measures in a unified way, there will be limited room for making use of economic levers. However, excessive decentralization and laying too much stress on economic levers can give rise to blindness, be harmful to the overall planned arrangements and even affect state plans. We must sum up our historical experience and strive to seek a rational demarcation line between centralization and decentralization.

The contradiction between unity and flexibility. To adopt administrative measures to manage the economy, we must coordinate all the activities of the nation like moves on a chessboard. For this reason, we must make satisfactory arrangements for the whole national economy, strictly control through planning the large-scale key enterprises and the important products which are vital to the national economy and the people's livelihood so as to ensure that the strong points of the whole economy can be brought into play and have a stable development strategy for the economy and society and make a rational distribution of the economy. However, with the exclusive adoption of administrative measures, we very often fail to give consideration to the complexity of and differences in practical economic work. Making use of economic levers to manage the economy requires flexibility and relatively easily suits the complicated and changeable situation in the economic work, but it is hard to practice centralized and unified management.

The contradiction between relative stability and timely changeability. Managing the economy with administrative measures has the characteristic of relative stability. This is because the arrangements of overall importance cannot be changed. However, social production and social needs are constantly changing. The factors affecting such a change are multifaceted, and moreover, mingled with one another, they perform a function in such a change. Economic levers are characterized by flexibility and changeability and can thus make up for deficiencies in this respect. However, over-emphasizing economic levers is invariably apt to deviate from the course of the planned economy. So the application of economic levers should serve the needs of the overall situation and the unified planned arrangements. From a certain point of view, making use of some economic levers may be rational but from an overall point of view, consideration should be given to the capabilities of state financial strength and the influence upon the people's livelihood.

It is no easy thing to organically integrate administrative measures with economic levers. Our shortcomings in the past were that our administrative measures lacked sufficient economic bases and furthermore the errors in some policy decisions resulted in excessively rigid control over the economy, and all this was not in conformity with the complicated economic activities and the fast-changing market demands. Therefore, administrative measures should be perfected and well coordinated with each other. That is also the case with economic levers. Economic levers must link one with another and must also be well coordinated with administrative measures.

Making use of administrative measures and economic levers to manage the economy is aimed, in the final analysis, at correctly handling the relationships among the three--the state, the collective and the individual. Fundamentally speaking, in our country, the interests of the three are identical but contradictions also exist between them. This kind of contradiction finds expression in the contradiction between partial and local interests and the interests of the whole and between immediate interests and long-term interests. When a situation emerges in which overemphasizing partial and local interests and immediate interests has affected the interests of the whole and long-term interests, we must make more use of administrative measures so as to help subordinate partial and local interests to the interests of the whole and subordinate immediate interests to long-term interests. When there emerges a situation in which overemphasizing the interests of the whole and long-term interests has interfered with partial and local interests and immediate interests, we must make more use of economic levers so as to integrate overall and long-term interests with partial and local interests and immediate interests. When the economic development meets with difficulties and setbacks and results in structural disproportions in the national economy, we must put more stress on centralized and unified management and carry out an overall readjustment mainly by administrative measures, but at the same time not neglect the role of economic levers. In a situation in which the whole national economy is quite satisfactorily arranged and the economy develops rather smoothly, we must bring into fuller play the role of economic levers while perfecting the existing administrative measures. The general principle is to integrate economic levers with administrative measures, combine centralized and unified management with the mobilization of the initiative of the enterprises and the working people, practice the principle of small freedoms under a big plan, strive to grasp what is important and let go our hold on what is less important, bring about a situation in which there should be control but not rigidity and liveliness but not chaos and ensure the healthy growth of the socialist economy.

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STOP BEING 'SU MOLENGS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 inside back cover

[Article by Yu Shi [7183 2514]]

[Text] The Chinese phrase "moleng liangke," or being ambiguous, was perhaps an art practiced in officialdom through the ages. For example, as early as in the Han dynasty, there was this popular saying among officials: "Do not be explicit; thrive on being ambiguous." A prime minister in the Gang dynasty called Su Weidao, who "behaved in a flattering and ingratiating manner," often said to others: "In our approach to things, we should not express ourselves in clear-cut terms. Rather, we should use doubletake." Therefore, people at that time called him "Su Moleng." By acting this way and following this "good formula for being an official," some people, of course, kept out of trouble, preserved their jobs and prospered. They muddled along, but ended up being the object of universal condemnation and a target for ridicule throughout history.

Communist cadres do not want to be officials. They want to serve the people. Therefore, there is no need for the art practiced in officialdom. But there is a need for skills and courage in serving the people. Our attitude toward people and things should be put in the clear-cut terms of "yes" or "no," stern and serious, and indisputable. It should in no way be ambiguous and equivocal. However, there is no lack of people among the ranks of our cadres who delight in being "Su Molengs." There can be no other reason for this but a lack of skills and a lack of courage.

So-called courage means that we should do whatever is good for the party and for the people and strive to achieve what should be done in a struggle. On the other hand, we should resist what is not good for the party and the people's cause in a struggle. No matter who a person is, we must not repeat like a parrot what he says when he has said the wrong things or done bad deeds. In fact, some of our comrades are not so muddleheaded that they cannot distinguish between right and wrong and cannot see where the crux of a problem lies. They are hard put to broach a given subject in their talk and are weak and lethargic in their approach to things, chiefly because they lack courage. They lack the spirit of being responsible to the party and the people and the spirit of making self-sacrifices. They have too much to think of and great worries that bother them. They are afraid of offending

their superiors, of making themselves unpopular among colleagues and of losing votes in an election! Therefore, they take an ambiguous approach to things and sacrifice principle. The root of what is wrong with these people lies in their lack of spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people. It is quite natural that they do not win the confidence of the masses.

In many situations, a person's lack of a clear-cut view also has to do with a lack of actual knowledge and a lack of an understanding of a relevant subject. In spite of this, he may still assume airs and not show the least spirit of being humble "primary school pupils." He just plays along not knowing what's what. Or he makes believe that he knows the ropes. In his talk, he keeps you guessing as to what should or should not be done. Many things are thus held up, because things are put in vague terms. A lot of precious time is wasted. Therefore, to really do something for the people, we must seriously do some reading and learn something about useful skills. The best way is to take time out and set about making some systematic investigations and studies in the real world. Only by enriching our knowledge can we gradually extricate ourselves from the plight in which we have found ourselves. And only in this way can we think out ways and means in our approach to things.

Being ambiguous is a decadent, vulgar and easygoing style. Communist cadres should think out ways and means. They must have guts to hold themselves responsible to the people and the party and have the knowledge or ability to serve the people and the party's work. They must combine courage and knowledge, and dare to act and to hold themselves responsible. At any time, they must "express themselves clearly in getting along with other people" and become guides in action and examples to be followed. In no way may they fall into the bad style of a declining class which calls for being ambiguous and shirking responsibility. In those revolutionary war years, being ambiguous and letting a good opportunity slip away was likely to cost a person his life. So, all people did not dare to be "Su Molengs." Now, in times of peaceful construction, though our lives may not be endangered, if we do nothing and remain indifferent, our cause will also suffer, as things go on.

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END