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# China Report

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No 17, 1 September 1985

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19 November 1985

## CHINA REPORT

### RED FLAG

No 17, 1 SEPTEMBER 1985

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

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## STRENGTHEN DISCIPLINE FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] In the course of party rectification and in the education in ideals, moral standards, culture, and discipline, we should pay special attention to the strengthening of discipline and take this as an important step for strengthening party spirit and ensuring the correct orientation of reform.

Many facts show that the phenomena of indiscipline have developed to a serious degree in some units. Leaders in those units do not earnestly carry out reforms and conduct construction in accordance with the principles, policies, and regulations laid down by the party central leadership; instead, they act in a diametrically opposed way and completely disregard state law and party discipline by indulging themselves in all kinds of evil and lawless practices. They have adopted a completely wrong path. The party central leadership has repeatedly emphasized that members of the Communist Party must strictly observe party and state discipline and must not relax their sense of discipline and their party spirit. This is an extremely important issue, to which all comrades in the party must pay special attention. We should realize that our reforms and modernization process will encounter great difficulties if there is no good discipline inside the party and in our society as a whole.

How should we consolidate and better enforce our discipline? First of all, party committees at all levels from top to bottom must straighten themselves out and all leading cadres in the party must play an exemplary role. The party should set an example to the public, and leading comrades at various levels should set a good example to the whole party. The manner of leading cadres in observing discipline has a great bearing on the whole party and the whole society. As the saying goes, "if the upper beam is not straight, the lower ones will go aslant." If the leaders do not personally abide by party discipline and state law, they will not be qualified to criticize the violations of discipline committed by other people. How can they be counted on in maintaining discipline in the units they are in charge of? Therefore, a leader must first behave correctly before he can straighten out other people. Stalin said: "If we announce a set of party regulations applying to the leaders and announce a different set of party regulations applying to the party rank and file, then we will never have a party at all and will not

have any party discipline." Our party constitution stipulates the principle that all party members are equal before party discipline. So our leading cadres should set an example in observing what party discipline requires all party members to do and prohibits all party members from doing, and should take the lead in enforcing discipline in the localities or units they are in charge of. Thus, they will be trusted more deeply by the party rank and file and by the public, who will then become more confident of success in party rectification and in the efforts to strengthen discipline and improve the party style.

As all party members must observe party discipline, all state functionaries must abide by state discipline. No one is allowed to require other people to observe discipline before he himself also does so; and no one is allowed to violate discipline under the pretext that a small number of people (including some leading cadres) are still acting in violation of discipline. Every one of our party members and state cadres should first set strict demands on himself in the matter of observing law and discipline. They should all play an exemplary role. Moreover, superior and subordinate positions are relative. For example, a county party committee is at the lower level in its relations with a prefectural party committee; however, it is the leading organ of all party organizations in the county. By calling for strengthening discipline from top to bottom, we mean that all leaders at various levels should take the lead and set an example in observing discipline, and we do not mean that some party organizations or some party members at a certain level need not do so and can continue to wait and see. Reform and modernization require us to make every minute and second count. We should also race against time in making efforts to strengthen discipline and must take immediate action for this purpose.

To strengthen discipline from top to bottom, we should seriously maintain normal inner-party political life in party organizations at all levels, including in party branches. Criticism and self-criticism should be carried out regularly, and party members in the same branch should meet regularly to exchange their thoughts and review their performances in adhering to party spirit. Leading party cadres at various levels should participate in such activities in the capacity of ordinary party members and should subject themselves to supervision by party organizations and the party rank and file. Party organizations in various government institutions should not merely concern themselves with welfare and livelihood matters. They should first look after ideological matters and do justice to the behavior of party members. They must dare to discuss and handle the cases in which some people, no matter who they are, have violated law and discipline. In short, party organizations must handle party affairs. Without strict discipline, the party will not be able to properly handle party affairs and will not be able to properly exercise leadership over work in all fields.

CSO: 4004/1

LEARN FROM REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS, PRESERVE COMMUNIST PURITY--CHERISHING THE  
MEMORY OF MARTYRS ZHANG WENJIN, WU ZUYI, AND MAO CHUXIONG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 3-4

[Article by Li Xiannian [2621 0341 1819]]

[Text] During the long years of the new democratic revolution in our country, thousands of CPC members and revolutionaries outside the party, one stepping into the breach as the other fell, fought bravely and laid down their valuable lives for the Chinese people's liberation cause, for the founding of the new socialist China, and for the realization of the communist ideal. Among the revolutionary martyrs were Comrades Zhang Wenjin, Wu Zuyi, and Mao Chuxiong.

In June 1946, in accordance with the strategic plan drawn up by the party central leadership and Chairman Mao, the Mid-China People's Liberation Army fought in a heroic and indomitable revolutionary spirit and broke through the encirclement by hundreds of thousands of KMT troops, then continued to defeat the KMT troops that encircled, pursued, obstructed, and intercepted the advancing KMT troops that were fighting toward the southern Shaanxi area by overcoming mountains of difficulties. The KMT army's viperous attempt to surround and annihilate the Mid-China People's Liberation Army was thus foiled, and the PLA troops successfully completed the strategic shift. While continuing to send massive forces to frenziedly pursue and attack our troops, the KMT authorities also continued their false peace efforts. They used planes to drop leaflets on our position, calling for our troops to send a delegation to talk with them. In order to further expose the KMT authorities' plot to prepare for triggering a civil war by means of false negotiations, our army decided to send Comrades Zhang Wenjin, Wu Zuyi, and Mao Chuxiong as our delegates to go to Xian to negotiate with KMT General Hu Zongnan. However, Hu Zongnan perfidiously arrested these three comrades when they went to Dongjiangkou town, Ningshan County. Our party central leadership paid special attention to this incident. Comrade Zhou Enlai in Nanjing and Comrade Ye Jianying in Beijing both immediately lodged strong protests with the KMT authorities, and Yanan's JIEFANG RIBAO also exposed Hu Zongnan's sinister scheme. On the one hand, Hu Zongnan flatly denied the facts of the case; on the other hand, he issued a secret order to "carry out secret executions on the spot." Several departments recently completed their joint investigations and collected all detailed information about how

the three comrades were killed. They remained unyielding and awe-inspiring by upholding justice against the vicious enemy and remained faithful to the party until they were killed. They demonstrated the fearless spirit and revolutionary heroism of communists.

Comrade Zhang Wenjin was born in Hubei Province. He cherished a strong sense of justice and national self-respect. He was brave in combat and competent in commanding the army. He was one of the leading commanders in the 5th Division and commander of the cadre brigade when our troops fought the battles to break through the enemy's encirclements. Comrade Wu Zuyi was previously a student from Beijing. Before joining the army, he participated in the famous "December 9th Movement" and was director of the Civil Movement Department of the CPC Committee in the Hubei-Henan border area. In the battles to break out of the enemy's encirclements, he was director of the political department of the cadre brigade. Both Zhang and Wu made important contributions to the founding and development of the 5th Division and the revolutionary base in the Hubei-Henan border area. Comrade Mao Chuxiong joined the Mid-China PLA troops as a member of the south-advancing contingent of the 359th Brigade. He was under 20 years old when he was killed. Under extremely dangerous circumstances, the three comrades bravely undertook the task assigned by the party and went to the enemy's lair. They, unfortunately, died a hero's death. The three comrades and all other martyrs who died in the battles to break out of the enemy's encirclements should always be remembered by us.

During the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum program is to carry China forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to the supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendor." Through more than half a century's arduous struggle, the Chinese people have eliminated the exploiting system, established a socialist system, and made great achievements in socialist construction. The realization of the great ideal of communism still requires the continuing efforts made by many generations. When commemorating the revolutionary martyrs, we should carry out their behest and take the martyrs as models to dedicate our energy throughout our lives to the cause of communism.

Now, our country has entered a new historical period. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have done a great deal of work to develop socialist democracy, perfect the socialist legal system, carry out the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, carry out economic structural reforms, and build socialist material and spiritual civilization. Over the past 6 years, we have made great achievements in all fields. The political and economic situation in our country is getting better every year; our cause is becoming more prosperous every year; and our people's livelihood is improving every year. Changes in the countryside are particularly obvious. We are full of confidence in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Ours is still a developing country. We still have to explore the way ahead and to solve many complicated problems in order to fulfill the grand task of socialist modernization put forth by the

12th CPC National Congress and to catch up with the advanced countries in the world. The fulfillment of this great task still requires the painstaking efforts and hard work of two or three generations to come. The present historical period is a key period for the transition to communist society. We should ensure that our cause will be carried forward continuously, and that the continuity of the cause of revolution will be maintained so that it may continuously advance along the correct course. On 7 March this year, at the national scientific and technological work conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The purpose of socialism is to make the people throughout the country become rich together rather than to cause polarization. If our policies lead to polarization, we would be unsuccessful. If we give rise to a new bourgeois class, we would have taken an evil road." He also said: "It is particularly to educate the younger generations and require them to establish the lofty ideal of communism. We must never let our youngsters fall captive to decadent bourgeois ideology."

On 29 June this year, at the national conference for exchanging experience in improving party style, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "It is necessary to make all comrades in the party understand that what we are engaged in is the cause of socialism and that our ultimate objective is to realize communism. This point is extremely important." Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun have reminded us that we must keep in mind the important issue concerning the future and destiny of the state. We must seriously carry out the spirit of their instructions in our daily work. All comrades in the party must firmly maintain the purity of communism. All people in the country should have lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline. Our party members and cadres engaged in all kinds of work must firmly bear in mind the party's general task and the orientation of advance under any circumstances and at any time. They must pass revolutionary ideals from generation to generation and must not lose the achievements of the revolution gained at the price of the blood of the martyrs. We firmly believe that as long as we unswervingly advance along the course charted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, adhere to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, work earnestly and serve the people wholeheartedly as the revolutionary martyrs did, we will certainly be able to achieve the grand objective of socialist modernization and to realize the great ideal of communism.

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THE POSITION OF AND ROLE PLAYED BY CHINA'S ANTI-JAPANESE WAR IN THE WORLD  
ANTIFASCIST WAR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 5-9

[Article by Qi Shirong [7871 0013 2837]]

[Text] Fully 40 years have passed since the victory in the great antifascist war. The anti-Japanese war waged by the Chinese people, as an important component part of the world antifascist war, made outstanding contributions to the final defeat of the German-Italian-Japanese fascist bloc.

Japan was the second strongest power of the fascist bloc in World War II. With great aggressive ambition, Japan launched not only an aggressive war against China but also the Pacific War. The Chinese battlefront pinned down the main force of the Japanese army from 1937 when Japan launched the full-scale aggressive war against China through to 1945 when it was defeated and surrendered. The arduous and outstanding struggle waged by the Chinese people in the anti-Japanese war crushed the Japanese imperialists' wild dream of seeking hegemony in Asia and conquering the world.

In general, the Japanese rulers initially thought that they could win the war against China very quickly. In a memorandum to the emperor, Japanese Army Minister Hajime [Yuan 0337] Sugiyama predicted that the war could be wound up in a month or so. They regarded China as "a split and weak country which could not possibly be reunified; and which would surrender as soon as Japan showed an uncompromising stand."<sup>1</sup> However, they failed to anticipate the mass anti-Japanese national salvation movement which was on the upsurge in China due to the efforts by the CPC, and the anti-Japanese national united front based on the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC which had been taking shape and was being consolidated. Japanese imperialism's rival was not a disunited China but an indestructible bastion of iron formed by hundreds of millions of people. During the 3-month Songhu campaign in 1937, Japan, faced with the tenacious resistance of the Chinese people, was forced to send in reinforcements again and again, and the Japanese troops engaged in the campaign exceeded 200,000, with more than 40,000 casualties. During the Pingxingguan campaign in September of the same year, the 8th Route Army won a major victory, wiping out more than 1,000 soldiers of the 21st Brigade of the Japanese Itagaki Division. By the end of 1937, Japan had sent to the Chinese battlefront 16 divisions with a total of more than

600,000 soldiers, equivalent to two-thirds of the military strength of the Japanese army, which consisted of 24 divisions with a total of 950,000 soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

The Japanese troops were enormously proud of their success in taking over Nanjing on 13 December 1937. However, they soon suffered heavy casualties in the Taierzhuang campaign lasting from 23 March to 6 April 1938. The Japanese casualties totaled more than 20,000 and most of the military strength of the (Isogai) Division and part of the Itagaki Division were wiped out. In autumn of that year, Japan launched the Wuhan campaign and the Guangzhou campaign in an ambitious attempt to wind up the war quickly. The Japanese threw nearly 380,000 troops into the battle in Wuhan. While the campaign was under way, the deputy chief of the Japanese general staff headquarters showed his worries: "The situation would be very unfavorable to Japan if we were simply dragged into the interior of China, without any hope of progress. If we have a look at the situation at home, we can find that the abnormal antiwar feeling has been gaining ground as the people are demoralized and the unemployed are faced with difficulties in their daily life. If such a situation continues, we will gradually fall into a predicament."<sup>3</sup> By the end of the Wuhan campaign and the Guangzhou campaign, Japan had thrown into China a total of 24 divisions with about 1 million soldiers. Thus the Japanese troops had turned out in full force, with only a guard division stationed in Japan proper. After that, the Japanese troops could no longer take the offensive but were forced to shift to a protracted war strategy.

After the capture of Wuhan and Guangzhou, Japan adopted a policy of concentrating on luring the KMT to surrender by political means while making military operations subsidiary. This policy allowed the Japanese to concentrate their military force on the liberation zone battlefield. As soon as the anti-Japanese war broke out, the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army under the leadership of the CPC advanced to the rear of the enemy, extensively launched guerrilla warfare, and built up anti-Japanese bases. The liberation zone battlefield withstood 58.8 percent of the Japanese invasion troops in China in 1938 and 62 percent in 1939. Life was extremely hard and the battles were extraordinarily frequent on the north China battlefield. In the second and third years of the anti-Japanese war alone, the enemy launched a total of 109 "mopping-up operations" in north China, each of which involved more than 1,000 soldiers, and the number of soldiers engaging in all these operations totaled about 500,000. These "mopping-up operations" included seven large-scale operations, in each of which 10,000-20,000 soldiers were involved; two large-scale operations, in each of which more than 30,000 soldiers were involved; and one extraordinarily large-scale operation in which more than 60,000 soldiers were involved.<sup>4</sup> So far, in their works on World War II, foreign historians have generally underestimated or even ignored the role of guerrilla warfare in the anti-Japanese war. In fact, the Japanese warlords attached great importance to dealing with guerrilla warfare. In early December 1939, Lieutenant General (Sachio Kasahara) [Li Yuan Xing Xiong 4567 0626 1630 7160], chief of staff of the Japanese North China Front Army, stressed in alarm at a meeting of chief intelligence officers: "The cancer of public security in north China is the

CPC and its troops." "Resistance organizations with local armed forces as their core and with political activities and the masses as their basis, as well as mass resistance organizations with communist troops as their backbone, are intensifying and expanding their secret underground activities daily... At the present stage, the fundamental significance of straightening up public order lies in rooting out the above-mentioned resistance organizations which survive on the basis of the organic integration of the army, government, party, and people."<sup>5</sup>

In the main, the Chinese people had resisted the Japanese aggressors on their own during the period from 7 July 1937 to 3 September 1939. Those big powers including Britain, France, and the United States, which joined the antifascist alliance later, had not taken part in the resistance but adopted an appeasement policy toward Japan in that period. The Soviet Union had observed neutrality since its policy of collective security had been boycotted by Britain and France. In 1938 and 1939, Germany wildly expanded its force and ran amuck in Europe. With the connivance of Britain and France, which were pursuing an appeasement policy, Germany annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia and strangled the Republic of Spain. Then, on 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. While Germany was advancing smoothly in Europe, Japan was encountering successive setbacks in Asia and had no way of making any further advance. If the Chinese people had not carried out tenacious resistance, and if the Chinese mainland had been unfortunately conquered by Japan, the strategic situation, as a natural outcome, would have been far more favorable to the German-Italian-Japanese fascist bloc when World War II broke out on a full scale, and the 1 million-strong Japanese troops would have had more freedom in making the choice between advancing northward or southward. To be sure, the people of the world would finally have won the victory, but they would have had to pay a higher price and make greater sacrifices.

After the war broke out in Europe in September 1939, the Japanese Abe cabinet announced: "The empire is not going to intervene in the war in Europe but will instead concentrate its attention on the situation in China." The reason why the Abe cabinet took a wait-and-see attitude was because, on the one hand, it wanted to further observe the development of the war in Europe and, on the other hand, just as we have pointed out above, the main force of the Japanese troops had been trapped in the Chinese mainland, finding it difficult to extricate themselves. It was only after the German troops' invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg in May 1940, and especially the surrender of France on 22 June that Japan decided to take the opportunity of Germany's victory to advance southward, in anticipation of an early end to the war in Europe. However, the 8th Route Army launched the well-known Hundred Regiment Campaign on 20 August that year. During this 3-1/2-month large-scale campaign, the 8th Route Army fought a total of 1,824 big and small battles, inflicted 20,645 casualties upon the Japanese troops, destroyed such major railways as the Zhengding-Taiyuan railway, the Beiping-Hankou railway, the Datong-Puzhou railway, and the Beiping-Guisui railways, as well as many highways in Hebei and Shanxi Provinces, rooted up 2,993 strongholds of the enemy and puppet troops, and recovered 40-50 counties, of which more than 26 remained in the 8th Route

Army's hands by the end of the campaign. Even the Japanese themselves admitted: "We suffered considerable losses since we had never anticipated such a surprise attack. By the way, it took a rather long time and enormous funds to make up the losses."<sup>6</sup> According to Japanese statistics, the Japanese North China Front Army fought a total of 20,123 battles in 1940.<sup>7</sup> This proved that the 8th Route Army had made frequent attacks on the Japanese aggressors by promoting guerrilla warfare. As the resistance by the Chinese army and people had held the Japanese aggressors back, the latter did not have sufficient combat strength when they launched the Pacific War. In December 1941, Japan could send to the southern front (namely, the Southeast Asian and Pacific battlefront) no more than 10 divisions and 3 composite brigades, which accounted for about 20 percent of the ground forces of the Japanese army. Meanwhile, the Japanese main force was trapped in China--the Japanese army's China detachment headquarters were in command of 21 divisions, 1 cavalry unit, and 20 composite brigades; in addition, the 4th Division directly under the general headquarters was stationed in Shanghai, and the Kwantung army headquarters, which were in command of 13 divisions and 24 composite brigades, were in charge of guarding against the Soviet Union and the Chinese anti-Japanese Northeastern United Army.<sup>8</sup>

After the Pacific War broke out, there were three major battlefields in the world, namely, the European continent and Atlantic battlefront, the North African and Mediterranean battlefront, and the East Asian and Pacific battlefront. As far as the East Asian and Pacific battlefront was concerned, many foreign historians, out of contempt for the guerrilla warfare, previously concentrated their attention on the naval battles and the scramble for control of islands between Japan and the United States but seldom mentioned the Chinese battlefront. Although the KMT battlefront remained relatively quiet in this period, there were fierce and frequent battles on the liberation zone battlefield. In order to support the Pacific War, Japan turned the Chinese occupied area into a "military depot." The Japanese devoted 75 percent of their invasion troops to carrying out the so-called "all-out war" in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields and pressed on with the "public security intensifying movement" against the anti-Japanese bases established by the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army behind the enemy line. In reviewing the battle in China, Japanese North China Front Army Commander Yasuji Okamura said: "When I took up my post (as commander) with the North China Front Army, our battle against the Chongqing government troops was basically over, but the communist troops were active everywhere around us... Therefore, in the main, all our armies and corps directly under the front army were busy fighting against local communist troops day and night (on small or large scale)."<sup>9</sup> By launching an extensive mass guerrilla war, the 8th Route Army waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy. From early 1941 to 1942, the 8th Route Army crushed 120 "mopping-up operations" in each of which 1,000-10,000 Japanese soldiers were involved, and 24 large-scale "mopping-up operations" in each of which 10,000-70,000 Japanese soldiers were involved. The 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army underwent the most difficult period of their struggle in 1941-1942. The liberation zones began to recover gradually and managed to make progress in expanding their force in 1943 despite frequent "mopping-up operations" by the

Japanese. In that single year, the 8th Route Army fought a total of more than 24,800 battles with the enemy and inflicted more than 136,000 casualties on the enemy and puppet troops; while the New 4th Army fought a total of more than 5,300 battles with the enemy and inflicted more than 66,000 casualties upon the enemy and puppet troops.<sup>10</sup>

Germany surrendered on 8 May 1945. Soon after that, on 2 September, Japan also surrendered. Some Western historians stressed that Japan's final surrender was the result of two atomic bombs dropped by the United States, while Soviet historians unanimously held that the Red Army's thrust into the northeast of China played a decisive role in the defeat of the Japanese aggressors. However, one should never forget the basic fact that before its surrender, Japan had already been worn out by hundreds of thousands of large- and small-scale battles waged by the Chinese people in 8 successive years. During that period, 447,000 Japanese soldiers were killed in China, an equivalent of 39 percent of the total 1.13 million Japanese soldiers killed in World War II.<sup>11</sup> Japan's war expenses in China amounted to some \$12 billion, equivalent to 35 percent of the total \$34 billion that it spent in the war.<sup>12</sup> Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "China is one of the world's five greatest powers taking part in the antifascist war. It is also the major country opposing the Japanese aggressors on the Asian continent."<sup>13</sup> This assertion is completely in keeping with the historical facts.

The victory of World War II was the victory of the extensive international antifascist united front. The Chinese people had obtained support from many countries in their anti-Japanese war and, in return, they had also supported other countries in the antifascist war.

First, China's resistance had largely freed the Soviet Union from being bogged down in fighting on both the western and eastern fronts, thus enabling it to concentrate more resources on the war of defending the nation.

As everybody knows, the Japanese imperialists had a deep-rooted hostility toward the socialist Soviet Union. Japanese troops created the Zhanggufeng Incident on 14 July 1938 and were heavily counterattacked by the Soviet army. Japan's defeat should obviously be attributed to the struggle of the powerful Red Army; but it should also be related to the fact that the main force of the Japanese army was then preparing for the Wuhan campaign. In 1938, Japan had 24 divisions stationed to the south of the Great Wall, which accounted for 70 percent of its total 34 divisions. When the Zhanggufeng Incident took place, Japan had no more than 6 divisions stationed in the northeast of China. The Japanese military strength was apparently inferior to that of the Soviet Union, which then had more than 20 divisions stationed in its Far East region. In August 1938, the Japanese troops fighting at Zhanggufeng sent an emergency message to Tokyo, asking for supplies of antitank ammunition. Their call was turned down by the Ministry of the Army as the ammunition production quotas for November of that year had already been allotted in advance to the troops engaging in the Wuhan campaign.<sup>14</sup> On 11 May 1939, the Japanese Kwantung Army invaded (Nuomenkan) [6179 7024 0974]. During the battle which lasted for more than 3 months, the Japanese troops suffered heavy casualties. On 30 August, the Japanese chief of the general staff,

Prince (Zai Ren) [6528 0088], issued Continental Order No 343 to (Kenkichi Ueda) [Zhi Tian Qian Ji 2784 3944 6197 0679], commander of the Kwantung Army: "The general headquarters' intention is to deploy part of the empire's troops in Manchu to guard against the Soviet Union and to maintain peace in the north while concentrating their attention on handling the Chinese issue. For this reason, we should try our best to avoid expanding war in (Nuomenkan) or we simply put an end to the war there within a short time."<sup>15</sup> This once again showed that the Chinese and Soviet armies had supported each other.

The Soviet Union had tried its best to avoid fighting on both the eastern and western fronts. On 23 August 1939, the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany. In the autumn of 1940, the Soviet Union decided to send a military delegation to China headed by Vasily Ivanovich Chuikov. Before Chuikov's departure, Stalin instructed him: "Your mission, and that of all our personnel in China, is to tightly tie the Japanese aggressors' hands. Only when the Japanese aggressors' hands are tied can we avoid fighting simultaneously on both fronts once the German aggressors launch an offensive against us."<sup>16</sup>

Germany launched the aggressive war against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. From 25 June to 1 July, Japan convened six joint meetings of cabinet and general headquarters to decide on whether to advance northward or southward. Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka strongly recommended a northward operation before moving southward. But most people objected to this plan. Minister of Army Hideki Tojo held that the Chinese issue could never be put aside. Chief of the General Staff Sujiyama also pointed out: Most of Japan's troops are now deployed in China, actually there is no way to advance northward. On 2 July, an "Outline of the Empire's Policy To Keep in Line With the Development of the Situation" was adopted at a meeting in which the emperor took part. The outline stipulated: "The empire will persist in building the 'Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere' no matter how the world situation develops." "It will make further efforts to deal with the case of China and will continue to expand toward the south." "The empire will resort to force to solve the problems on the northern front once the situation in the German-Soviet war becomes favorable to it."<sup>17</sup> To be sure, the combat strength of the mighty Red Army was one of Japan's major concerns which stopped it from attacking the Soviet Union in coordination with Germany. However, China's resistance to Japan was apparently an important factor and not one to be neglected. Having heard that Japan had given up the northward advance plan, the Soviet Union transferred some of its troops from the Far East to its western front to support the Moscow Defense Campaign at a crucial moment.<sup>18</sup>

Second, due to the Chinese people's resistance, the setting up of the German-Italian-Japanese alliance was delayed again and again.

Back in January 1938, Germany had already offered Japan a proposal on the setting up of a tripartite alliance. But Germany demanded that the alliance oppose not only the Soviet Union but also Britain, the United States, and other Western countries. Members of the Japanese ruling class unanimously supported the plan to establish the alliance, but they had great differences

of opinion over the question of which countries should be classified as enemies of the alliance. Their disputes were closely linked to the Chinese issue. The Japanese army was in favor of Germany's proposal, holding that Japan, in order to solve the "Chinese issue," had to make use of Germany's force, prevent the Soviet Union from intervening in the Sino-Japanese war, and warn Britain and the United States not to support China. However, the Navy and Foreign Affairs Ministries objected to directing the spearhead at Western countries. On the one hand, they held that Japan needed to make use of the appeasement policy followed by Britain and the United States and had to rely on them for material supply; on the other hand, they were reluctant to engage the United States and Britain before the end of the Sino-Japanese war, being aware that the U.S. and British Navies were not forces to be ignored. On 4 May 1939, Hiranuma, then Japanese prime minister, sent a letter to the German and Italian Embassies in Japan saying: "In the hope of strengthening our relations...Japan is determined to firmly stand by the side of Germany and Italy, giving political and economic support to them, or even providing them with military aid as long as it can afford to, in case the two countries are attacked by one or more than one countries including or excluding the Soviet Union." However, the letter also asserted: "In view of its present situation, Japan cannot provide at present and will not be able to provide in the near future any substantial military aid to the two countries."<sup>19</sup> So, since the main force of the Japanese army was trapped on the Chinese mainland, Japan actually gave no military aid to Germany before the Pacific War broke out.

Third, the anti-Japanese war waged by China had deferred the Pacific War and served as a strong support for the United States and Britain in their struggle after the Pacific War broke out.

As we have mentioned above, after the German army had overrun Western Europe, Japan decided to take the opportunity of Germany's victory to advance southward. Nevertheless, the troops that Japan could transfer from China were limited because of the ongoing Sino-Japanese war. Therefore, the "Outline of Measures To Be Taken To Cope With the Development of the World Situation" adopted by the joint meeting of general headquarters and government on 27 July 1940 had to cite two cases: In the first case, military force would be used to solve the problem concerning the southern front "when the Chinese issue was basically settled." In the second case, "if the Chinese issue was not completely solved, any policy should be based on the principle that it would not bring Japan into war with any third country." However, if the domestic and international situations were especially favorable, Japan could also use military force. On 17 April 1941, the Ministries of the Army and Navy under the Japanese general headquarters adopted another "Outline on the Policy Concerning the South," which held that Japan could only resort to force on the southern front when the embargo placed by the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands endangered Japan's existence and when the United States stepped up military pressure on Japan, either on its own or in cooperation with Britain, the Netherlands, and China. Why did Japan postpone its advance to the south? First, because the Japanese navy thought that exerting military force on the south would mean exerting military force on the United States; and Japan was not yet ready to resort to

force at that time. Next, because the "Chinese issue" had not been settled. The appendix to the "outline" provided: "'The Outline of Measures To Be Taken To Cope With the Development of the World Situation' adopted in July of the 15th year of the reign of Emperor Showa has laid down the policy concerning the south. But the current outline on the policy concerning the south will override that outline so long as the Chinese issue is not settled." "When the Chinese issue is settled or there are drastic changes in the world situation, our policy concerning the south will be drawn up anew."<sup>20</sup> By and large, the war of resistance to Japan carried out by China had delayed the outbreak of the Pacific War and had pinned down the Japanese so that they failed to get enough military strength when they finally launched the war. In fact, China's struggle enabled Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands to make fuller preparations and mitigated the Japanese troops' attack on them.

In the initial period of the Pacific War, Britain, the United States, and the Netherlands kept on retreating. After successive victories, the Japanese navy became more and more ambitious. It planned to attack the east coast of Australia so as to cut off the communication line between Australia and the United States, and to raid Ceylon and the Indian Ocean area so as to join forces with Germany. At that time, Germany was expecting Japan to occupy Ceylon and Madagascar since the situation would be much more favorable to the advance of Rommel's North African Army if Japan managed to cut off the communication line by which the British could reach Egypt via the Red Sea. The Japanese army, though obsessed with ambition, did not support the navy's plan since its main force had been trapped on the Chinese mainland and it could not transfer any large number of troops to launch offensives elsewhere. Roosevelt was clearly aware of China's role in preventing Japan from carrying out the above plan. In the spring of 1942, he told his son: "Suppose China did not resist Japan or China was defeated by Japan, how many Japanese divisions do you think could be transferred to fight on other frontlines? The Japanese could capture Australia and India immediately. They could take all these places without making an effort, and they could even march straight toward the Middle East." "Japan and Germany could cooperate to launch a large-scale pincer attack, then join forces in the Near East, completely isolate Russia, annex Egypt, and cut off all communication lines passing through the Mediterranean Sea."<sup>21</sup>

Chinese troops also made great contributions to the 1943-44 counteroffensive in northern Burma. The Chinese army detachment to India took the lead in entering the Hukawang Valley in October 1943; recovered Myitkyina in August 1944; and captured Bhamo in December of the same year. In addition, the Chinese troops stationed in western Yunnan crossed the Nu Jiang in May 1944 and took Tengchong, Longling, and Mangshi from September to November. On 27 January 1945, the Chinese army detachment to India and the Chinese expeditionary force joined forces in Mangyou and, shortly after that, the Sino-Indian highway was clear again.

To sum up, the Chinese people, as the main force in defeating the Japanese imperialists in the Asian continent, had strongly supported other allied countries by courageously fighting against the enemy. Talking of the

important contributions of China's anti-Japanese war to the world's anti-fascist war in his State of the Union message issued on 6 January 1945, Roosevelt said: The United States "will never forget how the Chinese people withstood the wild offensives by the Japanese and how they pinned down a large number of enemy troops in the vast areas of the Asian continent during more than 7 years."<sup>22</sup> In a telegram sent in reply to Mao Zedong on 2 September 1951, Stalin also highly praised "the Chinese people's great role in the cause to eliminate the Japanese imperialists." He asserted: "The struggle waged by the Chinese people and their PLA greatly facilitated the cause of routing the Japanese aggressive force."<sup>23</sup> These remarks made by the leaders of the two major allies during the war were correct and fair.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

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[Article by Pang Xianzhi [6614 0341 4249] and Feng Hui [7458 5610]]

[Text] The anti-Japanese national united front was established after a decade of civil war under the historical conditions characterized by a large-scale invasion of China by Japanese imperialists and Japan's determination to subjugate China, and by the renewed cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. The establishment of this united front brought about a new situation in the national war of resistance against Japan.

The anti-Japanese national united front was a decisive force in sustaining the protracted war of resistance against Japan and in winning a final victory in the war. With a firm and indomitable will, the CPC made arduous efforts to establish, safeguard, and develop the anti-Japanese national united front. At the same time, it creatively put forward and formulated a whole set of theories, policies, and tactics concerning the united front. These theories, policies, and tactics enriched and developed the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and became an important component of Mao Zedong Thought. To mark the 40th anniversary of the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, in this article we would like to introduce Mao Zedong's expositions on several major questions concerning the anti-Japanese national united front and to discuss our understandings of these questions.

### I. The Characteristics of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

Compared with the united front during the first instance of KMT-CPC cooperation (1924-1927), the anti-Japanese national united front was attended by many new circumstances and had many new characteristics. A good understanding of these circumstances and characteristics is quite necessary for understanding and studying the theories, policies, and tactics of the CPC concerning the anti-Japanese national united front.

First, the anti-Japanese united front embraced the entire nation. The Great Revolution of 1924-1927 was chiefly directed against the domestic enemy. The participants in the united front included workers, peasants, the urban petit-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. The war of resistance

against Japan was directed against foreign aggression. The participants in the united front included not only workers, peasants, the urban petit-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, but also all classes, strata, political parties and groups, and organizations in the country with the exception of traitors and the capitulators within the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, as well as Chinese residents residing abroad. Such a broad united front was unprecedented in the modern revolutionary history of China. A great merit of the united front was its broad character, which strengthened the forces of the anti-Japanese camp. However, this also resulted in the complexity of the united front so that when formulating the policies and tactics for the united front, the CPC was confronted with many complicated situations and arduous tasks.

Second, the anti-Japanese national united front was a long-term effort. The protracted character of the war of resistance against Japan determined the protracted character of the anti-Japanese national united front. It was always a strategic objective of the CPC to seek long-term cooperation with the KMT, to oppose any split, and ultimately to vanquish Japanese imperialism. Moreover, the CPC also hoped to uphold the two-party cooperation after the war so that together they could build new China.

Third, the anti-Japanese national united front was based on cooperation between two political powers and between two armies representing the interests of different classes. One was the national political power and the army led by the KMT and the other was the partial political power and the army led by the CPC. During the first KMT-CPC cooperation period, the KMT commanded several hundred thousand soldiers but did not control the state power; the CPC neither had political power under its leadership nor possessed a sizable army. During the war of resistance against Japan, the KMT controlled the state power and commanded a massive army. The CPC not only had partial political power under its leadership, but also possessed its own army. The cooperation between the two political powers and the two armies became a conspicuous feature of the anti-Japanese national united front. The success or failure of this cooperation determined the fate of the anti-Japanese national united front and the victory or defeat of the war of resistance against Japan. The KMT-CPC cooperation was chiefly cooperation between the two armies led by the two parties, and the formation of the anti-Japanese national united front began with the cooperation between the two armies. During the war of resistance against Japan, each of the two armies assumed some strategic tasks. They coordinated with each other to resist the enemy. The contradictions and struggles within the united front sometimes became so acute that they developed into armed conflicts between the two armies. This caused some specific problems for the united front work of the CPC.

Fourth, the anti-Japanese national united front had neither a common program nor a fixed organizational form. Politically, the united front during the Great Revolution took as a common program the manifesto of the First KMT National Congress and the Three Cardinal Policies [alliance with the USSR, acceptance of CPC members into the KMT, and benefits for workers and peasants] and the Three People's Principles put forward by Sun Yat-sen;

organizationally, it chiefly concentrated on CPC members joining the KMT. During the war of resistance against Japan, due to the opposition and obstruction of the KMT, the two parties never agreed on a common program which was binding on, recognized by, and observed by both parties, and they never had a fixed organizational form for the united front. This added difficulties to the consolidation of the united front.

Fifth, the anti-Japanese national united front was approved and supported by the antifascist countries in the world. This differed greatly from the united front during the Great Revolution. At that time, international imperialism was relatively stable and the tide of world revolution was at a low ebb. Several major imperialist countries supported different warlord factions in China and opposed the Chinese revolution and KMT-CPC cooperation. Only the Soviet Union aided the Chinese revolution and supported KMT-CPC cooperation, but it was not powerful enough. China's war of resistance against Japan was an important component of the world's antifascist war. The anti-Japanese national united front was not only supported by the Soviet Union, which had become powerful by then, but was also helped and supported to varying degrees by the United States and Britain which were both having disagreements with Japan. This created a favorable international situation for the CPC to seek long-term cooperation between the KMT and the CPC and to consolidate the united front.

It should be especially pointed out that in the war of resistance against Japan, the CPC was already a mature party. It had accumulated rich experience in the united front and the armed struggle. It not only had experience in opposing both the rightist deviationist and "leftist" errors, but also commanded an army which had been tested in wars. The CPC and the army under its leadership became the hard core and the important pillar of the anti-Japanese national united front. This was vastly different from the period of the Great Revolution. It was of decisive importance to the formation of the anti-Japanese national united front and to its maintenance and development until the final victory of the war of resistance against Japan.

## II. Correct Handling of the Relationship Between National Contradictions and Class Conflicts as the Basis of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

After the 18 September Incident in 1931, particularly after the North China Incident in 1935, the national contradictions between China and Japan gradually became the primary problem while domestic problems were relegated to a secondary and subordinate position. This state of affairs wrought great changes in the relations between various classes and between various political parties and groups in the country, affected and changed the policies of the KMT and the CPC and the relationship between the two parties, and thus enabled the formation of an anti-Japanese national united front.

Following the 18 September Incident in 1931, Japanese imperialism occupied northeastern China. This wrought changes in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the upper petit-bourgeoisie, giving rise to a tendency to unite with the Communist Party in resisting Japan. At this time, however, the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, with Chiang

Kai-shek as their representative, followed a policy of nonresistance of Japan. Domestically, they continued the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the Red Army. It was not until the North China Incident in 1935, during which Japanese imperialism instigated "self-autonomy" in the five provinces of northern China, thus directly threatening KMT rule in northern China and intensifying the contradictions between Japanese imperialism and the KMT, that the KMT began to markedly change its policy toward Japan and to get into secret contact with the CPC. The Xian Incident in 1936 and its peaceful solution were crucial to the change in the situation. They helped to achieve domestic peace and provided an important prerequisite for KMT-CPC cooperation.

In order to adapt itself to the above changes in class relationships in the country, the CPC effected important changes in its tactics toward Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT, switching from "resisting Japan and opposing Chiang Kai-shek" to "forcing Chiang Kai-shek to resist Japan" and to "uniting with Chiang Kai-shek in resisting Japan." This reflected a process of historical development from deliberation to the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front. After the 18 September Incident, the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, with Chiang Kai-shek as their representative, pursued a policy of "pacifying the nation before resisting foreign aggression." They yielded to foreign power but concentrated all their efforts to "encircle and suppress" the Red Army and to suppress the national revolutionary tide of the people who wanted to resist Japan. They were still the sworn enemy of the CPC and the Chinese people. Under these circumstances, it was appropriate to put forward the slogan of "resisting Japan and opposing Chiang Kai-shek." It was only after Chiang Kai-shek who, faced with the threat of further aggression by Japanese imperialism, altered his attitude in 1935-1936 that it was possible to abandon the "anti-Chiang" slogan. In their circular telegram issued on 5 May 1935, Mao Zedong and Zhu De officially dropped the "anti-Chiang" slogan. Later, they put forward the slogans of "forcing Chiang Kai-shek to resist Japan" and "uniting with Chiang Kai-shek in resisting Japan." After repeated talks between the CPC and the KMT, the anti-Japanese national united front was officially established based on cooperation between the two parties.

This shows that the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front was chiefly determined by the problems between China and Japan. It should also be pointed out that its maintenance was also chiefly determined by the problems between China and Japan.

In the war of resistance against Japan, which lasted for 8 years, Chiang Kai-shek launched three anticommunist onslaughts and created numerous types of anticommunist friction, big and small. But they did not develop into a nationwide civil war and the two-party cooperation never broke down. There were many reasons for this, including the correct policies adopted by the CPC, the opposition of the people, international pressure, and so on. But the most fundamental reason was the existence of the acute contradictions between China and Japan. The second anticommunist onslaught is an example. When Chiang Kai-shek staged the Southern Anhui Incident and thus pushed KMT-CPC cooperation to the brink of collapse, Japan did not relax its

military offensives against China, but took advantage of this opportunity to concentrate a force of several divisions or regiments to launch the Henan campaign. After the CPC indicated its tough stand regarding the Southern Anhui Incident, Chiang Kai-shek, faced with the Japanese military offensives, could not but seek a compromise with the Communist Party and readjust the relationship between the KMT and the CPC in order to deal with the common enemy. It is as Mao Zedong pointed out: "The fact that a national enemy has penetrated deep into our country is all-decisive." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 739) Unless Chiang Kai-shek was determined to surrender to Japanese imperialism or unless there was great darkness and retrogression in the world, he dared not rashly scrap KMT-CPC cooperation and wage a nationwide civil war. After the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, with Chiang Kai-shek as their representative, scrapped KMT-CPC cooperation and withdrew from the united front in 1927, they were still able to set up a nominally independent nationwide political power. However, with Japanese imperialists determined to subjugate China, it would have been absolutely impossible for them to set up any nominally independent political power had they scrapped KMT-CPC cooperation and withdrawn from the united front.

In the entire course of the war of resistance against Japan, the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong firmly grasped the primary problem--the contradictions between the nations. They took this as a fundamental basis for handling the relationships between national contradictions and class conflicts and between the KMT and the CPC. At that time, some comrades in the party often made incorrect appraisals of the class conflicts in the country. For example, the first anticommunist onslaught was appraised as another 21 May Incident by some comrades [the suppression of revolutionary organizations in Changsha by General Xu Kexiang on 21 May 1927] and the second anticommunist onslaught as a repetition of the 12 April coup d'etat. Every time the KMT launched an anticommunist onslaught, they held that KMT-CPC cooperation would collapse soon or had collapsed. The cause for this erroneous understanding was that they forgot that national contradictions were the primary problem.

The similarity between the national struggle and the class struggle and the subordination of the latter to the former was a fundamental principle upheld by the CPC in handling the contradictions and struggles of the anti-Japanese national united front. Mao Zedong said: "In a struggle that is national in character the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the similarity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period, the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt cooperation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggles." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 504) In an effort to unite and join forces with the KMT in resistance of Japan and to facilitate the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front, the CPC decided to suspend the principle of overthrowing KMT rule by force, to stop confiscating the land of landlords, to change the name of the government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia revolutionary base area into the government of the special region of the Republic of China and the name of the Red Army into the National Revolutionary Army under the guidance

of the Nanjing central government and the military commission, and so on. All these were major steps taken by the Communist Party to subordinate class struggles to the needs of the national struggle. Within the united front, class contradictions and conflicts were not eliminated, nor could they be. However, these contradictions and conflicts could only be properly solved with the principles of developing the anti-Japanese movement and subordinating everything to the war of resistance against Japan. For example, the struggle between the KMT, which created friction, and the CPC, which was opposed to friction, was the most conspicuous manifestation of class struggles within the anti-Japanese national united front. With regard to the anticommunist friction created by the KMT, the CPC did not dodge them. By upholding the stand of self-defense, the CPC solved them through a struggle on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint but without breaking up the cooperation so that the objective of upholding the two-party cooperation and joining forces to resist Japan could be ultimately achieved.

In short, in handling the questions of class struggles, we had to take into account and subordinate ourselves to the situation as a whole, which was to resist Japan in unity. If we had excessively and inappropriately stressed class struggle and gone beyond a certain limit, we would have made "leftist" mistakes, which could have led to the collapse of the anti-Japanese national united front. Conversely, if we had obliterated the class limitations of the united front, denied the existence of class struggles, and relaxed our vigilance against this, we would have made rightist mistakes, which could have also led to the collapse of the anti-Japanese national united front.

### III. Striving for and Upholding the Leadership of the Proletariat as the Fundamental Guarantee of the Consolidation and Development of the Anti-Japanese National United Front

The anti-Japanese national united front was a very extensive united front and the class status of the participants was very complicated. Every class, as well as its political party, had its own political stand. There was one thing in common, namely, all wanted to resist Japan. It was on this basis that the united front was established. However, there were differences on how to resist Japan, on the steadfastness and thoroughness of each class in resisting Japan, and on the question of what kind of country should be built after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan. It was over these issues that the questions of who-influencing-whom and contention for leadership arose.

In the anti-Japanese national united front, contention over leadership chiefly occurred between the KMT and the CPC. Mao Zedong pointed out: There are two principal "commanding officers" in China: One is the proletariat and the other is the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie. China's society is small at both ends but politically strong; it is big in the middle but politically weak. The intermediate strata is vacillating by nature. Only two classes have a firm stand: the proletariat, and the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, that is to say, the CPC and the KMT. (See the political report made by Mao Zedong on 24 April 1945 to the Seventh CPC National Congress) Only by upholding the leadership of the

proletariat could the anti-Japanese national united front exist and become consolidated.

The KMT, which was the political representative of the big bourgeoisie, joined the anti-Japanese national united front because it wanted to utilize the strength of the people under the leadership of the CPC to defeat the common enemy and, at the same time, to maintain its one-party dictatorship in China. On the one hand, it wanted to make use of the strength of the people under the leadership of the CPC; on the other hand, it was afraid of the growth of the people's strength and the extensive development of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement. For this reason, it tried hard to contain the movement to within the scope of its needs and approval and to subordinate the movement to its class interests. If the leadership had completely fallen to the hands of the KMT, it would have been impossible to maintain the anti-Japanese national united front and the prospects for the war of resistance against Japan would have been ruined.

The CPC persisted in struggling to the end in the interests of the proletariat and the entire people and for the complete victory of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement. To ensure the consolidation and development of the anti-Japanese national united front and to win final victory in the war of resistance against Japan, striving for and upholding the leadership of the proletariat became a central link of decisive significance. The proletariat (through the Communist Party) assumed its leadership over the anti-Japanese national united front principally through political leadership. That is to say, it put forward its political demands in light of the progress of historical development, led the people in carrying out these demands, and impelled the KMT to accept these demands, while becoming a model in carrying out these demands.

From deliberating the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front after the 18 September Incident to the end of the war of resistance against Japan, the KMT and the CPC had a series of differences of principle on the question of resisting Japan. From the 18 September Incident to the Xian Incident, the central issue was whether or not to resist Japanese aggression. From the Xian Incident to the 7 July Incident, the central issue was whether to make genuine preparations against Japan or to idly talk about it. From the 7 July Incident to the fall of Wuhan, the central issue was whether to wage a full-scale war against Japan or to wage a partial war against it and whether to carry out a protracted war or to fight a quick war. From the KMT's Fifth Plenary Session in 1939 to the KMT-CPC talks in the second half of 1944 (there were three anticommunist onslaughts during the interval), the central issue was whether to persist in the war of resistance against Japan and to uphold unity and progress or to reach a compromise with Japan and to engage in split and retrogression. After the CPC raised the slogan of setting up a coalition government in the second half of 1944, the central issue was whether to set up a democratic coalition government or to perpetuate the one-party dictatorship of the KMT. The former represented the views and actual deeds of the CPC, while the latter were those of the KMT. The CPC upheld its views, criticized, boycotted, and opposed the KMT's erroneous views, and led the people throughout the country

in acting according to its views. At the same time, it forced the KMT to preserve KMT-CPC cooperation, to go on resisting Japan, and not to come to terms with Japan halfway. Thus, the CPC played the role of political leadership in the anti-Japanese national united front. If the CPC had not independently put forward its political views, had failed to put them into practice, or had not influenced its ally as effectively as possible, it would have given up the leadership by toeing the line of the KMT. The failure of the Great Revolution precisely lay in the fact that although the CPC was organizationally independent at that time, it failed to maintain its political independence and thus became an appendage of the big bourgeoisie.

The conditions of various classes joining the anti-Japanese national united front were different and so were their attitudes toward the war of resistance against Japan. Therefore, the proletariat exercised varying degrees of leadership and exerted different degrees of influence on the other classes.

The proletariat, first and foremost, strove for and assumed leadership over the peasants and the urban petit-bourgeoisie. In China, the most important component of the people was the peasants and then the urban petit-bourgeoisie. As they did not have political parties of their own, they had to follow either the CPC or the KMT. By implementing various policies representing the interests of the peasants and the urban petit-bourgeoisie, the CPC attracted them and assumed leadership over them. The KMT, however, exercised its rule over them through coercive and deceitful measures. The national bourgeoisie was also a class over which the CPC strove for leadership. The national bourgeoisie had its own political views and organizations. Standing between the CPC and the KMT, it sometimes wanted to contend for leadership with the CPC. Therefore, the CPC could only exercise leadership over the national bourgeoisie on some major issues but could not exercise overall leadership over it. Could the CPC exercise leadership over the big bourgeoisie (its political representative being the KMT)? Generally speaking, it could not. It could only exert a degree of influence on certain issues or in a certain period and forced the big bourgeoisie to act, to a certain extent, according to the CPC's political views but not completely according to its own will.

The proletariat should strive for leadership because leadership did not naturally belong to the proletariat. Nor could the proletariat have leadership for the asking. Whether or not the proletariat could exercise its leadership and to what degree it assumed this leadership depended, as far as the CPC was concerned, on two basic factors--the correctness of its policies and the size of its strength. With the growth of the CPC's strength and the continued expansion of its prestige, influence, and role, the CPC could assume more leadership.

Striving for and achieving the leadership of the proletariat was based on adherence to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands. Within the united front, because the KMT did not grant equal rights to the other political parties and groups and adopted the principle of discriminating against, restricting, and weakening the CPC,

it was particularly important for the CPC to adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands. At the Luochuan meeting in August 1938, Mao Zedong put forward the question of maintaining the class independence of the party and called for the attention of the whole party to this question. At a meeting of the Political Bureau in December 1937, flaunting the banner of the Communist International, Wang Ming denied the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands and raised the erroneous slogan of "everything through the united front." It was not until the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee held in 1938 that the slogan was basically rectified. It is as Mao Zedong pointed out: Since the policy of the KMT was to restrict our growth, there was no reason whatsoever for us to propose such a slogan, which simply bound us hand and foot. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 504-505) The principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands ran through all fields of endeavor, such as the political, ideological, organizational and military fields, and the organization and mobilization of the mass movement. Naturally, independence and initiative were relative and not absolute. They referred to independence and initiative within the united front, which should be both united and independent. It would be entirely wrong to set independence and initiative against the united front by claiming, as Wang Ming did, that stressing independence and initiative would obstruct the united front.

#### IV. The General Policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front Was To Combine Alliance With Struggle

Combining alliance with struggle was the general policy of the anti-Japanese national united front which Mao Zedong put forward after summing up the extreme policy of "all alliance and no struggle" in the later stage of the Great Revolution and of "all struggle and no alliance" in the later stage of the agrarian revolution.

When talking about the uniformity and militancy of the united front, Mao Zedong said: Within the united front, unity is a basic principle which should be implemented in all places and in all our work. We should not forget unity at any time and in any place. At the same time, we have to supplement this with the principle of struggle because we wage struggle precisely for the purpose of achieving unity and because we cannot develop and consolidate the united front without struggle. It is necessary to conduct an essential struggle under proper circumstances. (See Mao Zedong's speech at the Political Bureau meeting on 24 September 1938) Later, he summed up the relationship between unity (solidarity, alliance) and struggle in one sentence: Struggle is the means to unity and unity is the aim of struggle.

In implementing the principle of combining alliance with struggle, it was necessary to work for varying degrees of alliance and to conduct different forms of struggle according to different targets. In line with the political attitudes of different classes, strata, groups, and factions, and their changes in different periods, Mao Zedong formulated different specific tactics of combining alliance with struggle.

First, the national bourgeoisie should be differentiated from the big bourgeoisie. Mao Zedong always differentiated one from the other. During the war of resistance against Japan, however, when the KMT launched its anti-communist onslaughts, there was a question of what attitude the national bourgeoisie would adopt. Would there be any difference between the attitude of the national bourgeoisie and that of the big bourgeoisie? These had not been tested and verified prior to the first anticommunist onslaught. The first anticommunist onslaught proved that the attitude of the national bourgeoisie was indeed different from that of the big bourgeoisie. Concerning this question, in a letter to Xiao Xiangrong written in 1940 after the first anticommunist onslaught, Mao Zedong wrote: "When I wrote the second chapter of 'The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party' in December of last year, the first anticommunist onslaught had been launched for only several months and it was still impossible to see clearly whether there was any difference between the attitude of the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and that of the big bourgeoisie. But this could be seen clearly in March this year. You are requested to refer to my article 'Problems in the Tactics of the United Front' on 11 March." In light of the performance of the national bourgeoisie during the first anticommunist onslaught, Mao Zedong substantially revised "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party." During the war of resistance against Japan, the CPC carried out a policy of firm alliance with the national bourgeoisie and, on the basis of preserving unity, adopted a method of persuasion, education, and well-meaning criticism toward its vacillating character and mistakes.

Second, the pro-Japanese big bourgeoisie should be differentiated from the pro-British and pro-American big bourgeoisie. Some of the pro-Japanese big bourgeoisie surrendered to Japan and became the enemy of the Chinese nation. These people should be resolutely overthrown. The pro-British and pro-American big bourgeoisie (constituting the main body of the KMT) had a dual character. They were opposed to Japan, yet they opposed communism. With regard to their resistance of Japan, while they were opposed to Japan, they did not actively wage war or actively oppose Wang Jingwei and the other traitors. Sometimes they even flirted with Japan's "peace" emissaries. With regard to their anticommunism, they were opposed to the Communist Party, but at the same time, they did not want a final split. They still maintained their stick and carrot policy. The CPC, however, adopted a revolutionary dual policy, uniting with the big bourgeoisie in resisting Japan but opposing its anticommunist acts.

Third, efforts should be made to differentiate between the various factions in the KMT in which the pro-British and pro-American big bourgeoisie constituted the main body. The KMT was a heterogeneous party which included die-hards, middle elements, and progressives. Due to their different status, interests, relationships, and historical conditions, their dual natures of resisting Japan and opposing communism were also different and these natures also changed at different times and in different places. Therefore, the specific tactics of both alliance and struggle adopted by the CPC were also different, but all these depended on whether or not they were beneficial to the cause of resisting Japan and to the people. For example, when the KMT created friction, the CPC adopted the following tactics and principles

toward the various factions of the KMT: "Resolutely unite with those who are friendly to us, try to neutralize those who are stubborn but have not attacked us for the time being, and resolutely beat back those who attack us." (See the cable drafted by Mao Zedong on 15 July 1940 for the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission) During the first anticommunist onslaught, in western Shanxi the CPC concentrated on beating back Yan Xishan, who was most energetic in opposing communism; in the Shanxi-Hebei-Henan area it concentrated on beating back Zhu Huaibing and Shi Youshan and established fairly good relations with the units under the command of Wei Lihuang and others in order to secure their neutrality; and in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area it only struck at the most reactionary elements in the anticommunist Ho Shaonan faction and won over Deng Baoshan and Gao Shuangcheng with caution. As soon as the Western Shanxi Incident was over, in an instruction to Zhu De and Peng Dehuai on 27 January 1940, Mao Zedong and Wang Jiaxiang asked them to tell Bo Yibo and other leaders of the new army [xin jun 2450 6511] that they should indicate to Yan Xishan their willingness to solve Shanxi's internal problems peacefully so as not to be taken advantage of by the enemy, and should indicate their willingness to continue to unite with Yan Xishan in resisting Japan. On 5 March, Mao Zedong again instructed Zhu De and Peng Dehuai: We should conscientiously restore relations with Yan Xishan and do our utmost to win over all personnel of the Yan Xishan faction so that they can unite into a middle force between the KMT and the CPC. This is very useful in the war of resistance against Japan and for KMT-CPC cooperation. In short, in the struggle against friction created by the diehards, not only should we win over such middle forces as the national bourgeoisie, the enlightened gentry, and the upper petit-bourgeoisie, we should also do our utmost to win over the middle force in the KMT. This is extremely important experience we have gained in the struggle to beat back the first anticommunist onslaught.

It should be pointed out that within the KMT, including its army, the diehards were only a small handful. Therefore, we should not equate the KMT as a whole with the diehards. Within the KMT, the progressives, the middle elements, and the middle and low-level personnel were unwilling to engage in a civil war. They maintained that the KMT and the CPC should cooperate in resisting Japan. In light of the changes in the situation, Mao Zedong included the majority of the KMT central army in the category of the middle forces. He pointed out: "Of the officers at various levels in the central army, only a small number of officers and the personnel of the political advisory department [zheng xun xi tong 2398 6064 4762 4827] are diehards; most of the others are middle elements, and some are progressives. On no account should we regard all the central army as diehards." (See the cable drafted by Mao Zedong on 12 April 1940 for the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission) He also said: "The previous traditional idea of our party and our army of regarding the graduates of the Huangpu Military Academy as a sweeping anticommunist clique was erroneous and harmful. In the current critical situation, it is extremely necessary to rectify this idea and to take advantage of every opportunity to conduct united front work among the graduates of the Huangpu Military Academy now serving as officers. We should not provoke them but should

move them with the idea of placing national interests above everything." (See the cable drafted by Mao Zedong on 16 November 1940 in the names of Mao Zedong, Wang Jiaxiang, and Zhu De) With regard to the diehards, we launched a counterattack only when they created anticommunist friction and, after that, we could seek unity with them. By isolating the diehards, we referred to isolating their aspect of opposing communism and opposing the people with the aim of ultimately winning over them to the cause of resisting Japan together. This was entirely different in principle from isolating the capitulators. The CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong repeatedly warned us against regarding the middle elements as diehards and regarding the diehards as traitors and capitulators. It was only toward those incorrigible and confirmed counterrevolutionary elements that we adopted a policy of complete annihilation. These people refused to resist Japan but were especially energetic in opposing communism. Some of them ultimately betrayed the country and surrendered to the enemy, thus becoming the scum of the nation.

There was an erroneous view which was criticized and rectified by the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong. Afraid of breaking up the united front, the people holding this view dared not launch counterattacks against the anticommunist frictions created by the diehards but made endless concessions to them. These people failed to understand that this would undermine the united front, because in so doing they would only swell the anticommunist arrogance of the diehards and place themselves in a position of being annihilated. Facts have proved that our success in beating back and checking the three anticommunist onslaughts by the KMT and continuously preserving the united front was not because the CPC carried out a political concession, but because the CPC resolutely opposed the anticommunist onslaughts. The second anticommunist onslaught is an example. Before the Southern Anhui Incident occurred, in an effort to prevent an anticommunist war, Mao Zedong issued a directive calling for the mobilization of large numbers of people inside and outside the party to "go among the KMT personnel and the various quarters to explain the detail that 'annihilating the communists' would result in national subjugation and the KMT's downfall and that carrying out a capitulationist policy had a hundred disadvantages without one advantage because it would enable the Japanese bandits to disintegrate the Chiang Kai-shek regime." (See the cable to Li Kenong and others from Mao Zedong on 6 November 1940) At the same time, the CPC also adopted a policy of conciliation and concession out of consideration for general interests. However, as soon as the Southern Anhui Incident occurred, the CPC immediately hardened its stand and waged a resolute struggle. It neither listened to some people's views that the CPC should make concessions to the KMT nor adopted other's views that the CPC should wage an all-out war against the KMT, but carried out the principle of launching an all-out offensive politically and acting on the defensive militarily. Due to the reasonable and tough attitude taken by the CPC as well as international and domestic factors, the second anticommunist onslaught was ended and the two parties again fostered cordial relations. This is what is meant by "if unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish."

Should the struggle against friction have been carried out in an unrestricted manner? Of course not. If we had done so, we would have violated the principle that class struggle should be subordinated to national struggle and would have made "leftist" mistakes. We did make "leftist" mistakes, but as soon as they occurred, the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong seriously pointed them out and put a stop to them. The CPC strictly kept to the stand of self-defense in carrying out the struggle against the friction created by the KMT. It was defensive in nature and was conducted because there were no other alternatives. As far back as on 12 January 1939, Mao Zedong laid down the principle that the Communist Party should adopt in waging the struggle against friction: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. Without carrying out the struggle against friction, it would be impossible to make the diehards come to their senses and they would become even more ferocious, which might lead to the collapse of KMT-CPC cooperation and endanger the existence of the united front. However, if the struggle was carried out beyond the scope of self-defense and without restraint, it might also lead to the collapse of the cooperation and endanger the existence of the united front. Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out: "In carrying out the struggle to counter the friction created by the KMT, we must pay attention to the principle of self-defense and should not go beyond the scope of self-defense. If it goes beyond the scope, it will have a very unfavorable influence on the whole country and the united front. We should pay particular attention to this in dealing with the central army because KMT-CPC cooperation is chiefly our cooperation with the central army." (See the cable drafted by Mao Zedong on 14 March 1940 for the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission) The struggle conducted by the Communist Party to counter the friction created by the KMT diehards was, in the final analysis, aimed at safeguarding the long-term cooperation between the two parties and contributing to the cause of the war of resistance against Japan. There were no other aims. The struggle against friction which the CPC conducted on just grounds, to our advantage, and conducted with restraints, was also aimed at seeking unity. That is to say, there was struggle in unity and there was unity in struggle. To seek unity, we should also make some concessions or compromises when necessary. For example, when the unit under the command of Zhu Huaibing was finished off by the 8th Route Army during the first anticommunist onslaught, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the main force of the units under the command of Pang Bingxun and others to be concentrated around Tainan (the area to the south of the Taihang Shan) with the aim of forcing the 8th Route Army to withdraw from the Lingchuan-Linxian area. To avoid new friction and to preserve the cooperation between the two parties, the 8th Route Army took the initiative to withdraw from the Lingchuan-Linxian area.

There was another erroneous view which was criticized and rectified by the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong. Afraid of breaking up the united front, the people holding this view dared not boldly develop the people's anti-Japanese force under the leadership of the Communist Party. They failed to understand that the more developed the people's force, the easier it would be to influence and to win over the middle force and to create a situation of resistance against Japan, thus forcing the KMT not to readily

break up KMT-CPC cooperation and impelling it to continue resisting Japan. Only in this way was it possible to consolidate the anti-Japanese national united front. If we dared not develop our force for fear of a split, we would be unscrupulously swallowed up by the KMT. Under such circumstances, there would be no united front to speak of. It is as Mao Zedong said: The development of the strength of the Communist Party represented the most important domestic factor so that the main body of the KMT "could neither surrender nor suppress the Communist Party." Developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces, and isolating the diehard forces were three inseparable aspects; but our basis was to develop the progressive forces because it was an important prerequisite for winning over the middle forces and isolating the diehard forces. In developing the progressive forces, it was most important to boldly expand the anti-Japanese armed forces led by the Communist Party and to extensively establish the anti-Japanese democratic base areas behind the enemy lines. Naturally, the development of the Communist Party's military forces had to be restricted to the Japanese-occupied areas and within the stipulated scope of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region. We could not make any moves in the rear of the KMT for this might lead to conflicts. This was also a principle which the Communist Party upheld out of consideration for the general interests.

On the question of unity and struggle, Mao Zedong penetratingly summarized in July 1940: "1) We have always stressed unity and will do so in the future in relation to all people favoring resistance to Japan; 2) we have always stressed struggle and we will do so in the future in relation to all capitulationists; 3) we stress both unity and struggle in relation to all diehards who resist Japan and are opposed to communism; 4) we sometimes stress unity and sometimes stress struggle depending on which constitutes the principal aspect of the diehards, unity or anticommunism; 5) we conduct struggle for the sake of unity, that is, for the sake of prolonging the time of cooperation; and 6) while stressing unity in every field (politically, militarily, and culturally) at the present moment, we should also conduct struggle because the KMT diehards are not changing their anticommunist policy." (Conclusion by Mao Zedong at the senior cadre forum in Yanan on 13 July 1940)

To correctly carry out the principle of both alliance and struggle, it was necessary to pay attention to the struggle on two fronts in the Communist Party, opposing "leftist" deviation on the one hand and rightist deviations on the other. Generally speaking, before the establishment of the united front, the main danger within the party was "leftist" closed-doorism which only wanted struggle and not alliance, as was the case with the Wang Ming "leftist" line. These people did not want the united front. They wanted to overthrow everything by regarding the national bourgeoisie and the upper petit-bourgeoisie as the most dangerous enemy and concentrating their efforts to strike at the middle forces. After the establishment of the united front, the main danger within the party was rightist capitulationism which only sought unity but forgot struggle, as was the case with the Wang Ming rightist capitulationism. Those who followed these made concessions to the KMT's antipopular policy and had more faith in the KMT than in the

people. They dared not boldly wage a mass struggle nor expand the anti-Japanese base areas and the people's army in the Japanese-occupied areas. When the KMT launched anticommunist onslaughts, "leftist" errors again often became the main danger in the party, stressing struggle but forgetting alliance. For example, these people blurred the distinction between the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie, stressed class struggle, advocated the agrarian revolution, and conducted the struggle against friction beyond the principle of self-defense. The CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong were always on guard against the two erroneous tendencies which endangered the anti-Japanese national united front and conducted the struggle on two fronts in light of the actual circumstances and in keeping with the times, opposing "leftist" or rightist deviations whenever they emerged and opposing major erroneous tendencies without relaxing the prevention and rectification of other erroneous tendencies.

During the war of resistance against Japan, the CPC was able to unite with the KMT under extremely complicated and difficult circumstances. This unity was an important force in resisting Japan, to staying within the anti-Japanese line, to consistently upholding KMT-CPC cooperation, to safeguarding the united front, and to vigorously developing the people's force in which the workers and peasants were the backbone, thus winning final victory in the war of resistance against Japan. Viewed from subjective conditions, this was chiefly because the CPC carried out the general policy of the united front correctly and in an all-round way, combining alliance with struggle.

In the modern history of China, the Communist Party has cooperated with the KMT on two occasions. The first instance of cooperation resulted in the victory of the Northern Expedition and the second in the victory of the war of resistance against Japan. As early as in the mid 1950's, after the founding of the PRC, the Communist Party considered and proposed the third instance of KMT-CPC cooperation. More than 20 years have passed since then and China has entered a new period of development. The present situation is fundamentally different from that during the war of resistance against Japan. If the third instance of KMT-CPC cooperation can be realized, it will certainly have many new features. Since 1979, the CPC has put forward the principles, policies, methods, and steps for promoting the third instance of KMT-CPC cooperation and have worked hard for the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland in order to fulfill the important tasks entrusted by history to the Chinese people.

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A PATRIOTIC SONG WHICH WILL GO DOWN IN THE ANNALS OF HISTORY

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[Article by Yan Shihong [7051 0013 1347]]

[Text] The war of resistance against Japan in which a brilliant victory was achieved 40 years ago, was a war fought under the banner of the anti-Japanese united national front proposed by the CPC. This was based on the cooperation of the KMT and the CPC and was widely participated in by workers, peasants, merchants, students, and soldiers, by various democratic parties, anti-Japanese groups as well as patriots, and overseas compatriots at all levels of society. It was the first war involving the whole nation and it fully manifested the great patriotic spirit of the 450 million sons and daughters of China. It was precisely the great centripetal and unifying force produced by this patriotic spirit which gave rise to the participation of the whole nation in the war and which guaranteed victory in the war against Japan.

From the 18 September Incident, after the Japanese imperialists occupied our three eastern provinces without firing a shot, all sorts of mammoth anti-Japanese national salvation movements were organized throughout the nation. The second day after the incident, students in Beiping, Tianjin, Shanghai, and other large and medium-sized cities successively boycotted classes, held demonstrations and organized all sorts of anti-Japanese groups and organizations. In the northeast, the former Northeast Army officers Ma Zhanshan [7456 0594 1472], Li Du [2621 2629], and others established the Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army and rose against the enemy. In Shanghai, the 19th Route Army led by Jiang Guangnai [5592 0342 7845] and Cai Tingkai [5591 1694 6946] initiated the famous 18 September War of Resistance. In May 1933, Feng Yuxiang [7458 3768 4382], Ji Hongchang [0679 7703 2490] and Fang Zhenwu [2455 2182 2976] organized the Chahar Masses' Anti-Japanese Alliance Army and bravely engaged in struggle. In April 1934, as proposed by the CPC, Song Qingling, He Xiangning, Ma Xiangbo [7456 4161 0130], and others, a total of 1,779 persons, signed and issued the "Basic Program for the Chinese People in Doing Battle Against Japan" which called for unity in the opposition to Japan. In the winter of 1935, the 9 December and 16 December patriotic mass movements exploded in Beiping and swept across the whole nation. In May 1936, the China Federation of National Salvation Groups which had been organized by Song Qingling, He Xiangning, Shen Junru [3088 6874 0320], and

other well-known persons from all circles, was established in Shanghai and began carrying out various anti-Japanese and national salvation activities. In November, General Fu Zuoyi [0265 0155 5030] resolutely led the Suiyuan anti-Japanese struggle. In December, the Generals Zhang Xueliang [1728 1331 5328] and Yang Hucheng [2799 5706 1004] were roused by patriotic, righteous indignation and launched the Xian Incident. This rocked the whole nation and played an important role in bringing about cooperation between the KMT and the CPC in opposing the Japanese.

With the 7 July Incident, the anti-Japanese war exploded everywhere, causing the patriotic enthusiasm of the nation's people to be further heightened and to reach an unprecedented scale in both depth and breadth.

1. This spirit of patriotism was generally manifested in all classes, all levels, all parties, and all groups joining together to oppose the Japanese, and especially in the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC.

Faced with the subjugation of the land and the endangering of the nation, with the initiative and promotion of the CPC, not only did workers, peasants, and petit bourgeoisie raise anti-Japanese banners, but representative individuals of the upper-level petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, as well as social and political groups, successively appealed for saving the nation and preserving its existence. In addition, the KMT powerholders who represented the landlords and the big bourgeoisie mostly moved from a hesitant and irresolute position to one of opposing the Japanese. This thereby formed a mighty torrent involving the whole nation unifying against Japan.

After the 18 September Incident, the CPC, looking at the situation as a whole, repeatedly appealed to the KMT to "halt the civil war and join forces against Japan." In 1935, the "Letter to All Compatriots Appealing to Them To Oppose Japan and Save the Nation," that is, the famous "1 August Declaration," was published. It appealed to the people of the whole nation to form an anti-Japanese united front. In 1936, through great efforts on all fronts by the CPC, the Xian Incident was peacefully resolved. This resulted in a great change in the political situation. In February 1937, the CPC sent a telegram to the 3d Plenary Session of the 5th KMT Central Committee putting forward five requirements and four guarantees, and made great efforts in promoting a national organization to oppose the Japanese. After the war against Japan exploded on an overall scale, the CPC again put forward a series of correct political viewpoints and military and strategic policies, pointing out the road to victory in the war. Leading the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army, as well as other people's armies, it opened up battlefronts behind the enemy lines and in the liberated areas. Under extremely arduous conditions, these forces carried out heroic struggle and encouraged the people of the whole nation to have faith in inevitable victory. All of this shows that CPC members were the most determined and most thoroughgoing patriots.

The acceptance, by the KMT, of the proposal to unite in fighting the Japanese, was also an important manifestation of patriotism. After the 18 September Incident, some of the leading powerholders in the KMT pursued

a policy of "pacifying internal troubles before worrying about aggression from outside." In regard to Japanese imperialism, they engaged in a "policy of nonresistance." This resulted in a large slice of the country's territory in the northeast and in the north falling into the hands of the enemy very quickly. However, under the impetus of the people's patriotic salvation movements throughout the nation, finally they accepted the CPC's proposal to unify against Japan, and led the KMT forces in persisting in the battle against the Japanese. In some of the campaigns, these troops showed themselves to be very persistent and very brave. During the course of the anti-Japan war, although a large number of officials and officers led by Wang Jingwei [3076 4737 5898] betrayed the country, surrendered to the enemy and became shameful traitors and collaborators; although some of the main powerholders in the KMT did not discard their anticommunist policies and incidents such as the West Shanxi Incident and the Southern Anhui Incident occurred in succession, resulting in tragedies which hurt friends and pleased the enemy; although these people suppressed the masses' anti-Japanese activities and anti-Japanese forces and once planned to collaborate with the Japanese; despite all this, for 8 years the anti-Japanese united national front succeeded in remaining unbroken and the KMT did not surrender to the Japanese imperialists. Because the KMT was the ruling party at that time, it had the ability to support anti-Japanese efforts and thus it played an important role in organizing the national anti-Japanese struggle.

As there was cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, it enabled the people's armies, under the leadership of the CPC, to open up battlefronts behind the enemy lines and in the liberated areas. The KMT forces took on the tasks on the main battlefront, and thus the two forces were able to support each other and depend on each other. As Mao Zedong pointed out at the time, "If there was not the heroic struggle by the major force on the main battlefront, it would not be possible to smoothly carry out guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines" and also that guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines "holds down a large number of enemy troops, thus coordinating with the struggle being waged by the major force on the main battlefront." (Foreword to "The 8th Route Army Military and Civilian Magazine")

2. This spirit of patriotism was generally manifested in bravery of the frontline troops in battle and in their actions in serving the country.

On battlefronts behind the enemy's lines, the officers and men of the 8th Route Army and New 4th Army, the South China Anti-Japanese Column, the Northwest Anti-Japanese Alliance Army, and other people's armies, unconcerned at the disadvantageous situation of having few men, poor equipment, and being outnumbered by the enemy, and disregarding their own safety, heroically attacked the enemy. In the battle of Pingxingguan, officers and men of the 115th Division engaged in rigorous hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy. Of the 100 heroes of the 5th Company which entered the engagement first, only 30-plus survived, while of the 150 soldiers of the 9th Company, only 18 survived. When the 120th Division was engaged in the battle of Jihui, the regimental political commissar, Zhu Kunji [2612 2492 0679], was injured three times but still he did not leave the firing line. He died

bravely for his country with six bullets in his body. After the 129th Division was assigned to stage a night attack on the Yangmingbao airfield, the commander of the 3d Battalion, Zhao Chongde [6392 1504 1795], led his troops in the attack. In one stroke, they burned 24 of the enemy's planes and thus played an important part in the battle to defend Xian. Zhao himself and many of his soldiers gloriously sacrificed their lives in the intense fighting and raging flames. In December 1941, when two companies and a platoon of the Shandong Column were defending Sujiagu, they engaged in repeated charges against the enemy. Finally, when there were only about 30-plus troops remaining, they each grabbed hold of one of the enemy troops and then threw themselves over the cliff, thus taking an enemy soldier each to his death. In Huaiyang at the battle of Liulaozhuang, a company of the New 4th Army killed over 170 of the enemy troops. However, all the troops in the company, a total of 82 persons, died as martyrs. After Yang Jingning [2799 7231 1337], commander in chief and concurrently political commissar of the 1st Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Alliance Army, sacrificed himself in February 1940, the enemy cut open his stomach and found that it contained only leaves, roots and cotton fibers. They were extremely startled and could not understand how this man could have been so firm and unbending! As to the achievements of the "eight women who threw themselves into the river" and the "five heroes of Langya Shan" everybody has known of their achievements for years. These brave persons and heroic deeds which are laudable but which bring tears to the eyes, bring credit on the people of China and are the pride of the Chinese nation. According to statistics, over 610,000 soldiers of the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and other people's armies, were injured or killed during the anti-Japanese war. A large number of these were CPC members and many were high-level commanders. Commander in Chief Zhu De, while mourning the martyr Zuo Quan [1563 2938], the assistant chief of staff of the 8th Route Army, wrote: "He was a great general who gave his life for the country. He was ready to shed his blood to protect China. The spirit of the Taihang Mountains will live for 1,000 generations and the blood-spattered flowers of Qing Zhang will long be remembered." This sonorous and forceful poem is a vivid and authentic portrayal of the patriotic spirit of these hundreds and thousands of martyrs.

In the fighting on the major battlefield, which was mainly done by the KMT forces, many patriotic troops also engaged in heroic struggle. After the 7 July Incident, a unit of the 29th Army led by Feng Zhian [7458 3112 1344], which was located in the vicinity of Lugouqiao, immediately put up determined opposition. The deputy commander, Tong Linge [0157 7792 7041], and the division commander, Zhao Dengyu [6392 4098 4416], successively sacrificed their lives at Nanyuan. In the Wusong-Shanghai campaign in which 400,000 KMT troops participated, Battalion Commander Yao Ziqing [1202 1311 7230], who was defending Baoshan, took an oath "to die with the enemy." Finally, when their ammunition and grain supplies ran out, he led the entire battalion in dying the deaths of martyrs. Xie Jinyuan [6200 2516 0337], the deputy regimental commander of the 524th Regiment, cherished a determination to survive or perish with all those on the battlefield, and led 800 heroes in defending to the death the Sihang granaries. The isolated force struggled for 4 days and nights and successfully completed the task of screening the withdrawal of the main force. At the battle of Xinkouhui, the commander of the 9th Army,

Hao Mengling [6787 1125 7881], and the division commander, Liu Jiaqi [0491 1367 7496], led their troops in bloody battle for 5 days and nights, and died martyrs' deaths. In the Taierzhuang campaign, which was led by Li Zongren [2621 1350 0088], the commander of the 122d Division of the former Sichuan Army, Wang Mingzhang [3076 6900 4545], who was guarding Tongxian County, "determined to give his life for his country." After the city fell, he shed the blood of several of the enemy and then died a martyr's death. In the West Suiyuan campaign, when the 35th Army was guarding Baotou, at one stage only three of the troops remained alive. They continued to fight from the roof of a temple. When all they had left was one hand grenade, they clasped one another and blew themselves up. This heroic undertaking really startled the enemy. In the Jiaoyi campaign waged in the summer of 1940, the commander of the 33d Group Army, General Zhang Zizhong [1728 5261 1813], personally went to the frontlines to command the troops. He was severely wounded but, painfully propping himself up, he refused to go back. Finally, together with the troops at his side, he gave his life for the nation. There are also many other officers and men who died martyrs' deaths in the fighting, such as the commander of the 36th Group Army, Li Jiayu [2621 1367 6877], the commander of the 98th Army, Wu Shimin [2976 1102 2404], the commander of the 200th Division, Dai Anlan [2071 1344 3482], and so on.

Regardless of whether we are speaking about the troops led by the CPC or the troops who were led by the KMT, the many brave heroes who sacrificed their lives for their country in the anti-Japanese war will long be esteemed by the Chinese people and will long live in the hearts of the people.

3. This spirit of patriotism was generally manifested in the masses of all nationalities, all areas and all circles throughout the country.

When the Japanese imperialists entered China, the vast masses suffered the most serious difficulties. Their spirit of patriotism was also especially intense and they actively threw themselves into the various anti-Japanese activities. At that time, the moving spectacles of wives sending their husbands and parents sending their sons off to fight the Japanese was seen everywhere. Many ardent youths left comfortable lives and resolutely rushed to the frontlines. Many families, in order to oppose the Japanese, willingly gave up all their property. Many people suffered to the full the oppression, humiliation, destruction, and plundering of the Japanese invaders, but did not yield. Rather, they found all sorts of ways by which to wage indomitable struggle against the enemy. An even greater number of people, in posts throughout the country, quietly but firmly engaged in production, supply, transport, reconnaissance, guidance, rescue, liaison, propaganda, agitation, and other such onerous work. They did not concern themselves with whether they were in the frontlines or in the rear areas, in liberated areas, KMT-administered areas, or enemy-occupied areas, or worry about a person's age, sex, occupation, political affiliations or ideological convictions. They just did all they could to oppose the Japanese.

Of the great family that is the Chinese nation, the Han nationality was the main force in opposing the Japanese. However, all the other minority nationalities also made great contributions in the anti-Japanese struggle.

The Northeast Anti-Japanese Alliance Army which struggled heroically in a land of ice and snow, included soldiers of the Man, Korean, Mongol, Hui, Daur, Ewenki, Oroqen, Hezhen, and other nationalities. The Qiongyan Anti-Japanese Column, which persisted in struggle against the Japanese in the south, also had many young men of the Li and Miao nationalities. Many minority nationalities also especially organized anti-Japanese units comprising people of that nationality. For example, the Mongol Cavalry Division and the Hui Detachment, which was organized by the minority nationality hero Ma Benzhai [7456 2609 7872].

The vast numbers of patriotic Overseas Chinese although scattered in different countries, shared the fate of the motherland from beginning to end. Many of them, on their own initiative, gave up their better living conditions and without fearing the distance involved, returned to the motherland to throw themselves into the struggle against the Japanese to save the nation, either on the frontlines or in the rear areas. A large number in many countries actively boycotted Japanese goods and raised funds and collected donations to purchase war materials. They supported the motherland's struggle against Japan in many ways. The famous Overseas Chinese leader Chen Jiageng, on the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, stood tall, and heedless of his own safety, went around making appeals in response to the national calamity. According to records, in 1939, military expenditures were 1,300 million yuan. In the same year, Overseas Chinese remittances to the motherland totaled 1,100 million yuan. Just from this, we can see the great contribution made to the anti-Japanese war by the vast numbers of patriotic Overseas Chinese.

Many people refused to be contaminated by the evil influences and had nothing to do with the enemy. This was also a manifestation of their patriotic spirit. The Beijing opera artist Mei Lanfang withdrew from society and did not appear. He grew a beard to show his determination and did not take to the stage for 8 years. The famous educationalist Ma Xulun [7456 0650 0243] did his utmost to persuade his former student and later traitor Chen Gongbo [7115 0361 0590] to leave the enemy, come over to the people, and stop selling the country. When Chen did not listen to the advice, Ma immediately severed the teacher-student relationship with him. Later, regardless of how poor he became, Ma refused to accept presents from Chen Gongbo. The patriotic Overseas Chinese leader Sima Meitang [0674 7456 2734 1016] not only organized Overseas Chinese support in the United States for the anti-Japanese struggle in China, but also, when passing through Hong Kong, he flatly refused to be lured by the Japanese imperialists' promises of gain. Rather, he disguised himself and entered the Dongjiang guerrilla area. Wang Zhaoyong [3769 0340 6978], the elder full-blood brother of the great traitor Wang Jingwei, refused to accept the position of head of the Guangzhou Peace Preservation Association and declared, "The Chinese and the bandits cannot exist together. It is better that I die than to help them in doing evil." When Wang Jingwei declared that he had surrendered to the enemy, his brother ceased to have anything to do with him. All these many deeds reflected the Chinese people's great integrity in preferring to die in glory than live in dishonor.

Innumerable facts have shown that the Chinese people's love for the motherland, their united minds, their shared bitter hate for the enemy, their heroic spirit of not ceasing until complete victory had been achieved, and their spirit of struggle without bending, were the sources of strength in achieving victory in the war against Japanese aggression.

It is already 40 years since we achieved victory in the war against Japanese aggression. However, that mighty patriotic spirit still inspires us in the struggle to complete the reunification of the motherland and to do well in socialist modernization.

The great cause of completing the reunification of the motherland is the common aspiration of the people of the whole country. History has fully demonstrated that cooperation between the KMT and the CPC is good for the country, good for the people, and good for the nation. When they are divided, it is bad for the country, bad for the people, and bad for the nation. Everyone hopes that the Taiwan authorities will be able to follow the patriotic tradition, carry forward the patriotic spirit, consider the interests of the motherland and the nation and, at an early date, realize the third KMT-CPC cooperation, so that the great cause of completing the reunification of the motherland can also be completed at an early date.

The speeding up of socialist modernization is also the common aspiration of the people of the whole nation. All persons who ardently love their nation should put all their wisdom and strength into socialist modernization so as to build our nation into a strong, modern socialist nation as quickly as possible. As a Chinese person, one should not forget the recent history of poverty and backwardness, and the aggression and humiliation suffered, should not forget the lessons gained from backwardness and beatings, and should not forget the martyrs who shed their blood for national independence and a strong and prosperous motherland. We must establish the ideal of repaying the nation, build our patriotic feelings, and see the contribution of all one's strength to revitalizing China and strengthening the motherland as the great glory. The party Central Committee has now formulated the correct line, principles, and policies to guide us on the correct road. The beneficial international situation has also provided a very good opportunity for our modernization. We should inherit and carry forward the patriotic spirit of the anti-Japanese war period and struggle strongly, so that our Chinese nation can begin to soar as early as possible, and so that our great motherland can be revitalized as quickly as possible.

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## DO MORE SOLID WORK TO RAISE THE STATUS OF TEACHERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 23-25

[Commentator's article]

[Text] The date 10 September is Teacher's Day. Here we extend our warm congratulations and cordial regards to the teachers working diligently in the educational field, and to the educational workers who have dedicated their whole life and wisdom to the new generation.

Teachers are those who spread the knowledge of mankind, who build socialist spiritual civilization, and who nurture the younger generation that is to become a pathbreaker, and to realize revolutionary ideals in the future. The quality of their work not only has a bearing on the growth of every teenager, which is a great concern of millions upon millions of parents, but also affects the future of the state and the nation. The tasks of China's educational workers are heavy. Despite the fact that their rewards are comparatively small, and their working conditions are comparatively poor, they have worked diligently and meticulously day after day, year in and year out, bringing up one batch of students after another. They are genuine anonymous heroes and selfless devotees. Showing respect to the teachers means showing respect to knowledge, culture, progress, and this noble spirit. Celebrating Teacher's Day means creating a good atmosphere of showing respect to knowledge and qualified people in the whole of society, so that more and more people may show concern for, and attach attention to educational undertakings, and show greater support and respect for the teachers' work.

Comrade Chen Yun said: "The four modernizations need qualified people; and the training of qualified people needs education, which involves the need for teachers." Anyone who genuinely attaches importance to and seeks modernization must show respect for teachers, and put education in a prominent place. This is an important criterion in judging the quality of leadership of any cadre and his understanding of modernization.

The leading comrades of the Central Committee have given thorough explanations in this respect, and many articles have been published in the press dealing with this topic. However, the most important thing at present is to do more solid work to raise the status of teachers in a down-to-earth manner.

The thorough and all-round implementation of the policy on intellectuals is of primary importance in raising the status of teachers. Some comrades hold that when all those cases of injustice, false charges, and incorrect verdicts have been corrected in their localities or departments, the policy on intellectuals should be regarded as having been implemented thoroughly in an all-round way. But this is an extremely one-sided view and far from adequate. When the crucial issue of whether the intellectuals are part of the working class, and whether it is necessary to rely on this force, has been solved, a further issue requiring solution is the need to trust the intellectuals politically, to show concern for their livelihood, and to place them in important posts, in order to bring into play their particularly important roles in socialist modernization based on the needs of the present historical mission. Leadership at all levels should examine and judge their own work in light of such a spirit, and discover whether the units under their charge have thoroughly implemented the policy on intellectuals in an all-round way, what problems still exist, and what measures are to be adopted as solutions to those problems. All these things should be studied and carried out one by one.

Leadership at all levels should show concern for education and for the teachers. They should constantly go deep into the schools and among the teachers, to conduct investigation and study, to understand the characteristics of, and the law that governs, education and teaching, in order to acquire practical and reliable data and grounds for the solutions to problems. They should constantly hold heart-to-heart talks with the teachers, befriend them, understand their feelings, listen to their voices and suggestions, help soothe their worries, and solve their difficulties, so that they may focus their main efforts on education and teaching with ease of mind. They should gradually become one with the teachers in their thinking, worry about what they are worrying about, and be bound together with them by a common cause. Only then will people see from facts and not just words: The teachers are genuinely valued and respected.

The work of the teachers is arduous and complicated. They should have better living, work, and study conditions, in order to match the higher and higher requirements placed on them by the development of the educational undertaking and educational reform. Leading departments and cadres at all levels should show more concern for the teachers. They should attach constant attention to study and adopt practical measures to solve their difficulties and problems of all kinds. We should not make light of such problems as wages, living quarters, and medical treatment; problems involving their children going to nursery school; and lightening the burden of their household chores. Lenin held that the solution to problems in this category is the "most important" of all measures to raise the status of teachers. A leading comrade of the Central Committee has also pointed out that the improvement of the teachers' material life and working conditions is "the most fundamental capital construction," which must be done well and with an effort. The truth underlying many issues is not so complicated, and the key is for the leadership to deepen their understanding, and to be determined to do some solid work. Why is it that some matters which in the eyes of some comrades seem to be out of the question and very difficult to

accomplish are fulfilled and realized in other localities? It is not that those localities have particularly good conditions, but that their leadership has attached genuine attention to those matters. If only lip service is paid to attaching importance to those matters, while things are done in a superficial way, then even the easiest thing may not be accomplished. Of course, it will not be possible or feasible to solve all the difficulties and problems accumulated throughout the years, and neither have the teachers raised such a demand. All they want is that those things which can be done be done sooner, and more rationally. Our cadres must establish the concept that "leadership means rendering service," and do away completely with the bad work style of relying on issuing instructions, paying lip service, and going in for fancy style and formalism. They should every year solve, through solid work, several problems which the teachers had hoped would be solved, but refrain from repeatedly saying "pleasing empty words" this year, next year, and every year. Problems that cannot be solved immediately may find a solution in several steps and finally be solved in several years. Regarding those problems which cannot be solved in the near future, in view of the limitations in existing human and material resources, prompt explanations should be given.

Within our contingent of teachers, there are a number of excellent people who cherish the students and have a strong sense of responsibility, a high level of teaching, and rich experiences in teaching. Their practice in education and experiences in teaching are valuable. Summing up and popularizing these advanced experiences and deeds, and giving them due commendation, awards, and honor is not only a very efficient and popular way to help teachers, young teachers in particular, and to raise their ideological and professional levels, but also a concrete and vivid expression of showing respect to labor and talented people.

Raising the status of the teachers and raising their ideological and professional levels supplement each other. The teachers have the urge to raise their own levels. Leadership at all levels should take an active part in creating conditions for their studies and further education, such as taking the development of teachers' colleges as the key to, and top priority in, running general education well; arranging well teachers, funds, and sites for correspondence schools and schools for teachers' further education; and organizing lectures and classes for teachers during vacations to broaden their vision and enrich their knowledge. We should care not only for the teachers' improvement in their profession, but also for their ideological progress. We should give them active and enthusiastic help in politics, and solve the difficulties of teachers in joining the CPC, recruiting those teachers who have met the standards.

Leadership at all levels should resolutely put a stop to the conduct of showing discrimination against teachers and beating them up. Those localities, where such cases of attacking and insulting teachers take place show not only that those troublemakers are barbarous, foolish, and ignorant, but also the fact that the pernicious ultraleft influences of the "Great Cultural Revolution" have not been eliminated there. Leading cadres at all levels should by no means become lax and powerless in dealing with such

incidents and adopt an indifferent attitude toward them, let alone showing tolerance to and shielding those troublemakers. They should grasp the incidents firmly, mobilize all forces to adopt resolute measures, and give due punishment to those troublemakers. At the same time, people should be genuinely educated, through our handling of the incidents, to come to an explicit understanding that "unless such barbarous and uncivilized phenomena and such a barbarous attitude toward science and educated people are eliminated, we shall not be able to make one step toward progress." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 40)

We are now carrying out the reform of the educational structure. The teachers at the forefront of education and teaching are the main force of the educational reform. Their work has a direct bearing on the development of education and the success or failure of the reform. The reason we are doing our best to raise the status of teachers, and to improve their working and living conditions, is to stimulate and to raise their consciousness and enthusiasm, so that they may exert themselves to work hard, march on as pathbreakers, and establish a strong sense and feelings of self-respect, dignity, and pride, in order to devote themselves to their work, show respect for their own undertaking, and dedicate themselves to our masters of the future with full passion. We are doing so in order that they may work still harder in their studies, enrich their knowledge, raise their ideological and professional levels, broaden their vision, strengthen their devotion and sense of responsibility, and acquire a progressive concept of education and concept of teaching, in order to improve the quality of their teaching and live up to the glorious title of architects of the soul of mankind, and builders of socialist spiritual civilization. We believe that, with the correct principles and policies of the Central Committee, and the support of society, our teachers will certainly do a still better job in education, bring up more excellent qualified people, and make greater contributions to socialist modernization. At the same time, more young people who have the will and vision will be attracted to devote themselves to the educational undertaking, to join the rank and file of the people's teachers, making our contingent of teachers all the more vigorous, and our educational undertaking all the more prosperous.

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TREASURE THE UNPRECEDENTEDLY JOYOUS FESTIVAL IN OUR COUNTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 25-26

[Article by Su Buqing [5685 2975 7230], professor and honorary president of Fudan University]

[Text] Teachers are an important part of our country's working class and shoulder the responsibility of exploiting intellectual resources and training talented people. Educating youths and youngsters mainly relies on the forces of the families, teachers and society, but above all on teachers. Teachers are a treasure to our state. They contribute their wisdom and knowledge selflessly to the society and to the masters of the future. The wealth that they have created for the society is of inestimable value. Children are the flowers of our motherland and youths and youngsters are the hope of our motherland. However, what fruits these flowers will bear and whether that hope will be realized depends crucially on the education from their teachers. Our teachers, in particular middle school and primary school teachers, are unknown heroes who have achieved great merit and must be respected by other people. Respecting teachers mainly means respecting teachers' status, role and value of labor. Beginning this year, a certain amount of improvement in the economic remuneration of our teachers is a measure of the state to heighten the teachers' status.

Now, a saying is much in vogue in our society that "teachers are to be respected but not loved." I think that this is a wrong view. For example, even now I still remember well the teachers who taught me in primary and middle schools. I still remember that when I was young, I was not a hard-working student, liked to play, and ranked the last in my studies in the whole class. A teacher named Chen Yufeng gave me the following advice: You are a clever student. It is a pity that you do not work hard. Your father saves his rice to pay for your studies, but you have no interest in your study. Do you not think that you are letting your father down? When I was upset because my Chinese language teacher criticized my composition, Teacher Chen again gave me some advice: The results of one's study depend on one's efforts rather than being determined by a certain teacher. As long as you study hard, you will certainly become a useful man of talents.... After that I studied hard and always ranked first in the whole class. Teacher Chen's patient teaching caused me to embark on the path of hard study. How can such a teacher be regarded as unrespected and unlovable?

Our teachers now love our socialist motherland and serve the four modernizations. Of course, they deserve even more respect from society. Of course the teaching profession even more deserves other people's love. The reason why some people have the above-mentioned wrong view is because they lack a due understanding of teachers' status and role and also because for a long time, we have failed to cultivate a general mood of society that respects teachers and attaches importance to the exploitation of intellectual resources, and because we have failed to properly evaluate the value of teachers' labor.

On the one hand the value of a teacher's labor depends on the social economic value of education. Generally speaking, under equal material conditions, an educated and trained worker makes a greater contribution than a poorly educated worker does. On the other hand, it depends on the special nature of the value created by the teacher. A well-trained worker can be employed by society for more than 30 years. This is the long-term nature of the economic results of teachers' labor. In particular, as the world is developing in the direction of an era of information now, there is an increasing demand for a higher educational level among laborers. Therefore, the value of teachers' labor today appears to be greater than at any time before. If we really understand the value of teachers' labor, we will cultivate a general mood of society that respects teachers and it will be relatively easy to solve the problem of middle school students being unwilling to enter teachers' colleges.

Of course, while society stresses respecting teachers, our teachers should also not neglect to set examples for their students and should cherish their self-respect. One of the major reasons that a teacher is respected by other people is because he selflessly contributes his knowledge, wisdom, and talents to the society and to the younger generation and trains talented people for the four modernizations of our motherland. Therefore, all our teachers should keep their minds on their work and strive to heighten, through studying pedagogy, psychology and logics, their professional competence, ideological level, and teaching ability and continuously improve the quality of their teaching. This is the responsibility and duty of all our teachers. If teachers do not do a good job of teaching and fail to train personnel for the four modernizations as soon as possible, it is hard for them to be respected by other people. At present, teachers shoulder very heavy responsibility. We teachers should satisfactorily do our work of teaching with one heart and one mind in order to adapt to the demand of the situation.

May Teachers' Day forever become a fine festival that encourages teachers to strive hard to make progress. Finally, allow me to finish my article with the following antithetical couplet:

Treasure the unprecedentedly fine festival in China  
Persist in laying a long-standing foundation for the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/2

## MY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 26-27

[Article by Wang Li [3769 0500], Beijing University professor]

[Text] In celebrating the teachers' festival, I feel that speaking from the point of view of us teachers, it is most important to concentrate energy on performing a good job of teaching.

I have been teaching in a university for 53 years, training many talented people. I do not dare say that the credit is all mine, since other teachers all have a share in the credit while the students themselves have contributed their efforts. I only wish to introduce the little experience I have gained from over 50 years of teaching and seek enlightenment from comrades in the educational circles.

I hold that teaching in a university should see the concomitant growth of teaching and learning. A teacher should do teaching work on the one hand and take up scientific research work on the other and impart to the students the results of his scientific research. I have often said: A university professor does not buy a textbook to teach but compiles a book to teach. Only by so doing can science in our country be developed and the students' gains be much greater than under the conditions of the teacher copying and reading from existing teaching materials. All during my teaching life, I have compiled my own teaching materials. Moreover, I deliver the lectures first and issue the teaching texts afterward. By so doing, I have made the students concentrate their minds on listening to my lectures and taking notes therefrom and on the spot. In 1932, I lectured in Qinghua University on the general principles of Chinese phonology. Subsequently my lecture notes were published, and the book was known as "Chinese Phonology" (after liberation the book was renamed "Phonology of the Han Language"). In 1938, I lectured on China's contemporary languages at the Southwest United University. Subsequently I split my lectures into two parts and revised them for publication, these being the books "Contemporary Chinese Grammar" and "Theories of Chinese Grammar." When teaching at the Southwest United University, I lectured in an elective course of study--poem composing. In 1946, I adjusted, revised, and expanded my lecture notes and compiled the book "Poetry Rhyming in the Han Language." In 1954, I lectured on the history of the Han language at Beijing University. Subsequently, I revised

my lecture notes for publication, the book being "Notes on History of the Han Language." The four publications mentioned above were all my important writings. If I had not given the lectures, I would not have been able to compile these books. This attests to the reasoning that teaching and learning go together.

I gave guidance to several groups of research fellows and have accumulated from it certain experiences. I hold that providing scholastic guidance to research fellows should not principally be simply and purely the imparting of knowledge. Rather, the major part of the lectures should be on difficult-to-read books and how to write dissertations, following the teaching principles of "not enlightening those who are not willing to work and not helping those who are not anxious to learn." Every fortnight, I assembled the research fellows for a guidance session. The students would prepare beforehand a few questions which I would answer or solve at the session. All the research fellows in the department would come to the session to listen and good results were generally attained. I took in five research students on the history of the Han language when I first began the lectures on the course of the history of the Han language. They sat with me to prepare the teaching texts. I told them the planning of the whole course. At each chapter or section, I would first tell them the preparations made in writing this chapter, the reference books used, the difficulties met with, and how the difficulties were solved. By so doing, it was like revealing to the research students concrete examples of how to do scientific research. Good results were achieved.

I mentioned above my teaching experience. Summing up, it may be said that the teacher must make himself exemplary. By so doing, can the teacher turn out students who can fulfill the proverbial saying that blue comes from the indigo plant but is bluer than the plant? [meaning the pupil surpasses the master] The answer is definitely in the affirmative. This is because the students still have other teachers to instill knowledge into them in other fields. Moreover, since the student's talent and efficacy are often better than those of their teacher, it is entirely possible that the blue though coming from indigo, is rated above it.

CSO: 4004/1

## CONSTANTLY MAKE EXPLORATIONS IN THE COURSE OF TEACHING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 27-28

[Article by Duan Lipei [3008 0500 0160], honorary principal of Yu Cai Middle School of Shanghai]

[Text] Establishing the teachers' festival has made us teachers and educational workers unusually excited. The whole society respects teachers but also demands of us teachers and educational workers to constantly elevate ourselves and make more contributions to education. I hold that trying in every way to do a good job in teaching is the basic road to enrich and elevate ourselves. Practice has told us that the course of teaching is mainly one in which the teacher and students jointly explore for knowledge and not in which the teacher exclusively imparts knowledge to the students. On this problem, I have the following ideas:

Exploration is a requirement in the search for knowledge. Book knowledge is the summing up in book form of man's knowledge of objective matters, but objective matters are always changing and man's knowledge about them is also constantly being intensified. Thus, knowledge has a dual character: On the one hand, as a reflection of objective matters and the law of their development and as the fruit of man's understanding at a stated historical stage, it is relatively stable; on the other hand, following the intensification of man's understanding of objective matters, it is in a state of constant development and constant renovation. Teachers and students not only are the heirs to knowledge already in existence but also must strive to become the recipients of the most up-to-date knowledge. Hence, both teachers and students must seek knowledge from exploration, and, in the course of exploration, understand the development of history and the changes of objective matters and grasp the laws of the development of knowledge, thus converting knowledge into their own understanding and talent. By so doing, not only the next generation can obtain better teaching and training but we ourselves can be enriched and elevated.

In training people, it is necessary to make explorations. Generally speaking, children and young people all have a strong desire for knowledge. Energetic and full of vigor, if they do not seek knowledge from the proper road, they may learn improper ways from an evil road. How to guide their enthusiasm for knowledge to a correct road of healthy development is an

immensely important problem. If the teacher knows only how to impart knowledge, he can only give dead knowledge to the student, and this does not help in satisfying and developing the student's desire for knowledge. Being curious, inquisitive, anxious to discuss, debate, and go into actions are the special features of children and young students. Hence, in our school, we adopt the teaching method of the "tea-house" type--reading, discussing, doing exercises, and lecturing, that is to say, integrating the teacher's enlightening, guiding, helping, and elucidating with the student's reading, discussing, and doing exercises (in exercises, the students of a class are divided into small units, teamed up according to their proximity to each other in their seating with students who are good in their studies also being teamed up with students who are weak in their studies), thus jointly exploring for knowledge from the textbooks. On such occasions, the students usually vie with each other to air their views and to raise questions. They can thus do their own independent thinking, enlighten each other, and jointly explore for knowledge under the teacher's guidance. At the same time, the process of exploration is also a process in which the teacher and students make their comments on the knowledge in the textbooks. Commenting on the knowledge in the textbooks serves to deepen the understanding of book knowledge. It can also replenish what book knowledge lacks. Certain theories and principles, though emerging from noted authors and noted publications, may have certain historical limitations and only through comments and discussions can we discover the revisions or developments to be made. Only when we know under what concrete conditions can such knowledge be correctly employed can we correctly and, in an overall manner, grasp it and make use of it. Only by so doing can we, simultaneously with raising the student's cultural level, accomplish the purpose of enriching and elevating ourselves.

The teacher should act as a teacher and at the same time as a student. In the course of education, be it inside the classroom or outside the classroom, a certain course of study may be the teacher's specialty and the teacher may be specially adept in a certain line of technical activities. On the other hand, the student is progressing along many lines of study and taking part in diversified kinds of technical activities. This is something which is beyond the teacher's reach. The results of the blending and infiltration of many courses of study and of the reciprocal impact of diversified kinds of technical activities may make certain students surpass the teacher in the knowledge of certain problems. This is entirely normal. Moreover, the teacher has only an individual brain whereas the students have many brains. In the course of exploration and discussions, what may escape the teacher's thinking may not be missed at all by the students; and while the teacher's thinking may be shallow, the students' thinking is deep enough. Therefore, in teaching, only through mutual coaching and enlightenment can more benefits be reaped by both sides and can teaching and learning grow at the same time.

In short, in the course of teaching, it is only when we put the search for knowledge and for technology in the forefront can we meet the demands that the new era has imposed on us. This is not only a problem of the search

for knowledge but is also a problem related to the ideology of ourselves as teachers. As teachers or educational workers, our ideological aspirations are enriching and elevating ourselves, constantly studying, constantly imparting knowledge, and being devoted for life to the people's educational enterprise.

CSO: 4004/1

## STRIVE TO DO A GOOD JOB IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 28-29

[Article by Ma Xinlan [7456 5361 5695], a teacher of Xinfu Village Central School and a special class model worker in Beijing city]

[Text] The establishment of a Teachers' Day is a major, laudable, and happy event in the life of us teachers. In my opinion, this not only shows the concern of the party, stage, and the people for the vast numbers of educational workers, and the improvement of the social status of people's teachers, but also indicates the setting up of an even loftier requirement for us.

I am a primary school teacher. In my teaching, I have really found that there are many defects in the existing primary school teaching materials and methods which cannot satisfy the demand of the new situation. In giving lessons, our teachers try to cram students with knowledge, assign too much homework and have students sit for too many examinations of various kinds. Our children labor under a fairly heavy burden. They have no time to learn any knowledge other than what is taught them in their schools and have no opportunity to understand the vast area outside their schools. Their imagination, thinking, and creation is constrained, their health is impaired and what is more serious, it has caused many children to lose interest in their study. If we fail to reform these aspects and methods of our teaching, we will be unable to bring about an all-round development of the virtue, wisdom, and health of our students and it will be difficult for us to train qualified personnel for the four modernizations. Can an ordinary primary school teacher conduct a reform in the existing teaching materials and methods? Some people adopt a negative attitude toward this. They think that reform is a task for specialists, scholars, and leading cadres. We teachers have to wait for the teaching materials and methods they develop and then use and adopt them intact. I think that while the views of specialists, scholars, and leading comrades on the reform in our teaching materials and methods are of fairly great significance and value, as we teachers are in the forefront of teaching work and as we are most familiar with the state of children's affairs we also have a say on questions of what needs improvement in the existing teaching materials and methods and how we are to make the improvement. Furthermore, before us are groups of children who are full of vitality and vigor and who are thirsting for knowledge every

day. Waiting passively and maintaining the status quo means failing to shoulder the responsibility for their growing up. Therefore, starting from the psychological characteristics and acceptability of children to boldly and conscientiously reform our teaching materials and methods is a bounden duty for all of us teachers.

In the autumn of 1977, with the vigorous support of the leadership and my colleagues, I took a new class of grade one pupils as the base of reform and conducted an experiment of reform in our teaching materials and methods. In light of the internal links in the knowledge taught in primary schools, I revised the original textbooks both horizontally and vertically. By vertically, I mean the reform in the light of the "lines" of knowledge, in other words, the rearrangement of teaching materials in the light of the internal links and the law of development of knowledge. By horizontally, I mean the reform in the light of the "sections" of knowledge, in other words, putting together the knowledge that is mutually inversely related in the original teaching materials and teaching them at the same time. Concerning teaching methods, I adopted the elicitation method, regarded pupils as the principal factor of study, focused on giving play to pupils' initiative in their study, attained the aim of enabling them to "learn by themselves" through teaching them to learn, and thus simultaneously enabled the children to master knowledge and skills, train their thinking, and improve their quality. After the teaching materials and methods were reformed, I took only about 1 month to teach what the original syllabus required to be taught in one school term. I spent the rest of the time trying out the teaching materials I had edited. In addition to appropriately quickening the progress of study, I focused on exploiting students' intellectual resources and enriching their knowledge.

At each class, I spent 15-20 minutes teaching new knowledge and then carried out activities of the "type of playing games," telling my pupils to do revision exercises or giving them training in various kinds of skills in the rest of the time. What was taught in the class was revised and consolidated at that very class and the exercises were also all done in the class. In 1980, my pupils (who were then in grade three of a five-grade primary school) sat for mathematics examination that was a part of the unified examinations for entering junior middle schools and got an average mark of 93. In the autumn of 1980, I began to teach another class of grade one pupils and thus began my second round of experiment in educational reform. In 1984, the relevant leadership brought me the questions on the mathematics examination of the unified examinations for entry to junior middle schools and had my students (who were then in grade four of a six-grade primary school) sit for an examination in these questions. The result of the examination was 20 scores of 100 and an average mark of 94. Practice has proved that the reform is a success and clear achievements have been scored. The reform has not only shortened teaching time, and reduced the pupils' homework burden, but also widened the students' scope of knowledge, improved the quality of their study, and promoted their all-round development.

Continuing to carry out reforms and blaze new trails is a demand of our times and also a demand of the four modernizations. At a time when we are

celebrating our own festival, I am determined to turn the concern and expectation that the CPC Central Committee and the people and teachers of the whole country have shown for me into an impetus to continue the reform and blaze new trails. In my future practice of educational reform, I will quietly immerse myself in hard work, do my work conscientiously, disregard fame or interests, fear no difficulty, and strive to score new achievements.

CSO: 4004/1

## EVERYTHING FOR THE CHILDREN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 29-30

[Article by Huang Wenao [7806 2429 1159], a teacher of Nanjing City Experimental Kindergarten and a national "March 8" red-banner pacesetter]

[Text] The news that the NPC Standing Committee had decided to designate 10 September as Teachers' Day greatly excited me--a kindergarten teacher who is about 60 years old. It brought to mind the different experience of the children of the new and old societies, the twisted process of the development of our country's preschool education, the party's concern for the undertaking of preschool education, and the happiness and trouble in my work in the past decades.... It also made me recall the mischievous, childish, elegant and pretty faces of the children I have taught. I could not help exclaiming: Teacher--an engineer of people's souls--what a glorious title and what a sacred profession!

I graduated from college in 1949 and since then I have always worked at the first line of preschool education. I have done only very little for the party and people, but the party and people have given me very much honor. I am a national "March 8" red-banner pacesetter, a provincial and city advanced preschool education worker, a city fine teacher, and a model worker, and I have respectively been elected a deputy to the Nanjing City People's Congress and a member of the Nanjing City CPPCC Committee. All this honor has not just been given to me as an individual but it also embodies the party's and people's concern for and expectation on, preschool education workers.

More than 30 years' experience of teaching has made me deeply aware that the undertaking of preschool education is indeed an ordinary but lofty undertaking. Every good habit that a child has cultivated, the formation of any correct concept, and any progress in a child's thoughts and virtues are the result of the hard labor of kindergarten teachers. Teachers' love is the key to ensuring the lively, happy and healthy upbringing of the children.

At the initial period of the liberation, I resigned from a post as the assistant of a college faculty and chose the profession of kindergarten teacher. I thought that there were many blanks in new China's preschool education which we had to fill. We had to establish new China's own preschool education theory; therefore, we had to study and practice at the

forefront of preschool education. I held that people's needs were the criteria to judge whether a profession was glorious or not. Comrade Hu Yaobang said: Any laborer who works hard and makes a contribution to the state and people is glorious. Though some of my old classmates have become ministers and school heads, I have never regretted that I chose this occupation. For I love children and my profession and I have been performing my duties for our country's undertaking of preschool education.

Love is a bounden duty for a teacher and a teacher's love should be loftier and better than that of a mother. A teacher shoulders the responsibility of training personnel for the motherland, must teach children in accordance with the party's principle of education and training goals, and must conscientiously turn his love for his undertaking into deeds in loving preschool children. I was for a time sad about failure in my work, annoyed by the busy and trivial affairs in my work, and I suffered from chronic stomatitis, which caused me pain when I spoke and ate. However, as soon as I see the children's smiling faces, I forget all the sadness, annoyance, and tiredness. When I was under investigation during the "Great Cultural Revolution," I was assigned the task of a child-care worker. I wept at losing the opportunity to teach children, but was happy that I still could work with children. I did not think about my personal losses, but did my best to conscientiously do every bit of child-care work for the children.

Preschool education is a science and as such, has laws to follow. Our country's preschool education is a young science; therefore, there are new areas to research and explore concerning both the thoughts and contents of education and the methods and means of education. Therefore, as preschool teachers, we should never be satisfied with "learning from the past," but should study hard, make bold experiments, continue to sum up our experience and lessons, and devote our energy to enriching the theory and practice of preschool education with socialist characteristics which are suited to the reality in China.

In order to give good lessons, I made conscientious preparations for them and studied what I am going to say word by word. Though I had given some lessons several times, each time I prepared a lesson, I would repeatedly study the state of affairs of the children and revise the teaching schemes. I would rather undergo some fatigue myself in order to ensure that the children master the lessons soundly. I have made bold explorations and experiments to counter the problems in our work. During the past few years, with the support of the leadership and my comrades, I have probed into the form of group teaching and thus improved the results of teaching. I have tried to rationally arrange children's daily activities and permeate education in various activities in order to promote an all-round development of the children. I have paid attention to the characteristics of different ages of children and applied vivid and interesting teaching aids in light of those characteristics to guide children to study with initiative. I have also researched the law governing language teaching for preschool children, developed the teaching requirements, elected and edited textbooks and developed teaching methods for language teaching for the three grades of preschool children, and summed up experience on developing the language

ability of preschool children. I was the first to adopt the method of teaching by circumstances in our kindergartens (this method has already been accepted as a language teaching method for preschool teachers) and the method of having children talk about pictures in order to develop their independence and creative thinking while developing their language ability. In addition, I have also summed up the experience in carrying out ideological and ethical education among children, educating children through personal contacts, and doing work related to the parents of the children.

A kindergarten is an education institute. A nursery or kindergarten worker should always be aware that he is an educator and should give the children something. At present, science and technology are developing very quickly. This poses a new challenge to education workers and has caused people to increasingly realize the importance of preschool education. When an ordinary worker applied for his child to enter our kindergarten, he said: "If you would only allow my child to enter your kindergarten, I would even borrow money to raise funds for the extension of your kindergarten. Money can be earned back, but if a child loses this stage of education, it is impossible to make up." What great confidence and expectation the parents of the children have placed in us preschool teachers!

The current society shows us so much respect, the party and people show so much concern for us, the parents of the children have so much confidence in us, and the children love us so much, that I, as an old soldier fighting on the front of preschool education must forge ahead even harder and devote all I have to the children.

CSO: 4004/2

TAKE THE ROAD OF REFORM AND INVIGORATE XIZANG'S ECONOMY--WARMLY CELEBRATING  
THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE XIZANG AUTONOMOUS REGION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 31-34

[Article by DuojiECAidan [1122 2638 2088 2481]]

[Text] The date 1 September this year is the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Xizang Autonomous Region. While people of various nationalities in Xizang are celebrating this brilliant festival, it is a matter of vital significance to review the history and sum up experiences in order to firmly embark on the path of reform and to invigorate Xizang's economy.

The past 20 years since the founding of the Xizang Autonomous Region have been the 20 years in which Xizang has continuously made progress on a tortuous path, and won great victory in socialist revolution and construction. During the 10 years of internal disorder, the party policy for nationalities was severely damaged, and economic construction was seriously obstructed. However, thanks to the profound concern and correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council as well as the great support given by the people of various nationalities throughout the country, people of the entire region, under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, have conscientiously implemented a series of important instructions issued by the central authorities on the work of Xizang, and have ideologically brought order out of chaos to bring about great historical changes in the region. The work in Xizang has moved onto the right track, and various undertakings have been developing rapidly. Xizang has made great achievements in its socialist revolution and construction.

A great victory has been won in implementing the party policy on regional national autonomy. The governments in the national autonomy regions have been increasingly consolidated and strengthened. People of various nationalities and those of Xizang nationality who are the majority, fully enjoy the right to be masters of their own affairs. A great number of cadres of minority nationalities have grown up. Cadres of the Xizang nationality and other minority nationalities account for more than 60 percent of the total number of cadres in the region. The main posts in various organs of political power at all levels are held by cadres of minority nationalities. The spoken and written language of the Xizang

nationality has been highly valued. Customs and habits of minority nationalities are respected. United front work has constantly developed. The policy of freedom of religion has been further implemented. National unity has been increasingly strengthened. Our society is stable and our border defense is powerful.

Since 1980, we have been shifting our work focus to the track of economic construction. We have been implementing a guiding principle of carrying out reform, opening up to the outside world, and enlivening the internal economy. We have been pursuing a special policy and taking flexible measures to greatly arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen. Our economic construction has been developing vigorously and our economic results have been constantly enhanced. Compared with 1965, the total output value of industry and agriculture for the whole region increased by 120 percent, total grain output increased by 70 percent, and animal husbandry increased by 27 percent. The output of livestock products and their value as commodities have also increased to varying degrees. The total output value of industry increased by 480 percent, and the output value of handicrafts for minority nationalities increased by 380 percent. We have achieved new results in exploiting and making use of hydroelectric power, geothermal power, solar energy, and wind power. Our generating capacity has reached 129,000 kilowatts or so, nearly 14 times more than previously. In addition, 21,600 km of new highway have been opened to traffic. The project of reconstructing the Xizang-Qinghai highway with emphasis on road surfaces paved with asphalt has been completed. Specialized households in the urban and rural areas engaged in transportation have been developing very rapidly. Our accumulated investment in capital construction is estimated at 2.77 billion yuan. We have also completed a project of building houses with a total floor space of more than 4.6 million square meters. The 43 projects assisted by the central departments and 9 provinces and cities concerned progressed very rapidly with ensured quality. Most of these projects have been begun. In 1984, the total retail turnover of social commodities was 460 percent higher than 1964. The number of individual traders has increased to 13,000. Since the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, more than 4,900 households from other provinces and regions have come to Xizang to do business and carry out other service activities. There is a new development in foreign trade and tourism. We have achieved encouraging results in development of education, culture, science, technology, public health, sports, and other areas. With the development of production, the people's standard of living has been constantly enhanced. In 1984, the per capita income of peasants and herdsmen was 317 yuan. This shows that their food, clothing, shelter and transportation markedly improved.

Development of the productive forces and trying in every possible way to promote Xizang's economy to enrich people as early as possible is a basic guiding idea for the economic work in our region and a starting point for all our work. By the end of this century, we should strive for the fulfillment of the following targets: Gross national product of the whole region should reach 3 billion yuan, per capita gross national product should reach 1,200 yuan, per capita actual income of peasants and herdsmen should reach

900 yuan, and generating capacity should reach 500,000 kilowatts. The areas inhabited by 60 percent of the population of the whole region should be electrified. To accomplish these targets, we should adhere to the socialist orientation, embark on the path of reform, implement special policies, and adopt flexible measures in order to establish an economic structural system which is full of vigor and vitality and is suited to Xizang's characteristics, and to greet the early advent of the new stage in our economic progress.

1. To Invigorate Xizang, We Should Persist in Following the Guiding Idea of Bringing About "Two Changes"

Xizang is located in a very special border region inhabited by minority nationalities. It has a unique geographical position and unique historical conditions. It lacks energy and is poor in communications and backward in science and culture. The level of its productive forces is low. For a long time, it locked or partly locked its doors against the world. This objective reality has prevented people from broadening their outlook and has blocked the exchange of information and the establishment and exchanges of economic and cultural relations. In addition, due to the influence and trammels of the old traditional concept and the "leftist" ideology, we once mechanically copied certain methods employed in the interior, "filled up the gaps and supplied deficiencies," and considered things from the political angle alone regardless of economic results. In so doing, we broke away from the practical reality in Xizang and violated economic laws so that the economy of our region was characterized by its severe dependency on others, reliance on imports, blockade, and slow development. If we fail to solve this key problem conscientiously, it will be difficult for us to free ourselves from a passive state in the economic work of Xizang even though the state has continued to increase its financial subsidies for Xizang.

Therefore, to invigorate Xizang's economy, we should further emancipate our minds and go all out to carry out exploration. We should be bold in promoting reform and implementing a special policy which is different from other autonomous regions and coastal economic zones in the interests of the development of the productive forces of Xizang. We should make efforts to bring about the "two changes" in the guiding thought for the economic work in our region. We should turn our closed economy into an open economy. Instead of passively relying on others' support, we should run our economy actively. We should economically enhance our vitality and aim for a benign cycle.

Due to Xizang's backward commodity economy, low living standard of the masses, and the masses' special consumption needs, the market capacity of Xizang is not big. Xizang is vast in territory, its people are scattered, and its circulation links and communications are poor. Therefore, it is not appropriate to adopt unified and centralized methods and follow impractical patterns in regard to economic planning, production management, circulation links, and the readjustment of production relations. Since last year we have implemented a special policy which conforms with the practical reality of Xizang, followed the guiding principle of "relying mainly on market regulation," and greatly reduced the application of mandatory planning.

Market regulation is applied to all commodities except main commodities as set out by the state and a few kinds of products produced by the region such as timber, cement, and other similar products. The prices of commodities are mostly set in accordance with market demand. In the rural pastoral area, under the prerequisite of the public ownership of land, forests, and grassland, we are implementing the policy of mainly relying on household management. As far as animal husbandry is concerned, we follow the policy that "domestic animals belong to individual households, breeding carried out by individual households, and free management will remain unchanged for a long time." In regard to agriculture, we implement the policy that "land is used by individual households, and free management will remain unchanged for a long time." We mainly rely on the collective and individuals to run handicraft industries for minority nationalities and commercial enterprises. Practice over the past year or so has proved that the implementation of this special guiding principle and policy has greatly aroused the enthusiasm of the operators, removed the closed-door policy, enlivened economy, brought about a prosperous market, promoted commodity production, and markedly improved people's material life. We firmly believe that as long as we resolutely follow the guiding idea of "bringing about two changes," the guiding principle of "relying mainly on market regulation," and the policy of "maintain the two unchanges for a long time," Xizang's economy will develop vigorously and advance healthily.

## 2. Giving Full Play to Strong Points and Establish a Rational Economic Structure

Xizang has a long history and glorious culture. It is also characterized by its unique scenery, vast territory, and abundant resources. It has rich mineral resources and vast grassland. We should fully realize and make use of these strong points to develop our region's economy. (1) First of all, we should concentrate our efforts on grasping our foundation--agriculture and animal husbandry. (2) We should fully make use of agricultural products, livestock products, and forestry products to vigorously organize and develop processing industries such as textiles, leather, foodstuffs, fodders, building materials, medicinal materials, and others, as well as the handicraft industry for minority nationalities. (3) We should fully make use of energy resources such as hydroelectric power, geothermal power, solar energy, wind power, and so on. In accordance with the principle of relying mainly on hydroelectric power, building more medium and small hydroelectric power stations, and making various energy resources complement each other, we should speed up energy construction in order to meet the demands of our economic construction and the needs of the people in their daily life. (4) We should make use of our unique conditions such as the natural scenery here on the roof of the world, the long-existing culture of minority nationalities, religious holy land, and so forth to greatly expand tourism. This will promote the development of the tertiary industry such as commerce, the catering trade, transportation, service trades, communications, and so forth. (5) We should actively create conditions to gradually exploit mineral resources. In accordance with the principle of simultaneously encouraging state-run enterprises, collectives, and individuals to exploit mineral resources, we should encourage the masses to take part in the work

in order to increase their income. As long as we follow natural and economic laws, are determined to readjust well our economic structure, foster strengths, and circumvent weakness so that our abundant natural resources will be turned into economic strong points, we will certainly be able to increase our vitality and accelerate our construction pace.

In the course of readjusting the internal structure of agriculture, we should firmly and unswervingly implement a guiding principle of "devoting main efforts to developing animal husbandry, combining animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestry, suiting measures to local conditions, promoting a diversified economy, and developing commodity production." We should attach importance to the production of animal husbandry, which is a primary task, and make vigorous efforts to plant more trees and grass. We should support animal husbandry by planting more grass and promote agriculture with the development of animal husbandry. Agriculture will in turn accelerate the development of animal husbandry. This is the path of coordinated development and the benign cycle which we should follow. In pure pastoral areas, traditional animal husbandry should be turned into modern animal husbandry. While stabilizing and controlling the existing number of livestock, we should enhance the quality and quantity of livestock and livestock products, vigorously develop commodity production, and supply society with more livestock products. Developing animal husbandry in the agricultural area and semiagricultural and semipastoral areas is the focus of our work at the present stage. We should give play to the strong points of combining agriculture with animal husbandry and make use of the excellent natural resources of these areas to gradually march toward the direction of devoting main efforts to improve breeds, raise more domestic animals in pens, and enhance the degree of self-sufficiency of meat, butter, and fur. Only by mainly developing animal husbandry, carrying out a diversified economy, and promoting all-round development can we invigorate Xizang's economy, which is based on agriculture and animal husbandry.

We should stress the development of the economic zone of "one Jiang and two He's." The geographical situation of the middle reaches of Yaluzangbu Jiang, and the banks of the Lhasa He and Nianchu He are good. The zone is comparatively developed economically and culturally, and is densely populated. It has convenient communications and good hydroelectric power and geothermal conditions. It is also rich in mineral and hydroelectric resources. The zone has good conditions for priority development. We have worked out a preliminary plan of spending 10 years or so on building the zone into an economically and culturally developed zone which is characterized by a high production of grain, advanced animal husbandry, a fairly large processing industry, and great development of a diversified economy. The zone will bring along economic development of the whole region.

### 3. Opening Up to the Outside World, Carrying Out Competition, Strengthening Management, and Enlivening the Economy

Opening our door wide, implementing the policy of opening to the outside world, and linking all parts of the region is an important policy for breaking down barriers and enlivening Xizang's economy. Since the convening of

the forum on the work of Xizang last year, the autonomous region has formulated a series of open and specific policies for foreign trade, border trade, tourism, commerce, communications, the building industry, and so forth. We welcome manufacturers from other parts of our country, foreign businessmen, Xizang compatriots residing abroad, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, and Taiwan compatriots to come to Xizang to carry out various kinds of economic activities. Since the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, the situation of locking the doors against the world which had existed in the region for a long time has been initially improved. Exchanges with other parts of our country and the outside world have been promoted. Economic vitality of our region itself has been enhanced, and people's traditional ideological concepts are being profoundly changed.

With the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world and relying mainly on market regulation, enterprises in our region are facing acute competition. Influenced by the old forces of habit, many comrades were not mentally prepared. Some of them feared that they would be defeated in the competition. They intended to rely on the protection of the state. Some comrades were at a loss as to what to do, or were satisfied with the existing state of affairs. Competition is caused by economic laws and is an expression of the law of value. As long as commodity production and commodity exchange exist and the law of value functions, competition is unavoidable. It is independent of man's will. We should advocate, encourage, and protect competition. Socialist enterprises should truly compete with each other in their ability for management and administration. Through reform, they should create conditions for competition in order to enhance the quality of enterprises, increase their vitality, and strengthen their ability to fulfill contingency requirements. Over the past year or so, the majority of enterprises in our region have experienced trials and have improved and enhanced to varying degrees their administration and management ability, enterprise quality, economic results, and so forth.

To do well in implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and carry out competition, we should strengthen management. We should not only pay attention to correctly using economic levers such as prices, tax, credit, wages, and so on in order to control and coordinate social economic life and regulate the economic interests of various quarters, but also attach importance to using administrative and legal means to strengthen management. We should welcome, open our door to, and absorb all measures which are beneficial to Xizang's economic development. We should restrict all things which are not beneficial to our economic development. We should crack down upon and ban things which violate the law. We should gradually enact relevant laws and regulations and devise a series of new management systems and methods suitable for the new situation of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the economy. We should macroscopically do well in management and administration and microscopically implement well the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the economy in order to ensure healthy and smooth progress in the policy of opening to the outside world and carrying out competition.

#### 4. Respecting Knowledge and Speeding Up the Training of Talented Personnel

To carry out socialist modernization, we need a great number of qualified talented personnel. Our success in invigorating Xizang's economy lies in training various kinds of talented personnel from among the people of the Xizang nationality and other minority nationalities. In the long run, we should eliminate the de facto inequality among various nationalities which was left over from history. To enable the Xizang nationality to rank among the advanced nationalities, we should enhance the quality of its laborers and train more intellectuals who have mastered advanced scientific and technical knowledge and management techniques. At present, culture and education in our region are still very backward. We desperately lack talented personnel. This does not conform with the demands of economic construction. It is our strategic focal point and a top priority task to run education well and train more talented personnel.

We should proceed from the practical reality of Xizang, conscientiously implement the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational System," do well in carrying out the reform of the educational system in our region, gradually establish an educational system with Xizang's characteristics, and do the work of training more talented personnel well. We should grasp fundamental education, do well the work of running secondary and primary schools, which follow the "three contracts system," normal education work well and provide teachers with in-service training. We should make efforts to run the existing universities, colleges, technical secondary schools, and Xizang schools (classes) in the interior in order to train a great number of qualified personnel. We should mobilize various quarters of the society to adopt various ways and means to strengthen training for workers and staff members. We should run training classes of various types and set specifications at all levels in order to enhance the scientific and cultural level as well as the quality of our staff members and workers.

We should reform our personnel management system and further implement the policy for intellectuals. We should make efforts to improve the situation of lacking talented personnel, but wasting them at the same time. We should gradually establish a rational and scientific management system for talented personnel. We should value and take good care of the existing various kinds of professional technical personnel, create good working conditions for them, and give play to their role. We should award and put in important positions those who truly have real ability and learning and have made important contributions. In the meantime, we should proceed from the strategic needs of the economic development in our region to encourage mutual assistance between departments of similar nature and promote regular exchanges of qualified personnel. We should employ various ways and means and tap various channels such as recruiting, inviting, and undertaking special technical projects based on contracts to introduce know-how and talented personnel to make up for the deficiency of the talented personnel in our region and speed up the progress of economic construction in Xizang.

REFERENCE MATERIAL: XIZANG AUTONOMOUS REGION'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN CONSTRUCTION OVER 20 YEARS (1965-1985)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 p 34

[Text] 1. In 1984, the total industrial and agricultural output value was 984,870,000 yuan, an increase of 119.75 percent over 1965. Out of this, the total value of output in agriculture and animal husbandry was 638,185,000 yuan, an increase of 88.71 percent over 1965. Its proportion in the total output value of industry and agriculture dropped from 92.14 percent in 1965 to 79.13 percent. The total output value of industry reached 168,323,000 yuan, an increase of 139,496,000 yuan over 1965. The proportion in the industrial and agricultural total output value went up from 7.86 percent in 1965 to 20.87 percent.

2. In 1984, the region's national income was 909,910,000 yuan, an increase of 131.12 percent as compared with 393,530,000 yuan in 1965.

3. In 1984 total grain production amounted to 988,980,000 jin, for an average of 590 jin per person and representing an increase of 407,530,000 jin and 166 jin, respectively over the corresponding figures at the time of the founding of the autonomous region.

4. At the end of 1984, the region had 216,843,000 heads of livestock on hand, an increase of 4,673,300 over 1965.

5. In 1984, the per capita income of the people in the region averaged 466.83 yuan, for an increase of 251.83 yuan over 1979 and representing an increase of 16.8 percent per annum.

6. In 1984, the value of minority handicraft industry production amounted to 14,120,000 yuan, for an increase of 3.8 times over that of 1965.

7. In 1984, there were 21,611 km of highway for public transportation, an increase of 6,890 km compared to that of 1965. The total amount of freight was 802,500 tons, 6.34 times that of the 1965 figure.

8. At present, the number of power stations and their installed capacity are respectively 35 and almost 14 times that of 1965.

9. In 1965, the region had 90 post and telecommunications offices and 202 km of telecommunications lines. In 1984, the region had 120 telecommunications and post offices and 1,266 km of telecommunications lines.

10. In 1984, the total volume of retail sales of the merchandise in the whole region reached 1,057,580,000 yuan. Among the figure, 618,190,000 yuan was purely for the total volume of the retail sales in the business sections owned by the whole people. The figure was 5.6 times more than that of 1965. There were 22,520 commercial networks which was 7.68 times more than that of 1965.

11. At the end of 1984, the remaining sum of the saving deposit for the citizens of cities and villages in the whole region reached 154,610,000 yuan which was 5.8 times more than that of 1965. Among this figure, citizens of the cities owned 126,220,000 yuan which was 4.02 times more than that of 1965; peasants and herdsman owned 28,390,000 yuan, an increase of 18 times more than that of 1965.

12. In 1984, the region had 2,547 schools at all levels. Sixteen of these were institutions of higher learning and secondary specialized schools, an increase of 800 percent as compared with 1965; 56 were middle schools; 625 were government-run elementary schools; and 1,580 were non-government-run elementary schools. There were 920 instructors in institutions of higher learning and secondary specialized schools, of which 304 were national minority instructors. Institutions of higher learning and secondary specialized schools had 3,196 students, of which 2,042 were national minority students. There were 144,356 middle school and elementary school students, an increase of 110 percent as compared with 1965.

13. In 1965, the region had 193 public health organs, 86 hospitals, 1,631 hospital beds, and 1.19 hospital beds per thousand people. In 1984, there were 928 public health organs, 520 hospitals, 4,619 hospital beds, 2.35 hospital beds per thousand people, and 6,725 specialized public health personnel.

CSO: 4004/6

## ON CONTROLLING THE SCALE OF INVESTMENT IN FIXED ASSETS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 35-38

[Article by Wei Liqun]

[Text]

I

Investment in fixed assets is an important measure to develop social production and to improve people's living standard. If we wish to enable our country, in the next 60 to 70 years, to progress from its current relatively impoverished and backward state to the stage of approaching, or catching up with, the economically developed countries, undoubtedly we must increase investments substantially. To make our country rich and powerful and to make the people prosperous, we should do our utmost to increase investment.

However, within a stated period of time we cannot determine at will the degree of enlarging the scale of investment in fixed assets. Rather, this is determined by the size of the financial strength and material power of society. Since the principal source of investment in fixed assets, particularly the portion devoted to capital construction, comes from the accumulation funds of the national income, as far as such funds are concerned, the scale of investment is determined by the level and the growth rate of the national income. Moreover, the funds can only be the residual funds after deducting from the national income the circulation funds and reserve funds for the purposes of ensuring the normal progress of production, making the necessary improvements in the people's standard of living, and suitably increasing expanded reproduction.

According to domestic and foreign experiences, under normal conditions, the growth rate of investment in fixed assets generally keeps pace with, or is slightly faster than, the growth rate of the national income. Speaking from the angle of material power, it is determined by the quantities and the state of composition of the means of production and means of consumption that society can additionally provide. Under ordinary conditions, the growth rate of investment in fixed assets cannot exceed the growth rate in the production of the means of production, particularly the growth rate in the output of coal, crude oil, electric power and construction materials or the growth rate in transportation capacity.

The degree of the expansion of the scale of investment in fixed assets must tally with the degree of assurance of society's financial power and material power. This is an important law in socialist economic construction. Violation of this law by blindly extending the scale of investment will cause untoward consequences.

Recently, in our country, investment in fixed assets has increased sharply. In 1984, the gross volume of investments in fixed assets under the system of ownership by the whole people amounted to 118.5 billion yuan, an increase of 24.5 percent, of which capital construction investments outside the budget increased by 36.7 percent. Since the beginning of this year, there has been a sharp increase each month in capital construction investments under the system of ownership by the whole people. Compared with the same periods last year, the increases were: first quarter of the year, 35 percent; April, May and June, 37.5 percent, 42.6 percent, and 57 percent respectively; and the first half year as a whole, 43.5 percent, of which investments outside the budget, 90 percent. Such high growth rates in investment in fixed assets are abnormal. They bring a series of new contradictions and problems to economic life.

First, the growth rate of investment in fixed assets has far exceeded the growth rate of the national income. In 1984, the growth rate of investments was more than 200 percent of the growth rate of the national income, which was only 12 percent. Figures from history have shown, during years of relatively normal economic development, investment in fixed assets under the system of ownership by the whole people should in general occupy a ratio of around 18 percent of the use volume of the national income and such an accumulation rate is, relatively speaking, fitting. If the ratio exceeds 20 percent, then the accumulation rate will have to be above 30 percent and a tense economic situation will result. Last year, the ratio went up to 21 percent and the accumulation rate, forthwith, increased to 31.2 percent. Viewed from the current conditions, this year the ratio will continue to rise and the accumulation rate will also have to rise. An excessive rise in the accumulation rate will cause an imbalance in the proportionate relationships within the economy.

Second, the growth rate of investment in fixed assets has far exceeded that of the social financial strength. In 1984, the state's budget appropriations for capital construction increased by 25 percent over the preceding year, obviously higher than the 18 percent increase in the state's financial receipts. At the same time, investments from self-raised funds and investments financed by bank loans also increased a little too much. This was an important cause of the imbalance in the receipts and payments in credits and loans and of an overincrease in money supply. Expansion of the disparity in the receipts and payments in credits and loans on the part of the banks will cause an overissuance of banknotes and will lead to monetary inflation.

Third, the growth rate of investment in fixed assets has far exceeded the growth rate of material power. In 1984, the country's production of steel materials, timber, and cement increased by 9.7 percent, 5.1 percent, and 11.8 percent respectively over the preceding year, all of them being lower

than the growth rate in investments. Since the beginning of this year, the same situation can be found. Despite the importation of large volumes of construction materials, supply of these materials still lags behind demand, resulting in a sharp rise in their market prices. At the same time, the supply situation in electric power and in communications and transport is even more acute. At present, the shortage of electricity in the country is around 50 billion kilowatt hours, and in many localities power supply is frequently stopped or restricted.

In past years, the ratio between the growth rate of industrial production and that of the volume of railway freight was generally 1:0.5 and above. In 1984, the ratio went down to 1:0.33 and in the first half of this year, it dropped further to 1:0.21 with large quantities of freight awaiting transport and the passenger trains generally being overloaded. In addition, since out of every 100 yuan of investments in fixed assets more than 30 yuan is spent on salaries, wages and bonuses related to construction activities, the monies thus spent are ultimately converted into consumption funds. Hence, too rapid an increase in investments is bound to bring about an excessive pressure on the market for means of consumption.

In relation to the above-mentioned abnormal growth in investment in fixed assets, two unwholesome phenomena have appeared. One of them is the irrational composition of the investments. Thus, the growth rate of the investments in ordinary industrial processing departments has far exceeded the growth rate of the investments in energy and communications that are the weak link in the economy. In 1984, out of the gross investments, the proportion occupied by capital construction investments in the energy and communications sectors was already on the downturn, but in the first half of this year the ratios of these two sectors dropped further, by 2.1 percent and 1.7 percent, respectively. The other phenomenon is the downturn in investment benefits. Because of the excessively long capital construction front, many of the projects under construction are short of the necessary funds and materials, as a result of which, in 1984, the rate of fixed assets of capital construction projects and renovation and transformation projects being delivered for use dropped by 3.3 percent and 2.2 percent, respectively, compared with the preceding year. There was also a drop in the rate of completed projects being put into operation.

The above-mentioned situation shows that at present the gross scale of the investments in fixed assets has far surpassed the capacity of society's financial strength and material power, and has deviated from the track of an overall balance of the macroeconomy. Historical experiences are worthy of note. In the past development of our national economy, we have had several immense setbacks that were primarily due to blind expansion of the scale of construction. It is true that the circumstances of the present inflation in the scale of investment in fixed assets are different from those of the past, such as, for example, the party's correct and upright guiding thought on economic work, no high targets in the state plan, and the continuous rise in the standard of living of the people. Nevertheless, that the scale of investment has surpassed the capacity of the national strength is violation of the objective economic law and violation of the objective law will

certainly be punished. Comrade Chen Yun long ago pointed out: "The size of the scale of construction must conform with the financial strength and material power of the state. Conformity or nonconformity marks the dividing line between economic stability and instability. In this large country of ours, with a population of 600 million, economic stability is extremely important." In order that the national economy can maintain stability and a sustained and healthy development, we must solve in earnest the problem of the inflated scale of investment.

## II

Rigidly controlling the scale of investment in fixed assets is not only the objective demand for stabilizing the economy but is also a strategic policy to control the whole situation of economic work and to focus on the development of the modernization enterprise in its entirety and on its long-term development.

Controlling the scale of investment in fixed assets meets the need of further rationally readjusting the industrial structure following the entry of our country's economic development into a new stage. After having passed through 30 years of construction, our country's national economy has entered a new stage of maturity. The important and special features of this stage are: the structure of the people's consumption demand has become more diversified and on a high plane; and socioeconomic development has become modernized and on a high level.

These changes have imposed new and higher demands on the industrial structure. Following readjustment made in the past few years, the proportionate relationships between agriculture and industry and between light industry and heavy industrial structure and structure of the products are still far from conforming with the changes in the social demands in the new matured stage of the national economy. For example, the production area of consumer goods is very small and narrow, the key and basic facilities such as energy, transportation and communication are extremely weak, the newly rising industries of microelectronics, biological engineering, new products and so forth are still not up to standard and the tertiary industry, which serves production and living, is extremely backward. All this sharply contradicts the further elevation of the people's standard of living and the gradual realization of the four modernizations. Rationally readjusting the existing industrial structure and structure of products in accordance with the objective demands of development of the national economy is an important task that has a bearing on the whole situation of the modernization enterprise. But in further readjusting the industrial structure and the structure of the products, it is necessary to depress the irrational general demand for investments, which has already been formed. Only by so doing can there be conditions for changing the investment structure in accordance with the changes in the social demand structure and the demands of developing modernization and construction and also for augmenting the weak links of the national economy and the departments needing developing.

In the early 1960's and several years ago when we readjusted the basic production structure of agriculture, industry, light industry and heavy industry, we started from depressing the investment scale and followed up with depressing the gross demand. Under the conditions of an excessively inflated investment demand, social gross demand far exceeding social gross supply, and a state of acute stringency on all sides, to realize the rationalization of the industrial structure and the structure of the products will necessarily meet with great impediments.

Controlling the scale of investment in fixed assets particularly helps in asserting the demand for reform of the economic structure. Reform is a top-priority task at present and for some time to come. Only through reform can we lay a good foundation for a sustained development in the next 10 years and the next 50 years. To perform a good job in reforming the economic structure, it is necessary to have a liberal and stable economic environment. This implies that the important proportionate relationships should be generally harmonized, gross social supply and gross social demand are basically balanced, market supply and demand relations are not overstringent and the state's finances and reserves of material resources are comparatively strong and plentiful. Without such an economic environment, reform can hardly progress in width and in depth.

The reasons for this are: 1) The basic direction of reform of the economic structure is to augment the vitality of the enterprises, particularly the large and medium-sized enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people, so that the whole economy is full of life and highly productive. Hence, it is necessary to basically transform the state's direct control of the enterprises, mainly by means of administrative and directive measures and resorting to the economic operation pattern of sidestepping the law of value and the functions of the market. Rather, we should, in accordance with the demands of a planned commodity economy, set up an economic operation pattern that principally adopts indirect control so as to enable the monetary relations of commodities and market mechanism to better display their role. Meanwhile, coordination and harmony in the proportionate relationships in the economy and supply and demand being basically balanced are the necessary conditions for monetary relations of commodities and market mechanism to actively play their role. 2) Under the conditions of an inflated gross social demand and acuteness and shortage in financial power and material resources, to reduce the scope and degree of administrative mandatory control and liberalize microeconomy will naturally bring into socioeconomic life many abnormal phenomena, thereby affecting the reputation and progress of the reform. 3) Supply of commodities and materials lagging behind demand on account of the excessively large scale of investment will deprive the enterprises of the force of pressure to improve operation and management and to compete with others. Thus, reform, which, in essence, demands the strengthening of the vitality of the enterprises and improving the economic results, will find it difficult to achieve its purposes. 4) In the course of reform of the economic structure, in order to ensure and safeguard the interests already acquired by the relevant quarters and to enable the majority of people to derive even more benefits, although, inevitably, there is a time lag between the enforcement of the reform measures and achievement of the expected results, the state is obliged to outlay a sizable amount of funds.

In particular, the state must have in readiness the necessary funds to ensure enforcement of reform of the price structure and the system of salaries and wages. At the same time, socioeconomic life in the midst of reform and changes may meet with many new situations and problems that cannot be wholly expected beforehand. This requires that in the reform there must be in readiness relatively more funds and material reserves. To accomplish this, on the one hand, it is necessary to maintain a suitable scale of investment, and reduce and depress the already inflated gross scale of investment, so as to eliminate certain abnormal phenomena, which, in the economic relations, may affect the smooth progress of the reform. On the other hand, for a certain period from now on, the allocation and use of the national income should be beneficial to the progress of the reform, and utmost efforts should be made to hold in readiness the forces necessary to safeguard meeting the needs of the reform.

Controlling the scale of investment in fixed assets is also required in the overall realization of the gigantic, strategic target set for the end of this century. The 12th CPC National Congress has fixed the gigantic target of realizing by the end of this century the task of quadrupling the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture in comparison with 1980. This target has the precondition of improving the economic benefits, relies on the progress of science and technology, and has as its objective improving the people's standard of living. It is pleasing that in recent years the growth rate of industrial and agricultural production has been rather high.

Unfortunately, improvement of the economic benefits has not been rapid and there has been a slow progress in production techniques. An important reason for the appearance of such a condition is that many regions and departments have lopsidedly striven for a high growth rate in production but have mainly depended on the introduction of new projects and new establishments to increase the output value. This method of relying on a large input and antiquated technology in support of a high growth rate in production is disadvantageous to raising the modernization level of the national economy, strengthening the economic power of the state, and enabling the people to attain more and better real benefits. To do a good job in rectifying this state of affairs, it is necessary to control the scale of investment in fixed assets.

### III

How, then, is it possible to control the scale of investment in fixed assets so that it can be maintained at a level within the capacity of the national strength and in conformity with the demand of the whole modernization program? In our opinion, the following major measures should be adopted:

First, the method of blindly seeking, and competing with each other for a high growth rate should be firmly rectified. The excessive pressure of the demand for investment must be reduced. In the cycle of the national economy, in between production growth and investment growth an innate relationship exists. If the demand for production growth rate is too urgent and too high, it will inevitably cause investment to be expanded too fast and too much.

Hence, in order to control the scale of investment in fixed assets at a rational level, it is necessary to have the high economic growth rate reduced to an appropriate level, and the major work should be to keep in check the blind development of the processing industry and the countryside and village enterprises.

Therefore, we must insist on the guideline of seeking truth from facts, act within our capabilities, and advance in firm steps, change the trend of simply and purely seeking output value and output quantity, and correctly handle the relationships between development speed, stability, proportion, benefits and reform. In the relations between economic growth and economic stability, stability should be put first and economic growth should be built on the foundation of economic stability; in the relations between speed or rate and proportion, maintenance of a rational proportion should be put first, and growth rate should manifest the demand for proportionate development; in the relations between rate or speed and benefits, benefits should be placed first, and speed should be increased in the course of improving the benefits; and in the relations between growth rate and reform, reform should be given first place and growth rate should be made beneficial to reform. To correctly handle all these relationships, the principle of the part serving the whole should be upheld and the various regions and various departments right down to the factories, mines, and enterprises should know what comes first, mind the whole situation, and consciously carry out the central government's various policies and measures related to augmenting macrocontrol and management.

Second, the capital construction front should be contracted and the phenomenon of inflation of the gross scale of investment should be eliminated. In view of the current scale of investment in fixed assets being too large and of the too sharp increase in investments that are outside the budget, first, it is necessary to carry out a thorough checking of the capital construction projects and technical transformation projects that are outside the budget. As for those projects still under construction that do not possess sufficient conditions for construction, or the products that are unmarketable and of poor quality, or that will bear poor economic results, their construction must be resolutely stopped; necessary readjustment should also be made on those projects, that, though incorporated into the budget, still lack the requisite funds and construction materials and, in particular, the practice of building showy and huge edifices and halls should be resolutely halted.

The centralization of the state's financial strength and material power on the major tasks of building a number of modernized and backbone engineering projects and transforming or rebuilding a number of backbone enterprises is where the basic interests of the state and of the whole people lie. It should be continuously and earnestly grasped. However, since the major construction projects require large investments and their construction period is rather long, it is also necessary to act according to one's own capability, to look in front and behind, and to make overall arrangements.

We should, following the principle of differentiating between the important and the unimportant and between the urgent and the less urgent, and improving

the economic benefits, make a suitable readjustment of the internal structure of the major construction projects and make a determination to stop or delay the construction of those projects that lack definite conditions for construction and production, thus to avoid falling into a passive state. In order to steadily reduce the scale of inflated investments, both the central government and the localities should rigidly control those projects that have newly started construction work.

Third, it is necessary to effectively control the various kinds of funds for use on capital construction, renovation, and transformation. Following the reform of the economic structure being intensified, the channels of investment in fixed assets will principally be reliance on self-raised funds and bank loans. Rigidly controlling the self-raised funds and bank loans constitutes a vital measure to prevent the overexpansion of the scale of investment. It should be emphasized that all self-raised funds should comply with the state's regulations in regard to the source of funds, method of raising and management, deposit and use; investment loans of the construction bank should be granted strictly in accordance with the state plan and no loans outside the plan should be granted in any form or pretext. Aside from the construction bank, other banks should not engage in the business of accepting deposits of self-raised funds for investment and should not grant any loans. Concurrently with exercising major control over the expansion of investments that are outside the budget, increases of investments inside the state budget should also be rigidly controlled. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen the guidance and control of the state budget and fully display the functions of control and regulation by means of economic tactics.

In stressing a firm control over the scale of investment in fixed assets, we mean that we must rationally arrange production and construction in accordance with the need and feasibility of developing the national economy and by no means advocate or imply that the smaller the scale of investment the better. The objective course of our country's economic development and the important tasks before us at present all require of us to maintain a definite and rational scale of investment and growth rate in production. If the scale of construction is made too small and the production growth rate is depressed to too low a level, then the vast potentials of the national economy cannot be fully utilized, the display of the enthusiasm of various sides will be hindered, and this will be disadvantageous to the healthy development of the national economy. At the same time, the current control of the scale of investment in fixed assets is an extremely complex and difficult task. To perform this work well, aside from first of all strengthening political and ideological education, unifying understanding and raising consciousness to a higher plane, the concrete way to proceed is to differentiate between different conditions and avoid working according to one pattern. In addition, it is necessary to take steadfast and safe steps; we cannot apply the brakes suddenly, and should as far as possible reduce the unnecessary convulsions and losses.

CSO: 4004/4

THE BINDING DUTY OF AN EDITOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 p 39

[Article by Hua Long [5478 7893]]

[Text] In 1947 when Comrade Xia Yan was the editor in charge of REFENG [HOT WIND], a supplement to HUASHANG BAO [CHINESE MERCHANTS' NEWSPAPER] of Hong Kong, on 14 November he wrote in the name of the editor a short article on editorial work entitled "It Is Difficult To Be a Cook" in the "Today's Talk" column. In that article, Xia Yan said: "For a cook, what is important is not only his skill, but also his morality. He should not do shoddy work and use inferior materials; he should not be lazy in purchasing materials; and he should not casually purchase rotten fish or meat or even buy poisonous things to injure his employers' health. These are the binding duties for a cook!" This passage is indeed succinct. Then Xia Yan, as an editor, compared himself to a cook and his readers to his "employers" and regarded maintaining the good health of his "employers" as his binding duty. This attitude of conscientiousness toward the readers provides us much food for thought.

Inspiring the patriotic enthusiasm of the people of the country and rousing them to strive hard and devote themselves to the socialist modernization program of their motherland is not only an important political task today for our writers' and artists' literature and art creation and performance, but also an important political task that our editors must always keep well in mind. Recently, some editors of our newspapers and journals have seemed to have a weak sense of this duty. They have seldom shown a sense of their binding duty. In order to increase the circulation of their newspapers and journals and seek profits (in short, pursue money in doing everything), instead of personally following reality to purchase what amounts to nutritious and fresh food, they casually get some rotten or even poisonous things and sell them to their "employers." For a while pornographic stories, horror stories, idle and empty whining, and so on have filled publications. This poisonous food has aroused the indignation of honest people, fascinated shallow-minded people, caused ignorant people to imitate it, and poisoned those who have eaten it greedily. Can such newspapers and journals play any educational or recreational role? No, for they have the effect of polluting the atmosphere of our society, an effect that we must never overlook. Performing an editor's duty in this manner is not only a serious dereliction of duty, but also pollutes our socialist culture. When the publication comes off

the presses, it plays a negative rather than a positive role. Instead of heightening the mental realm of the people, it causes confusion in their minds and makes them dejected. The writers who have written these items should be held responsible, but the editors who have solicited them and edited them should also be held fully responsible. Freedom of creation does not mean that all writing whatsoever is allowed to be published. If necessary, an editor has the duty and right to give comradely suggestions and advice to writers. He has the duty and right to select, in accordance with the stipulations of laws related to publication, the spiritual good that is healthy for the bodies and minds of his "employers." An editor must never easily give up this right and duty. Even less must he edit casually and allow the publication of things of vulgar or bad taste or willingly collude with unhealthy trends.

A newspaper or magazine must benefit the society rather than harm it. In editing and allowing the publication of books and journals, an editor should think about the society and the readers. This is the sense of duty and the professional ethics that an editor must have. This is precisely what Xia Yan said about "morality" and "binding duty." In view of the above problems, it is surely of new practical significance to review what Xia Yan said over 30 years ago.

CSO: 4004/3

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING THE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 40-41

[Article by Jiang Xiaoyu [5592 2400 1946]]

[Text] Question: Is the work-study program now identical to the part work and party study practice of the past? What is the difference between them?

Answer: Activities of the work-study program were called the part work and part study practice in the past. It is only in the past 1 or 2 years that we have begun to call it a work-study program. The part work and part study practice means that students work diligently while practicing thrift in their study. Therefore, the students spend part of their time doing work and part of their time studying. The work-study program, however, adds to the above the meaning of helping and promoting the study by including the idea of working diligently. To be more concrete, there are three major aspects of difference between the part work and part study practice and the work-study program:

First, the guiding thoughts are different. The part work and part study practice is mainly aimed at helping a small number of students whose families have difficulty in maintaining their livelihood to solve the problem related to their shortage of money to maintain their standard of living. The work-study program, however, is mainly aimed at enabling students to foster a labor viewpoint, training their ability in practice, improving their understanding of and adaptability to society, and exploiting the knowledge and intellectual resources of full-time students.

Second, their organizational forms and the contents of their activities are also different. The part work and part study activities of the past were mainly administered and assigned by a school's logistics department in a unified manner, while the work-study activities now involve the whole society. For example, the Beijing Municipal Economics Committee, the Municipal Department of Higher Education, the Education Department of the Municipal CPC Committee, the Municipal CYL Committee, and the Municipal Federation of Students have jointly organized college students to carry out the activities of providing technological advisory services to medium-sized and small enterprises and of supporting peasants with intellectual resources. The part work and part study activities of the past were mostly focused on

providing services for the schools and colleges themselves, such as white-washing classrooms, planting trees and grass on the school campuses, and leveling roads. Most of the activities were manual labor. Under the new situation, the activities of the work-study program are switching from serving the school itself to serving both the school itself and the society and from relatively uniform manual labor to combining manual and mental labor. At present there are roughly three types of activities of the work-study program: intellectual resources exploitation, labor, and comprehensive services. These activities are of richer contents and wider scope than the traditional part work and part study activities. For example, there is direct participation in exploiting intellectual resources of the society and in training personnel, direct participation in small-scale technological transformation and the administration and management of our enterprises, and direct provision of technological services for our rural township and town enterprises. All these are beyond the scope of the traditional part work and part study activities.

Third, the development orientation is different. In the current activities of our work-study program, more stress has been laid on combining the work with the study of the students' professions, giving full play to the students' advantages in having knowledge and wisdom, serving the reform, and making contribution to the economic construction. Among the three types of activities of the work-study program, intellectual resources exploitation meets this requirement most satisfactorily. At the same time, it strengthens the practice of what students study, facilitates breaking the existing "closed" educational pattern, conforms to the orientation of our educational reform, and is most worth vigorously advocating.

Question: How are we to understand the significance of the activities of the work-study program?

Answer: As an activity of social practice, the activities of the work-study program are significant in heightening the students' ideological awareness, training their ability to do actual work, and, in particular, fostering their spirit of blazing new trails and creativeness. This is relatively easy for people to understand. Here I want to particularly stress that we should also understand the significance of the work-study program from the angle of the society and from a macro viewpoint. We should change our views and refrain from regarding full-time students merely as objects to be educated that are isolated from the society and that do not change. In fact, these students are latent personnel resources and intellectual resources. Our four modernizations program urgently requires knowledge and talented people, but at present the personnel trained by our educational sector falls short of this urgent demand. Bringing the full-time college students into the overall structure of the personnel contingent of our country and enabling them to play their role during their study will play a satisfactory role both in training personnel and increasing the macroeconomic results of the whole society. Facts have proved that our full-time college students and post-graduates are entirely capable of shouldering this responsibility under the precondition of conducting their study satisfactorily.

Question: What problems are there in the activities of our work-study program now?

Answer: There are mainly two problems in our current work-study program activities. One is that the channels are not sufficiently unclogged. Many students are enthusiastic about conducting these activities, but they find it difficult to get the opportunity to carry out these activities. They urgently need the attention and support of the leading groups at all levels and the various circles in our society. The other is the unsatisfactory management. A fairly large number of universities and colleges are still exploring the way to satisfactorily guide their students in conducting work-study program activities. They have just set up departments to be in charge of this work, have not yet perfected the system, and lack experience in giving guidance. In a small number of universities and colleges, there is still no one to lead, no department to manage, and no policy on the activities of the work-study program. In a very small number of universities and colleges, there has been an unhealthy trend of giving up study to be engaged in commerce, reselling goods at profits, and conducting speculation.

Therefore, on the one hand, the leadership at all levels should fully realize the positive significance of the work-study activities in training personnel and exploiting intellectual resources, overcome their one-sided understanding of these activities, refrain from regarding these activities as "ignoring students' proper duties" and "disturbing the normal order of teaching," vigorously strengthen their leadership, and provide more conditions and open up wider scopes and channels for the activities. On the other hand, in conducting these activities, our students should continue to correct their guiding thoughts and resolutely implement the principle of making these activities facilitate the education, the training of personnel, the economic construction, and the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. They should satisfactorily handle the relations between their routine study and these activities and between the training of personnel and the earning of economic income. Study is the major task of our students. Some students have a one-sided understanding of the relationship between the study of basic knowledge and the training of ability. With the excuse of developing their ability, they are merely eager to conduct the activities of the work-study program, but do not keep their minds on their study. They plan their work when they are taking lessons and go around to find work opportunities as soon as the lessons finish. Some even have no scruples about being absent from their colleges in order to look for jobs. As a result, they are doing much worse in their studies than they did in the past. This is not correct. They should use their vacation and spare time to carry out the activities of their work-study program. (They should not use all their vacation and spare time to conduct these activities and should pay attention to striking a proper balance between work and rest.) They should not confuse principal tasks with secondary ones nor regard the latter as the former.

Moreover, it is entirely reasonable to get appropriate remuneration from their work-study program activities in accordance with the regulations, but they should not set their eyes solely on money. In choosing the activities of their work-study program, deciding the research topics and arranging their

time, they should proceed from the principle of facilitating the training of personnel and making contributions to society. They should by no means do much of the work that earns much money, do little of the work that earns little money, and refuse to do the work that earns no money. Even less should they conduct business of reselling goods at a profit. Some students are unwilling to take part in noncompensated public welfare work, and some CYL members have even asked whether they would be paid for their work when they took part in the voluntary labor organized by their CYL organizations. We should say that this is not the mentality that the youth of the 1980's should have, nor is it the main attitude of the young students of today. For socialist college students, the orientation in becoming talented people is to become people with ideals, morality, good education, and discipline. Therefore, while vigorously carrying out the activities of the work-study program, our full-time college students should take part in a certain amount of noncompensated labor for public affairs every year. This is a requirement of the state and also a bounden duty for all college students. Our CYL organizations and students' associations should conscientiously organize these activities, carry out diverse forms of communist voluntary labor often, such as afforestation and the provision of scientific and technological advice, and establish a lofty habit among our students of "not haggling for conditions in devoting themselves to ideals and serving the people regardless of pay."

CSO: 4004/3

WHAT IS EDUCATION LEGISLATION AND WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO HAVE EDUCATION LEGISLATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 42-43

[Article by Chen Yunsheng [7115 0061 3932]]

[Text] Education legislation is a process by which state legislative organs and other relevant organs collect the common wishes of the people of all nationalities from all over the nation in regard to national education and, in accordance with socialist principles and the needs of socialist development, set down, in the form of laws, those educational procedures which are of benefit to the state and the society and the relationship between people's rights and their obligations in educational activities. In this way, the procedures are observed throughout the whole society, thus effectively guaranteeing the development of education.

Education legislation includes: the basic laws and regulations relating to education passed by the state legislative organ, that is the NPC and its Standing Committee; the rules and regulations relating to education formulated by the State Council and educational administrative organs; local laws relating to education formulated by provincial, autonomous region, and directly administered cities' people's congresses and their standing committees; and special regulations relating to education formulated by autonomous organs in nationality autonomous regions. The scope of education legislation includes the entire macro-management exercised by the state and education administrative departments over education, and also includes educational micro-management by school administrative departments, exercised in accordance with the law. The contents of education legislation are wide and complicated. They include the principles, tasks, and systems of education; the standards, training, examination, conditions, promotions, rewards, and penalties as well as rights and obligations of teaching staff; the entry, in-school management, rewards, and penalties, allocation on graduation and rights and obligations of students; the sources, management and use of education funds; the use and protection of educational facilities, the setting of course curricula, length of schooling, and teaching contents and methods; the establishment and maintenance of the educational procedures; family education, social education, and so on. All these are standardized and regulated by education legislation. That is to say, everything connected with education, including personnel, finances, and

materials is included in education legislation. If any of these links are imperfect, they can affect the development of education.

Because conditions in various countries differ, the contents and forms of education legislation in various countries also differ. In accordance with the basic principles on education set down in the constitution and the actual needs of developing education, priority should be accorded to the consideration and preparation of the following laws:

1. A basic education law. This will be an overall and comprehensive basic law, setting down principles, tasks, and systems. Its basic function will be to give concrete expression to the principles on education set down in the constitution. It will set down fairly detailed and specific regulations in regard to the basic and major problems of education. It will guarantee that the regulations required by the constitutional principles can be implemented, and will provide a base on which other education legislation can be set down.

2. A universal, compulsory primary education law. This will be a law setting down the principles, tasks, organizational structure, funds, and other aspects of universal, compulsory primary education. The aim of the legislation will be to guarantee, through all necessary organization and measures, that children who have reached the appropriate age, enjoy the right to receive education, and fulfill their obligation to be educated, so as to provide a good base for raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation.

3. A teaching staff law. This law will mainly stipulate the standards, positions, examinations, rewards and penalties, rights and obligations, and the conditions of the teaching staff. It will stipulate in law that only those with the highest moral character, with the necessary scholarly attainments, who ardently love the work and who continually forge ahead, can be teachers of the people. Through a legal form, it will affirm the legal position of teachers, which will have great significance in raising the quality of the teaching ranks and guaranteeing the position of teachers in the society.

4. An education investment law. This law will provide stipulation in regard to the raising and use of education funds. Its main roles will be to guarantee that in arranging education, there will be a stable and dependable source of funds and to prevent the misappropriation or abuse of funds.

5. A school protection law. This will mainly set down stipulation in regard to the protection of school buildings, grounds, educational equipment, and other educational facilities, as well as the protection of other rights and interests. It will also establish and maintain regular educational procedures. This will provide schools with the protection of law in regard to their educational facilities and educational procedures, and prevent other units or individuals from interfering in or damaging these.

6. An adult education law. This will mainly provide stipulations in regard to tasks, contents, targets, methods, examinations, conditions, employment after training, and so on, in regard to adult education. It will use a legal form to guarantee adult education so as to achieve the goal of raising the political, cultural, and scientific and technical level of the contingent of staff and workers.

Education is an important and complicated social activity. If we are to ensure the smooth development of education, we must implement scientific management. The basic demands of scientific management are systematization and the codifying of laws. If there are no laws on which to depend, no regulations by which to abide, and "education is decided on by man's whim," it will be very difficult to manage education well. Law is the will of the state, that is, a manifestation of the will of the people. It stipulates certain codes of conduct for man, and fixes what men can do, must do, and are prohibited from doing under specified conditions. That is, it fixes the rights men enjoy and the obligations they must meet. Thus, it standardizes man's social action and regulates the social relationships between men. In the scope of the role it plays, law, as a social standard, has universality and stability, and has a particularly strong coercive nature. The role of education legislation lies in that it provides a uniformity based on law. As to the universality of education legislation, once the activities of administering education in society come within the scope of education legislation, the whole society must respect them. No unit or individual will be exempted in this regard. That is to say, the whole society must positively and correctly handle the rights and interests of people in education legislation relationships as stipulated by the education legislation. For example, the ratio of educational investment funds in financial departments' expenditure, as stipulated by the education investment law, must be adhered to. No unit or individual will be able to reduce the amount on the basis of their own likes or dislikes. The stability of education legislation will play an important role in developing education. Education, as a social activity, requires joint coordination throughout the society. This in turn requires the establishment of fairly stable educational procedures and rights-obligations relationships. If we do not have good education legislation, it will inevitably lead to frequent changes in procedures and the relationships between rights and obligations, resulting in setbacks and losses for the cause of education. This point has already been fully demonstrated by our nation's experiences in the past. The coercive nature of education legislation is indispensable for the development of the cause of education. In our country, although laws are voluntarily observed by the masses in the vast majority of cases, it sometimes occurs that, in the process of implementation, laws are obstructed or broken. In the education sphere, cases in which school buildings are occupied, educational funds are misused or embezzled, and teaching staff are humiliated or beaten up, are continually occurring. Thus, even though the law's coercive nature is intrinsically a passive, precautionary measure, it will play a very important role in protecting and promoting education. We must strengthen education legislation and clearly set down what people are to be prohibited from doing in educational activities, as well as the legal responsibilities of people who refuse to carry out their obligations as set down in education

legislation. Violations of the laws must be investigated and the laws must be enforced. Regardless of who it is, if a person violates an education law, they must shoulder the responsibility and be subject to the sanctions prescribed by the law. Only in this way will it be possible to effectively safeguard normal education activities and promote the development of the cause of education.

The importance of education legislation has already been recognized by many countries throughout the world. Although the social systems of these countries are different, they have all, through continually perfecting their education legislation, promoted the development of their education systems. We should gain inspiration from their experiences and successes, and raise the political quality and cultural, scientific, and technical levels of the whole nation, and develop our nation's socialist education by attaching great importance to and strengthening education legislation.

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THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF APPROPRIATELY SEPARATING PROPRIETARY RIGHTS  
AND OPERATING RIGHTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 44-46

[Article by Zhu Guanghua [2612 0342 5478], an assistant professor at Nankai University]

[Text] The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Economic Structure" points out: "As Marxist theory and the practice of socialism have shown, proprietary rights can be appropriately separated from operating rights." Grasping this thesis is of great theoretical significance in understanding the internal relationships of the "Decision" and in exploring the system of logic in socialist political economics.

The "Decision" puts forward a series of important theoretical viewpoints, the contents of which are very rich. I believe that these significant theoretical viewpoints are not put forward in isolation of each other but are related through the internal system of logic. The judgment on the appropriate separation of proprietary rights and operating rights is an important theoretical basis for these significant viewpoints.

For example, if we wish enterprises owned by the whole people to truly become relatively independent economic entities and socialist commodity producers and operators which have autonomy in operations and which are solely responsible for their own profits and losses, we must give these enterprises a certain amount of operational and administrative autonomy. This will allow them, under the precondition of conforming with state planning and management, the power to select flexible, diverse operational forms and arrange their own production, supply, and sales activities. Also, they will have appropriate autonomy in terms of personnel, finances, materials, and so on. These powers are a realistic guarantee that the enterprises will truly become relatively independent economic entities. The thesis in the "Decision" that proprietary rights and operational rights can be appropriately separated, provides a theoretical basis on which to reform the economic relationships between the state and enterprises, and to recognize and expand the operational autonomy of enterprises.

A socialist economy is a planned commodity economy. This is a theoretical viewpoint of overall understanding put forward in the "Decision." However,

why is a socialist economy a planned, commodity economy and what are the objective conditions for its existence? In regard to the whole-people ownership economy, this should be explained in terms of the appropriate separation of proprietary rights and operating rights. Within the whole-people ownership economy, through the separation of proprietary rights and operating rights, all enterprises will become relatively independent economic entities, and the economic relationships between them will inevitably be ones based on the principle of exchange at equal value. Thus, the possession of the right to operate relatively independently by whole-people ownership enterprises will be the basis of the whole-people ownership economy's internal commodity relationships. However, the proprietary rights of whole-people ownership enterprises will remain in the hands of the state. Thus, the state will carry out planned guidance and regulation of the economic activities of the whole-people ownership enterprises, to ensure that they accord with the overall demands of national economic development. Therefore, the internal commodity relationships of the whole-people ownership economy will be planned. Their objective base will be state ownership under the whole-people ownership economy. State ownership requires planned leadership while an enterprise's operating rights requires commodity relationships. The separation and unity of proprietary rights and operating rights require the implementation of a planned commodity economy. The planned economy and commodity economy here are not mutually exclusive but a unity. It can thus be seen that if we sum up the socialist economy as a planned, commodity economy based on public ownership, it completely accords with logic.

Correctly bringing into play the economic role of the socialist state is another important theoretical problem put forward by the "Decision."

The "Decision" points out, in terms of the relationship between the government and enterprises, that in the future, in principle no government at any level will directly operate enterprises. The major functions of government organs in managing the economy will be those of control and regulation. The theoretical basis of this understanding should also be proved through the thesis that under whole-people ownership, proprietary rights and operating rights can be appropriately separated. Formerly, because the state controlled enterprises excessively and too rigidly, whole-people ownership was lumped together with direct operation of the enterprises by state organs. The thesis that proprietary rights and operating rights can be appropriately separated provides a theoretical basis for the separation of government and enterprise functions, and for correctly bringing into play the economic role of the state.

The expositions in the "Decision" on linking up an enterprise's distribution according to work with the enterprise's economic results, and on the possibility of whole-people ownership enterprises having diversified forms, are also related with the thesis that proprietary rights and operating rights can be appropriately separated. This is because, only by recognizing an enterprise's operating rights is it possible to guarantee the linking up of the enterprise's wages and bonuses with its operating situation. Only thus is it possible for an enterprise to select flexible diverse operating

modes. The internal relationships of these theses are obvious and it is not necessary to go into details here.

By looking in depth at the logical relationships between the above-mentioned theses from the "Decision," we can see that the inference that proprietary rights and operating rights can be appropriately separated is an important theoretical basis of many of them. Thus, in preparing teaching materials in accordance with the spirit of the "Decision" we should strengthen theoretical research into ownership.

First, we should correctly describe the theory of ownership, especially the position of the theory that proprietary rights and operating rights can be appropriately separated in socialist political economics.

In a certain sense, the reform of the economic structure is an adjustment of ownership relationships. The establishment of any economic system requires as a base, a certain ownership theory. If we are to change the original economic system, we must first break through the original theoretical basis of that system, so that the new system can be established on the basis of a new ownership theory. Thus, research into ownership theory goes along with the practice of reforming the economic structure.

Speaking in terms of the system and structure of socialist political economics, we advocate that the ownership of the means of production be taken as the basis of the relations of production. This tends toward the "base theory" viewpoint, but it does not rule out the "total theory" viewpoint which holds that, at the same time, ownership is a totality of the relations of production. The "base theory" answers the questions in regard to the position of ownership in the relations of production, while the "total theory" answers the practical questions in the various aspects of the relations of production. In exploring the system and structure of socialist political economics, on the basis of the unity of history and logic, we advocate proceeding from the socialist ownership system.

Second, we must break through the unitary "jurisdiction idea" implied by ownership and explain the rich contents of ownership categories. The ownership of the means of production, as an economic category, refers to the system of relationships between man and the means of production in the process of production. It includes the economic relationships of ownership, possession, control and use, between man and the means of production. Of these, ownership is the major component of ownership relationships, but not the sole component. Possession, control, and use of the means of production also have quite independent economic significance. What are commonly referred to as operating and management rights are concrete manifestations of possession, control, and use relationships.

Possession, as opposed to ownership, is a conditional jurisdiction relationship. That is, the possessor cannot arbitrarily dispose of the means of production (for example, he cannot sell them) as the owner is able to do. However, under certain conditions (for example, the provision of certain economic benefits to the owner) and for a certain period, the means of

production are actually under his direct management. Control refers to making arrangements for, and managing, the means of production. This is often closely combined with the arranging for and management of labor power. Use refers to the direct use of the means of production by labor. This is the direct factor by, and the basis on, which the means of production are brought into effect and by which economic results are gained. Because use relationships are different, for example there is collective and individual use, the economic relationships formed also differ. Thus, in the system of ownership relationships, possession, control and use can be in the hands of the owner, or separated from the owner. Ownership of the same nature can give rise to the existence of different forms, due to the separation and different combinations of ownership, possession, control, and use relationships. Thus, understanding, both in theory and practice, the rich contents of ownership of the means of production, and analyzing the internal structure of ownership, are of extreme importance in understanding the characteristics and existing forms of the economic relations of socialist public ownership, and especially in understanding the present reform of the relationship between the state and the enterprises.

Third, we must implement the ownership theory in a series of important theoretical viewpoints in teaching materials. For example, analysis of socialist production aims and enterprise production aims, analysis of the socialist planned commodity economy, analysis of the nature and position of socialist enterprises, analysis of the economic role of the socialist state and so on, should all be expounded upon by reference to the characteristics of socialist public ownership and especially to the separation and unity of proprietary rights and operating rights within the whole-people ownership system. In these expositions, it may be possible to explore the system of logic of socialist political economics. At present, although the conditions are not yet ripe for establishing a scientific system, it is necessary and beneficial to engage in all sorts of exploration.

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## IT IS IMPERATIVE TO BLAZE NEW TRAILS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 pp 46-47

[Article by Liang Song [2733 2646], a teaching assistant in the Economics Department of the People's University of China]

[Text] The issuing of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Reform of the Economic Structure" means that conditions are now ripe for blazing new trails in socialist political economics. I would like to put forward several views on blazing new trails, based on summing up past experiences.

First, we should affirm that previous teaching materials reflected, to a certain degree, a correct understanding of the laws of socialist economic movement. This has especially been so since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and new pleasing results have been achieved in respect of many questions. However, we cannot overlook the many basic shortfalls which still exist. Apart from the outdated system and structure of teaching materials, this is also mainly manifested in: 1) The lack of an integrated social function. Socialist political economics should have the three functions of social education, socioeconomic planning, and socioeconomic management. However, traditional teaching materials one-sidedly stressed the social education function and overlooked the strengthening and perfecting of the other two functions. 2) Lack of avenues for practical application. The traditional, theoretical system was restricted by its function. It also was satisfied, in its research and reporting, to just explain abstract patterns of economic laws and provide high-level perspectives of the basic nature of the relations of production. This resulted in a very poor ability to depict the actual situation. That is to say, it sorely lacked the nature of a medium, and could not constitute a real base. Neither could it provide specific guidance in macroeconomic or microeconomic management and regulation, and it was difficult for the antennae of economic theory to be extended to the various levels of the economic sphere. 3) There has only been a small degree of opening up and this has been reflected in the lack of elasticity. Socialist political economics, built on a base of Marxism, should be an open system, should be able to draw in nutrition from all sides in a timely way, and should continually correct and perfect itself with practice. However, traditional teaching materials have not paid sufficient attention to this. If we do not pay attention to the role of the new

methodologies (for example, information theory, systems theory, and control theory), we will not be able to change outdated contents in a timely way, we will neglect to reflect, through comprehensive research, the manifestation of the mutual roles of the various spheres of society in economic life, we will be hesitant in drawing in and using beneficial components of foreign economic theory, and so on.

The vitality of political economics lies in its blazing of new trails. If we wish to overcome the restrictions of traditional teaching materials, we must not only manage "outward manifestations" but also manage "basic causes." That is to say, we must readjust systems and functions in an overall way and research the arrangements of the core and the contents, in accordance with the spirit of the "Decision" and the needs of practice. My initial ideas are as follows:

1. We should achieve the diversification of functions of the theoretical system. This can be done in two steps. In accordance with present conditions and actual demands, we can consider addressing ourselves to different educational targets and tasks, and complete functional arrangements with editions in different forms. Teaching materials for political classes in universities and colleges should stress the educational function. The focus should be on using basic theory to explain the socialist system and the laws of its development. Teaching materials for the masses of party and government cadres should combine, as their main part, basic principles and the development of policies. Teaching materials for students of economics departments in universities and colleges should have the two functions of socioeconomic planning and regulation by management as their main part so as to fully manifest the characteristics of comprehensive positivist and normative research. Of course, that does not mean that the educational function will be neglected in the latter case. Rather, it is just that the education function will be manifested in a different form. Seen in terms of long-term development, only by proceeding from the idea of establishing a complete economic science system will it be possible to thoroughly resolve these questions.

2. In the methods and focus of theoretical research, we should implement a series of changes. The main task of socialist political economics is to provide theoretical explanations in the building and perfecting of a socialist economic model with Chinese characteristics. This means that we must systematically understand the economic processes and make the following changes in the methods and focus of theoretical research: There must be a directional change from the old situation where "one ratio" and "two transitions" were stressed, to one where attention is paid to studying and clarifying patterns of economic movements and the direction of development in our country; there must be a directional change from the old situation where stress was placed on researching changes in production relations to one where there is an overall exploration of production modes and their specific forms; there must be a change from the situation where, in research into economic forms, one-sided attention was paid to abstract forms and it was considered satisfactory to relate general tendencies of patterns, to one where there is an overall elucidation of the system of economic patterns and

the actual roles they play in practice; there must be a change from purely normative research to research where both positive and normative aspects are combined; and so on.

3. In the arrangement of theoretical contents, we should use many layers and many angles to reflect the structure, functions, and patterns of movement of the socialist economic system. Seen from the vertical view, we should first carry out static and dynamic analysis and description of the movement of the socialist economy. That is to say, we should put before the eyes of the readers theoretical explanations of how and why various types of macroeconomic and microeconomic actions, after the reform, will affect things, and what sort of results they will produce. Second, through detailed research into our old and new economic systems and the replacement of economic mechanisms, we should fully expound on the economic management system, the economic regulation mechanism, and their functions, and make this a relatively independent level. Finally, on the basis of a further understanding of socialist production modes, we should make an overall high-level summing-up of the basic characteristics of the socialist economy, its ownership structure, its system of economic patterns, and so on. The above however, does not mean that this will be a model of the new system. Rather, it will simply explain which basic contents the new system should have. Seen from the horizontal view: 1) We should strengthen quantification and the use of models in economic theory. The unprecedented complexity and need to strengthen macro-management in socialist economic activities at present requires that we provide various low-level variable economic relationships with quantifiable formulas and models. This will not only be of convenience in theoretical descriptions but, more importantly, it will accurately reflect the development tendencies in political economics. 2) We should fully reflect comprehensive research achievements realized in the many sciences. The economic sphere and society's other spheres come into contact at many points. The problems which arise from this await explanation and countermeasures, which will be found through comprehensive research by the many sciences.

4. As to what aspects the theory teaching materials should absorb, we should adopt the forms of inheritance, development, and assimilation. Inheritance refers to carrying on the basic Marxist-Leninist socialist theories and requires that we study these theories more deeply and more widely. At the same time, we should also make full use of the scientific results we have achieved in the past. Development is the most important form. This requires that we actively sum up the economic practice in socialist countries, categories, and theories from them. Assimilation means that we should critically draw lessons from and use those beneficial parts of the economic theories of the various countries of the world. If we wish to develop a planned commodity economy, we must draw lessons from and use some of the results of Western economics in regard to the general patterns of socialized large-scale production. We also need to assimilate and use analytical methods and some conclusions which accord with the development of the commodity economy, as well as some theories and methods in regard to the progress of developing countries toward a developed stage.

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HUANG HE, YOU HAVE TAKEN ANOTHER TURN AFTER ALL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 85 p 48

[Article by Lin Wenshan [2651 2429 1472]]

[Text] Several months ago, following the publication of the initial issue of the bimonthly literary magazine CHINA, I learned from Comrades Ding Ling and Chen Ming that issue No 2 of the magazine will carry a good and readable short story: Tian Dongzhao's "Here Huang He Takes a Turn." Naturally, after I received the magazine, I read the story with great eagerness. The story's meticulous literary descriptions, refreshing illustrations of people's customs, and narration of the tortuous and winding psychology of the characters literally entrance the reader and make him come away with a heavy heart. After I finished reading, I could not help heaving a sigh and saying:

"Huang He, you have taken another turn after all."

I have not read much by Tian Dongzhao. The impressions I have are from his two articles carried in the July and August issues last year of SHANXI LITERATURE. In these two articles, Tian Dongzhao expressed his profound thoughts and remembrances about the Huang He as well as his congenial but highly satirical polings at customs and practices which are as old as the Huang He, including outmoded and antiquated ideas.

However, on this particular occasion, although this short story touched on the ancient Huang He and ancient customs, it leaves the reader with some very deep feelings. We can see that Tian Dongzhao has made certain progress.

The Huang He, this river which has existed since ancient times, has indeed taken countless turns. Some of the turns are small ones, some large, and some are contrary to the old concept of "Huang He flowing eastward" since, literally, the river makes an about-face and flows westward. Zhao Da, described in the story as an "eagle-eyed person" raised on the banks of the Huang He, is mentioned as being conversant with all the farm trades, being a good sailor, and as adept in rearing draft animals. He is said to be adept at all arts and trades, an expert on each and every one of them. However, he is a hard-headed bachelor who keeps company with cows and horses. It is not that nobody loves him. But when the Huang He leaves its course and "flows westward," Zhao Da, like the fictional monkey king who could not escape from

the palm of the Buddha, plunges headlong into a love affair and tragedy, ending up in a sad "wedding ceremony" in which he, a living being, is joined in wedlock with the corpse of his dead fiancée. However, very soon, the Huang He takes another turn. This time, Zhao Da, lacking enthusiasm and deeply depressed by the many adversities he has encountered, takes part in various undertakings off and on, just to pass time. He manages to steadily build a fortune. Rich and middle-aged, he should have had no difficulty in finding a wife. Unfortunately, heavy historical burdens and foolish and pitiful feudal superstitions wrapped tightly around him and the country folk. Even though opportunity knocked at the door, Zhao Da was frightened and dared not extend a welcome. What happened was that a widow who did not mind his once having married a corpse offered her hand in marriage. The widow in question was one Shen Yulan, pretty, cultured, capable, and literally a "fairy from heaven." But in the last 5 minutes, it was Zhao Da who backed off. It was revealed that this woman was none other than the mother of the dead fiancée whose corpse he had married in the mock wedding ceremony. After learning about this from Shen Yulan, "Zhao Da was dumbfounded." All the beautiful scenes that had gone through his mind had been mere mirages which had appeared swiftly but had disappeared just as swiftly. Now he had nothing left.

The story, which is narrated according to each person's character and in combination with a description of the old customs in the region of the ancient Huang He, most vividly and meticulously describes the torture which Zhao Da, facing a new life and the influences of new ideas, suffers--the changes and twists in his sentiments and his eventual decision to break through the "bonds around his neck." Thus, Zhao Da, acting precisely as the "small river god," as he had been nicknamed, not only scores memorable victories in his struggles against the Huang He and Mother Nature, but also wins a major victory in fighting the setbacks of feudal ideas which, in effect, offer more stumbling blocks than the impediments of the Huang He. People breathe a sigh of relief for him.

Practice has fully shown that overcoming foolish feudal customs is frequently more difficult than overcoming poverty. Construction of spiritual civilization is not always a bed of roses. Thinking that the current economic policy is correct, that the peasants have become rich, and that therefore all problems can be solved smoothly and peacefully is an enormous mistake. Now that people are rejoicing at the new countenance of the rural villages, Tian Dongzhao's short story has brought up from another angle a problem which truly is well worth deep thought.

Overcoming the impediments offered by the green hills, the Huang He relentlessly pursues its course of flow eastward. Despite obstructions and the occasional reversals of its flow, the Huang He has taken another turn after all. Similarly, Zhao Da and the residents of Shek Tai village have taken an immense step forward.

We may be skeptical about some old people (this makes us think of the elderly person in the fictional work "A Family Head Who Has Lost His Authority"), so readily abandoning their inviolable country customs and

condescending to "officiate" at the wedding ceremony of Zhao Da and Shen Yulan. Is not this "happy ending" a little farfetched? However, the story clearly shows that the Huang He does not flow directly eastward without interruptions or changes in its course. Rather, in a narration of the sad story of Qing Qing's unhappy marriage which could well attract other people's sympathy and its description of the doings of Mi Laichang who is "always correct" and adept at reaping gains from "closely following others' steps" and "copying others' examples" have made people feel that ahead the Huang He will meet with further hindrances and stumbling blocks. Still, anybody can see that the Huang He is now flowing much more smoothly than ever before.

CSO: 4004/1

STUDY THE STRATEGY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FROM THE ANGLE OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE--READING 'ON WAYS TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE'

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[Article by Chen Shengchang [7115 0524 2490]]

[Text] Sun Xianqing's book "On Ways To Deal With the Economic Structure" is a special volume which studies China's strategy for economic development from the angle of the economic structure. It was awarded the 1984 Sun Yefang Economic Science Prize. The book consists of three parts. Part 1 directly advocates several most important strategic measures to ensure the realization of China's strategic targets by the end of this century, namely: measures dealing with the distribution of the growth rate of the economy, measures dealing with the energy structure, measures dealing with the technological structure, and measures dealing with major construction projects and balanced development. Part 2 suggests, on the basis of a detailed analysis of the strategic targets, a general principle for formulating the measures dealing with the economic structure. It makes a relatively systematic study of such theoretical problems as the selection of the strategic targets, the inner relations between strategic targets and the economic structure and proceeds to discuss the factors governing the determination of the strategic targets and economic structure and the three principles on rationalization of the economic structure, namely, the principle of the objective, the principle of benefits, and the principle of balancing. Part 3 carries relatively detailed and concrete discussions on, and offers views touching on, relevant measures dealing with the structure of the following: industry, technology, education and science, employment, scale and organization of enterprises, the regions, accumulation in conjunction with consumption, consumption, international exchange, and ownership system.

The book has the following special features: It studies and absorbs the research results on relevant problems both inside the country and abroad in conjunction with the actual practice in our country, and, taking China's realities as a start, offers many theoretical viewpoints and new policy recommendations that are worthy of careful study, manifests the unification of the qualities of being theoretical, practical, and recommending policies; closely revolving around the central theme of the modernization program, grasping the most urgent problem of developing the social productive forces in the economic life of the country, and starting from inquiring whether or

not there are benefits to promoting the four modernizations and the development of the productive forces, it analyzes the economic structure and the current system and recommends various kinds of countermeasures which are to the point and look to the future. In its contents, the book may be said to be a continuation of the book "Research on the Problem of China's Economic Structure" (People's Publishing House, 1981 edition), jointly edited by Ma Hong and Sun Xiangqing. The latter publication, with its analysis on the basis of rich and plentiful reference materials, emphasized discussing the successes of rationalizing the economic structure in the 30 years since the founding of the PRC. The former publication stresses the future and links a forecast of economic development from now on with the measures to deal with the economic structure; it is highly theoretical, presents a large amount of reference materials and statistics, and fully integrates qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis.

The problem of the economic structure is a topic our economic theorists have begun to research in recent years. This book marks the beginning of advocating measures and ways to deal with economic development from the angle of the economic structure. It opens up a new domain for economic scientific research. This book has rather plentiful contents and the problems dealt with are complex. Writing and compiling this book was rather a stupendous task requiring the cooperation of scholars of many different sciences. In compiling such a specialized volume within a short period of time, deficiencies may be found in individual chapters and sections, such as insufficient research work done, a lack or shortage of materials, and the presentation not being entirely convincing, and so forth. All this needs to be mentioned here.

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