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RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1983

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3 November 1983

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1983

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

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A SERIOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMIES IN THE POLITICAL REALM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 2-8

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The struggle to deal hard blows at criminal offenses, which is now being carried out throughout the country, is a serious struggle against the enemies in the political realm. It is an important struggle conforming to the will of the people and enjoying their support. When those criminals were arrested, the broad masses of people all felt delighted and elated. However, some comrades still have muddled, or even wrong, ideas on the nature of this struggle, as well as the measures which have been adopted. Their wrong ideas are connected to the understanding of some questions, such as the question of how to deal with class struggle, which still exists within certain limits, the question of democracy and dictatorship, the question of strengthening the legal system, and so forth. Making a further study of these questions so that our understanding can be unified is quite necessary in order to carry out this struggle smoothly.

I

Some comrades hold that since there are various kinds of criminal activities and various reasons for the cases, and since most of the criminals are young people, we cannot say that the serious criminal activities of offenders are expressions of class struggle and that the contradiction between them and the broad masses of people is a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. This is a wrong understanding of the expression of class struggle under new historical conditions.

The question of class struggle is a basic theoretical and practical question of Marxism. The content, form, and social position of class struggle, which is a social and historical phenomenon, are continuously changing along with the change of historical conditions. Gaining a correct understanding of this change is a prerequisite for correctly approaching and dealing with the problem of class struggle. In order to understand whether serious criminal activities are expressions of class struggle, it is necessary to proceed from the real situation of class struggle at the present stage.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, points out: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out." This is a scientific conclusion made by the CPC Central Committee on the present situation of class struggle after summing up the experience and lessons gained in the past 30 years or so since the founding of the state. Why will class struggle continue to exist after the exploiting class has been eliminated? Internationally, hostile forces will continue to adopt a series of methods to sabotage and subvert our socialist system. Internally, since the remaining elements of the exploiting class and the remnant influence of the exploiting system still exist, they will not only collaborate with the hostile forces abroad, but also with the reactionary forces in those parts of our country which have not been reunified with the mainland, leading to the emergence of hostile elements and hostile forces who try to sabotage and overthrow our socialist system.

At the same time, since our country is still at the initial stage of socialism, we still cannot completely overcome irrational phenomena in the distribution of the means of subsistence. In addition, there are all kinds of loopholes and weak links in our management work in the economic, political, ideological, cultural, and other fields. All this has become a condition for some people to employ improper or even criminal means to seek private gains and to sabotage our socialist system. In short, under the socialist conditions, in a rather long period of time during its development, the existence of class struggle within certain limits is undeniable.

The main content of the class struggle existing within certain limits is the struggle between the people throughout the country and the hostile elements who attempt to undermine and overthrow the socialist system. In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Hostile elements of different shades are still attempting to undermine or overthrow our socialist system in the economic, political, ideological, cultural, and other social spheres. The class struggle at the present stage chiefly takes the form of struggle by the people against these hostile elements." These hostile elements include counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, remnant elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques who have not resigned themselves to defeat, the remaining elements of the exploiting class who have continued to sabotage, and the new exploiters who have committed such crimes as embezzlement, speculation, swindling, and smuggling and selling smuggled goods. Serious criminal offenders constitute an important part of these hostile elements.

The criminal deeds of the criminal offenders and the methods they have adopted may vary. For example, some have committed murder, some have committed rape, some have committed abductions, some have committed arson and

bombings, some have committed waylaying, and some have bullied people. But they have one thing in common, and that is by employing extremely cruel means they have endangered the security of the people's life and property, undermined the normal order of production, work, and society, and have undermined the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. In particular, some hooligans and scoundrels have ganged together and organized themselves into some cliques. These cliques are led by their chieftains and have actually become secret and underground illegal organizations. Some of them show a pronounced political color and are out-and-out counterrevolutionary cliques. They often kill innocent people by extremely contemptible means so as to air their grievances against the socialist system. Their conduct is obviously of the nature of class vengeance. From the criminal acts of the serious criminal offenders we can see clearly that a common political characteristic of these people is hostility toward and against the broad masses of people, hostility toward and against the socialist system, hostility toward and against the party leadership, and hostility to and against our great motherland.

Although most of these criminal offenders are not old bandits, local tyrants, key members of reactionary parties and leagues, and heads of previous reactionary secret societies, or old landlords, rich peasants, and other exploiters, but some young people from families of workers, peasants, cadres, and intellectuals, judging from the root cause of their crimes they have been influenced by the exploiting classes. Some of them have been deeply influenced by the pernicious vestiges of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Their brains are filled with extreme individualism and anarchism. The illegal and evil deeds done by these hooligan cliques and other bad people are actually the revival of what the "smash-and-grabbers" did during the "Great Cultural Revolution," but in a new guise. Some other people have followed the road of being hostile toward the people because they cannot withstand the corrosive influence of external capitalist ideas and the bourgeois way of life, or have been misled and instigated by the old dregs of our society.

In short, their crimes are the result of the vicious development of the bourgeois world outlook, which has been gradually shaped due to the influence of the exploiting class ideology. Their criminal activities have proved that they have thoroughly betrayed their original class as well as the motherland and the people, and have become new dregs of our society under the new historical conditions. Whatever their subjective desires may be, their criminal activities suit the needs of the exploiting classes which have been eliminated, suit the needs of the reactionary forces in those areas which have not been reunified with the mainland, and suit the needs of the imperialist and other hostile forces abroad.

Judging from the causes and nature of the crimes committed by the serious criminal offenders and the class interests they represent, the contradiction between the people throughout the country and these criminals is a class contradiction under new historical conditions, and the struggle against them is a serious class struggle to defend socialist modernization and the socialist system and to safeguard party leadership and our great

motherland. In other words, it is a serious struggle against the enemy in the political realm. Obviously, if we are misled by some superficial phenomena and do not regard this serious class struggle as a contradiction between classes, we will certainly slacken our vigilance and weaken the people's democratic dictatorship. This will inevitably and seriously jeopardize the party, the state, and the people.

Of course, under the historical condition of socialist society, we cannot say that all class contradictions are contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. In order to judge whether a class contradiction is one between ourselves and the enemy, a question of prime importance is to draw a distinction between the people and the enemy. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata, and social groups which favor, support, and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 364) This means that at present, ourselves refers to the workers, peasants, cadres, and intellectuals, or the broad masses of people, as well as our country and our party, while the enemy refers to the "social forces and groups" which are hostile to our people, our state, and our party, and sabotage socialist modernization. The realities of the current class struggle have fully confirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific conclusion. Provided we keep to the stand of the broad masses of people, adhere to the basic viewpoints of Marxism, and make scientific analysis in light of realities, it is not difficult for us to draw a conclusion that the serious criminal offenders are "social forces and groups" and the "enemies of the people" who are hostile to or sabotage the cause of socialism. Of course, the "enemies of the people" do not include those who have committed unpremeditated or petty crimes. However, if those who have committed petty crimes refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition and education, the contradiction between them and the masses of people will also be changed from a non-antagonistic contradiction to an antagonistic contradiction, and they will also become the enemies of the people. This has often occurred in real life.

We must realize that although the serious criminal offenders, like counter-revolutionaries and serious economic criminals, are undertaking their activities separately, and that our present "struggle against them is different from the struggle between classes in the past (it is impossible for them to form an overt and integrated class), it is still class struggle taking a special form, or a legacy of class struggle in history in a special form under the socialist conditions." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 155) The law of class struggle is independent of man's subjective will.

So long as class struggle still exists, the criminal activities of various criminal offenders who are hostile to and sabotage the socialist system cannot be completely eliminated. Therefore, in order to achieve a fundamental improvement in public order and the social atmosphere, to ensure the

safety of the masses and their property, and to further push forward the construction of socialist modernization in our country, it is necessary to make unremitting efforts to crack down on serious criminal offenders and all other criminals. All ideas of peace and security are very harmful.

II

Since the serious criminal offenders are hostile elements who oppose socialism, and are enemies of the people, it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over them. The main reason why various criminal offenders were able to run rampant the past several years and why public order was in an abnormal state is that, except for objective causes, subjectively speaking, we did not effectively exercise the function of dictatorship and were too kind toward criminals. In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the First Session of the Sixth NPC, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "There has been improvement in recent years thanks to the efforts made by various quarters, but public order is still not as good as in the best years after the founding of the People's Republic. Such criminal offenses as murder, robbery, rape, and larceny pose quite a problem in some places. The recent plane hijacking indicates that there are serious loopholes and defects in our system of management, that the public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments have failed to perform some of their functions effectively as organs of dictatorship, and that some departments are intolerably apathetic both politically and ideologically, maintaining not the slightest vigilance against enemies. We must draw lessons from this incident." What Comrade Zhao Ziyang said has struck home. Making earnest efforts to change the weakness of our dictatorship organs and giving full play to the "weapon" of the people's democratic dictatorship have become a pressing demand and a powerful voice of the broad masses of people.

Adhering to the people's democratic dictatorship is an important content of the "four adheres to." Like adhering to the socialist road, to the leadership of the party, and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it is an unshakable political principle of our party and state. As early as on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1417) Since the founding of the state, it is by wielding the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship that we have gradually eliminated the exploiting system and exploiting classes and have established the socialist society. But is the people's democratic dictatorship no longer necessary after the establishment of the socialist society? No. Practice shows that without the people's democratic dictatorship, we are unable to defend, and therefore, build socialism. Under the conditions that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come, and in the complicated international situation, our state apparatus cannot be weakened or abolished. Instead, it must be consolidated and strengthened.

Of course, being an instrument for carrying out class struggle and building socialism, and being a historical phenomenon, the state of the people's democratic dictatorship will eventually wither away. "The abolition of state power is the purpose of all socialists headed by Marx." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 443) However, before classes are eliminated and the great harmony of the world is achieved, state power can not and should not be abolished. Shortly after the October Revolution Lenin pointed out: "When will the state wither away? It cannot wither away before the time comes when we can say: See how our state is withering away.... It is too early for that. To proclaim the withering away of the state prematurely would distort the historical perspective." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 135) This view of Lenin is correct both before and after the completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production. We must always bear it in mind. The people's democratic dictatorship is a basic weapon for us. If we lost it, the building of socialism and the realization of communism will become a mere fantasy.

Some people said: "Since the exploiting classes have been eliminated, there are no more targets of dictatorship." Our practical life has refuted this viewpoint. Facts show that although the exploiters have been eliminated as classes, it does not mean that there are no more enemies in our society. Facts have proved that in our society there are still some unrepentant old exploiters; there are still counterrevolutionaries and enemy special agents; there are still serious criminal offenders and other bad people; there are still new exploiters who have committed such crimes as embezzlement, larceny, smuggling, selling smuggled goods, speculation, and profiteering; there are still remnant elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and there are still those elements who desire to see the world plunged into chaos. These hostile elements are the very people who have formed a force which is hostile to or sabotages our cause of building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. If we do not exercise dictatorship over these people and do not adopt resolute measures to hit at and suppress them, there will be no peace in our country and the broad masses will not be able to concentrate their strength on production and construction. At present, cracking down on serious criminal activities is an important measure to bring into full play the functions of the people's democratic dictatorship and to consolidate and strengthen this dictatorship.

Does exercising dictatorship over the enemies mean a violation of democracy? No. Being a fundamental political system of our country, the people's democratic dictatorship includes the practice of democracy within the ranks of the people and the exercise of dictatorship over the enemy. Comrade Mao Zedong told us: "The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's domestic dictatorship." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1412) This means that the two aspects form an inseparable entity. Merely emphasizing dictatorship to the neglect of democracy is certainly wrong and harmful, but merely emphasizing democracy to the neglect of dictatorship is also wrong and harmful. In order to consolidate and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, we must do a good job in both aspects at the same time, that

is, to foster people's democracy, or socialist democracy, and to strengthen dictatorship over the enemy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Both Marxist theory and our practical life have repeatedly taught us that only when the great majority of the people enjoy a high degree of democracy can we effectively exercise dictatorship over a handful of the enemy, and only when we exercise dictatorship over a handful of the enemy can the democratic rights of the great majority of people be fully guaranteed." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 333)

Setting democracy against dictatorship is a kind of vulgar viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie in the West has boasted with all its might that their state system is a "free" and "democratic" one. As a matter of fact, the capitalist state system only means freedom and democracy within the bourgeoisie (or, to the bourgeoisie), but means an instrument or machine of dictatorship for the broad masses of laboring people. The Marxist dictum "the state is an organ of class domination" is not outdated. Our people's democratic dictatorship means democracy to the people, a high degree of democracy commonly enjoyed by the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other socialist laborers, as well as socialist patriots, and the most extensive democracy in history. Of course, it does not mean even the slightest democracy for the enemies both at home and abroad, over whom dictatorship must be exercised. Why must things be done this way? Because, "if things were not done this way, the revolution would fail, the people would suffer, the country would be conquered." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1412) There has never been pure and abstract democracy in the world. In the contemporary era, we must draw a clear distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy and must never confuse them. Any attempt to oppose us in exercising dictatorship over the enemy under the pretext of "democracy," whatever the motives, is beneficial to the enemy and harmful to the people.

Cracking down on serious criminal activities enjoys the wholehearted support of the people. However, a very few people say that this is "too cruel" and "inhuman." This is a cardinal question of right and wrong, which should be understood in a correct way. Since the murderers, rapists, arsonists, poisoners, robbers, and criminals who have planted explosives are cruel and inhuman toward innocent people, why should we be kind to them? Innumerable facts show that being kind to the enemy means being cruel to the people. Cracking down on criminal activities and meting out severe punishments to criminal offenders according to law so as to ensure social tranquility as well as the life and property and the legal rights of the people is real revolutionary humanitarianism. On the contrary, any toleration, indulgence, and leniency toward these criminal offenders is most inhumane. There is no abstract democracy in the world. Likewise, there is no abstract humanity and humanitarianism in the world. In cracking down on serious criminal activities, whether one is on the side of the great majority of people or on the side of a handful of criminals who are hostile toward the great majority of people is a question that every law-abiding Chinese citizen should ponder carefully and make his choice, not to mention Communist Party members, who must always adhere to the four basic principles. Any attempt by anyone who is blindfolded by abstract humanity and

humanitarianism, which are divorced from society and class nature, to intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously plead for or defend the criminals, no matter what their excuses, is wrong and must not be allowed.

With regard to "democracy" and "humanity," we must point out that under no circumstances can we let bourgeois legal viewpoints and theories obstruct the implementation of law in our country. There are differences between drafting and executing the law. When drafting a law, the principle of "letting a hundred schools contend" is applicable. All Chinese and foreign laws and legal theories, either in ancient or modern times, can be used for reference. We must assimilate with discrimination whatever is beneficial for us. However, in enforcing the law we can only enforce the law of the PRC. Although the capitalist legal system has been practiced for more than 300 years, it does not, and cannot stop and eliminate crimes. On the contrary, crime has become a chronic malady of the capitalist world. The crime rates in all developed countries are very high. This is a fact obvious to all. When we say that social order in our country is not good, we are judging it by a criterion for our socialist society. We are not making a comparison between our country and the capitalist countries.

Moreover, we have both ability and methods to mete out punishment to various criminal offenders who constitute only a very small minority of the population. Our laws are expressions of the will of the proletariat and the laboring people and our public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments are established for the purpose of protecting and serving the people. They take the broad masses of people as their basis. Therefore, it is beyond all doubt that we can solve problems that the capitalist countries are unable to solve. In this connection, one of the important conditions is that we must get rid of all interferences of bourgeois ideology on the questions of "democracy," "humanity," and so forth, adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship, and establish and perfect the socialist legal system, while at the same time developing a high degree of socialist democracy.

Our people's democratic dictatorship, like the development of our country, has also followed a tortuous road. It also has been influenced by the "leftist" guiding ideology. Sometimes, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the spearhead of the dictatorship was wrongly pointed at comrades in our party as well as the people. The two different types of contradictions were mixed up to a serious extent, and there were a large number of resulting frame-ups, false charges, and wrong sentences. This is a bitter lesson for us. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, these problems have gradually been solved in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting the mistakes whenever they are made. In the future we must never again repeat the past "leftist" mistakes. However, we must also not move from one extreme to another, like "a burnt child who dreads fire." In short, on the question of the people's democratic dictatorship, we must also take a correct approach toward historical experiences and lessons.

When talking about dealing hard blows at economic crimes, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "This is different from the struggle against right deviation, during which things were often mixed up and mistakes could easily be made. It was quite obscure on the question of what is right deviation and what is 'leftist' deviation. However, stealing state property, grafting, and taking bribes are cash dealings. They are clear, and less mistakes will be made. Therefore, we must deal quick, severe, and heavy blows at these crimes in order to stop them." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 358) Like cracking down on economic crimes, since less mistakes will be made in cracking down on criminal activities, we must also deal them severe, hard, and also quick blows. We must not be full of misgivings and fears. At any time cracking down on criminal activities will enjoy the support of the people. "Justice has a long arm." All criminal offenders will have no way to escape under the people's democratic dictatorship. This is also an expectation of the 1 billion people for our public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments. These departments are duty-bound not to disappoint the people's expectations. They must really establish the revolutionary authority of the people's democratic dictatorship.

III

Does the practice of strengthening the function of dictatorship of the public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments and cracking down on criminal activities contradict that of strengthening the socialist legal system? We must affirm that they do not contradict each other and are completely consistent with each other.

The socialist legal system is an entity including legislation, enforcement of the law, abiding by the law, and other aspects. It reflects the will of the proletariat and the broad masses of people. It is an important instrument for exercising the people's democratic dictatorship.

The basic principle of our socialist legal system is: "We must have laws to abide by and must act by following them. The laws must be enforced in a serious manner and those who violate them must be punished." The central link of this principle is: acting in accordance with laws and acting based on facts, with laws as the criterion. Having laws to abide by is the prerequisite, acting in accordance with laws is the key problem, and enforcing laws in a serious manner and punishing those who violate laws are guarantees for strengthening our legal system. The PRC Constitution clearly stipulates that all citizens are equal before the law and that no organization or individual may enjoy the privilege of being above the constitution and the law. Anyone who violates the law, no matter who he is--a cadre or an ordinary person, a party member or a nonparty person--must be punished in strict accordance with the law. If we do not arrest those criminals who should be arrested, do not educate those who should be educated through labor, do not annul the urban residence registration of those whose registration should be annulled, do not sentence those who should be sentenced to prison, do not seriously punish those who should be seriously punished, and do not sentence to death those who should be

sentenced to death, then we ourselves are violating the principle of the socialist legal system. To severely and quickly punish serious criminal offenders according to law is an act of implementing the basic principle of the socialist legal system. For example, in the relevant articles of the PRC Constitution and the criminal law, there are clear stipulations on protecting the citizens' lawful property, personal freedom, and democratic rights and on punishing various criminal offenders who infringe upon the interests of the state and the people. The effective implementation of these stipulations is in conformity with the fundamental nature of our socialist system. One of the important reasons why some comrades have not dealt hard blows at criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized the socialist order is that their legal sense is very weak. Just as was pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report to the party's 12th national congress: "The problems facing us today are that not only a sizable number of nonparty people, but also many party members, including some leading cadres, do not have an adequate understanding of the importance of building the legal system, that such phenomena as not abiding by law and not enforcing the law in a serious manner still exist in some places, and that the laws already enacted are not fully observed or enforced. This situation must be resolutely corrected."

In order to make our laws become really sharp weapons for the broad masses of people and cadres, as well as the public security, procuratorial, and judicial departments in the struggle against criminal offenders, we must never let our laws become a mere scrap of paper. Still less must we interpret them in a way favorable to the criminals rather than the people. Some comrades have an inadequate and incorrect understanding of emphasizing the legal system, thinking that this will bind the law enforcers hand and foot. As a result those who should be arrested or educated have not been arrested or educated. As a matter of fact, although it is true that by emphasizing the legal system, the law enforcers are required to act in strict accordance with the law, on the other hand all criminals who violate the law must also be strictly punished according to law.

At present teenagers constitute a large portion of the criminal offenders. We must adopt the policy of education, remedy, and transformation toward juvenile delinquency, which is a social problem. However, this does not mean that those young criminals who have seriously violated criminal law can escape from being punished according to law. Meting out severe punishment according to law does not contradict education and transformation.

To punish according to law those youngsters who violate the criminal law is also a method to save and educate them. At the same time it is necessary to mete out severe punishment to a handful of serious criminal offenders, especially the chiefs of those criminal gangs, habitual offenders who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition, and those abettors who instigate young people to commit crimes. Otherwise we will not be able to educate and save many other young people who have been misled.

Dealing severe blows at criminal activities is also consistent with the policy of dealing with problems in a comprehensive way. There are many

contents in this policy, including helping misguided young people by persuasion and education. This must not be neglected. However, meting out severe punishment to serious criminal offenders is a matter of first importance in dealing with problems in a comprehensive way. Only when the deterrent force of the means of dictatorship is first displayed in dealing with serious criminal offenders can the role of persuasion and education for young people who have committed minor crimes be brought into play. When criminal offenders are running wild unscrupulously, it is impossible to persuade and educate those youngsters who have committed less serious crimes. Only when the serious criminal offenders are severely punished can those youngsters who have committed less serious crimes realize their errors and mend their ways. Only by dealing hard blows at serious criminal offenders can we create favorable conditions for preventing crimes and saving the misled, and only thus can we achieve good results in dealing with problems in a comprehensive way.

We must realize that this struggle against serious criminal activities is entirely carried out within the scope of the law. Dealing heavy and quick blows at criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized public security is based on handling the cases in strict accordance with the law. By dealing heavy blows, we mean to mete out severe punishment to criminals within the penalties stipulated in criminal law on the premise that the criminal facts have been ascertained. However, this does not mean meting out severe punishment to all criminals, but only meting out severe punishment to a small number of the seven kinds of criminals who have seriously jeopardized public security. By dealing quick blows to criminals, we mean that the cases must be handled as soon as possible within the legal time limit and in accordance with the procedure stipulated in the law on criminal procedures. We never mean that they can be handled carelessly and the quality can be neglected. In order to deal severe and timely punishment to the criminal offenders, the recent 2d Session of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee adopted a "decision on meting out severe punishment to criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized public security" and a "decision on judicial procedure for quickly bringing to trial the criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized public security," which revised and amended related stipulations in the criminal law and the law on criminal procedure. This provided a more ample legal basis for dealing heavy and quick blows at criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized public security.

We must also point out that besides being strictly standardized and relatively stable, the laws also imply both leniency and severity. For example, in the criminal law of our country, there is a relatively large range of measurement of penalty, and in the law on criminal procedure, a certain time limit is stipulated for procedure. A basic principle of Marxism is proceeding from realities and seeking truth from facts. By saying proceeding from realities, we mean that in enforcing the laws or assessing penalty, our public security and judiciary workers must proceed from both the ascertained criminal facts and the local public security situation at that time.

For example, the present public order is not good, and in many places the masses do not feel safe. Under such circumstances, if vicious criminal cases appear, they can seriously endanger our society. Since the nature of each criminal activity and the harm of each case to our society are different in each case, we must naturally make different assessments of the penalty. Therefore, in enforcing the laws our public security and judiciary workers must attach importance to the implementation of policies and work in conformity with the will of the broad masses of people and in the interests of our socialist modernization construction. At present, when we emphasize cracking down on criminal activities and meting out according to law severe and quick punishment to the seven kinds of criminal offenders who have seriously jeopardized public security, we are proceeding from the requirements of strengthening the socialist legal system and the fact that the present public order is not good and that these criminal activities are especially harmful. We must resolutely, unswervingly, and correctly implement the policy of meting our according to law severe and quick punishments to serious criminal offenders so that public security can be improved as soon as possible and socialist construction can be carried out smoothly.

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ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS--STUDYING DENG
XIAOPING'S EXPOSITIONS ON SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 9-11

[Article by Qiang Xiaochu [1730 2556 0443]]

[Text] In September 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an inspection tour of Jilin Province. After listening to the work report of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, he delivered an important speech on 16 September entitled "Hold High the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts." Now the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has been published and this important article is included. The more I read it, the more satisfied I feel. Seeking truth from facts is our party's ideological line and fine work style, which is advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. It is also an important guarantee for our party to seize the victory in revolution and construction. In the new historical period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping continued to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and emphasized the adherence of the principle of seeking truth from facts. This will be of great immediate significance and of far-reaching historical influence in guiding the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Here I would like to present some aspects of my personal understanding on seeking truth from facts after studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions.

Seeking truth from facts is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The basic point of Mao Zedong Thought is to seek truth from facts, that is, to combine the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 121) Only by integrating the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and construction can we win victory in revolution and construction in our country. This is the truth that has been repeatedly proved in practice over a long period. The ideological line of seeking truth from facts is fundamentally opposite to subjectivism and dogmatism. The struggle between these two sharply contrasting ideological lines has left a profound lesson in the history of our party. Ideologically, the mistakes committed by our party in history are a result of separating subjective ideas from objective conditions and divorcing theory from practice, and run counter to the principle of seeking truth from facts. More

than 40 years ago, after summarizing the historical experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a famous inscription for the Central Party School, that is: "Seek truth from facts."

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a proletarian revolutionary of our party who enjoys high prestige and commands universal respect. He is a model in adhering to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and in resolutely defending the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In 1975, in spite of the risks of being ruined again, he waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the perverse acts of the "gang of four," which attempted to weaken and usurp Mao Zedong Thought. After smashing the "gang of four," he criticized, with a clear-cut stand, the erroneous principle of the "two whatevers," which did not conform to Marxism. On 16 September 1978, while holding talks with members of the standing committee of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, Comrade Xiaoping again pointed out: "As you all know, there is a saying, the 'two whatevers.' Is it not well known? Whatever documents read and commented on by Comrade Mao Zedong must not be altered; and whatever Comrade Mao Zedong has done and said must not be changed. Is this holding aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? No, certainly not! If we carry on such practices, we will harm Mao Zedong Thought." (Ibid.) Meanwhile, he also put forward the criteria for the genuine and false holding aloft of the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, which clarified some muddled ideas inside and outside the party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping vigorously maintained that Comrade Mao Zedong must be comprehensively and objectively appraised. He pointed out: Comrade Mao Zedong is the chief founder of our party and state. He made significant contributions in integrating the principle of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and illuminating the path of seizing victory in the Chinese revolution. Although he committed mistakes in his later years, they were, after all, mistakes committed by a great Marxist. His merits and achievements outweigh his mistakes. On the issue of safeguarding Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position and correctly appraising Mao Zedong Thought, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has reflected a series of correct views of Comrade Deng Xiaoping in this respect, which unified the thinking of the whole party and nation and ensured that our cause would continuously advance along the track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In accordance with the needs of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts. At his opening address to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping penetratingly pointed out: "To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience." (Ibid., p 372) Owing to the limitations of history, there are many problems in the building of four modernizations carried out today in China that Marx and Lenin did not or could not predict, and that Comrade Mao Zedong never said or never did. If we lack the creative spirit of seeking truth from facts, it would be impossible to create a new situation in the modernization

program. For instance, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposals on abolishing the lifelong tenure system of the office of leading cadres that actually existed and on readjusting the leading bodies and effecting the succession of new cadres to old ones according to the requirements of being more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent; on structural reform and enterprises practicing democratic management and various forms of the responsibility systems; on practicing the open-door policy and enlivening the domestic economy on the premise of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts; and so forth. If we do not emancipate our minds and adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, it would simply be impossible to put forward and solve such tasks and relevant reform measures under new circumstances.

Adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts means to proceed with everything from practice, do investigation and study well, and discover and solve new problems. What, then, is seeking truth from facts? Comrade Mao Zedong said: "'Facts' are all things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study." This instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong accurately and vividly pointed out the scientific implication of seeking truth from facts and expounded the importance of conducting investigation and study while persisting in seeking truth from facts. It is particularly necessary to energetically encourage the practice of conducting investigations and studies today when the whole party and nation are carrying out the modernization program. The practice in the building of the four modernizations is rich and varied. New circumstances and problems are emerging one after another. If we do not go deep into the realities of life and make thorough investigations and studies, but remain on the surface and listen only to the reports of other's work, or even try to recklessly solve problems, we are bound to make a mess of it. Comrade Chen Yun said: In formulating policies, the leading organs must use more than 90 percent of their time to conduct investigations and studies, whereas only less than 10 percent of their time is sufficient for making final discussions and decisions. That is to say, a correct judgment and resolute determination stems from thorough investigations and profound and scientific analysis and understanding on objective matters. Recently, our province has decided to afforest, rather than cultivate, any hillside land with a slope of more than 25 degrees. That is a conclusion drawn from going deep into the realities of life and conducting thorough investigations and studies. In 1965, when the north-east bureau was working out the plan for agricultural development, the question was raised on finding a solution to the problem of cultivated hillside land with a slope more than 25 degrees. However, due to the influence of "leftist" mistakes, the problem was left unsolved. Beginning in 1982, we conducted investigations and studies in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture and Tonghua Prefecture, respectively. We went to mountainous areas to make an on-the-spot examination and to listen to the opinions of county, commune, and brigade cadres and peasant masses. After a thorough and careful analysis, we came to the following conclusion: The hillside land can produce only a low grain output, but may cause a lot of harm. It not only destroys vegetation, which affects rivers and valleys and

causes soil erosion, but also entails untold troubles for future generations; the solution to the problem concerning hillside land is not only extremely urgent and imperative, but will also have far-reaching impact. According to statistics, there is approximately 1 million mu of hillside land in our province and the average output of grain per mu is less than 200 jin. It is worthy even if the output of all 1 million mu of land is readjusted by the province. With less than 100 to 200 million jin of grain, we can recultivate some 1 million mu of forest. What is more important, the ecological balance can be maintained, which will benefit the large and small rivers and valleys. Meanwhile, the provincial CPC committee also decided that beginning next year, it will adopt, in the province, biological measures on the cultivated hillside land with a slope of less than 25 degrees. The false indigo belt and so on will be used to fundamentally protect, develop, and rationally utilize the land and mountain product resources. These measures will have strategic significance in Jilin's agricultural development.

Seeking truth from facts is not only the basis for correctly formulating principles and policies, but is also the premise for consciously implementing the principles and policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The living soul of Marxism is to concretely analyze concrete matters. If Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is not integrated with the actual situation, it will have no vitality. The duty of our leading cadres is to integrate the instructions of the central authorities and higher levels with the actual situation of their own units and analyze and solve problems, but not regard themselves as 'an office for incoming and outgoing mail,' which simply copies and transfers the instructions." (Ibid., p 113) Ours is a large country and the situation differs at various localities. Each has its own characteristics and superior conditions. The principles and policies of the central authorities accord with objective law and have universal guiding significance, which must be resolutely implemented. Meanwhile, it is also essential to integrate them with the actual circumstances of each unit and department, find out the problems existing in our work, and prevent committing the mistake of "turning big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all." Only in this way can we solve specific contradictions and concrete problems, have a definite objective and attain practical results. For instance, in the implementation of the principle of "readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement," we must proceed from the practice of our province, give prominence to the central link of achieving better economic results, and strive to attain a simultaneous growth in developing both speed and economic results. Since May 1982, the provincial CPC committee has held two industrial conferences. On the basis of investigations and studies and by bringing issues out into the open, exposing contradictions, and finding out where we have lagged behind, the conferences profoundly analyzed the present situation and reasons for the poor economic results and financial difficulties in our province, and further straightened out the guiding ideology in running enterprises. We pointed out that we would rather prefer a low output value (speed) with better results than a high output value with no results or poor results. We also called for unifying speed with results. According to Jilin's economic conditions and

ideological problems in running industry, we pointed out that we must not rely on developing large projects and enlarging the scale of enterprises to develop production, but must, by tapping potentials and carrying out technical innovation and reforms, seek development and results from the existing enterprises, namely, make full use of intensive expansion of reproduction. We made some foolish efforts for a year or so. Last year, the whole province attained a simultaneous growth in output value and results and overfulfilled the plan by 150 percent. Through the end of June 1983, total industrial output value again increased by 15.2 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year, fulfilling 54.2 percent of the annual plan. The profits gained by industrial enterprises increased by 52.2 percent compared with the same period in 1982, which was the best level in the past decade. The delivery of profits and industrial taxes increased by 20.4 percent and 10.1 percent, respectively, over the same period last year. The rate of profits, utilization of floating capital, production costs, and productivity of all laborers also remarkably improved. For example, our province underwent a process from unawareness to awareness in the implementation of the production responsibility system in agriculture and particularly in the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. At first, we did not thoroughly realize the spirit of the instructions of the central authorities and still had the influence of "leftist" ideas in our minds, therefore we could not for a time fully let the masses choose their own form of responsibility system. However, when we realized that such practice was divorced from the masses and reality and caused production losses, we earnestly summed up the experience and practically pointed out that the right to choose the various forms of the production responsibility system must be handed to the masses, the cadres must not place restrictions or set any proportion, and we must let the masses choose whatever form of the responsibility system they like. As a result, our province reaped a bumper harvest in grain in the year of the drought, 1982, and increased output by 8 percent, which was an all-time high. This year the situation in scientific farming, the growing of crops, and field management is much better than last year.

The objective world is constantly developing and changing. As this change will never end, the people's understanding of the objective world will never end. Therefore, we must adhere forever to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In the course of carrying out the four modernizations, there are bound to emerge new circumstances and problems, which are unpredictable and may be unfamiliar to us. It is therefore necessary for us to constantly discover, study, understand, and handle them. If they are not properly handled, the problem of subjective understanding not conforming to objective reality may occur at any time. We must conduct a great deal of ideological education work, educate the vast numbers of party members and cadres to arm themselves with Marxist dialectical materialism, further straighten out their ideological line, adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts, and effectively carry out our work in a down-to-earth manner.

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A PROGRAM WHICH CARRIES THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE FORWARD AND CHARTS THE COURSE OF ADVANCE, A WEAPON WHICH DESTROYS THE OLD AND ESTABLISHES THE NEW--UNDERSTANDING GAINED THROUGH STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 12-16

[Article by Lu Jiayi [4151 0857 6932]]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a general program for building socialism with the Chinese characteristics. With a proletarian revolutionary's unusual courage, resourcefulness, and boldness of vision, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, by carrying forward our cause and charting the course of advance, and by destroying the old and establishing the new, has made a series of important expositions on creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Speeches on the development of China's science and technology are an important component. Studying and mastering fundamental principles and basic ideas in these speeches so as to raise our consciousness in developing science and technology and to upgrade our level in leading scientific and technological work is an extremely important task confronting us, in particular we comrades who are engaged in scientific and technological work.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to build modern agriculture, industry, and national defense. Without rapid development in science and technology, it is impossible to rapidly develop the national economy." "The key to the four modernizations lies in the modernization of science and technology." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 83) That scientific and technological development has been explicitly put in a key position in building socialist modernization indicates an important change in the party's guiding thinking in leading the cause for building socialist modernization. This is of profound significance.

The role and position of science and technology in socialist modernization are extremely important problems. Our party has taken a tortuous road in understanding them. Shortly after the founding of new China, we began establishing our own scientific and technological cause. In the following 30 years or so, we have made remarkable development and have made indelible contributions to stimulating China's national economy and national defense and to upgrading people's livelihood and cultural life. It must be admitted,

however, as far as the whole party is concerned, that unified understanding has not yet been reached on whether science and technology should be relied upon in developing economic construction for socialist modernization, namely, on the role and position of science and technology in socialist modernization. As a result of the trammels of the traditional concept of small production and the influence of "leftist" guiding thinking, which is eager for quick success and instant benefit, under many circumstances, some comrades have often set science and technology against the politics and revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and used the method of launching mass movements to replace practical scientific and technological work, causing damage to China's economic construction. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" even went so far as to oppose science, abolish science, and relate ignorance and reckless action with socialism. This not only hampered the healthy development of science and technology, but also hampered the healthy development of the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as a result of strenuous efforts made by the CPC Central Committee and the action of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding thinking and its policies on science and technology and intellectuals, the above situation has been thoroughly changed. But "leftist" ideas and the traditional concept of small production are to this date still binding our thinking and their influence should in no way be underestimated. While studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we must have a clear understanding of the relationship between science and technology and the construction for socialist modernization, understand more deeply the important guiding thinking of science and technology being the key to the realization of socialist modernization, and develop more consciously China's scientific and technological cause.

Putting the modernization of science and technology in a key position in the construction for socialist modernization is absolutely not some people's subjective and willful choice but a strategic decision made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping after summing up both positive and negative experiences in China's socialist economic construction and according to the basic truth of Marxism. This is established on scientific basis and reflects our party's correct understanding of objective law in the development of a socialist society.

First, the key position of science and technology is decided by its special position and role in the process of current social and economic development. According to the view of historical materialism, productive activities of human beings are the most fundamental and basic activities, which determine any other activities. Therefore, the level a society has reached in its development is decided by the level humanity has reached in its ability to transform natural strength for its own use and by its ability to create material wealth which can be used to serve society and production directly or indirectly. A comprehensive review of society's historical development will clearly show us the ever-increasing influence of science and technology in this transformation. In the past 100 to 200 years, science and technology have been infiltrated and fused into various factors of the

productive forces, and materialized into various new productive means and labor objectives, which can be used to educate and cultivate one generation after another of scientists, engineers, and skilled workers who master advanced science and technology. Science and technology have also been swiftly transformed into direct productive forces and have become a principal and leading factor in bringing about thorough changes in the way of production, life, and thinking in society. We can say that all important changes in society are related to development in science and technology. It is because of this that Comrade Deng Xiaoping, while expounding that the key to the four modernizations lies in the modernization of science and technology, stressed that some important ideas raised by Marx, who held that science and technology were productive forces, the development of large machine industrial production called for people's conscious application of natural science and science and technology, and productive forces also comprehended science, incisively pointed out that modern science had opened up a road for the progress of productive technology and determined its path of development, thus greatly upgrading productivity, stimulating the rapid development of the national economy, and making all fields of material production take on a new look.

Second, the key position of science and technology has been proved by the experience of various industrially developed countries and by both positive and negative experiences in China's economic construction. While talking about rapid development in the current social production, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Labor forces of the same quantity can manufacture some tens or hundreds of products more than before in same labor hours. What do people depend on in achieving such remarkable development and in greatly upgrading productivity? They mainly depend on the strength of science and technology." (Ibid., p 84) This is precisely the real situation. The level of modernization of a country is decided not only by how many modernized technological installations it possesses, but by its scientific and technological level, namely, its ability to digest and master modern science and technology, its ability to transform and renovate existing technical installations, its ability to predict and respond to rapidly changing technical innovations in the world, and its ability to make prompt use of new achievements in scientific research, and to initiate advanced technology independently. The cultivation, formation, and upgrading of all these abilities play a decisive role in the development of a country's modernization construction. Therefore, all industrially developed countries have attached great importance to intelligence exploitation and to the upgrading of laborers' scientific and cultural level. This has become a general trend. Competition in foreign trade has, in fact, become competition in science and technology, which should merit our serious attention. In the past, some of our comrades used to carry out modernization by exerting their utmost in physical strength and by increasing manpower and installations, which has been proved to be by practice to be unworkable. Anthropologists' research reveals that humanity has not changed greatly in its physical strength over the past several thousand years, but has achieved radically qualitative changes in its intelligence. Failure to pay attention to relying upon intelligence and scientific and technological personnel will make the realization of modernization impossible. By making great

efforts in importing advanced technology and installations from foreign countries, we aim at stimulating our country's modernization. However, the problem remains as to whether these advanced technology and installations, after being introduced to China, can be made full use of and be absorbed and accepted by us and whether they can be transformed and renovated on the above basis so as to serve the purpose of promoting China's modernization. The key to this lies in whether we have sufficient and qualified scientific and technological personnel.

In building socialist modernization, science and technology also greatly affect the decisionmaking activities of administrative economic departments. Decisions made by administrative economic departments play a decisive role in the quality and rate of China's modernization. These decisionmaking activities include not only economic policies of the party and state, but also an assessment of economic results of principal projects, popularization and application of scientific and technological achievements, and all possible consequences which may result. Comprehensive assessment on ecological consequences, environmental consequences, conditions of natural resources, and living quality, which are more macroscopic and influential, calls for importance to be attached to science and technology. Without the participation of science and technology in making decisions and without the reservation of extensive knowledge accumulated over a long period of time in carrying out scientific and technological work, it will be difficult to avoid making mistakes in decisionmaking.

Finally, in a deeper sense, the key position of science and technology is decided by the nature and aim of the communist movement. In the final analysis, the communist movement guided by the theory of scientific socialism aims at making people thoroughly get rid of all material and spiritual trammels, which have been imposed on them to hamper their free development, so as to realize individual development in an all-round way. To achieve this aim, at least the following two prerequisites are needed: 1) More conditions must be created, while social material wealth is abundant, to make more and more people get rid of simple, repetitive, and onerous manual labor so as to gradually eliminate essential differences between workers and peasants, between cities and rural areas, and between manual labor and mental labor, and to let people expend more efforts and spend more time on developing their own strong points and abilities. 2) Along with the development of production, the popularization of education, and the upgrading of the entire nation's scientific and cultural level, all social members will be able to deeply understand and essentially master the relationship of interest between society and nature, and between individuals and the entire society, so as to thoroughly break with the narrow private ownership mentality and to greatly raise their communist consciousness. To create these prerequisites, whether the former or the latter, it is necessary to develop science and technology. It is precisely in this sense that authors of classical works of Marxism defined the unreplaced key position of the development of science and technology in achieving this purpose.

By and large, in order to build a highly developed socialism, we must rely on science and technology, and the key link to the four modernizations is

the modernization of science and technology. This is an important change in our party's conception. We must take a broad and long-term view, conscientiously overcome "leftist" influence, truly bring socialist modernization construction onto the track of reliance on science and technology, and create a brand-new prospect in China's socialist modernization with great achievements in the scientific and technological field.

Relying on science and technology means relying on those intellectuals who have a good command of modern scientific and technological knowledge. For this reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly emphasized that it is necessary to attach importance to knowledge and to respect qualified personnel. By tradition, our party has attached importance to the role of intellectuals. Since the founding of the PRC, our party has repeatedly and strongly urged attaching importance to intellectuals and giving full play to the role of intellectuals. However, due to the "leftist" influence over a rather long period in the past, we used to wrongly classify one's class status according to one's world outlook and thus classified most intellectuals as bourgeois intellectuals. During the 10 years of turmoil in particular, the "gang of four" took enemies for comrades and comrades for enemies and regarded the vast number of intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category" and as the target for dictatorship, thus seriously trampled on their initiative and deprived them of the right to serve socialist construction with their knowledge and techniques. After the smashing of the "gang of four," how to correctly evaluate the intellectual contingent has become a problem demanding prompt solution. Making a scientific analysis of the intelligentsia, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It must be realized that the overwhelming majority of our scientific and technical personnel are taking the side of the proletariat in terms of their political stand as a basic aspect. These revolutionary intellectuals are a force which our party can rely on." (Ibid., p 90) "By and large, the overwhelming majority of them have become the proletariat's and the working people's own intellectuals. They can, therefore, be regarded as a part of the working class." (Ibid., p 86) This exposition has corrected the long-standing wrong tendency in our work toward the intelligentsia and has cleared away, once and for all, all the confusing concepts.

In the past few years, our comrades of the whole party have rapidly enhanced their understanding with regard to their attitude toward knowledge and the problem concerning the intelligentsia, they have constantly overcome the influence of "leftist" thinking, and the party's policy toward the intelligentsia has been carried out step by step. However, the problem has never been completely solved. The influence of "leftist" thinking so far remains: In many units, it is quite common that people always find fault with intellectuals and fail to place full confidence in them and to employ them reasonably; and the policy laid down by the central authorities on absorbing intellectuals into the party and selecting cadres among intellectuals has not yet been perfectly carried out. The crux of the problem rests on our evaluation of the intelligentsia.

The first problem is how to evaluate the political integrity of intellectuals. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If a person loves our socialist

motherland, voluntarily and conscientiously works for the socialist cause and serves workers, peasants, and soldiers, he should be regarded as having begun to adopt the proletarian world outlook and, in light of our political criteria, as socialist-minded but not bourgeois-minded." (Ibid., p 89) Today, the vast number of intellectuals throughout our country are working diligently and unremittingly to promote the scientific and technological level and the productive forces of our country. This indicates that they are both socialist-minded and vocationally proficient. Numerous facts show that most of them have basically adopted a proletarian world outlook and have become a genuine part of the proletariat. Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, and others were the outstanding representatives of our country's intellectuals.

The second problem concerns the requirements for intellectuals. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: It is necessary to set appropriate political requirements for intellectuals. "Politically, they must be patriotic, support socialism, and accept the party's leadership. They will remain a contributing factor to the political situation and to the PRC as long as they can do a good job in their research and achieve success." (Ibid., p 38) "Scientific and technical personnel must devote most of their energy to scientific and technological work. At least five-sixths of their time, we insist, must be devoted to vocational work... It is enough for a person to prove his love of the socialist cause and his lofty spirit of selflessness if he fights for 7 days and nights at a stretch to solve problems in scientific research and in production. In such cases, we should only emulate, commend, and encourage him." (Ibid., p 91) Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth definite and strict requirements for scientific and technical personnel in light of their special characteristics. He was aiming at giving full play to the role of the intelligentsia in socialist modernization. For scientific and technical personnel, we should require them to be patriotic, support socialism, accept the party's leadership, and adhere to a firm and correct political orientation. But our demand will be excessive if we require them to read many books on political theories, take part in various social activities, and attend lots of meetings irrelevant to their profession. Those intellectuals who are engaged in teaching and scientific and technological work should devote most of their energy and time to their vocational work. We should commend those comrades who wholly devote themselves to their vocational work, constantly strive for perfection in their field, and make indomitable efforts to scale new heights in science and technology. At the same time, we must criticize and educate those people who indulge in empty political slogans and refuse to do their own job in their vocation. This is the political criteria which Comrade Deng Xiaoping set for the evaluation of intellectuals and an important condition for mobilizing the initiative of intellectuals in building socialism.

The intelligentsia is a part of the proletariat and a force which we can rely on in building socialism. We should place full confidence in them and absorb into the party in good time those comrades who live up to the requirements for a party member, so as to strengthen the fighting capacity of the party and enable the party to more effectively undertake the historic

mission in exercising leadership over socialist modernization. We should also appoint those intellectuals who have both ability and political integrity and are professionally competent in management and administration to appropriate leading posts, enable them to play their roles, define their duties, entrust them with power, charge them with their responsibility, and allow them to take part in making decisions on the problems concerned. As far as this matter is concerned, we must be courageous to "promote outstanding people." In firmly adhering to the guideline laid down by Comrade Deng Xiaoping that "it is necessary to break free from conventions in finding out, selecting, and training outstanding and qualified personnel," (ibid., p 93) we should be courageous in breaking the rule to promote those middle-aged and young people who have a deep love for the motherland, are professionally competent, and have the spirit of utter devotion to their vocational work, and we should go all out to facilitate the growth of qualified personnel. "Only when a great number of outstanding personnel are available can we enhance the scientific and cultural level of the Chinese nation as a whole." (Ibid., p 93)

In order to eliminate all drawbacks to intellectuals, party organizations must show full concern for and help to solve problems in their daily life and do their best to ensure the means of livelihood for intellectuals. The first task which Comrade Deng Xiaoping courageously took up as soon as he resumed office was the work concerning science and education. He was glad to undertake the post of "head of the logistics department" for the science and technology front. This was a really vivid and impressive example for us which can raise our understanding. We surely have to get rid of such wrong concepts as regarding logistics work as a "job of servants" and as an "inferior job." We must instead take logistics work as our glorious duty. We must wholeheartedly serve scientific and technical personnel, improving their working and living conditions step by step and enabling them to concentrate their energy on scientific research. We must be just and fair in handling things, set an example for others, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and educate the masses with our fine party style. In the early years of liberation, many intellectuals soon put trust in the CPC and decided to follow the CPC. One of the important reasons for their choice was that they recognized and admired the CPC as a party which was fair in handling things and was concerned for the masses. We must always keep and carry forward such a fine party style.

In order to give full play to intellectuals' role in socialist modernization, party organizations at different levels must help intellectuals to enhance their ideological understanding and must pay constant attention to eliminating the tendency of despising the importance of knowledge and of discrimination against intellectuals. It is necessary to help intellectuals to understand and to overcome their own weaknesses and shortcomings while enabling them to bring their capability and wisdom into full play to meet the needs of the scientific and technological development in our times. Nowadays, disciplines of modern science and technology are developing in such a direction as to integrate and to complement each other and are shaping into an organic criss-cross network. No important large-scale

scientific research project can be accomplished by a single person or several people but by dozens, hundreds, or thousands of people in cooperation. We must therefore strongly promote a collectivist spirit among scientific and technological personnel, encouraging them to cooperate, unite with each other, make joint efforts, give full play to their common favorable conditions, and strive to win the "team title" in scientific and technological research. We must avoid fighting in isolation. Our socialist cause is an organic entity and scientific and technological work is a collective undertaking. Intellectuals must be open-minded enough to acquire a thorough understanding of the actual situation and to learn from the masses. They should be fully aware of their own shortcomings and the strong points of others but should not overestimate their own strong points while exaggerating the shortcomings of others. Efforts must be made to achieve the integration of intellectuals, cadres, workers, and peasants and the integration of teaching, scientific research, and production. Everybody should conscientiously link his own work with the party's cause, the people's interests, and the nation's destiny, wholeheartedly serve the socialist cause, and make more and greater contributions to our socialist modernization.

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IN ORDER TO INVIGORATE THE ECONOMY, WE MUST FIRST DEVELOP ELECTRICITY

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[Article by Li Peng [2621 7720]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress has laid down the objective of quadrupling China's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production and reaching a relatively prosperous level in the livelihood of the people by the end of this century. It has determined agriculture, energy and transport, and education and science as strategic priorities in China's economic development. Electricity, which is an important component of energy resources, is a strategic priority in our economic development. Without the development of energy, particularly that of electricity, it will be difficult to achieve the grand objective of the four modernizations. Only by vigorously developing the power industry in the next 18 years will it be possible to suit the need of achieving this strategic objective.

Electricity Is an Important Indicator in Measuring the Level of Modernization

Electric energy is a kind of modern energy. Being extensively utilized in industrial and agricultural production and in the daily life of the people, it plays an important role in promoting economic development and in improving the livelihood of the people. With the rise in the modernization level of a country, its need for electricity is greater.

As a source of power, electricity can constantly increase the mechanization and automation of industrial and agricultural production, effectively promote technological transformation in various departments of the national economy, and greatly raise labor productivity. It can also maintain the stability of product quality, improve the working conditions of laborers, and provide clean and safe working conditions. Electricity is an instrument by which we improve the living standard of the people and build spiritual civilization. Following the growing popularity of education with electrical audio-visual aids and of household electrical appliances, the people will use more and more electricity in their daily life.

Being a secondary energy source, electric energy can also be conveniently transformed into mechanical, thermal, magnetic, light, or chemical energy. The substitution of other energy with electricity is an important means of improving the utilization efficiency of energy and of saving energy. By substituting a steam locomotive with an electric one, we can improve its thermal efficiency from 8 percent to 30 percent; by substituting a diesel engine with an electrically operated one, we can save on energy by about 50 percent. In past several decades, with the constant development of science and technology in the world and the expanding use of electricity, energy consumption in per-unit value of the national economy has gradually dropped but the total consumption of electric energy has constantly risen. The proportion of energy used in generating electricity has constantly risen in the consumption of primary energy. For example, this proportion has now reached more than 30 percent in the United States, Japan, Britain, France, and West Germany but it is only 22 percent in our country. The proportion of electric energy in the total energy resources is now regarded in the world as an indicator in measuring the modernization level of a country.

Lenin attached great importance to the important role of electrical energy in building a new social system. He raised the famous slogan that "Communism means Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country." Comrade Mao Zedong also vigorously stressed the status and role of the power industry by calling the power industry the "vanguard" of the national economy.

China's power industry has developed tremendously since the founding of the PRC. Electricity generated increased from 4.3 billion kilowatt-hours in 1949 to 327.7 billion kilowatt-hours in 1982; the capacity of power generating equipment rose from 1.85 million kilowatts to 72.36 million kilowatts--an increase of 75 and 38 times respectively. China now ranks 6th in power generation in the world, up from 25th in the past. The power generated every 5 days equals the total power generated in the whole country for a whole year in the early postliberation period. However, China is a country with a large population, and the average per capita owned power is only 320 kilowatt-hours, far behind the industrially advanced countries. There are still more than 300 million peasants who do not yet have electricity for their own use.

Due to the "leftist" errors in our economic work, particularly the disruption of the "Cultural Revolution," the growth of China's energy lags behind the development of the national economy and the needs of the people in their daily life. The shortage of electricity has long been one of the outstanding contradictions in China's economy. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and through several years of economic readjustment, the pressure on the electricity supply was temporarily relaxed because some power was saved by a drop in the nation's heavy industrial production in 1980 and 1981. However, since heavy industrial production was stepped up again in 1982, the shortage of electricity in many districts became serious again, especially in the economically developed coastal areas. According to preliminary estimates, the total

shortage of electricity in the nation is about 10 million kilowatts or 40 billion kilowatt-hours. Hence, about 20 percent of the country's production capacity cannot be put into operation.

Objectives and Steps of Developing the Power Industry

What should be the speed of development of our power industry if we are to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production? This has become a question of great concern to all of us. The experience of various countries in the world and our own experience have proved that the rate of development of the power industry invariably exceeds that of economic development. In the two decades after the United States and the Soviet Union reached China's present level of generated electricity, the U.S. electric development was 100 percent faster than its economic development, and the Soviet Union was 28 percent faster. Japan's electric development has also been faster than its economic development by 20 percent in the past 3 decades. In the past 28 years since the beginning of the First 5-Year Plan, China's electric development has also been faster than its economic development by more than 70 percent. Naturally, we should not indiscriminately copy the experience of foreign countries in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Judging from the practical situation in our country, the development of our national economy in the next 18 years will depend primarily on the progress of science and technology and a more efficient use of energy resources is expected. This should result in a drop in electric consumption per industrial unit. On the other hand, however, domestic consumption and that used by agriculture, communications and transportation will rise from the current low level to the one corresponding to a comparatively prosperous life and the overall electric consumption, therefore, will increase considerably. According to calculations based on the preliminary plans for industrial and agricultural production and on the domestic electric consumption in the next 18 years, only by increasing generated electricity by more than 400 percent by the year 2000 will it be possible to meet the growing needs of economic development and people's livelihood in electric consumption.

In order to achieve the objective of the development of the power industry, it is absolutely necessary to lay a solid foundation and to create the necessary conditions in the first decade so that it is possible to usher in a period of vigorous development in the last decade. A fundamental way to speed up the development of our power industry is to increase new production capacity. The construction cycle of the power industry is relatively long. It takes 7-8 years to complete a large hydroelectric power station, from making preparations for its construction to putting the first generating set into operation. It also takes 4-5 years to build a large thermal power station. At present, the power stations under construction have a station capacity of only 20 million kilowatts and, in the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, new generating sets with a capacity of less than 3 million kilowatts will be put into operation annually. This rate of development is lower than that reached by some industrially developed countries in the world. It is also lower than our previous level, in which we put generating sets with a capacity of 5 million kilowatts into operation

annually. In the two decades after reaching China's present level of generated capacity, the United States and the Soviet Union have on the average annually put into operation new generating sets with a combined capacity of 10 million kilowatts. At present, Japan annually puts into operation new generating sets with a combined capacity of 6 million kilowatts. Therefore, we should be resolved to build large electrical engineering works every year so as to create conditions for the rapid development of electrical power in the future. Otherwise, we shall lose the opportunity and fail to speed it up even though we want to.

The power industry is technology intensive and has a long construction cycle. It needs a lot of construction funds. For many years in the past, investment in power construction accounted for a small proportion in the country's total investment in capital construction, which resulted in a smaller scale of power construction and less generated capacity. This is a fundamental reason for power shortage. In the future, it is necessary to put the power industry in a position of strategic priority and invest in it heavily. From now on, it is necessary to increase gradually the proportion of power investment in the nation's capital construction investment so that the construction scale and the newly generated electric capacity can suit the needs of economic development. Most of the power construction funds are allocated by the state or raised by means of bank loans. At the same time, it is also necessary to encourage local authorities or enterprises to raise funds as a supplement. With respect to the interests of the investing units, including investment profit and the use of electricity, it is necessary to ensure them in the forms of law or economic contracts. Only in this way will it be possible to arouse the initiative of various quarters to run the power industry.

By the end of this century, if we should succeed in achieving the objective of increasing generated energy by more than 400 percent, the average per capita owned power would reach 1,000 kilowatts annually, equal to the current level of the moderately developed countries in the world; the energy used in generating electricity would account for more than 30 percent of the consumption of primary energy; and people in urban and rural areas would be comparatively well-off in the domestic use of electricity. That is to say, in cities and towns, household electrical appliances, such as TV sets, washing machines, and refrigerators would be in common use; in the rural areas, there would be an ample supply of electricity for agricultural production, processing of farm produce and sideline products, enterprises run by communes, production brigades, and their teams, and domestic consumption. In areas where hydroelectric power is ample, the people in urban and rural areas can also use electricity to boil water and cook food during the high water season in order to save on coal and wood.

Principles for Developing the Power Industry

In order to achieve the objective of the power industry, it is imperative to formulate principles for developing the power industry in accordance with the special features of our energy resources. The general principles for development should be: 1) Exploit as much hydroelectric power as possible;

2) vigorously develop thermal power with emphasis on building thermal power stations in mining areas; 3) appropriately develop nuclear power; 4) vigorously develop electric networks; and 5) diversify electric energy resources by developing small hydroelectric, thermal, wind, and other power stations according to local conditions in order to meet the needs of villages and small towns out of the reach of major electric networks.

/Exploit as much hydroelectric power as possible./ Hydroelectric power is a kind of energy which is derived from simultaneous exploitation of primary and secondary energy, which can be reproduced, which is free from pollution, and whose cost is low. By exploiting hydroelectric power we can save on coal and oil and attain comprehensive results, such as flood-prevention, irrigation, and navigation. Our country is extremely rich in water resources. However, by 1982, we had built hydroelectric power stations with an installed capacity of only 22.96 million kilowatts (with 74.7 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power) which, along with the power stations under construction, which have an installed capacity of more than 10 million kilowatts, accounted for less than 10 percent of the water resources which can be exploited. The exploitation and utilization level of our water resources is very low and there is still a great potential for further exploitation. In the future, we should fully utilize this exceptionally valuable treasure and gradually place the focal point of power construction on hydroelectric power. This is a long-term strategic principle which can only be realized by long-term efforts.

In order to speed up power construction, it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on terraced and continuous exploitation of some sections of the river which are rich in water resources, which have favorable exploiting conditions, and which can be utilized in an all-round way. The focal point of our exploitation should be placed on the mainstream and tributaries of the upper and middle reaches of the Changjiang River, the upper reaches of the Huanghe River, the Hongshuihe River, and the rivers on its upper reaches. These river sections are "rich ore" in China's hydroelectric power. In the next two decades, we shall build a number of large hydroelectric power stations, including those at the Gezhou dike and the three gorges in the upper reaches of the Changjiang River, the Longyang gorge in the upper reaches of the Huanghe River, the Hongshuihe River, and in Lubuge and Tianshengqiao in the upper reaches of the Hongshuihe River. Some of these projects are now under construction and some others will be started in the future.

/Vigorously develop thermal power./ Our country is very rich in coal resources. However, our present production capacity of oil and natural gas is limited. Besides, as a valuable industrial chemical, oil yields excessively low economic results if it is used as fuel. Therefore, we should base ourselves on coal in developing thermal power and we will no longer build power stations fueled by oil. The power stations which were to be fueled by coal according to the original design but which were later changed to ones fueled by oil should, without exception, be changed into ones fueled by coal. Due to their low construction cost, relatively short construction cycle, and quick results, thermal power stations will still be

the main force in solving China's electricity demand before the end of this century. The focal point of thermal power construction should be the construction of large thermal power stations in coordination with the development of coal bases. In the meantime, in order to meet the needs of electric networks and big cities in power supply, it is also necessary to build a number of large and medium-size thermal power stations in ports and railway junctures which have transport facilities and which have a concentrated electric load.

The utilization of high-temperature, high-voltage, high-capacity, and highly effective generating sets in the newly built thermal power stations is an important measure for speeding up construction speed and saving on energy. In the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, we should install more generating sets with a capacity of 200,000 or 300,000 kilowatts. In and after the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, we should install more generating sets with a capacity of 300,000 or 600,000 kilowatts. It is also necessary to install generating sets with a more extensive capacity in large thermal power stations. At the same time, we should speed up the transformation of medium- and low-voltage generating sets by replacing most of them with the newly built and highly effective large generating sets, transform a small number of them into heat generating sets, or remove them to those localities which have coal resources and which have restricted transport facilities. At present, a lot of heat boilers in cities, factories, mines, and other enterprises have low heat efficiency. This constitutes a great waste in the utilization of energy resources. Where conditions permit, we should transform them into small thermal power stations and, in places where there is a concentrated need for heat, build some large and medium-size thermal power stations or central boiler rooms to supply heat.

/Appropriately develop nuclear power stations./ The distribution of our resources is very uneven. In the coastal areas of the northeast, east China, and Guangdong, we are poor in both coal and water resources and there is an excessive strain on communications and transport. The construction of nuclear power stations in these areas has become an urgent task that brooks no delay. In recent years, some industrially developed countries in the world have regarded the development of nuclear power as an important policy of energy exploitation. Nuclear power stations are technologically well-tested and safe in production. Although a nuclear power station costs more than a thermal power station, the cost of electricity generated from a nuclear power station is cheaper than that generated from a thermal power station. China has nuclear resources. It also has the base and technical force to develop the nuclear power industry. We have the necessary conditions to develop nuclear power. We started to build large nuclear power stations at a late date but, so long as we give into play the superiority of the socialist system, fully utilize the favorable conditions derived from the open-door policy, break down the barriers of various trades and professions, and organize the relevant forces, such as the machine-building and nuclear power industries, into one with rational division of work and close cooperation, we will certainly be able to catch up. The State Council has approved the construction in Guangdong of a large nuclear power station with an installed capacity of 1.8 million

kilowatts and it also plans to build nuclear powerplants in north China and in the northeast in order to develop greatly China's nuclear powerplants in the next two decades.

/Vigorously develop electricity networks./ With the rapid development of the power industry, developing electricity network has become a common experience throughout the world. The advantages of electricity networks are principally manifested in: the rational utilization of energy resources; their ability to improve the quality and quantity of power supply and to ensure the reliability of power supply; the possibility of reducing the reserve capacity of the networks; the possibility of using time differences to reduce the peak load of the networks; the possibility of installing high capacity generating units and hence speeding up construction and reducing building costs; and the possibility of an economic adjustment between thermal power and hydropower and of the inter-drainage regulation of water levels of reservoirs. At present, the United States, the Soviet Union, 7 East European countries, 11 West European countries, and 4 North European countries have built transnational electricity networks. By 1982, the six major transprovince electricity networks of north-west China, north China, east China, central China, northeast China, and southwest China had been completed. A south China network to connect Guangdong and Guangxi is to be set up soon. Our hydroelectric power and coal resources are principally found in west China, but the consumption load is principally gravitated toward central China and the coastal region in the southeast where industry and agriculture are well developed. Because of the limitations imposed by transportation conditions, it is quite impossible to transport coal from the west in large quantities. In the future, even if we reduce the transportation of energy resources by moving the industries with high consumption rates from areas where there is a shortage of energy resources to areas rich in hydropower and thermal power, we still cannot radically change the imbalance between areas in the production and consumption of energy resources. This series of conditions dictated the need to transport electricity produced in the east to the west. We are about to build a number of ultra high-voltage alternating and direct current cables of more than 1,000 km in length each in order to further perfect the seven major transprovincial electricity networks and to reinforce the connection between them. On this basis, a countrywide combined network will gradually be completed. In building electricity networks, it is necessary to pay close attention to auxiliary construction. In addition to building the generating plants, it is also necessary to do a good job of the building of the corresponding transformation, distribution, regulation, and telecommunications works and to install reactive-current compensation facilities [wu gong bu chang she bei 2477 0501 5943 0326 6080 0271] in order to ensure that the networks work steadily.

/Exploit and develop diversified power resources./ Major power stations and electricity networks should be built and run by the state. In areas not covered by the electricity networks, the local authorities, enterprises, and people should, on the basis of the specific conditions of the energy resources available to them, pool funds to build small hydroelectric power stations, small thermal power stations, geothermal power stations, and wind

power stations, in order to meet the needs of power consumption of the rural areas, towns, and townships.

The most practical and economically valuable way to meet the needs of power consumption of the rural areas is to build small hydroelectric power stations. China is rich in small-scale hydroelectric power resources. Of its more than 2,000 counties, more than 1,100 have energy resources capable of generating 10 million kilowatts of electricity. At present, 80,600 small hydroelectric power stations with a total generating capacity of 8.08 million kilowatts and a total annual output of 17.2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity have been built throughout the country. They play an important part in developing production in the rural areas and improving the living conditions of the peasants. In the future, in building small hydroelectric power stations, it is necessary to implement the principle of "building, managing, and consuming on one's own account." "Building on one's own account" means that in raising funds for building small hydroelectric power stations in the rural areas, we should principally rely on our own efforts, and on funds amassed by the peasants, and in labor service investment. The state can only give appropriate support by extending long-term loans at low interest rates and by some other means. The profits of the small hydroelectric power stations and the income obtained by selling power to the networks of the state should not be for any other purposes than "maintaining the power stations with power." By "managing on one's own account" means that after the completion of the small hydroelectric power stations, ownership and the right to manage them go to the investors. In addition, they should practice independent accounting and assume sole responsibility for their own profits and losses. "Consuming on one's own account" means that the establishment of small hydroelectric power stations by the local authorities, communes, and brigades should be geared to the needs of the rural areas and that they should serve agricultural production and the living conditions of the peasants. Power generated by these stations should be supplied to the local population and be used to balance the local supply situation.

In areas far from the electricity networks but which have coal resources, it is necessary to encourage the establishment of small thermal powerplants in order to meet the needs of power consumption of the local people. In areas with rich wind power resources, such as the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, the Qinghai-Xizang plateau, and the coastal areas, we can encourage the building of small wind power stations. In addition, we should also enthusiastically exploit and utilize terrestrial heat and other energy resources suitable for generating electricity.

The Principle for the Management of the Power Industry

With the establishment and development of the major electricity networks, the question of how to run the networks well has become important for the power industry. The common trend throughout the world is to practice centralized management. This system, under which production, supply, and marketing are carried out at the same time and under which generation, supply, and distribution of power cannot be separated from one another, is dictated by the production characteristics of the power industry. The

centralized management of the electricity networks facilitates their smooth operation and economic adjustment, the rational configuration of the power industry, and the rational distribution and utilization of power. In short, centralized management helps electricity networks and society to create better integrated economic results. China has both positive and negative experiences in running electricity networks. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the centralized management of electricity networks was regarded as "dictatorship exercised by various departments" and was thus criticized. At that time, the management of a single network was in the hands of many localities and the centralized management and direction of the networks was weakened. Consequently, production was in disorder, frequency dropped, quality and quantity of electricity could not be ensured, accidents were frequent, and great losses resulted. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the central authorities and the State Council have called for the implementation of centralized management in the reform of the management system of the power industry. By now, the six major districts have established bureaus responsible for the management of the transprovincial electricity networks. Consequently, the centralized management of electricity networks is gradually strengthened while their superiority is constantly brought into play.

The power industry is a comprehensive service whose economic benefits and interests must be subordinated to the economic results of the whole society. In order to arouse the enthusiasm of the electricity networks and the grass-roots enterprises engaged in power generation and supply, it is necessary to give them the appropriate rights and benefits. The presently enforced system of substituting taxes for the delivery of profits with the networks as independent accounting units and the system of assuming overall responsibilities for investment in capital construction projects should be gradually perfected in practice and be continuously developed with the reform of the economic management system of the whole country at the same pace. In order to make the power industry a success, it is necessary to give full play to the enthusiasm of the localities. The state has, in regard to the management system of the power industry, formulated a series of regulations which take into consideration the interests of the local authorities. These regulations enable the local governments to strengthen their leadership over the power industry. In future, we must radically reform the management system of power industry. The reform will be oriented toward a separation of the governments and enterprises. With each electricity network as a single unit, general power companies will be set up in the major districts. At the appropriate time, a national integrated power company will be established, multilevel management will be practiced, and the power industry will be managed by economic means. The state principally plans, regulates, guides, and supervises power development, distribution, and management through policies and regulations. With respect to the small hydroelectric power stations, small thermal power stations, small electricity networks, and the power stations run by the enterprises themselves, another management system will be practiced. They are to be run and managed by the localities and the enterprises. The Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power will give them guidance through the formulation of policies and principles and give them technological support and assistance.

In power production, it is necessary to implement the principle of safety first. The power industry is a kind of large-scale modernized continuous production. If a minor accident is improperly handled, it can become a major accident, such as a power failure over a large area, which gravely affects agricultural and industrial production and people's livelihood. It is necessary to formulate perfect regulations and systems and to strictly implement them in order to combat accidents persistently. It is necessary to examine and repair the power supply facilities in a persistent and planned manner, to perfect the technical transformation of the facilities, and to make power supply safe, economical, and optimal. In addition, it is also necessary to reduce the energy consumption of the power industry itself and to reduce circuit loss and the power consumption of plants in order to cut costs and to make more contributions to increasing the financial income of the state.

The shortage of power supply in our country cannot be solved in a short time. Thus, in order to utilize power rationally and to attain the maximum social and economic results, it is necessary to persist in planned power consumption and to practice economy in power consumption for a long time. At present, in some parts of the country where there is a shortage of power supply, the system of assigning to the provinces and cities overall responsibility for planned power consumption is being practiced and preliminary results have been achieved. However, it is necessary to continue to implement the system, to perfect power distribution and the management system, and to ensure the supply of power to the key enterprises first. In practicing planned power consumption, in addition to relying on administrative measures, propaganda, and education, it is also necessary to rely on modernized scientific and economic measures. It is necessary to promote fully the role played by the cost of power as an economic lever. The present cost of power in China is a little too low. Over the past 30 years, it has almost remained constant. In addition, whether at the peak or at the ebb of power supply, whether the water level is high or low, whether a greater or smaller amount of power than that prescribed by the quota has been consumed, and whether in the areas with plenty of thermal power or in the areas with plenty of hydroelectric power, the cost always remains the same. This is unfavorable to the development of planned power consumption and must be gradually reformed.

In carrying out the capital construction for power supply, while ensuring quality and quantity, it is necessary to shorten construction time, to cut building costs, and to improve the results of the investment in capital construction. In recent years, the building costs of many construction projects for power supply have steadily risen and the construction time has been extended again and again. In addition, there has been serious wastage and the economic results of the projects have been poor. All this warrants our attention. Although there are objective factors, this was principally caused by backward technology in building and design and poor management. In the future, in carrying out the capital construction for power supply, it is necessary, under the guidance of long-term state plans, to do a good job of preconstruction work, to put an end to the phenomenon of "doing three things at the same time," that is, surveying, designing, and building

at the same time, and to resolutely do things according to the work procedure for carrying out capital construction. In order to put an end to the malpractice of "eating from the same big pot" which generally exists at present, the units responsible for building the projects should practice the system of responsibilities for the capital construction projects, sign economic contracts with the units which undertake the projects, and observe the contract terms together with them. The departments in charge of large hydroelectric powerplants, thermal powerplants, and transformation and power supply works should establish first class organs to supervise the construction plans, funds, quality, and quantity.

Development of the Power Industry Must Rely on Scientific and Technological Advances

In the coming 18 years, our power industry should generally reach a scientific and technological level equal to that achieved by the economically well developed countries of the world in the 1980's and make further advances in certain fields. On the front of power science and technology, we have quite a strong force. In the past, this force had made great contributions to the development of the construction for power production. With the development of power science and technology, we should strengthen and expand this force. Henceforth, the departments responsible for scientific research in power should focus their work on research in applied science and help solve the key issues which are closely related to economic results and which arise from production and construction in power industry. It is necessary to organize the scientific and technological forces inside and outside the departments in charge of electric power to tackle the key technological problems and to master and assimilate the advanced technologies imported from foreign countries. This work should center on: 1) mastering the technology for building large hydroelectric power stations or terrace power stations with a generating capacity of 10 million kilowatts; 2) mastering the integrated technology for building large thermal power stations with a generating capacity of 2-3 million kilowatts; 3) mastering the technology for building nuclear power stations with generators having a capacity of 900,000 kilowatts each; 4) mastering the technology for transforming and transmitting direct and alternating currents to places more than 1,000 km away; and 5) mastering the technology for reducing the sizes of and serializing the electricity networks and power supply facilities of the cities and the technology for the automatic control of consumption load.

In order to improve our level of power science and technology, it is necessary to pay close attention to knowledge and the exploitation of intellectual resources and to give full play to the role played by scientific and technological workers. The power industry is a highly technical and highly specialized industry. The workers who hold the key posts in construction and production related to the power industry should be specially trained. Because of the disturbances and destructions brought about by the "Great Cultural Revolution," at present, the political quality and educational and technological levels of the labor force in the power industry are not equal to the needs of the four modernizations and the great production of the

power industry. It is necessary to solve this problem by training and educating the workers. We should ensure that the leaders of all our power-plants, power supply bureaus, design institutes, and the enterprises responsible for building projects have a university or college education and the workers responsible for important technical work should have a vocational or special secondary education in their special fields of work.

At present half of the workers in the power industry are young. The "Great Cultural Revolution" deprived them of the chance to acquire knowledge and skills. However, through their own arduous efforts and with proper guidance, they will get cultural knowledge and skills in compensation. Certainly, a great number of useful people will emerge from among them. It is necessary to pay close attention to training gifted people in economic management. Otherwise, we cannot improve the management of the power industry. It is also necessary to pay close attention to training political workers so that they can effectively carry out ideological and political work. We should carry forward the fine style and tradition of the workers engaged in the power industry; they have lofty ideals, knowledge, and morality and observe discipline. In addition, they have a rigorous, meticulous, and down-to-earth style which is very much in keeping with the characteristics of the work of the power industry. Power supply departments at all levels should firmly acquire the idea of "people's power industry is for the people" and resolutely put an end to the "bureaucratic government office" style of a small number of people who use their powers to seek personal gain. In order to quadruple the output of electricity, we must not rely on an enormous increase in the number of workers, but must rely on the educational level of the workers and the degree of automation of the facilities in bringing about a big increase in labor productivity. Thus, it is necessary to pay close attention to the two basic links of science and education.

In order to achieve the power industry's goal of struggle, the departments in charge of the power industry have an arduous yet glorious task. There are many favorable conditions for the completion of this task. We should, under the guidance of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, strive with full confidence to achieve the magnificent goal for the power industry.

CSO: 4004/49

SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PLANNING FOR THE CHANGJIANG RIVER DELTA
ECONOMIC ZONE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 23-25

[Article by Gu Xiulian [7357 4023 5571]]

[Text] The decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on establishing the Changjiang River Delta Economic Zone centered around Shanghai is a major policy decision in our economic structural reform. Jiangsu's Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, and Nantong cities will be a part of this economic zone. We should do the planning work for this economic zone satisfactorily in accordance with the requirements of the central authorities.

I

During the process of making our country's economy prosper and quadrupling our country's gross annual industrial and agricultural output value, the Changjiang River Delta has a role to play and must play a positive role.

The Changjiang River Delta has a long history of development. It is situated along the bank of the Changjiang River and the coastline. In this area, there are rivers and lakes that link with one another, a warm climate, and fertile soil. It is densely populated, culturally developed, well provided with transport facilities, and economically prosperous. It has fine natural conditions and strong economic foundations. This precious area in our country has displayed an increasingly great magnificence since the founding of our country and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In this area the per unit area output of grain and industrial crops is relatively high and both the heavy and light industries are developed in an all-round manner. There are a certain number of large modern enterprises and a large number of medium-sized and small enterprises and a large number of enterprises run by communes or brigades. This area produces diversified products and is advanced in carrying out commodity production and foreign and domestic trade. As a result, it has already become one of the nation's commodity grain production bases and one of the processing industry bases, and the nation's greatest commercial, foreign trade, scientific, technological, and educational center. This economic zone consists, at present, of the whole

Shanghai municipality and 9 cities and 57 counties of the Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces. It has only 0.8 percent of the nation's area and 5 percent of the nation's population, but it contributes 15.6 percent of the nation's gross industrial and agricultural output value and 20.8 percent of the nation's financial revenue. This shows what a vital role it plays in the development of the whole nation.

In the process of the four modernizations, the Changjiang River Delta must play the role of a bridge to transfer advanced technology to other areas and become a base for the socialist modernization of the whole country. Our country has a vast area and its economic development is very uneven. Because of being scientifically and technologically relatively advanced, some of the large and medium-sized cities along the coastline, including those in the Changjiang River Delta, have a relatively strong economic force. These cities should continuously introduce from abroad, assimilate, and develop advanced technology and management knowhow, develop new sections of industry, transfer technology, management knowhow, and industry to inland and remote areas, gradually reduce the economic disparity between different areas, and push the whole nation forward in attaining a world advanced level.

Establishing an economic zone in the Changjiang River Delta, an area in such a vital strategic position and with such a great strategic role, is aimed not only at giving actual play to its role as a "bridge" and a "base," but also at testing a reform in our economic structure in order to explore a path to build a socialism with distinguishing Chinese characteristics. Only by regarding this issue as being of such great strategic significance can we see the interests of the whole nation in viewing the matters inside our zone, be brave in carrying out reform and good at creating new things and summing up our experience, make continuous progress, and adapt our work to meet the requirements of the objective reality.

II

At present, our chief task is to formulate a satisfactory plan for our zone under the guidance of the state's unified planning. First, we should proceed from the reality in the Changjiang River Delta and study the direction and strategic goal of the zone's development.

The direction and strategic goal of this economic zone's development is determined by the special features and strong points of this area. This area is a zone with high agricultural output and a base of technically relatively advanced processing industry. It is also a center of foreign and domestic trade as well as a hub for the transfer of science and technology. These special features and strong points require that this area should develop into an economic zone with a high scientific and technological level, a high speed of growth, and high economic results and function, a zone which will develop its rural and urban economy in a more coordinated manner, develop a higher level of production technology, achieve an even greater speed in increasing foreign trade and introducing technology from abroad, and play an even greater role in promoting the economic development

of other areas. Such an economic zone differs from the current administrative areas and also from the cooperation zone which we set up in the past to carry out economic cooperation mainly by means of administrative intervention. It is not an economic zone that conducts a uniform undertaking, but an economic zone for conducting all-round economic and social development. It is not an economic zone that closes its door to other areas, but an economic zone that opens its doors and promotes the carrying out of various kinds of combination and exchange with all other areas in the country. This economic zone has to organize its production and circulation through its central city, and coordinates the operation of all the areas and departments in it and forms them into an economic zone and network that extends beyond the boundaries of areas and trades. In order to achieve this aim, we must start from planning and through planning harmonize the areas and departments that are in conflict with one another and promote the combination between various areas and enterprises in order to emancipate the productive force. For this purpose, in doing the planning work, we must pay attention to the combination of the following aspects:

1. Combination between large and medium-sized cities. Shanghai is the biggest industrial base in our country. It is also a center of foreign and domestic trade. It has a great economic strength, advanced science and technology, rich administrative and managerial experience, and widespread international connections. Taking such a large city as Shanghai as the center of the Changjiang River Delta Economic Zone and giving full play to this city's role is an objective demand in establishing this economic zone. Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, Nantong, Hangzhou, Jiaxing, Huzhou, Ningbo, and Shaoxing--the nine medium-sized cities of Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces--all have their own special features and strong points. Their economic strength accounts for a considerable portion of the total economic strength of the economic zone: their area of arable land accounts for 86.7 percent of that of the zone, their population accounts for 76.7 percent, gross industrial and agricultural output value accounts for 47.1 percent, gross industrial output value accounts for 40.2 percent, gross agricultural output value accounts for 81.7 percent, and total retail sales of social commodities accounts for 58.9 percent. In the process of planning, we should carry out the principle of division of labor between areas in order rationally to exploit resources, allocate productive forces, and readjust the mix of industry. Thus we will be able to give rise to a comprehensive advantage of the whole zone on the basis of giving further play to the advantages of all the cities in the zone.

2. The combination between urban and rural areas. Taking cities as the centers and organizing economic activities in accordance with internal connections is an objective demand of socialized mass production. We should pay attention to giving play to the role of big and medium-sized cities, but we should never neglect our rural areas, which constitute our foundation. Although agricultural output value does not account for a large percentage of the gross industrial and agricultural output value of the economic zone, the 40 billion jin of grain, over 700 million jin of cotton, over 170 million jin of silkworm cocoons, and over 160 million jin of tea produced in the zone have a tremendously great impact on the

development of the economic zone. The rural commune and brigade industry in this zone has already become an indispensable part of the industrial system of the zone. This has charted a path for employing rural surplus laborers "in undertakings other than agriculture without forcing them to leave their homeland." From a historical point of view, the agricultural production in this zone is relatively developed and the agriculture in rural areas provides the industry in urban areas with abundant raw materials and labor force and a vast market. At the same time, the industry and the cities give great support to agriculture and rural areas in terms of materials, equipment, science, technology, cultural and educational facilities, management and administration knowhow, and economic information. This promotes the development of rural areas. The economic zone must set up, on the basis of the existing relationships of mutual dependence and mutual service, a new rational system of division of labor and cooperation between urban and rural areas in order to achieve the goal of industry and agriculture developing simultaneously and urban and rural areas becoming prosperous together.

3. The combination between areas and departments. An economic zone, being an economic complex consisting of an organic whole formed by various kinds of production factors, should organize its economic activities in accordance with economic law, apply economic means to manage its economy, and carry out professionalized cooperation on a larger scale.

Undoubtedly, this will be a reform of the practice of managing economy according to the division of administrative jurisdiction and areas. However, before there is a radical reform in the management system related to planning, finance, materials and goods, and pricing, it is as yet difficult entirely to achieve the goal of really combining all areas and departments by means of various kinds of economic levers. According to the experiences we have gained in many years of practice, in order to solve this problem, we should give play not only to the role of all trades, but also to the role of our cities, particularly large and medium-sized cities, and use the cities as the centers to combine areas with departments. The existing way of dividing administrative areas has arisen in the long process of history, is, to a certain extent, naturally based, and takes into account the internal economic relationships. For example, Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, and Nantong are the cream of Jiangsu Province. Their area of arable land constitutes 27 percent of that of the whole province; their population constitutes 32 percent; their gross industrial and agricultural output value 47 percent; their gross industrial output value 50.8 percent; their agricultural output value 39.1 percent; and their financial revenue 54.7 percent of that of the province. These four cities should shoulder responsibility for the development of other cities in their province as well as making contributions to the prosperity of the economic zone. Therefore, we must pay attention to giving play to the positive role of the existing administrative areas, correctly handle the relations between various sections, and promote the combination and cooperation between different administrative areas. Doing a good job of combining departments with areas and combining areas with areas must be one of the important principles for the planning of the economic zone.

In doing the planning work, we should grasp the links of energy, technical transformation, and the construction of ports, regard them as the keys, and make breakthrough in these links as soon as possible. This is a key to strengthening the construction of the Changjiang River Delta Economic Zone.

In this zone the issue of a shortage of energy supply for the developed industry and agriculture is very prominent. The gross annual industrial and agricultural output value in the zone accounts for about one-sixth of that of the whole country, but its annual consumption of commodity energy accounts for only one-fifteenth of the consumption of the whole country and it has to depend on other areas for the supply of energy. The 4 cities and 18 counties in Jiangsu have increased their capacity for producing agricultural machinery year by year, but because of shortage of energy, particularly because of letting rural areas have more electricity to use in busy seasons, many factories are forced to stop or to reduce production. As a result, the existing production capacity cannot be used to the full. If more energy is available, industrial and agricultural production will certainly develop more quickly. That is why, in developing the economic zone, we should focus our efforts on and grasp energy supply as the key. In order to solve this problem, on the one hand, the zone should rely on the unified arrangement of the state and strengthen its cooperation with other areas in order to increase the production and purchase of coal. At the same time, it should also utilize its strong points in technology to develop comprehensive utilization and conservation of energy, to carry out necessary readjustment of its enterprise mix, and to strive to develop the industries that consume less energy.

When we say that this economic zone has a relatively developed industry and relatively advanced technology, we are comparing the zone with other areas at home. If we match the zone with the advanced level in the world, we will see that it falls far short of the world advanced level. Moreover, there is also a problem of uneven development in the zone. The industrial enterprises in this zone are also faced with a serious challenge and a problem of how to improve their quality and bring about a new change. In order to solve this problem, we should make efforts to improve our administration and management and promote the development of technology so as to strengthen the zone's vitality at home and sharpen its competitive edge abroad. We should vigorously introduce new technology from abroad, fully apply the technological achievements we have already obtained, and speed up the technical transformation in our existing enterprises in order to enable a large number of old enterprises to attain a new level before 1990. This is the most fundamental link in the construction of the economic zone. We should carry out division of labor and cooperation in order to achieve a rational layout of our industry. In deciding the projects to introduce technology, we should carry out unified planning in order to avoid duplication. We should implement the policies of giving preferential treatment in transferring technology inside the zone, of keeping no secrets about technology, of refraining from closing the market to one another, of giving compensation for the transfer of technology, and of formulating laws to govern our actions. We should focus on equipping and transforming the

trades and enterprises that have more strong points so as to promote the technical progress of all trades and enterprises.

The commodity production in this economic zone is relatively developed. A larger amount of many of its products must be marketed abroad. The zone must develop external economic and technological exchange. It should not only increase its export of textile goods, handicraft products, and other consumer goods, but should also open up international markets for its machinery, electronic products, instruments, and other heavy industry products. At present, there are some problems related to foreign trade and the utilization of port facilities. The zone should unite the areas under it, make unified arrangement for the purchasing of goods for export, make unified arrangement for export, and expand its foreign trade. It should fully utilize its existing port capacity, conscientiously organize the work of unloading ships to avoid congestion, and increase its ports' handling capacity. Our work in this area must begin earlier than other work.

III

The establishment of economic zones is a major reform in our economic structure. In carrying out this reform we need the guidance of a correct theory. Therefore, we must intensify our study of theory, deepen our discussion and research on theory, clarify the principles on regional economic combination and cooperation, and establish correct guiding thoughts about the establishment of economic zones in order to ensure that our planning and construction work develops along a correct path.

We should strengthen our investigation and study. We should investigate and study not only our own zone but also other fraternal areas. We should become familiar with the strong and weak points of our own areas and of the whole zone and with the history and present situation concerning the economic relationships between this zone and other areas and follow the general requirements for the economic development of the whole country. Only when we are well-informed about the situation and have prompt access to information can we resolutely make up our minds and make correct policy decisions. Whether in terms of science and technology or in terms of administration and management, Shanghai municipality is more advanced. In making investigation and study, we must satisfactorily learn from Shanghai.

We all lack experience in establishing an all-round economic zone of such a large scale. It is particularly necessary to formulate some concrete policies for developing economic and technological combination and cooperation so that there will be principles for everybody to follow. In carrying out combination and cooperation between different administrative areas, we must adopt diversified forms, develop many channels, and make rational arrangement about the layout of combination and cooperation. We should also conscientiously give guidance, take into account the interests of all parties, and pay attention to practical effects. We should not only consolidate and strengthen the existing relationships of economic and technological combination and cooperation, but should also open up new spheres

of combination and cooperation, help these spheres to grow from small to large, and help the combination and cooperation in these spheres to develop from including only one aspect to including all aspects and from being loose combination and cooperation to being close combination and cooperation. In order to achieve this aim, we should study and implement the law and decrees relating to technological transfer, trade marks, and contracts and formulate the concrete policies to be carried out within the zone so that we will be able to direct the all-round development of the combination and cooperation.

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CREATIVE WORKS OF STAGE PLAYS SHOULD EDUCATE THE PEOPLE WITH COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 26-29

[Article by Du Gao [2629 7559]]

[Text] At the 12th CPC National Congress, the party proposed that while building up an advanced material civilization, we should also strive to build up an advanced socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. In his speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out that communism was, in the first place, a practical movement, that communist ideology and the practice of communism existed in actual life, and that our daily life was inseparably linked with communism. His speech is a strong refutation of the idea that communism is distant and indistinct. It also serves as a major guideline for creative writing. It tells us clearly that the real, fervent struggle which our people wage, as reflected by our socialist creative works (including those of stage plays), signifies nothing but our people's glorious materialization of current communist ideology. The creative activities of our writers should be lofty ones, aiming to spread communist ideology, improve the people spiritually, and encourage the people to build a new life.

Our writers are fully aware of the social significance of their works. They regard educating the people with communist ideology as their own duty. There is an essential distinction between their works and those of the writers of the old days, or writers who have made great advances in history, or democratic or nationalistic writers in the capitalist world who harshly criticize the reality of life. In the first place, our writers are not onlookers who are indifferent to actual life, nor are they "critics" or "interventionists" who are divorced from reality. On the contrary, they are loyalists who share the same fate with the party and the masses of the people, constructors who are zealous in building a new life, and brave warriors striving for the communist ideal. Their literary works are far from good if they are only faithful but superficial reflections of actual life, or if they are only depictions of the best of feelings and wishes of the individual, or if they are only expressions of the writers' cynical sense of justice. What they are confronted with is a wide spectrum of actual life, a significant movement, a multifarious actualization of the

communist movement by our 1 billion people under the leadership of the party. Our actual life is splendid but difficult, beautiful but complicated. It is bright but is a struggle between the old and the new, intermingled with blood and tears. It is like an unyielding march toward communism. However, the road to communism is crooked and beset with difficulties. Confronted with such an actual life, our writers are unable to realize deeply and unmistakably its intricate contradictions, to have unflinching confidence in socialist life which is currently beset with difficulties, setbacks, and various kinds of discouragement, or to get hold of the future unless guided by communist ideology. The formation of a communist world outlook and the insistence on educating the people with communist ideology are therefore two guiding principles by which our playwrights should abide if they want to put into effect the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. Without these two guiding principles, they will be at a loss in this transformational period and unable to play a proper role in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Playwriting is inseparably linked with reality. Does the emphasis on the publicity and education of communist ideology blemish a play's truthfulness in reflecting reality, resulting in a state of "noncontradiction," or does it make the scope of playwriting narrower and narrower? Some comrades did worry about this problem. But judging from the themes of the plays staged last year, it seems that those comrades should be free from doubts. A vast number of playwrights dare to face reality instead of escaping from it, reflect from various angles the intricacies of life, honestly lay bare the real look of this era, earnestly praise all the valuable, colorful new things in life, and create new socialist images shining with lustrous communist ideology. While singing the praises of the new life, our playwrights strongly castigate the corruption and backwardness of old ideas and things. Playwriting is not driven into a state of "noncontradiction." The play "Political Instructor Song's Diary" acutely depicts the seamy side of the life of our armed forces and faithfully reveals how a young party member fights against the undesirable trend led by his superiors. "The Accused" and "The Laughable" are distinctive in style, yet both plays reflect the people's soul-stirring struggle against economic crime. "More Than Auspicious" and "The Gold Key" reveal the conflicts and contradictions that exist in the implementation of the transformational system of production responsibility in the rural areas. "The Sentry Post" depicts the undaunted struggle of the revolutionary warriors in the capital against capitalist corrosion since the implementation of open door policy. "Troubles Arising at Home" unmasks localism and feudalism, which obstruct industrial reform. "The Endless Changjiang" reflects the violent impact on the public mind of reforming the cadre system. "The Three Brothers and the Daughters-in-Law" manifests how birth control is hampered by the peasants' feudalistic and backward mind.... Through their plays, our playwrights have perspicaciously reflected or revealed the major aspects of our social life such as the boosting of socialist economy, the reform of our political and economic systems, the combat of economic crime and other criminal activities, and the intense strife in straightening out the general mood of the party and the society. Major contradictions in reality have also been touched upon by some plays. Problems of public concern have

also been put forward. It is evident that we are not afraid of laying bare the seamy side of life. We are confident that our party is competent enough to fight against such seaminess until a victory is won. In actuality communism is growing and gaining momentum. History is continuously moving toward the lofty objectives of communism: Our playwrights should discard the "leftist" sham, exaggeration, and emptiness and strive to uncover sparkling new ideas and images of the era.

The reasons why we are moved and encouraged by "Political Instructor Song's Diary" are that the playwright has the courage to be confronted with the sharp conflicts in real life and that he mercilessly lays bare the seamy side of life in the armed forces and unmasks some cadres' "special privilege" mentality and the disgusting conduct of some cadres' children. Moreover, through the depiction of a well-rounded character (namely, political instructor Song), the grandiose and realistic theme that a man's soul and social surroundings can be reformed by communism is forcefully illustrated. People are convinced by the play that communist ideology can improve their well-being, promote human relationships and make them sincerer and purer, and bring youngsters who have gone astray back to a healthy and promising road.

The artistic attractiveness and the comic elements of "More Than Auspicious" stem not from the playwright's imagination of certain mysterious plots, but from a true depiction of the conflicts in the new rural life. The play is about a rural branch secretary who, being happy to learn that he has become better off, plans to have an extravagant marriage ceremony for his eldest son, resulting in the revival of old ideas and customs among his neighbors. Through the vivacious manifestation of comic family conflicts which have a human touch, the playwright vividly depicts the party member's political consciousness and spirit of self-criticism. He also reveals how the new communist ideology resists and changes the old ideas and practices in the rural areas.

Among the plays which reflect reality, "The Sufferings of the Brothers" and "Absolute Signals" are of high quality, and they received wide acclaim after they had been on stage. But it should also be noted that the writers of these two plays exposed their ideological weaknesses when they were confronted with complicated and real contradictions, particularly the negative side of social life. Both plays depict our contemporary youngsters. They also touch upon the individualistic and anarchistic feelings of some youngsters of our time. It is, of course, incorrect for playwrights to try to evade the negative side of life confronted by the youngsters. We should require our playwrights to be positive in handling and getting hold of this subject matter, to dig deeper into the issue, and to make its theme more didactic.

"The Sufferings of the Brothers" genuinely reflects how depressed some workers are when their material needs are not met. The sympathy of part of the young audience was aroused by the incisive depiction of some young workers' anarchistic pursuit of personal interests. From actual life, the playwright is aware of the current distribution problems within production

departments which warrant careful consideration. He also shows his concern for the young workers' material needs. We should not expect him to answer all the questions he raises, nor should we expect him to resolve the unresolved contradictions in actual life. He should, however, guide his audience through communist ideology to have a correct understanding of the questions raised and the contradictions reflected by him. Never should the playwright sympathize with the youngsters' shortcomings and errors just because he sympathizes with their difficulties. It is wrong for him to be indifferent or to keep a low profile to the youngsters' material needs. It is also a lopsided view for him to think that the youngsters' enthusiasm for socialist labor can be naturally mobilized if their material needs are met without paying any attention to the upgrading of their communist consciousness and the promotion of their revolutionary spirit. It is in this respect that the playwright has not dug deep enough. Thus, the play is ideologically immature.

"Absolute Signals" is an artistically distinguished and moving play. It is attractive and its depiction of the characters is exquisite and vivid. The artistic images of the old bus conductor and the honey girl are authentic in actual life. The audience is much impressed by their disposition. However, the protagonist in the play is Heizi, an unemployed young man who retaliates against the society and commits crime as his selfish desire is not satisfied. Youngsters of his type do exist in the real world. It is positively meaningful for the playwright to reveal faithfully and profoundly the causes for his criminal conduct in a bid to help the young audience understand this social phenomenon. We often read stories about criminal conduct in the capitalist world. Basically, the youngsters' depression, corruption, and criminal offenses have a social root. Through such tragic subject matters, writers who have a sense of justice lay bare the irrationalities under the capitalist system. But in our case, we should not put all the blame on society as the root of some youngsters' evil deeds. In respect to our society, the nature of the contradictions between the individual and the society is essentially different from that in the capitalist world. Heizi and his type are the victims of the 10-year internal disorder. They commit crime mainly because they are under the corrosive influence of capitalist individualism and anarchism. Hence, our literary works should sharply reveal how capitalism corrupts our youngsters' minds and jeopardizes our society. The playwright should not sympathize with their undesirable conduct just because they are the victims of the 10-year internal disorder, nor should he think that their crimes are pardonable just because they have not been given "ideal" jobs or their personal needs have not been satisfied. A writer ought to reveal and criticize the corrosiveness of capitalist individualism in the criminal's innermost soul. The deeper the exposition, the stronger the criticism and the more striking the theme. In "Absolute Signals," although Heizi's undesirable conduct is reprimanded and criticized by the old bus conductor and the honey girl, the playwright has, to a certain extent, sympathy for Heizi, as seen throughout his depiction of the character. As a result, the ideological significance of the play is inevitably lessened.

There is a small number of writers who still evaluate our actual life in a biased or incorrect way. They do not, through their works, help the audience understand life. On the contrary, through the depiction of the characters' depression and discontent, they express their own incorrect attitudes and undesirable feelings toward real life since the third plenary session or they reflect those expressed by some other people. The play "Love, Within Our Hearts" is ideologically biased. Through the contrast of stage scenes, the playwright, on one hand, plays up the bewilderment and wretchedness of several dropping-out soldiers who are on the line of counterattack in self-defense; on the other, he depicts the disgusting and debauched scenes in a Beijing restaurant. The play is about a young woman who hates her motherland and becomes "apathetic" to everything. In order to leave her motherland, she sells her soul to a Hong Kong merchant. She curses our society, vilifies our actual situation, and gives vent to her grievances against her present life. She is, in fact, the sweetheart of a soldier who has gone to the front and misses her very much. Such a distorted play is, of course, a very rare case, but its production poses an incisive question to us: How are we going to understand the reality through communist ideology? How are we going to reflect the reality correctly and faithfully through our plays, so that they can help build our socialist spiritual civilization? This is an important subject which our playwrights should consider in respect to ideology as well as performance.

Our playwrights possess a rich and spacious artistic world in which they are free to reflect reality and to depict our people's glorious struggle for the materialization of communist ideals. The 20 years from the 12th CPC National Congress to the end of the century will be the most glorious and exuberant phase of the cause of Chinese communism. Our people will take part in the glorious construction and our society will undergo a great change. The magnificent and multifarious reality is calling the vigorous playwrights of the younger generation to engage on playwriting. They reflect the rich life of this era in various artistic forms, styles, and ways of expression. To educate the people with communist ideology is the basic task of playwriting. Playwrights who unswervingly struggle for the communist ideals will contribute to the splendid cause of communist construction.

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THE WORLD SEEMS SMALLER TO THOSE WHO HAVE SCALED TAISHAN MOUNTAIN--SOME UNDERSTANDING GAINED THROUGH STUDYING PHILOSOPHY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 30-33

[Article by Zhou Minzhen [0719 3046 7201]]

[Text] Although art and literature possess their own special laws and rules, the actual creation of art and literature cannot be divorced from the guidance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. While philosophy cannot replace methods of creativity, the fact that the former is a world view and a methodology means that artistic and literary creativity must be included within its realm. This is basically very clear and easy to understand and accept.

However, this principle is not accepted by all artists and writers. Among young writers and artists in particular there is a tendency to consider theoretical study as a kind of intervention in the representation of ideas through images, and thus the representation of ideas through images and logical thinking are constantly opposed to one another by such people. Some writers feel that it is sufficient merely to describe real life in an honest way and that any kind of "guiding ideology" is restrictive and will hinder emancipated thinking. Of course there are some people who don't even have the slightest idea of what philosophy is, believing it to be something totally unrelated to art and literature. One outstanding and bold young writer has sent me many compositions which display considerable talent both in his grasp of language and his imagery as well as a firm sense of real life. However, most of his work could not be published in the newspapers. After some detailed and exhaustive research I discovered that while the work was fluent and smooth and the sense of real life is very much there, there was nevertheless still something missing. It was only after systematic study of Marxist theories, especially philosophy, at the central authorities party school that I realized that this young writer's work lacked a comprehensive and all-pervading guiding ideology. His work lacked penetrating judgment of real life and dialectical understanding of things. One could see that emanating from his work was a vague, blurred, and imprecise world view. If, by assessing my own creative experiences, we search for the reasons for these faults, it is also possible to verify the need for a guiding philosophy. Of the works that I have written, the majority are mediocre, while only a very few are slightly better. The

reason for the mediocrity of the majority of my works is the same as in the case of the young writer mentioned above. The reason for the better ones is merely that, in comparison to the young writer, I have been present for slightly longer in the history of revolution and I have read a considerable amount of Marxism-Leninism. I believe that if I had conscientiously and systematically studied Marxist theories at an earlier date and used them to guide my creative writing, then perhaps I would have had a less winding road to follow and perhaps the standard of my work would have been a little higher.

What kind of relationship exists between philosophy and art and literature? It could be said that the former penetrates the heart of art and literature and that it constantly influences and defines creativity, including creative thinking, creative methods, and creative skills. The birth of a piece of work is essentially the product of objective events or facts being processed as they pass through the writer's or artist's brain. The state of the brain (world view) directly affects the way in which this product is "processed." Lu Xun hit the nail on the head when he said: "It is water that flows out of a water pipe and it is blood that flows out of a blood vessel." This illustrates the intimate relationship between one's world view and artistic creativity. In a theory of poetry the Qing Dynasty poet Yuan Mei said: "Poetry should be simple, not cunning, if it must be very cunning, it must still be simple; poetry should be light, not heavy, if it must be heavy, it must still be light."

These relationships between simplicity and complexity and lightness and weight provide a very solid representation of dialectical thinking. While simplicity and complexity and lightness and weight are contradictory, they are also in unity, being mutually dependent, mutually influential, and mutually transformable, with the result that a piece of work may attain even greater limits. In his critique of Wei Ying Wu and Liu Songyuan's poems in five character lines, Su Shi wrote: "The weight must originate from simplicity, with the emphasis on lightness." This also illustrates a penetratingly dialectical and unified viewpoint. Thus we can see that even the ancient classicists already understood the need for dialectics when dealing with artistic and literary creativity.

In recent years, the mass of readers and spectators have been repulsed by some sham pieces of work and the artistic and literary world has carried out many debates on the question of "truthfulness" as well as offering many suggestions for how to overcome untruthfulness. I believe that "truthfulness" is not only a category of art and literature, it also falls within the domain of philosophy. The reason for this is that a piece of work is not necessarily truthful if it merely reflects objective reality. The reality and truth of real life and a piece of work must be dialectically unified before they may together represent an artistic model of the complexities of social life. This also includes the dialectical unity of logical thinking and imagery. Thus art and literature are by no means purely emotive objects which exist aloof and detached from reason, rather they are, willingly or not, within the sphere and under the jurisdiction of philosophy. The difference is that art and literature involve active

and bountiful artistic imagery and not abstract concepts in their reflection of truth. Thus I would like to discuss the relationship between philosophy and art and literature using what I have learned through my study and creativity.

Liu Xie, the author of "The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons," said: "Emotions are the protagonists and literature is created through emotions." The works of any serious writer are born through emotions and are brought to reality through feelings. For example, I had certain thoughts and feelings about some present-day problems relating to young people very early on, while in real life there exist certain thoughts and feelings of a much greater severity than mine. Competitiveness has led to a one-sided striving for higher proportions of students entering higher grade schools and an overemphasis on knowledge and a tendency to ignore morals. Some students now lack the spirit of collectivism and egoism is appearing more and more. Some students display only mediocre thinking and a low level of sentiment while their relations with others are rather strained. There are even some students who are unwilling to join the league. In 1981, I went to a county to get to grassroots level and to live with the people. In the place I visited there was a senior middle school student who was the son of the head of the propaganda department of the county committee. In the first grade of senior high school the boy was doing very well and the local league branch wanted to encourage him to join but they came up against surreptitious opposition from the boy's father. This unfortunately affected the boy's academic work and thus he failed to pass the examinations to get into the university. This student's refusal to join the league had a very negative effect on his school class. Some people said that the sons of propaganda chiefs never entered the league and that there must be some "secret" connected with it, thus a lot of ideological confusion was caused. Just before graduation, this propaganda chief visited the school on the pretext of making an inspection but in actual fact hinted to the school that it should encourage his son to join the league, his aim being to try to get the advantages of high examination marks. This affair made me realize with pain that the problems young people have with their ideologies are in fact a reflection of unhealthy social attitudes mirrored in them in particular. Of course life is not made up of only one color. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee there have been gradual changes taking place throughout society and there has been a general improvement in the social atmosphere. The rainbow hues which had been covered up by the dust of history are now gradually reemerging and nowadays I come into contact with so many moving people and moving affairs. In a situation where truth and beauty exist in confusion with evil, falseness, and ugliness, it is natural that the question should arise as to how we should correctly and truthfully reflect social life. Over the last 2 years I have given some considerable thought to this question and have drawn on the guidance of philosophical thinking in order to attempt a solution to the question. The Marxist philosophy that I studied at the central authorities party school was of great benefit to me in assessing my creative thinking.

Beauty and ugliness, advancement and backwardness, accuracy and error, and illumination and shadow are mutually dependent on each other under specific

conditions, and the struggle of contradictions on both sides is constantly changing and evolving. If one side or the other gives up and the eulogization of illumination and the exposure of darkness are set up in direct opposition then we will sink into a metaphysical mire, with unadulterated praise on the one hand and blind condemnation on the other. In "Anti-Duhring," Engels criticized metaphysicists when he wrote: "They think in absolute terms of opposition; their way of talking is to say 'if it is, it is, if it is not, it is not, and what is more, everything is false and lies.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 61) Metaphysicists believe that if you want to have something one way or the other way, you cannot have things both ways at the same time. This is a very isolationist, static, and biased point of view.

However, the two contradictory sides are not without their own weights, and each one has a dominant aspect and a subsidiary aspect, a mainstream and a subsidiary stream. The mainstream is a reflection of the essential nature of things and developmental trends and it possesses a powerful life force, but the mainstream is not by any means the overwhelming aspect. Such advanced persons as Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, and Zhang Haidi do not represent the majority of people in real life but, rather, ideological pioneers of their times. Similarly, the new kinds of interhuman relationships which I developed in "Spring Sunlight"--a chain of interlinked altruism--is not witnessed very much in real life. However, it is the element of communism which has already burst through the ground in China like a new seedling and it represents a new event which corresponds with the developmental trends of history and which will inevitably grow from its embryonic stage to maturity during the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization focused on communist ideology, so that eventually it will become an irresistible torrent. This is a trend of social development which cannot be moved by human will. The primary task of artistic and literary creativity is to search out and nurture the seedlings representative of that communist element within everyday life and to encourage them to grow, thus promoting the advancement of history. In concrete terms this involves singing the praises of truly socialist persons with enthusiasm and fervor and brushing off the dust which has settled on the people's hearts and spirits, carrying out a kind of purification and calling for spiritual beauty through beauty of the spirit. Thus we should use moral strength and the striving for certain targets as a means of getting the people to develop their lofty beliefs and firm dedication. Lenin once said that beauty should be the foundation, and that beauty should be the artistic and literary standard for the structure of the socialist society. This should be our motto in artistic and literary creativity. However, this is only one side of the problem, the mainstream. On the basis of dialectical thinking, not only can we not ignore the subsidiary stream but, in addition, it is an inseparable part of the unified and opposing whole. Without the subsidiary stream there would be no mainstream and, thus, without ugliness there would be no beauty and without tardiness there would be no speed. Hence we must integrate the construction of a new image of the socialist person with the brave exposure of social contradictions. They are mutually dependent and mutually balancing. If any cosmetic changes are made to reality, and heroic behavior is described in fancy phrases and various figures are

elevated to extreme heights, the result will only serve the opposite purpose, since it will mean that truth is being forgotten and the principles of materialism are being left behind. Thus in my work "Spring Sunlight," at the same time as praising altruism, I also wrote about Chen Shuzhen's egoism, Zhong Xiaoxing's jealousy, Lu Xia's embarkation on the wrong road in life, Ling Yan's crisis of confidence, and so on. This follows strictly the theoretical guidelines of dialectics.

The chief measure of the success or failure of a piece of artistic or literary work lies in its ability to create various kinds of true and credible images of people and in whether or not it is able to add some more models to the gallery of art and literature, thereby conveying the theme of the piece of work in a deep and meaningful way. The creation of images of human characters and the laws and sphere of dialectics are finely interwoven and almost impossible to separate. Below I have tentatively outlined the relations between several important aspects as a means of illustrating my point and these may turn out to be fairly comprehensive or they may lead to various other possibilities not mentioned by me.

First, life is the mother of all art and literature and if one wants to create true and credible characters then one must of course base one's work on a solid foundation of objective and real life. However, the many types of people to be found within the complexities of social life are by no means "glass characters," through which one sees immediately. Thus the writer or artist is required to be able to distinguish between true and false images and internal and external manifestations. The author of "On Reaching Middle Age" created a very successful model--"Old Mrs Marxism-Leninism"--who was just such a character, drawn as she was from those completely selfish and hypocritical people in society who appear to be correct and rational in their words and deeds. This opposition and differentiation between the image and the true nature of the thing demands great insight on the part of the writer and it is philosophy which can help us to improve our ability to see through the immediate to the essence of things.

Second, the true image of a person requires that person's individuality, or rather unified integration of the individual and the general character. Nevertheless, in the final analysis it should be the representation of the individual character. Marxist philosophers believe that without individuality there can be no general character and that without individual idiosyncrasies there can be no universality. Generalities and universalities exist within individuality and idiosyncrasy. Individuality in art and literature is expressed through words concerning "this person" and "this person" develops as a result of the reflection of the general through the individual, the reflection of generalities through individuality, and the reflection of universals through idiosyncrasies, as well as the reflection of the essential nature of society through social models. We all know that works of art and literature have a very special function, namely to see the greater through the small, to see 10 things through 1. As the analogy goes--a drop of water can reflect the sun. It all depends on the strength of the model. Those kinds of faceless pieces of work which contain only generalities and no individuality are simply due to a lack of understanding

of the quintessence of dialectics--the relations between the universality and idiosyncrasies of contradictions. The character in "The White-Haired Girl" represented one of the many women who, in the old society, suffered the bullying and oppression of the rich landlords and yet the imagery resulted in a soul-stirring artistic force, for the very reason that the girl had a fresh, individual, and colorful character. She shared the common feature of being a girl from an ordinary and poor peasant family who suffered hardship and yet at the same time she became "The White-Haired Girl" with individual suffering and an individual fate and thus she became a model of art and literature. Why, for example, is anyone who sees the film "Rickshaw Boy" left with a deep impression of the image of Huniu, whereas the rickshaw boy Xiangzi, the leading character in the film is easily forgotten? I am sure it is not merely the performances of the actors and actresses but also because Huniu's personality is both fresh and bedazzling whereas the landlord merely represents universal traits. The director simplified his personal fate and from this we can see that there are very direct relations between studying the essence of dialectics and creating models.

Third, the images of real people are not static and absolute but rather they are developmental and relative. We know that all things are of a dual nature and thus how can people, even heroic figures, not possess this dual nature too? This is the application of the Marxist laws that "one divides into two" and "everything has two aspects" with which dialectical materialism handles all things. In creativity we often tend to ignore or forget this. When good people are good through and through, how one wishes one could place every laurel wreath upon their heads and when bad people are thoroughly bad all crimes are lumped onto their backs. There is never any change or development between good and bad, beautiful and ugly, right and wrong. This then is the general failing of the conceptualization and simplification of the creation of characters in art and literature. Why did the film "Dong Cunrui" touch so many people so deeply? Because the author created the heroic character of Dong Cunrui as someone completely credible and thus someone who could be identified with. He is primarily "anyone" and not a "complete person." In him people saw on the one hand a very advanced person and yet on the other hand they also sensed the immature side of his character. He is a person under development. He is stubborn of character and strong-willed. In order to join the army he lies about his age and thus "dupes" the system. He contradicts the leaders and feels that the criticism he receives is unjustified and is thus reduced to sniveling. The secondary school student Tan Jian, in my novel "Spring Sunlight," is not described as a lofty and complete person. He is unable to bear a fellow student's insults when he is called a "country bumpkin" and thus he is drawn into a fistfight. When Lu Xia starts to tell tales he immediately gets very angry and is unable to control himself and runs off, determined to scold Zhong Xiaoxing, thus causing a fellow student, who had secretly helped him improve his grades in English, to weep bitterly. Just imagine if Tan Jian had calmly analyzed his thoughts after being incited to fight and had made meticulous investigations and then correctly handled the affair. It would not have been in the true character of the stubborn, honest, and not totally mature Tan Jian.

Fourth, images of real people must be guided by the logic of real life. Movements and changes in anything are the result of the opposing unity in its internal contradictions and not the result of any arbitrary external influence. Tolstoy once said: "The main characters in my novels sometimes do things that I don't want them to do; what they do are things that in real life must be done, they are things that happen in the real world but not necessarily the things that I would like." When Flaubert was writing "Madame Bovary" he suddenly burst out crying. When his friend saw him he was startled and asked why he was crying. Choking with tears he said: "Madame Bovary has died." Trying to offer advice the friend said: "If it hurts so much, don't let her die!" Shaking his head, Flaubert replied: "That's not possible. She has to die, I cannot save her." When great artists and writers have created their characters they have always been guided by the logic of the development of the internal contradictions in their characters' personalities.

Adherence to the logic of life in actual fact means adherence to the cause and effect relationship within dialectics. No single phenomenon exists in the world for which there is no reason and which cannot be explained. All things are ruled by the law of cause and effect. In my book "Spring Sunlight" this point is confirmed in a negative way through a lesson of failure on my part. Lu Xia is a character with effect and yet without cause and when the author finally makes her take the wrong road in life, dressed up in her jewels, the inevitability of her degeneration is not reflected through the relationship of opposing unity of cause and reason, although it is very clear that this was the author's intention--like a label attached to her. In addition, the teacher Ling, who cares for his students more than for his own children, did not have his concern, help, and succor for Lu Xia clearly defined by the author and this does not correspond with the logic of this character's personality. If I were to write "Spring Sunlight" today perhaps mistakes such as these would not appear. Engels said: "To show scorn for dialectics will inevitably lead to punishment." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 482) These are true words indeed.

In the above I have merely written a very brief discussion of some of the problems relating to artistic and literary creativity. As far as any individual writer is concerned, being guided by Marxist-Leninist philosophy and studiously examining and investigating social life is undoubtedly much more important. Marxist philosophy represents a great sea of knowledge and is the crystallization of the development of advanced human thought. Mengzi said: "Shandong Province looks small to those who have climbed the Eastern Mountain and the world seems smaller to those who have scaled the Taishan Mountain." I would like to say that by climbing the lofty peak of Marxist-Leninist theory one can see great distances. Only by scaling the peaks of contemporary thought may artists and writers master the phenomena of life which surge forward with such a great momentum and thus express the rich and historic tapestry of our magnificent era.

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EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by the RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] VI. On Science, Education, and Intellectuals

24. /"The key to the four modernizations lies in the modernization of science and technology."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 83)

(By Li Huiguo [2621 1920 0946])

This means that in order to build a modern and powerful country, it is necessary to rely on science and technology.

The historical experience of the development of science and technology and of the social and economic development of mankind over the last 100 years shows that science and technology play a decisive role in promoting economic and social development. Modern science and technology have been combined into a unified scientific and technological system. This is a unified process that encompasses man's knowledge and utilization of natural matter and natural forces. It includes basic science, technical science, and applied science. Basic science, which probes into the mysteries of nature, constitutes the basis for the development of technical science. It continuously opens up new directions for technological progress and exerts a revolutionary influence on the development of production. Technical science, which studies the application of the laws of discovered natural matter and natural forces in technological establishments, has become a direct motive force for technological progress and the development of production. The development of basic and technical sciences has surpassed the technological progress of the present age and become a steady source of new technologies. The welding of modern science with technology has greatly accelerated the actual application of scientific discoveries and gradually turned science into a direct productive force. For this reason, science now occupies a more and more important position and plays a more and more important role in society, so much so, that modern science and technology have now become the key to the realization of modernized industry, agriculture, and national defense in a country.

The development of modern science has invoked stupendous technological reforms and brought about revolutionary changes in the general material conditions of the means of labor, varieties of energy, technology of production, subject of labor and process of manufacturing in modernized industrial production. New techniques, new equipment, new technologies, new raw and processed materials, new energy and new products are emerging in an endless stream. Moreover, a line of new and rising industrial departments which owe their existence to the scientific and technological achievements of our times, have sprung up. These are what we call "scientific industries." Meanwhile, the achievements of modern science and technology have transformed traditional industrial departments at the roots. The revolution in science and technology has set off revolutions in the structure of the productive forces (including the industrial structure) and in the content and nature of man's labor. The achievements of modern science and technology have also set new demands on enterprise management, and successes scored in systems science and in electronic computer technology have provided the theoretical basis and technical means for making management decisions and carrying out scientific management. Historical experience shows that economically developed countries the world over are able to raise labor productivity, restructure their industries, update the equipment and products of their enterprises and industries, continuously lower the cost of production, reduce the consumption of raw and processed materials, and make economic use of capital invested in expanded reproduction because they have attached importance to developing scientific and technological research and are quick in adopting the latest scientific and technological achievements. West Germany was able to attain a 60 percent economic growth rate after World War II because it relied on new scientific and technological achievements. East Germany saved more than 300 million working hours by adopting scientific and technological measures. In our country, units and localities which did well in popularizing and utilizing scientific and technological achievements were able to develop industry rapidly and achieve notable economic results. For example, in 1980, Shanghai applied 76 scientific research achievements in production. They involved an investment of approximately 10 million yuan and can yield 30 million yuan in profits when they all go into operation. The ratio of investment to profits is 1 to 3. Xiangfan city in Hubei popularized a number of new technologies in 1979 and reaped profits ranging from 30 to 90 yuan for every yuan invested. In 1980, profits reaped by the city's light industrial system as a result of technological advancement accounted for about 23 percent of its total annual profits, or over 50 percent of the net increase in profits. The Baotou Iron and Steel Company sustained losses long after it was established due to its failure to solve technical problems in production. Now, having mastered the technique of separating and extracting rare earths with the help of scientists and technicians from all parts of the country, it is able to make up deficits and increase surpluses. Practice at home and abroad shows that investments made in scientific and technological projects can yield the greatest economic results. Thus, in our future efforts to develop industry, we should try not to expand production by extension, which chiefly means getting additional equipment and staff. Instead, we should mainly concern ourselves with expanding production by intension, which means relying on science and

technology to change the unreasonable economic structure and product mix, carry out technical transformation in the old enterprises, make qualitative improvement and achieve good economic results. This is how we can achieve better economic results with a relatively small investment.

Modern science and technology have played an enormous role in raising the level and in effecting a fundamental change in the outlook of agricultural production, besides opening up broad prospects for it. Modern science and technology have armed agriculture with the most advanced techniques and equipment and with an enormous capacity, and have paved the way for realizing the factory system, electrification, and automation in the process of agricultural production, thus transforming traditional agriculture into modern agriculture. In consequence of scientific and technological progress, a profound revolution is now taking place in agricultural production in such areas as soil improvement, artificial climate, agronomy, management, seed breeding techniques and cultivation systems. Sophisticated science and technology are also demonstrating their might in agricultural production. For example, telemetry and remote sensing techniques involving the use of man-made satellites are employed to study land utilization, monitor plant growth and the extent of plant diseases and pest damages, promptly survey and report on the conditions of crop sowing, soil erosion, irrigation and drainage, study agrometeorology, and so on. Electronic computers are made use of to formulate speedily rational plans for manure application, cross-breeding, and regionalization of species. Historical experience also shows that other nations have been able to develop agricultural production and raise labor productivity mainly because they have achieved agricultural mechanization, and the key to the latter lies in stepping up research in science and technology. The United States increased agricultural output by 81 percent and raised productivity by 71 percent between 1929 and 1972. For this, the credit goes to scientific research and the popularization of new techniques. Rape output used to be quite negligible in Canada. As a result of intensified scientific research efforts, an early-maturing variety with an 88-day growth period was successfully bred and the acreage under rape was rapidly enlarged. In 1975, total output of rape was more than 200 times that in 1949. Thus, Canada leaped to second place in the world in rape production. In our country, the new variety of cotton--Shandong No 1--was popularized and sown on 8.5 million mu of land in Shandong Province. With the help of appropriate cultivation techniques, we were able to raise average per-mu yield by more than 25 percent. China is the first country to have bred highly superior hybrid rice. Between 1976 and 1980, this variety was popularized and sown on a total of 250 mu of land and increased grain production by a total of 26 to 27 million jin.

Macroscopically speaking, modern science and technology also have a decisive impact on a country's economic policies and development strategies. For example, in setting goals for economic construction, reforming the economic structure, making rational deployment of the productive forces, making comprehensive use of resources, selecting technical and economic policies, and so on, it is necessary to take full account of scientific and technological factors.

Modern science and technology have an exceedingly important impact on modern military techniques and on a country's military activities and defense strength. Modern science and technology have now become the most important force in determining military techniques and the development of military activities as a whole, in addition to being one of the decisive factors in winning a modern war. The level of science and technology not only determines the level of military techniques and equipment, but also affects changes in strategies and tactics. At present, 70 to 75 percent of military spending goes to scientific research and designing. As a result of scientific and technological development, the renewal of military equipment is greatly accelerated. In the early 20th century, it took 30 to 40 years to completely replace a generation of military equipment. Within the last 10 to 15 years, 2 or even 3 generations (of rockets and much other military equipment) have been replaced. Like economy and politics, science has become a crucial factor in determining a country's military strength. A country needs to rely on the efforts of the scientific circles to build up its defense capability. At present, every scientific and technological achievement is positively or subtly playing a part in the strengthening of defense capability.

Since modern science and technology occupy such an important position and play such an important role in economic construction and the building up of national defense, developing science and technology has now become one of the most vital policy decisions of the governments of all countries. In formulating economic and social development programs, all governments accord top priority to the development of science and technology. They also go out of their way to extensively invite scientific and technological experts to take part in formulating state policies and running state affairs. In the present era of scientific and technological revolution, science and technology have become the foundation of a rich and powerful country. No nation can stand on its own feet among the nations of the world if it does not sufficiently recognize the importance of science and technology and does not pay attention to developing science and technology in its efforts to push the economy forward, bring about social progress, and build up defense capability. It was after summing up historical experience at home and abroad, and taking China's actual conditions into consideration, that Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the notion that science and technology are the key to the four modernizations. He pointed out: "Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to modernize agriculture, industry, and national defense. Without the rapid development of science and technology, it is impossible to achieve rapid development of the national economy."

25. /"Science and technology are productive forces--this has always been a Marxist point of view."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 84)

(By Ji Si [7162 1835])

That science and technology are productive forces is an objective truth which was expounded by Marx long ago and has been borne out more and more by practice. In our country, this was denied universal recognition and

attention for years owing to "left" mistakes in our guiding ideology and the disruption of the "Cultural Revolution." In view of this situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized back in 1975 the need to attach importance to this Marxist viewpoint. However, the "gang of four" stood truth on its head, asserting that this was "a fabrication" and "a mistake in interpretation," and did their best to deny science and technology as productive forces. Later, in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reasserted and discussed this viewpoint at the National Science Conference. This was an important move in setting things right theoretically. It was aimed at arousing the whole party and the whole nation to pay attention to science and technology, rectifying "left" mistakes on questions concerning knowledge and the intellectuals, and laying the ideological foundation for confirming the strategic position of science and technology.

More than 100 years ago, Marx had discussed from different angles this question of science and technology being productive forces in "Das Kapital," and in his economic manuscripts written during the years 1857-58 and 1861-63. Marx said: "Labor productivity is determined by a number of conditions, including the average skill of the workers, the level of the development of science and the degree of its application in technology, social coordination in the process of production, the scale and effectiveness of the means of production, as well as natural conditions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 53) He also said: "Capital is pre-conditioned by a given, existing historical development of the productive forces--and these productive forces also include science." (Ibid., Vol 46, Part 2, p 211)

From what Marx said, we can see that science and technology became an important factor in the productive forces following the rise of capitalist big industries. Capitalist production created the material means for carrying out research, observation, and experimentation in natural science on a fairly large scale for the first time, and made it possible for natural science to directly serve the process of production. The process of production became the process of the application of science, and science in turn became a factor in the process of production. Every discovery became the basis for making new inventions or new improvements in the methods of production. Capital cannot create science, but in order to seek profits, it must make use of, and possess science. Because natural science was utilized by capital as a means for acquiring wealth, science itself also became a means for those engaged in developing science to acquire wealth. For this reason, people in this profession often competed with each other in their quest to explore ways of putting science into actual application. On the other hand, invention became a special occupation. With the expansion of capitalist production, the factor of science was consciously and extensively developed, applied, and embodied in daily life for the first time on a scale unimaginable in old times. (Ibid., Vol 47, pp 570, 572)

From what Marx said, we can also see that science itself is a child of the realm of spiritual production, whereas the productive forces are material, so science must go through a "materializing" process before it can become a direct productive force. Marx said that in a sense, "the force of science

is another kind of productive force that does not require any capital," like making use of the natural forces. "However, it is through the use of machines (and partially through the chemical process) that capital can turn this force of science to its account." (Ibid., Vol 46, Part 2, p 287) In other words, science must be materialized into instruments of labor like machinery before it can become a productive force. This means that science must be put into application in the invention, creation, and improvement of machinery, in the methods of production and in the chemical process. All machines are products of man's labor and are created by man on the strength of scientific knowledge. It is as a result of the accumulation of knowledge and skill, and the development of science and technology, that the instruments of labor developed from manual tools into machine systems. Therefore, they are the "materialized force of knowledge." Under the capitalist system, instruments of labor such as machines take the form of fixed capital. Marx pointed out on more than one occasion that in fixed capital, the socially productive forces of labor include the force of science. This means not only the force of science itself, but also that which is possessed by production and realized in production. (Ibid., Vol 46, Part 2, pp 229, 285) This clearly shows that the force of science assumes two forms: knowledge and materialized wisdom. The history of the development of fixed capital is a continuous process of the transformation of the knowledge form of the force of science into materialized wisdom. In this process, outmoded machinery and outmoded methods of production and chemical processes are continuously being replaced by new and more efficient machinery and by more advanced methods of production and chemical processes. With the continuous discovery of new usable substances and new usable properties of existing substances, new products and new departments of production emerge in an endless stream. In this way, labor productivity steadily develops along with the steady advancement of science and technology. That is why Marx said that the history of the development of fixed capital such as machinery shows to what extent scientific knowledge is transformed into a direct productive force. It also shows that science and technology have, to an increasingly large extent, been turned into material productive forces through the invention, creation, and production of instruments of labor such as machinery. (Ibid., Vol 46, Part 2, pp 219-220) Relatively speaking, with the steady development of the big industries, the creation of actual wealth will depend less and less on work time and the amount of labor consumed. Rather, it will depend more heavily on the general level of science and on technological progress, that is, on the application of science in production. (Ibid., Vol 46, Part 2, pp 217, 219)

In the past 100 years and more, the development of science and technology in the world, and their application in production, by far outstripped the industrial revolution of the past in scale, effect, and speed. In particular, modern science and technology have been developing by leaps and bounds in the past three decades. The relationship between science and production has grown closer with each passing day, and science and technology have demonstrated greater and greater might as productive forces. According to rough estimates, in the decade before 1978, the number of scientific and technological discoveries and inventions exceeded the added total of the past 2,000 years. At the turn of this century, between

5 and 20 percent of the increase in industrial productivity was attained with the help of new science and technology (the remainder was attained by increasing the number of workers, amount of investment and degree of labor intensity). In the last decade, new science and technology accounted for between 60 and 80 percent of this increase. The time needed for a scientific theory to be turned into a production technique and applied in production has gradually shortened. Statistics of 39 major technological inventions, including steam engines, trains, internal combustion engines, power generators, radios, diesel engines, airplanes, radar and laser devices, shows that except in a few isolated cases the process from research to manufacture lasted more than 70 years before the end of the 18th century, between 14 and 70 years during the 19th century, and less than 20, even as short as 1 year, since the beginning of this century. Modern science and technology continuously pave the way for advancement in production techniques and determine in which direction they should develop. Burgeoning industries such as the high polymer synthesis industry, atomic energy industry, electronic computer industry, semiconductor industry, aerospace industry and laser industry are all established on the basis of new and developing sciences. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Today, natural science is applied in production on an unprecedented scale and at an unprecedented speed. As a result, all spheres of material production in society have taken on a new look." "What is responsible for such a tremendous growth of the social productive forces and such a big increase in labor productivity? The main thing is reliance on the forces of science and technology." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 84)

26. /"The key to whether or not China can raise its scientific and technological level as quickly as possible lies in whether or not our party is good at leading work in this field."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 94)

(By Jia Bao Lian [6328 1405 1670])

This conclusion is reached after summing up our party's experience, both positive and negative, in leading work in the scientific and technological field since the founding of the PRC. The crux of the question is being "good at exercising leadership."

Practice shows that in order to develop science and technology as quickly as possible, it is necessary to have correct party leadership.

Only when we have correct party leadership can we grasp the direction of the development of science and technology. The foundation of our natural science was very weak just after the founding of the PRC. There were many parts missing in the departments of science. We had very few scientific research personnel. Newly developed science and technology were almost nonexistent. Where should we start in our endeavor to develop science and technology? What should we strive for? These were questions that had to be solved first. In the mid-1950's, our party on the one hand, called upon the whole nation to march toward science and on the other, summoned several hundred scientists and technical experts together to spend 10 months in

formulating a 12-year program for the development of science and technology. They also decided on the direction and goal of development and organized measures for implementation. As a result, almost all projects were fulfilled ahead of schedule. Many new disciplines (such as atomic energy, semiconductors and computer technology) and many branches of applied science (such as computational mathematics and seismology) and basic science have developed out of nothing and expanded from a small to a large force.

Only when we have correct party leadership can we organize the forces of all quarters to tackle problems and fulfill complicated, comprehensive, and important scientific and technical tasks. For example, when temporary difficulties cropped up in our economic construction and the Soviet Union recalled its experts in the late 1950's, our country found itself in a bad plight because it was in the middle of developing some highly sophisticated technical projects. Under such circumstances, the party Central Committee set up a "Special Committee for the National Defense Industry" and, with Premier Zhou Enlai at its helm, devised strategic plans to tackle major issues concerning science and technology. As a result, China successfully tested its first atomic bomb in 1964 and exploded a hydrogen bomb 2 years and 8 months later. This was followed by the setting up of many new industrial departments.

Only when we have correct party leadership can we ensure the rapid and healthy growth of our contingent of scientific and technological personnel. In 1962, in order to overcome "left" tendencies on the question of intellectuals, Premier Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, Nie Rongzhen and other comrades of the Central Committee proposed removing the labels on the intellectuals and providing them with halos. This meant removing the bourgeois label on the intellectuals and declaring them to be intellectuals of the working people. The masses of scientific and technological personnel were inspired by this warm gesture. It is to be regretted that with the advent of the "Great Cultural Revolution," all this was overturned and the masses of scientific and technological personnel were subjected to serious blows and persecution. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the leadership of our party has been strengthened and its policy toward the intellectuals has been implemented. Only then did the contingent of scientific and technological personnel, which is a part of the working class, regain its vitality and become able to develop rapidly. After going through 10 years of turmoil, the masses of scientific and technological personnel have become more keenly aware of the importance of correct party leadership.

Only when we have correct party leadership can we unify and coordinate our efforts and bring scientific and technological development into the orbit of serving the development of the national economy. From the 1950's to the mid-1960's, our party achieved great successes in coordinating scientific and technological forces to serve national defense construction. This period was commonly referred to as the "golden age" of China's scientific and technological undertakings. At present, a party-led drive to rely on science and technology in economic construction and to gear scientific and

technical work to the needs of economic construction is gaining momentum. We infer from this that a new "golden age" in which science and technology are closely integrated with economic construction and promote each other is bound to appear.

China has entered a new period of development which centers on economic construction. However, our party is still facing many new conditions and new problems, which it is unfamiliar or not too familiar with, on the question of how to make science and technology serve economic construction more effectively. Historical experience and the new situation have both made it imperative for our party to do a better job in leading our scientific and technological undertakings. It was precisely under such circumstances that Comrade Deng Xiaoping duly called attention to the need for the party to be good at leading science and technology. What should we do to qualify as being "good at exercising leadership"?

First, we must adhere to the policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." In other words, in order to raise the level of science and technology in our country, we must rely on our own efforts and give encouragement to our own creations. The present policies of opening to the outside and importing technology and equipment are completely necessary. Maintaining independence does not mean closing our doors, and relying on our own efforts does not mean blind opposition to everything foreign. Whether in the past, at present, or in the future, we must learn from the strong points of other countries, actively import new technology and equipment and purchase patented rights from them, and import persons of ability. However, if we erroneously take this as our starting point, we are bound to suffer. Capitalists of the West make no secret of the fact that the highly sophisticated categories are not for sale. Thus, we must be sober-minded about importing technology. We must persist in self-reliance and strive to increase production and achieve scientific progress by relying on technical transformation, energy conservation, and the study, application, and development of new technologies.

Second, we must grasp a plan which has strategic objectives and is suited to China's national conditions for the development of science and technology. If we have a plan, we will know where to go and what to tackle and will be clear about our measures and steps. We have formulated several plans for the development of science and technology on a national scale since the founding of our People's Republic. The 1956 plan had clear-cut strategic objectives. It organized all trades and professions to tackle such major fields as jet technology, atomic energy, and electronics, thus pushing forward the development of science and technology in our country. The 1978 plan also played its part well in stimulating scientific and technological development; but as we see it now, this plan was not without drawbacks. Its unduly high targets and pressing nature were beyond what was objectively possible. We must plan our scientific and technological development in the light of economic and social development programs. Our plan must not only suit the needs of the national economy at the present stage but must anticipate the needs of long-term economic development in

order to keep to the trend of scientific and technological development. Only in this way can we have clear-cut strategic objectives and correctly formulate strategic plans.

Third, we must properly organize our scientific and technological contingents. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: On the scientific and technological front we must build up two contingents--a mass contingent trained by extensively unfolding mass scientific experimentation, and a professional contingent of highly qualified men. The two should complement each other, with the former serving as the basis for the latter and the latter serving as the pacesetter for the former. We must have a mighty army of working class scientists and technicians who are both Red and expert, as well as a batch of first-rate scientists and engineering and technical experts of the world. The foundation for training these qualified personnel lies in education. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has specifically discussed the questions of shattering all normal standards in finding, selecting, training, and using qualified scientists and technicians, sending people to study overseas, improving the working conditions and material benefits for scientists and technicians, and so on, and pointed out for us the direction in which we should exert ourselves. Implementing the party's policy toward the intellectuals is an important link in building up the contingents of scientists and technicians and arousing their enthusiasm. After years of efforts, we have achieved initial results in this connection. However, a lot remains to be done. At present, our scientists and technicians, particularly the middle-aged ones, are shouldering a hard task. They have made great contributions. However, their wages are low and they often run into difficulties. We must actively create the necessary conditions for giving them preferential treatment as far as possible in order to free their minds of apprehensions.

Fourth, we must improve the ways and methods of work of the party committees of professional scientific research institutions. Party committees must not take everything into their own hands. They must respect and support the professional leading cadres in discharging their functions and power. What should the party committees mainly concern themselves with? They should mainly see to the implementation of the party's line, principle, and policies and the fulfillment of the central task of cultivating qualified persons and achieving results by way of conducting ideological and political work, bringing into play the exemplary vanguard role of the party members, and arousing the initiative and creativeness of all concerned. At the same time, they must attach importance to planning in exercising leadership, grasp the plan for scientific research, judge and use the right people for the right job, and get all forces organized. In addition, they must also do a good job of logistic support. In order to strengthen leadership over scientific and technological work, members of the party committees must try hard to acquire the knowledge of science, study and master the objective law of scientific and technological work, and do the best they can to make themselves experts.

In past years, our party has accumulated some experience in leading scientific and technological work. However, as far as how to scientifically

organize management and lead socialist scientific and technological undertakings well are concerned, there is still a big realm of necessity yet to be understood. We must learn humbly, study diligently, master the objective law of scientific and technological work as quickly as possible, and take further steps to gain the initiative in scientific and technological work. As long as our party's leading cadres at all levels are good at leading scientific and technological work, the process of socialist modernization is bound to pick up speed.

27. /"The foundation for cultivating qualified scientists and technicians lies in education."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 92)

(By Huang Zhan Peng [7806 1455 7720])

The realization of the four modernizations calls for a large number of qualified scientists and technicians. Education, particularly higher education, is the most important means for bringing up these men of ability.

Practice in our country in the past 30 years and more shows that colleges and universities are important bases for bringing up specialized personnel. In the 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution," our colleges and universities had cultivated a large number of specialized personnel for the state. The specialized personnel became the backbone force on various fronts and played an increasingly more important role in modernization. As a result of the 10-year turmoil, education as the foundation for cultivating men of ability was knocked to pieces. This further widened the gap between China and the industrially well-developed countries where qualified scientists and technicians were concerned. In August 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We must admit that with our scarce number and small contingent of scientific research personnel, we cannot compare with the developed countries. The United States has a contingent of 1.2 million scientific research personnel. Data from the year before last showed that the Soviet Union had 900,000. They must have more by now. We have 200,000." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 49) In order to narrow this gap and strengthen our scientific and technological contingents, we must take education as our starting point.

Colleges and universities are our foundation for cultivating specialized personnel because they enjoy many favorable conditions. For example:

1. They have a complete range of courses. With the swift development of modern science and technology, courses are more and more finely divided. On the other hand, courses tend to interpermeate and become synthesized, with the result that many frontier disciplines and new disciplines have emerged. This requires that specialized personnel cultivated by colleges and universities must have a solid foundation and a wide range of knowledge so as to meet the needs of economic construction and scientific and technological development. The fact that colleges and universities offer a complete range of courses is advantageous to the growth of men of ability. Many colleges and universities have already observed the need to fully

bring into play their advantage of having a complete range of courses in cultivating men of ability. For example, science students can take social science courses as electives and arts students can take natural science and technical science courses as electives. Arts, science, and engineering courses interpermeate and dovetail one into another. People brought up under such conditions can better meet the needs of our times.

2. They are the meeting place of men of ability. Colleges and universities, particularly the famous ones, are mostly education centers and scientific research centers all in one. Some of the well-known scientific research bases abroad are to be found in colleges and universities. For example, the Cavendish Laboratory of Cambridge University in Britain has produced many qualified persons and scientific research results, and has played an important role in laying the foundation for British experimental physics and in developing the country's industries. In our country, a fair proportion of our scientific research personnel are working in colleges and universities. In fact, colleges and universities have become an important front army for scientific research and have produced many scientific research results. Of the 122 natural science invention awards given by the State Science Commission, 53 were research results achieved principally or partly by colleges and universities. In order to cultivate qualified persons, we must first of all give them a 'chance to receive training in scientific research in colleges and universities and cultivate their ability to conduct scientific research. This is very important. With the guidance of highly qualified instructors in colleges and universities, men of ability can mature better and more quickly.

3. They are better equipped. The qualified scientists and technicians we train today have to take part in the four modernizations in the 1980's and 1990's. Before they take up their posts, they must understand, acquaint themselves with, and master the use of advanced scientific and technological equipment. They must be trained in the ability to take a hand in the work. Let us take a look at how Qinghua University trained qualified persons in computer technology. Thanks to the attention given by the university, computer equipment has been much improved in the past few years. In addition, computer technology was introduced into the curriculum. As a result, many students have acquired a much higher skill in working the computers. Many of them can make use of computers to conduct scientific research before they graduate. The fact that colleges and universities possess advanced equipment is an indispensable material condition for cultivating qualified persons and achieving results.

The above are the favorable conditions enjoyed by colleges and universities. It is on this basis that qualified persons in all fields are trained. In March 1983, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again emphasized the need to develop colleges and universities. Consequently, the State Council approved the report submitted by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education on speeding up the development of higher education. All this shows that our party and state are both resolved to vigorously grasp education, particularly higher education, and that the policies and measures concerned are being implemented.

Although colleges and universities can directly train qualified persons of all fields, they have their feet firmly planted in the primary and secondary schools. That is why we say that primary and secondary schools form the foundation for cultivating qualified scientists and technicians. This can be seen quite clearly from the two tasks shouldered by the primary and secondary schools. One of their tasks is to provide schools at the higher level with qualified new students. Only by training large numbers of middle school students who are roundly developed morally, intellectually, and physically can colleges and universities select and enroll freshmen who excel in both moral and academic performances and bring up these promising youngsters to be useful persons. As far as elementary knowledge goes, only when we have laid a fairly solid foundation in the stages of primary and secondary schools can we develop this knowledge in breadth and depth in the university stage. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly emphasized the need to run primary and secondary schools well. He pointed out: "If we want to catch up with, and surpass the advanced world levels in science and technology, we must not only raise the quality of our higher education. More importantly, we must first of all raise the quality of primary and secondary education and enrich the content of primary and secondary education with advanced scientific knowledge to an extent acceptable to the primary and middle school students." (Ibid., p 101) Their second task is to provide different trades and professions with a better labor reserve. After taking up their work posts, many middle school students who were not admitted to colleges and universities can become specialized personnel by taking part in study in different kinds of spare-time schools. The foundation laid in primary and middle schools is still vital to their becoming self-made men in later days. It is an important condition enabling them to scale the pinnacles of science.

Besides, various kinds of education, particularly school education, in a person's childhood and youth play quite an important part in the shaping of his world outlook and philosophy of life and in the cultivation of his mind and moral qualities. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Revolutionary ideals and communist morality must be cultivated from childhood." (Ibid., p 102) In this sense, it is also necessary to attach importance to primary and secondary education.

Colleges and universities, primary and middle schools, full-time schools and spare-time schools, whichever the case may be, all function as the foundation for cultivating specialized personnel in all fields. Therefore, they all deserve the attention of party committees at all levels and the support of all trades and professions. We must, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "run education well" so that we can train group after group of specialized personnel in different types of schools and send them to various work posts on the fronts of the four modernizations.

28. /"The people's teachers are gardeners who cultivate our revolutionary younger generations. Their creative labor should be held in esteem by the party and the people."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 92)

(By Huang Zhan Peng [7806 1455 7720])

"Hold your teachers in esteem" is a request made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping of the party committees at all levels, of the vast number of students, and of society as a whole. Why must we create an atmosphere of "holding your teachers in esteem" in the whole country? How can we do this well in all fields? These questions were all profoundly expounded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

Teachers are gardeners who cultivate our revolutionary younger generations and train personnel for construction. China has more than 10 million teachers and over 200 million university and primary and middle school students, in addition to numerous pre-school-age children in nurseries. One in every four persons is receiving education in schools. The burdens on the shoulders of teachers are very heavy. They undertake the heavy task of training personnel for construction and cultivating laborers who are roundly developed morally, intellectually, and physically. They are people who train qualified personnel. Most of the senior, middle-ranking, and junior scientists and technicians who played an active part on various fronts in the 30 years or more since the founding of our People's Republic were personally trained by teachers. In the future, we will rely more heavily on teachers to train all types of specialized personnel. The key to whether or not a school can train personnel for socialist construction, and cultivate workers with socialist consciousness who are educated and are roundly developed morally, intellectually, and physically lies in teachers. Teachers--these laborers who function as "engineers of the soul" in training contingents of personnel for the four modernizations--should be held in esteem.

Holding teachers in esteem has always been a tradition of the Chinese nation. However, due to the influence of the "left" guiding ideology, particularly due to damage done to education by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many people lacked correct understanding about whether teachers are laborers and whether the work of teachers is glorious labor and should be held in esteem by members of the public. Consequently they despised and discriminated against teachers and did not care for, cherish, and support their teachers. In serious cases, teachers were humiliated, trampled underfoot, and persecuted. We must resolutely put an end to these phenomena and must not let them happen again. Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out: "Whether one engages in scientific research or in teaching, he is a laborer." "With things as they are, we must pay special attention to arousing the enthusiasm of the educational workers and emphasize the need to hold teachers in esteem." (Ibid., p 47) Only by taking a correct attitude toward teachers and treating them as part of the working class and as gardeners who train revolutionary younger generations and personnel for construction can we truly "hold teachers in esteem."

Besides taking a correct attitude toward teachers, we must also conscientiously create an atmosphere of "holding teachers in esteem" in all fields.

"Holding teachers in esteem" means that we must raise the social status of teachers. Lenin once said: "We should carry the status of our people's teachers to an unprecedented level which is without equal even in bourgeois societies." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 678) This remark of Lenin's still has its practical significance. We should also raise the social status of our people's teachers from all sides and create an atmosphere of holding teachers in esteem in the whole party and the whole country. It is everybody's duty to hold teachers in esteem. Students must be polite and civilized to teachers and respect the hard work of teachers. Parents and men from all walks of life must respect and support teachers' work and oppose words and deeds that show disrespect to teachers. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Teachers who have made outstanding contributions in teaching should be commended and awarded." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 92) Teachers will be able to give fuller scope to their initiative when their status is raised.

"Holding teachers in esteem" means that we must create the necessary conditions so teachers can perform their work in a still better way. The broad ranks of teachers, particularly the middle-aged ones, shoulder heavy responsibilities. They have to tackle a lot of vexed questions but are poorly rewarded. In spite of this, they burn themselves out like candles to light up other people's lives. The fact that teachers are underpaid has been noted by the party and the state. Comrade Chen Yun regarded improving the conditions for middle-aged intellectuals as "basic capital construction." Comrade Deng Xiaoping also spoke of this on more than one occasion. He said: "We must ensure that teachers' teaching loads show concern for their political life, working conditions, and vocational studies." (Ibid., p 92) We must take them as our bosom friends, understand their difficulties, demands, and wishes, make an earnest effort to improve their working, study, and living conditions, and help rid their minds of apprehensions so that they can concentrate their time and energy on teaching and scientific research. We must have faith in our teachers politically, give them a free hand in their work, and show concern for them on livelihood matters. When their working conditions are improved, teachers will work doubly hard to train able people in greater numbers and at a faster rate.

"Holding teachers in esteem" means that we must cultivate and raise the standards of the ranks of teachers. Comrade Deng Xiaoping attached great importance to the building up of the ranks of teachers. He called our attention to two questions, namely the training of qualified teachers and the upgrading of the levels of existing standards. In our country, qualified primary and middle school teachers account for about one-third of the total number of teachers. According to requirements, primary school teachers must be up to the level of secondary teacher training school graduates, junior middle school teachers must be up to the level of college graduates, and senior middle school teachers must be up to the level of university graduates. Many places still fail to measure up to this requirement. The

number of qualified teachers falls far short of actual needs. Under such circumstances, we must on the one hand train more new teachers and on the other provide training for existing teachers with a view to raising their standards. We should consider how we are going to raise the standards of teachers, including their political and ideological level, vocational capability, and work style. The political, cultural, and other such qualities of teachers are of great importance because they have a lot to do with whether or not the new generation can grow up to be useful persons and become successors to the revolutionary cause. This requires that our teachers must make improvements politically, ideologically, and professionally. A teacher who carries himself well politically and ideologically can influence his students with his exemplary deeds, cherish and help his students, and thus bring about a good style of study. He can play a role beyond that of a school teacher and help bring about a radical change in the general mood of society. Thus, strengthening the ranks of teachers is of far-reaching significance not only to raising the quality of education but also to building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization.

29. /"We must value knowledge, attach importance to people who are engaged in mental labor, and recognize them as mental workers."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 38)

(By Zheng Zhi [2973 0037])

Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward this clear-cut viewpoint shortly after the smashing of the "gang of four." This heralded our party's efforts to set things right on the question of intellectuals and signaled the return of our party's policy toward intellectuals to the Marxist track.

Knowledge is the fruit of man's quest to know and transform the world. At the same time, it is also man's weapon for knowing and transforming the world. Revolution needs knowledge, but construction needs knowledge all the more. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out the modernization of science and technology is the key to the four modernizations. In other words, industry, agriculture, and national defense must all be armed with modern science and technology. The development of the modern economy is inseparably linked with the utilization of the knowledge of science. This is true not only for big issues like the discovery, exploitation, and utilization of resources and the rational deployment and coordination of industry, agriculture, commerce and transport, but also for smaller issues like the product mix and technical lineup of an enterprise and the betterment and renovation of labor organizations. The development of modern science and technology has made it possible for knowledge to penetrate into the process of production more rapidly and in greater depth. The proportion accounted for by mental labor in the value of the final product is on the increase. Under such circumstances, if we do not arm our cadres and masses with the knowledge of modern science and culture, we will not be able to improve management, change the backward production techniques and methods of operation, achieve better economic results and increase labor productivity. At the same time, knowledge as the crystallization of man's practical experience does not simply give us wisdom and strength and enable us to acquire the skills needed for serving

the people--it is the foundation for ideological and cultural education. It can help us systematically and thoroughly master Marxism-Leninism and cultivate a communist outlook on life. It can kindle sparks in our souls, cultivate fine ideas and sentiments, and raise our moral standards. Thus, it plays a very important role in socialist spiritual civilization. At present, the level of knowledge of the Chinese people is still not very high. Last year's census indicated that intellectuals with a university education only accounted for 0.6 percent of the total population of the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. In 1978, technicians only accounted for 2.8 percent of the total number of workers on the industrial front. This is in sharp contradiction with the requirements of the four modernizations. From this we can see the special significance of the need to raise the level of knowledge of the Chinese people.

Only someone who values knowledge will attach importance to people who are engaged in mental labor and consciously erase prejudice against the intellectuals. Marxism holds that intellectuals never were a class and that there were all kinds of intellectuals down the ages. In the early stage of the division of mental and physical labor, intellectuals by and large belonged to the exploiting class. They were rulers or direct associates of rulers. This is a fact. However, with the passage of time, the intelligentsia split up and intellectuals who did not belong to the category of rulers emerged. In the feudal society, intellectuals among the ranks of the peasant insurgent troops obviously should not be classified as feudal rulers. In capitalist societies, the state of intellectuals is even more complicated. On the whole, these people usually show bourgeois prejudice; many of them even lead a life-style similar to their bourgeois counterparts. However, they are not capitalists because they do not possess the means of production and do not exploit other people's surplus value. On the contrary, they often have to sell their labor and products of labor and are exploited by the capitalists. As was pointed out in the "Communist Party Manifesto": "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 252) Marx also pointed out in his book "The Theory of Surplus Value" that ordinary engineering and technical personnel directly take part in the creation of the surplus value--they are "productive workers in a specific sense." These intricate phenomena in history indicate that even in societies dominated by the exploiting class where "knowledge and labor form a pair of antitheses," we cannot say categorically that intellectuals are exploiters and rulers.

China was formerly a semicolonial and semifeudal society in which science and culture were far from developed. In those days, the small number of intellectuals mostly belonged to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as far as their social status was concerned. Judged by political attitude, however, very few of them were genuinely willing to serve the reactionary ruling classes. Most of them had anti-imperialist and patriotic inclinations; some even directly took part in revolutions. Came the stage of socialist society and the state of intellectuals underwent radical changes.

After prolonged education in Marxism and protracted political tempering and tests, intellectuals who came over from the old society have demonstrated that they cherish the motherland and are willing to serve socialism. Many of them have made contributions to socialist construction. There is no reason why we should regard these people as "alien" forces among the working class. Besides, more than 90 percent of our 25 million intellectuals are brought up in the new society. Many of them come from families of workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It is obviously ridiculous to call these sons and daughters of the working people who have been nurtured and educated by the party and the people for years, "bourgeois intellectuals."

Of course, there is still a difference in terms of the mode of labor between the intellectuals on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other, in our country. However, with the wiping out of the exploitative system and the exploiting class in the socialist society, the antithesis between mental labor and physical labor is removed once and for all. In our country, mental labor and physical labor are both parts of aggregate social labor. They are just different parts of the division of labor in society. This kind of division and difference is not absolute. Mental workers do not just use their brains; they also use their physical strength. For example, scientists conducting experiments, engineers working on their blueprints, and doctors operating on their patients are not mental laborers in the strictest sense; their work involves a fair amount of physical labor. We would say that under the socialist system, mental labor and physical labor will be combined on a larger scale and to a greater extent. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his "Opening Address to the National Science Conference": "Along with the development of modern science and technology and with the progress of the four modernizations, a great deal of strenuous physical labor will be replaced step by step by machinery. For those directly engaged in production, physical labor will steadily be reduced and mental labor increased. And, there will be an increasingly greater need for more people to take up scientific research, and for training a mighty contingent of scientific and technological personnel." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 86) Under such circumstances, if we magnified the division between mental and physical labor into class antagonism, we would be going against the direction of historical development and not just distorting the facts.

At the same time, we must also see that the fruits of labor of the broad ranks of intellectuals are no longer appropriated by the bourgeoisie. Rather, they are directly transformed into social wealth. Like physical workers, mental workers are also actively fighting for the cause of socialism. Besides, they do not possess the means of production themselves. They are co-owners of the means of production side by side with the physical workers and are on an equal footing with the physical workers in the process of production. This determines that, like workers who are mainly engaged in physical labor, they must earn their means of subsistence by means of labor, that is, take part in distribution according to work by receiving wages. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "It is true that there are still major differences in terms of the mode of labor between the intellectuals on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other. However, this

should not stop us from clearly affirming that by and large and as far as the method of earning a living and the question of for whom are concerned, intellectuals in China have become a part of the working class."

Our party has made outstanding achievements in solving the question of intellectuals, but it has also made serious mistakes and learned its lessons. For a long time after the founding of the PRC, we entertained "left" views on the question of intellectuals and adopted erroneous principles and policies. This found concentrated expression in the fact that after the basic completion of socialist transformation and the elimination of the exploiting class as such, we overlooked the profound changes that had taken place among the ranks of intellectuals, ignored the tremendous progress made by the majority of intellectuals (including those who came over from the old society), and actually still regarded most of them as bourgeois intellectuals. This erroneous tendency developed to its extreme during the "Great Cultural Revolution." A lot remains to be done in eliminating prejudices against intellectuals in society. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's view that intellectuals are laborers and are a part of the working class is a result of setting things right on the question of intellectuals and is of great importance to the four modernizations. This importance will demonstrate itself more and more clearly with the passage of time.

30. /"Besides spiritual encouragement, we must adopt other measures to encourage the intellectuals, including improving their material benefits."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 48)

(By Shi Zhong Lai [0670 0022 0171])

Our party traversed a tortuous path and learned some profound lessons on the question of giving the intellectuals encouragement and improving their material benefits. This question put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is aimed at something very specific and is of great practical significance.

Our party has always attached great importance to intellectuals. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out during the period of the democratic revolution: "All our party comrades must understand that a correct policy toward the intellectuals is an important prerequisite for victory in the revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 582) "The problem of the intellectuals becomes particularly important in China because the country is culturally backward as a result of foreign and feudal oppression and because intellectuals are urgently needed in the people's struggle for liberation." (Ibid., Vol 3, p 1031) Noting the relatively low level of wages and benefits for the intellectuals at that time, the party Central Committee pointed out in its directive concerning the question of intellectuals in 1956: "We should resolutely overcome the present equalitarian tendency on the question of material benefits, and the erroneous tendency of handling things rapidly according to administrative levels, and giving heed to people who are responsible for administrative work and ignoring the experts." However, for some time afterwards, particularly during the decade of internal turmoil, intellectuals were discriminated against, elbowed aside, and attacked in political affairs due to the influence of "left" ideas and

also interference from, and sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." On the matter of remuneration for labor, we refused to see complicated labor and simple labor as different. This produced the abnormal state of affairs in which many intellectuals were paid less than physical workers who took part in work at the same time as they did. This is not conducive to arousing the enthusiasm of the broad ranks of intellectuals and cannot encourage people to study modern science and technology. In view of this situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping suggested that we must firmly implement the principle of to each according to his work when he took over the running of the day-to-day affairs of the Central Committee in 1975. He said: "People's contributions vary. Should there be differences in their wages and benefits? Some workers have acquired a higher technical level than others. Should we raise their grades and their wages and benefits? Do technical personnel deserve a raise too? It would perhaps seem fair to pay everyone 40 to 50 yuan regardless of their contributions, technical level, ability or nature of work, but actually it is at variance with the principle of to each according to his work. How can this arouse people's enthusiasm?" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 30-31) After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping further emphasized that in order to achieve socialist modernization, we must attach great importance to intellectuals and, as well as giving them spiritual encouragement, try to improve their material benefits.

Giving spiritual encouragement to intellectuals is an integral part of our party's ideological and political work. The overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country are people who work hard, diligently study their own profession and do their best to serve the people and the socialist cause under the leadership of the party. Some of them have made great achievements and outstanding contributions. We should give these people spiritual encouragement in the first place. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "There must be rewards and punishments and we must dispense them impartially." "Awarding medals and certificates of merit is a form of spiritual encouragement and a kind of political honor. This is necessary." (Ibid., p 99) We can give people encouragement by commending them, issuing certificates of merit, choosing them as advanced workers, conferring the title of model worker on them, and so on. Our purpose in doing this is to encourage the communist attitude toward labor and the spirit of holding oneself responsible to the revolutionary cause. The conferring of academic titles, which means giving intellectuals titles that correspond to their scientific and technological level, vocational capability, achievements and actual contributions, can encourage people to study diligently their own professions and improve their competence. We will continue to do this kind of work in the future.

As well as spiritual encouragement, we must also give people material benefits and uphold the principle of to each according to his work. Distribution according to work is a correct principle for distributing consumer goods in a socialist society. Theoretically speaking, "the individual producer receives back from society--after the deductions have been made--exactly what he gives to it." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 10-11) This is also what Lenin meant by "an equal amount of products

for an equal amount of labor." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 252) Here, "an equal amount of labor" means not only the duration and intensity of labor but also the quality of labor. There are differences between complicated and simple labor, between physical and mental labor, and between skilled and unskilled labor. Qualitatively, different labor can create different amounts of value and different quantities of social products for society in equal times. Since what is contributed is different, remuneration for labor should also differ. Intellectuals, particularly the senior and middle-ranking ones, chiefly engage in mental labor. On the whole, they have gone through nurturing and training in specialized fields and mastered a fair amount of knowledge. Their labor basically falls into the category of complicated labor. Marx said: "Labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expenditure of labor-power of a more costly kind, labor-power whose production has cost more time and labor, and which therefore has a higher value, than unskilled or simple labor-power. This power is of a higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class, labor that creates in equal times proportionally higher values than unskilled labor does." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 223) Under the condition of socialist public ownership, labor-power is not a commodity and no longer has a value. However, since commodity production still exists on a wide scale, labor remains the substance and measurement of value. Marx' theory that complicated labor, or redoubled simple labor, can create more value in equal times, is still applicable. Thus, in a socialist society, it is generally speaking quite reasonable for people who have a higher scientific and cultural level to receive more material benefits than those who have a lower level, or for mental workers to receive more of such benefits than physical workers. This is in keeping with the principle of to each according to his work. It is conducive to fully arousing the enthusiasm of the intellectuals, developing socialist production, and achieving the four modernizations. It is also conducive to enabling the working class and all workers to master intellectual work and encouraging the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants to study assiduously science and culture, thus training more intellectuals.

Giving the intellectuals more material benefits is also an indispensable condition of mental labor. Labor performed by the intellectuals is different from physical labor. In performing labor, intellectuals must not only use physical strength but must exert themselves mentally. In order to restore the vitality of their brains and sustain the reproduction of mental labor, they must not only have the necessary means of consumption but must keep studying and studying, must acquire professional proficiency, and must renew their knowledge. This takes given material conditions. Intellectuals who are engaged in certain professional labor will need specific conditions for conducting research and experiments. They will also need a relatively quiet atmosphere in which to ponder over, and dig into problems. By creating the necessary conditions for them in these areas, we can enable them to conduct research in a better way and thus make still greater contributions toward society. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our teachers and scientific workers have a lot of pressing problems to solve in their livelihood. Many of our intellectuals whose income only amounts to scores

of yuan are very capable. If they are provided with slightly better working and living conditions, they can solve many problems for the state and the people and create enormous wealth." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 225)

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have achieved initial results in implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals. In many localities and units, the material benefits and living conditions for intellectuals have been improved. However, it is quite impossible to solve all the accumulated problems overnight. A lot remains to be done as far as implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals and adopting measures of encouragement are concerned. We believe that Chinese intellectuals who are reared in the glorious tradition of hard struggle will understand the difficulties of the party and the state and make allowances for problems that cannot be solved for the time being. With the concerted efforts of the whole nation, these problems will be solved in due course.

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AFRICA--A FAST-DEVELOPING CONTINENT

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[Article by Yin Chengde [1438 2110 1795]]

[Text] Africa is rapidly developing amid the postwar tempestuous national liberation movement. Tremendous changes have taken place in the entire continent. With the exception of Namibia, which is now fighting for national liberation, and South Africa, which is fighting against the racist rule of the white people, most African states have basically accomplished the historical tasks of winning national independence. They are now uniting as one to carry out their fight and continue to make progress in their struggle for developing national economy and consolidating political independence through realizing economic independence. There are now 50 independent African countries. They comprise 40 percent of all Third World countries, one-half of the nonaligned countries and one-third of the seats in the United Nations. Africa, which was previously called the "dark continent" by the imperialists, has now become a force not to be ignored in the international arena. It has played an increasingly important role in international affairs.

I

Africa was a birthplace of mankind and one of the continents noted for its early civilization and development. Egypt in north Africa was a famous civilized ancient nation in the world. In history, most African areas were economically and culturally developed. There were some powerful countries and prosperous cities in the continent. From the 15th century, following the invasion of Western colonizers, African states were reduced to colonies and dependencies one after another. Apart from brutally enslaving and plundering the African people, the colonizers extensively carried out a brutal slave trade. The slave trade deprived Africa of its labor force in their prime of life totaling 100 million [as published]. This figure was almost equal to the total population of Africa in 1880. Therefore, the African people suffered from disaster and great calamities.

The African people have an ardent love for freedom and independence. They persisted in their struggle to oppose colonial rule and strive for national independence, which had lasted for several centuries. After World War II,

with the profound changing of the internal and external conditions of Africa, the struggle of the African people for independence has entered a new historical stage. As far as external conditions are concerned, we know that the victory of the antifascist war of the people of the whole world, the weakening of the imperialist power, and the power of Britain and France, which ruled most African regions in particular, and that the upsurge and victory of the national liberation movement in many Asian countries and the birth of a series of socialist countries in Europe and Asia, were extremely beneficial to the African people, who were fighting for national independence. As far as internal conditions are concerned, we know that great changes have taken place in the political and economic conditions of African society after the war. To meet the demands of war, imperialist countries speeded up the development of industry, the mining industry, and plantations in Africa. This promoted economic development in Africa during and after the war. The newly emerging political force of the African national bourgeoisie and working class was formed during the process of colonial rule. The contingent of such a political force has been expanded. The number of workers has increased from 8 million people during the prewar period to 13 million people after the war. During the war period, several million Africans took part in the antifascist war. Their national awakening and consciousness were enhanced as a result of going through the test of battle. They became a vital new force of the national liberation movement in postwar Africa. To strive for independence, people of various circles in Africa extensively carried out struggle, or even armed struggle. It was precisely under such internal and external conditions that the national liberation movement in postwar Africa surged forward victoriously. Before World War II, there were only three independent countries in all of Africa. However, as a result of 30-year war in the postwar period, the number of independent countries increased to 50 in 1980. The colonial rule of the West in Africa, which has lasted for five centuries, eventually collapsed.

The historical victory of the national liberation movement of the African people is an important matter of world significance. It echoed from afar the liberation struggle of the Asian and Latin American peoples in destroying the colonial system of imperialism, dealing a heavy blow at and weakening the imperialist front, and strengthening the power of the Third World. Therefore, they have changed the political situation and balance of forces of the world to a considerable extent. All this has brought about great changes which are beneficial to the people of the world.

The national liberation struggle in Africa has won a decisive victory. However, the decolonization process in the African continent has not yet been completed. It is still a strenuous task to safeguard and consolidate national independence. The South African regime is the last surviving bulwark of colonialism. While pursuing racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa, it stubbornly clings to its colonial rule in Namibia. It is still engaging in launching military invasion and conducting sabotage against frontline states. To seek hegemony in the world, the superpowers have coveted strategic position and resources of Africa and have scrambled for spheres of influence in the continent. This is a severe threat to the

independence and security of the African states. To carry the national liberation struggle through to the end, the African countries and people are carrying out a tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary regime of South Africa. They also oppose the interference and expansion of the superpowers in Africa. Even those countries which are close to the superpowers for various reasons have also readjusted their foreign policy in recent years to varying degrees in order to diversify their economic contacts, foreign policy, and the sources for their weapons. In the meantime, they have also actively implemented a nonaligned policy. No force on earth can stop the complete liberation and independence of the African continent.

II

Speeding up the development of the national economy and realizing economic independence is a basis for the African countries to safeguard and consolidate their political independence. Having gained their independence, African countries invariably devote their attention to economic development.

Many countries have taken effective measures to try their best to control their economic lifeline and natural resources. Having gained their independence, they have implemented a policy of reforming, utilizing, and taking over foreign enterprises. According to figures issued by the United Nations, from 1960 to 1971, developing nations took over 1,447 enterprises run by foreign monopoly capital, 628 of which were taken over by African countries in the south part of the Sahara, accounting for 43 percent of the total number. To safeguard national rights and interests, they have taken part in various raw material producing and exporting organizations. They have actively joined the struggle of opposing the exploitation, plunder, and control of international monopoly capital.

Through efforts exerted over the past few years, African countries have achieved gratifying results in their construction. While their yearly average economic growth in the first postwar years was only 2.5 percent, it rose to 4.8 percent in the 1960-1970 period and 5.2 percent in the 1970-1979 period. The total national production of 49 African countries in 1960 was only \$27.2 billion, but increased to \$133 billion in 1977. An increase of about 400 percent was registered in a 17-year period. Of this, the development of industry and mining was the fastest. The total output value increased from \$3.8 billion in 1960 to \$35 billion in 1975. This showed an increase of more than 800 percent over a period of 15 years. During the period of colonial rule, there was no modern industry in Africa. At present, many countries have developed not only various kinds of light and textile industries, but also heavy industries, including oil refineries, chemical engineering, machine building, iron and steel works, and so forth.

The progress made by African countries in their national construction has laid a fairly solid foundation for changing the poverty resulted from the long-term colonial rule, and for future development. However, economic development is unbalanced in various countries. A small number of countries

have developed their economy more rapidly because they abound in oil. However, economic development remains slow in most countries. In recent years, because of the influence of the worldwide economic crisis, those countries which are economically backward and beset with difficulties are facing more complicated problems. The growth rate of various countries has generally dropped. Some countries are even in a state of stagnation or retrogression. Generally speaking, the speed of economic development of African countries is slower than that of developing countries in other areas. The African continent, those parts located to the south of the Sahara in particular, is still the poorest area in the world to date. Of the 31 most underdeveloped countries of the world listed by the United Nations in 1981, 20 were in Africa. In 1982, five more African countries requested United Nations' recognition as one of the most underdeveloped countries.

One of the basic reasons why economic development remains slow in African countries is the abnormal single-economy structure left by colonial rule. This has not changed fundamentally. The economic dependence of African countries on developed countries, especially on their former suzerain states, is great. They are still controlled and exploited to a certain extent. At present, there are more than 30 African countries which have relied on the exports of one kind or several kinds of industrial and mining products. The export of primary products still occupies 80 to 90 percent of total African exports. Many African countries depend on other countries for import of manufactured goods and even of certain basic foods. Developed Western countries control African foreign trade and engage in exploitation and squeezing of colossal profits by keeping down prices of raw materials and raising those of industrial goods. From 1960 to 1969, African countries incurred a total loss of \$6 billion through the unequal exchange value in foreign trade. The continued existence of this unjust and irrational international economic order, especially in years when developed countries shift the economic crisis onto developing countries, deals a heavy blow to the national economy of African countries and aggravates their international payments. In 1980 alone, their foreign trade deficits amounted to \$10.4 billion.

The African countries are also exploited by developed countries through the exportation of capital. Up to 1982, African foreign debts reached a total of \$66 billion, which was about one-third of the total national production value for that year. Many countries are compelled to use a fairly large part of their export incomes to pay back the principal plus interest on their foreign debts. A number of countries are in a difficult position of being unable to pay back their debts. Direct investment by Western countries in Africa exceeds \$20 billion. The rate of their profits in Africa is much higher than that in other areas. For instance, from 1950 to 1978, the United States gained profits in Africa amounting to \$7.958 billion, more than 300 percent higher than its investment in the continent in the corresponding period. The profit rate of private American investment in Africa in 1979 was as high as 30 percent, whereas its profit rate in other developed countries amounted to only 19.2 percent.

In addition, after their independence, many countries have lacked funds and their technology and management lagged behind. Some countries have formulated economic policies which are not in accord with their national conditions. All this has caused some difficulties in their economic development. Some countries have been in a turbulent situation for a long time. This is also an important reason for their slow economic progress.

To overcome their difficulties, while conducting a struggle to establish a new international economic order, the African countries are conscientiously summing up their experiences, readjusting their economic policies, and blazing a path which is suitable to their national conditions. For instance, they are adopting positive measures to shift their single-economy structure to a diversified and balanced development. A "green revolution" has been launched to extensively encourage development of agricultural and grain production. They also encourage normal development of foreign and private enterprises. Proceeding from reality, they have readjusted the speed and scope of their construction. As a result, many countries have taken on a new aspect in their economy. For instance, the GNP of Congo increased by 18.6 percent over 1979. The GNP of the country in 1982 was 6.8 percent higher than 1981. Senegal succeeded in curbing the trends of successive drops in the growth rate of its national economy for many years. The actual growth of its GNP in 1982 was 10 percent higher than that of 1981. Uganda was always in an extremely difficult economic position. However, over the past 2 years, the country has succeeded in considerably increasing its industrial and agricultural production. Its economic growth rate was 6.1 and 7.7 percent, respectively, during the past 2 years.

As a whole, the African continent is endowed with favorable natural conditions. It has a vast territory and a wide expanse of forest, grasslands, and cultivable land. It is also rich in mining resources and has enormous economic potential. However, most individual states are small in area and scarce in resources. Their economic development is greatly restricted. Therefore, they should carry out mutual cooperation, learn from others' strong points to offset one's weakness, and take the collective path characterized by self-reliance. Right after independence, African countries attached importance to regional economic cooperation. In recent years, regional economic cooperation has been greatly developed as the situation has demanded. The African summit conference held in Lagos in 1980 was devoted entirely to economic problems and a plan of action to achieve the magnificent goal of realizing continental economic unification in 20 years. Motivated by this conference, new and profound progress has been made in economic cooperation among African countries. There are now more than 50 African regional economic cooperation organizations (including professional organizations). African countries have not only greatly developed economic cooperation among regional organizations, but also have considerably promoted cooperation between regional organizations and countries in other continents. There is no doubt that this is a matter of great significance in speeding up the development of their national economy and minimizing their reliance on developed nations.

III

Through their struggle, the African countries have realized that to develop their national economy, they should rely on mutual cooperation. They also know that to strive for and safeguard their independence, they should unite as one. Generally speaking, various African countries are weak in their national power. In the face of powerful enemies of imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, South African racism, and Israeli expansionism, it is not appropriate for an individual country to fight in isolation by relying on its own national power. To avoid being destroyed one by one, they should unite. Only thus can they conquer their enemies. The African countries have a common desire and good conditions for promoting their unity and cooperation. They are closely connected in terms of geographical conditions, race, and culture. In the meantime, because they were invaded and enslaved by colonialists for a long time, they cherish the ideal of national independence and freedom and yearn for the development of a national economy and a powerful Africa. Similar historical experiences and common objectives of struggle have linked the African countries and people so that they strengthen their unity and march together in their struggle.

The inauguration of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 marked a new stage in African solidarity. The organization was established when African national liberation was reaching a new high tide. Its birth conformed with the demands of the African people for strengthening their solidarity and speeding up the process of independence. Now members of the organization include all African countries which have won their independence. Over the past 20 years or so, the organization has adhered to the principle and aim of opposing imperialism and colonialism and promoting solidarity and cooperation. It has made important contributions to uniting the African people in order to support those countries which have not won their independence in their struggle for liberation, and to speeding up the process of decolonization of the entire African continent. It has made important contributions to mediating disputes among African countries, preventing and mitigating internal conflicts, and upholding and promoting solidarity and cooperation among African countries. It has made important contributions to condemning and opposing foreign interference and splittist activities and safeguarding the independence, security, and stability of the African countries. It has also made contributions to encouraging the African continent to speak along the same lines and expanding the role and influence of the African countries in international affairs. The OAU has gone with the tide of historical development and has become a symbol of African solidarity. Therefore, it has great vitality.

However, because of problems left over by history and other practical reasons, there exist some factors among some African countries which adversely affect their solidarity, such as boundary disputes, national and religious differences, and divergence in foreign policies. In particular, the majority of African countries have faced the problem of boundary disputes. According to statistics, of 50 African countries, more than 30 were involved in boundary disputes with their neighboring countries. However, compared with the overall situation of the independence, development,

solidarity, and cooperation of Africa, some differences and disputes among African countries are, after all, secondary questions. They should be relegated to a secondary position. In addition, these questions can be solved through consultations. However, interference and manipulations by superpowers have further complicated and intensified contradictions and conflicts among African countries. The fact that Chad's internal conflict was aggravated by foreign interference has proved this. Chad's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity must be respected. The OAU has demanded all foreign intervention in Chad be stopped and Chad should restore peace on the basis of its own national reconciliation. This principle has won wide support in the international community. Moi, ex-chairman of the OAU and president of Kenya, stressed: "Solidarity will keep us powerful, whereas a split has ruined us." At present, the African countries have further realized the importance of fighting foreign interference and maintaining their solidarity. They have generally attached importance to their solidarity and cooperation. Some countries, which were not on good terms or were even hostile to each other, are also exerting their efforts to clear up their misunderstandings and to improve their relations. Quite a few countries have solved long-standing border disputes through friendly negotiations and have removed obstruction to solidarity. African countries have generally stressed the necessity for safeguarding and strengthening the solidarity of the OAU. After a second deferment, the 19th OAU summit meeting was eventually held last June. At present, in the African continent, people want solidarity and cooperation rather than splits and confrontation. They want good-neighborly relations rather than shifting their troubles onto others. They want to advocate consultations rather than imposing their views on others. They want peace and stability rather than disputes and confusion. All this has become the mainstream in Africa in handling mutual relations between countries.

IV

As far back as 2,000 years ago, China and Africa had already developed their mutual understanding and contacts. The "Silk Road" on the sea linked China and Africa about 1,000 years ago. In the early Ming Dynasty, Chinese navigator Zheng He visited African countries on several occasions and the African countries also sent their envoys to visit China. After the mid-1500's, because the Western colonizers invaded Africa and China one after another, the friendly contacts between China and Africa were impeded and obstructed.

The founding of the People's Republic of China and the victory of the African national liberation movement blazed a new path for the development of Sino-African friendly relations. China and Egypt established diplomatic relations in 1956. After that, China also established diplomatic relations with 48 African countries. China signed treaties of friendship, agreements on economic and technical cooperation, trade agreements, and agreements on cultural exchanges with many African countries. During the early 1960's, Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Enlai paid a friendly visit to Africa. At the end of last year and early this year, Premier Zhao Ziyang paid a friendly visit to 11 African countries. All this has opened a new chapter in the

annals of Sino-African relations. Leaders of the African countries also repeatedly travel a long distance to visit China. Over the past 2 years or so, 27 leaders of African countries have visited China. All this shows that China and the African countries have attached importance to developing their friendly and cooperative relations and that they have good faith in greatly deepening mutual understanding and friendship between China and Africa.

China and the African countries are developing countries which belong to the Third World. Similar fates in history and struggle have cultivated their common thinking. China and the African countries speak a common language on many international problems. We all oppose imperialism, colonialism, racism, and the power politics of superpowers. We advocate that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We oppose the policies of aggression and war. We safeguard world peace and maintain the reforms of the old international and economic relations. We advocate the establishment of a new international economic order. We stand for strengthening solidarity of the Third World and for adopting practical steps to expand South-South cooperation. Strengthening unity and cooperation with the Third World countries is always a fundamental standpoint of our country's foreign policy. When dealing with our relations with the African countries and the Third World countries, we proceed from the general characteristics and common interests of the Third World. Such common ground has become a foundation for developing Sino-African friendship and cooperation and coordinating our actions.

It is precisely because of this that Sino-African friendship is stable, firm, and developing continuously. China and the African countries have always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggles. They are faithful and reliable friends. Our government and people are implementing a correct principle and policy for Africa, which were formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. We regard our support for the just cause of the African people as our international obligations. African countries want independence and we fully support their struggle for independence. African countries want solidarity and we exert our efforts to do things which are beneficial to African solidarity. African countries want to develop their national economy. We have actively cooperated with them and within our power offered them unconditional aid. We have sent thousands of our foreign aid personnel to African countries. They have devoted themselves to serving the local people and have made contributions to the development of Africa and enhancing Sino-African friendship. When Premier Zhao Ziyang was visiting Africa, he proposed four principles for economic and technical cooperation with Africa: "Equality and mutual benefit, emphasis on efficiency, diversified styles and forms, and mutual development." They are the continuation and development of the eight principles on foreign aid proposed by Premier Zhou Enlai. They reflect the common desires and demands of the Chinese and African people for developing their economy. As long as they learn from each other and mutually make up their deficiencies on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, Sino-African economic relations will have bright prospects and will keep on developing in a deep-going way. Such an open and aboveboard, honest and selfless

attitude adopted by China toward African countries has been generally appreciated and praised by the African countries and people. In the meantime, the African countries and people have always sympathized with and supported our struggle. In the international arena, they speak out from a sense of justice. The restoration of our seat in the United Nations was closely related to the energetic support of our African friends. Over the past 20 to 30 years, the international situation has been changing rapidly. Although some people intended to isolate us, the broad masses of African people have always sided with us. The Chinese people value the African people's sincere and friendly feeling and trust for us. The Sino-African flowers of friendship, which have stood a severe test of the historical wind and rain, will become more beautiful due to the joint efforts of the Chinese and African people to cultivate and water them.

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END

