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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 24, 16 DECEMBER 1986

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24 MARCH 1987

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 24, 16 DECEMBER 1986

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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DECENTRALIZE THE POWER OF OPERATION TO INVIGORATE LARGE AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] In 1986, economic structural reform has made new progress on the basis of consolidating the achievements in the past few years. In 1987, reform will continue to be our most important task. Further invigorating the large and medium-sized enterprises and enlivening all enterprises will continue to be the center of next year's economic structural reform. We must tightly grasp this central link and advance reform in all fields so as to promote our economic development and our construction.

In the past few years, we have taken a series of measures to separate enterprises from government institutions, to ensure the decisionmaking power of the enterprises, and to enliven enterprises, and these measures have achieved marked results. However, we have encountered more problems and difficulties in the aspect of invigorating large and medium-sized enterprises, and things in this aspect are more complicated. In general, the large and medium-sized enterprises are not as dynamic in production and business operation as enterprises in rural areas, enterprises run by individuals, and small state-owned enterprises. The large and medium-sized enterprises constitute the backbone force in our country's industry. They are the main undertakers of the mandatory plans and the main contributors of state revenue. At present, the economic vigor and animation of the large and medium-sized enterprises are not in line with their important economic position and task. The invigoration of these enterprises is the central link in urban economic reform, but, ironically, it is now precisely a weak link. If we do not seriously seek solutions and work out effective measures to solve this problem, economic development as a whole and the entire reform process will certainly be affected.

The fundamental way to enliven large and medium-sized enterprises is to really delegate operating power to these enterprises, on the principle of separating operating power from ownership, and to let enterprise operators bear all powers, responsibilities, and interests concerning the routine production and operation of the enterprises. This is also a way of settling issues concerning the internal management of the state-owned enterprises.

Separating operating power from ownership is a principle clearly stipulated by the central decision on economic structural reform. Reform practice in the past 2 years has further proved that the key to invigorating enterprises lies in the adoption of different forms and methods of decentralizing operating powers in light of the conditions in different enterprises. Small enterprises can be leased or contracted to the enterprise managers without changing their ownership character. However, as the operating power is separated from ownership, the initiative of the enterprise managers and workers can be aroused, and the enterprises can rapidly change their appearance and their economic results can be markedly improved. Some larger enterprises have also adopted some special methods on a trial basis to expand their decisionmaking power in operation, and they have become more dynamic. Conversely, some large and medium-sized enterprises still lack economic vigor and find it hard to advance their reforms, and the basic reason for this is that they have still not achieved full operating power or decentralized their internal management powers, and their internal management systems are still not rational enough. Without solving this problem, the internal reforms in the enterprises, their efforts to develop their abilities of self-transformation and self-development, and the development of lateral economic association will all encounter many difficulties. At present, many factory directors and managers say: "It is hard to run an enterprise well, and it is even harder to perform the duties of a factory director or manager." The difficulties include many objective factors, such as the short supply of energy and raw materials, strained transport conditions, and price rises. At the same time, there are also many artificial factors. For example, excessive and unreasonable charges and levies are imposed on the enterprises; too many administrative institutions are looking after an enterprise; and too many buckpassing phenomena and too much red tape are hindering the efficient handling of management affairs in the enterprises. This is the worst headache of the enterprises. According to our experience in the past few years, in order to solve these problems, it is not enough to merely urge the departments in charge to change their work style, instead, the fundamental solution is to reform the management structure and decentralize the operating power.

China's reform, opening up, and economic development need a large number of capable entrepreneurs who are good at management, are good at doing business, and have a pioneering and enterprising spirit and a high sense of responsibility. To cultivate such entrepreneurs, we must create necessary conditions for them to display their talents and abilities. This also requires the proper settlement of the issues of decentralizing operating power and ensuring the interests of the enterprise managers. If we solve these issues properly, capable entrepreneurs will naturally emerge in large numbers. To achieve this purpose, it is not necessary to change the ownership character of the enterprises. The fact that some state-owned enterprises which were operating in the red for a long time have rapidly been managed by competent entrepreneurs since their management was decentralized provides proof of this. In short, in order to enliven enterprises and particularly to invigorate large and medium-sized enterprises, it is necessary to seriously separate operating power from ownership, and there is still a great potential to be tapped in this regard. Of course, new problems may occur after

operating power is decentralized, and at the same time, overall economic management should be strengthened and improved so as to bring the production and business operation of the enterprises into line with social demands and to coordinate the interests of the enterprises and the enterprise managers with overall social interests.

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## QUALITY OF PRODUCT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 3-8

[Article by Lu Dong [0712 2639]]

[Text] I. A Rough Estimate of the Current Situation of Product Quality

Not long ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: We should stress both the quantity and quality of products. The key to opening a good export market for our products lies in quality. Without quality there will be no competitiveness. While drafting plans in the past, the stress was put on output value and quantity rather than quality. As a matter of fact, quality of product is the most important thing.

Last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping specially discussed the question of quality. He said: Regarding industry, including export goods, the stress should be put on quality. We should give prominence to quality and work out laws in this respect. We should pay serious attention to quality and not permit the export of products of an inferior quality to those exported in the past. We should curb the practices of resorting to deception, as they are now running rampant. Deng continued: Township enterprises should also pay great attention to quality and seek a normal growth. We should strengthen the quality inspection organizations and guarantee the quality of products. A large number of people should be assigned to handle the matter. So long as quality of products is ensured, we can avoid malpractices.

In accordance with the spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech, all localities, departments, and enterprises have done a great deal of painstaking work over the past year or so. On the basis of the quality inspection conducted at various localities last year, which yielded results, an overall quality management system has been implemented throughout the country this year. A total of 1,300 large and medium-sized key enterprises have achieved initial results. Progress has been made in applying international standards and international advanced standards. Legislative work in this field has been strengthened. In the second quarter of the year, the State Council promulgated the "Regulations on Responsibility for the Quality of Industrial Products," urging implementation of the responsibility system in quality work. Some 100 state-level product quality testing centers have been established and selective examination has been conducted on five occasions, which



has given impetus to improving the quality of products. Meanwhile, all localities have set up selective examination organizations. The enterprises have also taken note of strengthening inspection organizations, the means of inspection, and basic work, which played a positive role in ensuring the quality of products. The quality of the products manufactured by township enterprises has also attracted the attention of various localities. Some township enterprises have manufactured a number of new products and upgraded their products by means of importing advanced technology and developing new products and techniques.

In recent years, the majority of China's state-owned and collectively-owned enterprises have steadily improved the quality of their major products. The quality has been maintained for the major raw materials (such as steel, non-ferrous metals, chemical industrial products, building materials, and medicinal materials), major electromechanical products (such as power equipment, heavy-duty equipment, communications equipment, and machine tools), and major consumer goods (such as television sets, radio cassettes, bicycles, wrist-watches, and synthetic fabrics). However, the quality of some products has been good at one time and bad at another. Moreover, there are serious problems regarding the product quality of certain enterprises.

The variety of products, though increased, and the product mix, though readjusted, still cannot meet the needs of the market at home and abroad. This is due to the following problems: The first one is related to our level. Only a few of our products have reached the international technological level of the late 1970's and early 1980's. The products manufactured by the best trades according to international standards that have reached world advanced levels account for less than 30 percent, while the products of the trades with a poor level account for less than 10 percent. It is still an arduous task to make 40 percent of our major products reach the international level of the late 1970's and early 1980's by the year 1990. The second is related to the variety of goods. Neither the means of production nor consumption can meet the needs of the market at home and abroad. The raw and semifinished materials industries should produce a great variety of goods. Due to various reasons, however, enterprises are not willing to manufacture certain products in large quantity. The problems regarding consumer goods for everyday use are more serious. The goods in great demand are in short supply, while those not in demand are manufactured as usual, which has led to overstocking.

Although township enterprises have improved the quality of their products over the past year or so, there are still a number of problems. According to our survey of some provinces, there are 30 to 50 percent of township enterprises that do not have technological standards for their products. How can you carry out production without technological requirements and strict standards? Unless we solve this question through strenuous efforts, it will be impossible to ensure the healthy development of township enterprises.

The quality of our products has fluctuated from time to time and products have been upgraded at a very slow pace. Why? There are both objective

and subjective reasons. At present, the subjective reasons are the main factors.

Viewed objectively, there are the following reasons for a lack of attention to product quality: First, enterprises cannot adapt themselves to the change from mandatory planning to guidance planning and from a product economy to a commodity economy; second, different prices are set for the same product and the policy of higher prices for better quality products is not implemented, which makes it difficult to ensure product quality; third, conditions for production, such as supplies of coal, power, and gas, are not ensured; fourth, a considerable number of products are monopolized by a seller's market, which gives no choice to customers, and moreover, the producer pays attention only to quantity rather than quality; and fifth, some localities curtail their output value and growth rate, which results in neglecting the attainment of better economic results, particularly improvement of quality and acceleration of the upgrading of products. Nevertheless, these problems can be solved through making efforts and taking effective measures.

Therefore, it is necessary to discover the subjective reasons. In addition to the poor foundation of the quality work of enterprises, some comrades have not fostered the idea of quality first. Whenever there is a sign of disturbance, they easily neglect quality and forget that the most important task in our management of production is to stress product quality. To guarantee the quality of products is the major premise for maintaining normal growth, achieving better economic results, and satisfying the needs of the market at home and abroad. This is the fundamental reason for the fluctuation of product quality.

The slow pace of upgrading of products is mainly due to a lack of understanding of the significance of technological progress. The key to attaining better economic results lies in technological progress and the manufacturing of advanced products. This determines whether our products are competitive in both the international and domestic markets. This is a major issue concerning the life or death of our economic work and industrial development. If we are not sober-minded in this respect, it will be extremely dangerous and there will be no future for the development of our industry.

## II. Management Is Now the Main Problem Concerning the Quality of Products

The key to improving the quality of products lies in strengthening management. It would be impossible to improve the quality of products when enterprise management work is lagging behind and there is a lack of a strict responsibility system and labor discipline. For this reason, to ensure the quality of the available products and to further improve product quality, it is necessary to strengthen management and do well the work in the following respects:

First, strengthen the basic work concerning management. Technological standards and requirements are necessary for manufacturing any kind of product. This is the prerequisite for ensuring the quality of products. Products should be manufactured according to state standards. If there are

no state standards, enterprises should carry out production according to factory standards. Under no circumstances should production be carried out without any standards. In 1987, state and collective enterprises should eliminate the practice of carrying out production without standards. Meanwhile, we should try by every means to apply international standards. Otherwise, it will be impossible for us to compete in the international market.

To organize production strictly according to the technological standards prescribed by the state, it is necessary to have precision measuring instruments and equipment, molds, and tools. These are the material basis for ensuring the quality of products. In accordance with the requirements of production techniques, it is necessary to work out strict rules of operation. We must keep original records, strengthen management over quotas, deal carefully with various figures, rely on data, and give timely feedback. It is necessary to analyze frequently the causes of fluctuations in quality and to promptly adopt vigorous measures. It is necessary to enforce labor discipline. If we do not have strict labor discipline and if everyone does what he thinks is right, it will be impossible to steadily improve the quality of products.

Second, strengthen overall management over quality. A quality guarantee system should be established and a complete quality management system is necessary regarding transport of raw materials, machine parts, and equipment to factories, product designing and drafting, ingredients, installation, processing of products, and marketing. In the course of the change from mandatory planning to guidance planning, relations of cooperation can be established according to the method of fixing quantities and locations rather than prices, so as to seek relatively stable external conditions. The main factory should adopt attestation measures toward the subsidiary factories and raw materials factories to ensure quality. Enterprises that have established lateral ties and those that have entrusted other factories to manufacture their major products should particularly implement the attestation system for quality so as to maintain the prestige of the products of the main factory.

While strengthening management over quality, it is necessary to adopt the method of combining leadership with the masses. We must attach importance to the activities of quality management groups and rational proposals on improving quality. The enterprises that have made achievements should be rewarded. With the creation of quality products as the target and technology as the basis, we should use product design and operation rules to ensure the quality of products and use standards of work to ensure standards of quality and attain the objective of overall management over quality.

Perseverance is the most important factor in strengthening management over quality. So long as we stick to this principle, I believe that the quality of any product will be definitely ensured.

Third, regarding the reward and punishment system, the veto power concerning quality should be resolutely exercised. This is the principle for upholding quality first. The system of quality veto power is an important measure to

ensure the quality of products in the production process and is a decisive link in the enterprise responsibility system. This link can urge every enterprise worker to care for product quality and make all the necessary preparations for ensuring the quality of products. Some comrades hold that this move will easily lead to undue stress on quality and neglect of the rationality of product quality. This is a misunderstanding. The rationality of product quality should be manifested in the standard of product quality. The purpose of stressing the veto power on quality is to maintain the standard of product quality, which will not lead to one-sidedness.

While establishing the economic responsibility system in enterprises, we should regard quality as the foundation rather than in terms of percentages. We should deal with other economic activities with quality as the basic coefficient. This foundation should be firm and solid. Otherwise, the whole "tree" will shake and topple.

Of the enterprises throughout the nation, wherever the system of veto power on quality is implemented, the workers there have a strong sense of responsibility for quality. Practice has proved that this is a good system. All localities and enterprises should make preparations and seriously implement this system. Regarding this tough measure, we should not miss the opportunity by being softhearted.

Fourth, it is necessary to establish a strict responsibility system on quality. The key to ensuring product quality lies in the establishment of a strict responsibility system within enterprises. Herein lies the reason why the quality of similar products is good in some enterprises but poor in others though the current external conditions affecting enterprise behavior are more or less the same. The key to the establishment of a quality responsibility system lies in establishing a system of the factory director assuming responsibility for quality. A factory director will be rewarded if he can ensure quality or punished if he cannot do so. All workshops, sections, and offices within an enterprise should establish the quality responsibility system. The system of the factory director assuming responsibility for quality should be based on the quality responsibility system of all workshops and functional sections within an enterprise.

I would like to stress the role of the inspection system. An enterprise should have a complete quality inspection system. We must have independent, authoritative supervisory organs and highly responsible personnel to examine the activities of enterprises, including raw materials, production processes, and marketing. In addition to fine political quality, the inspection personnel should be proficient technologically. The ranks of inspection personnel should include veteran workers with rich experience as well as a certain proportion of technical cadres. Every factory director should assign enough personnel to be in charge of quality control and energetically support their work. It is necessary to raise the position of the inspection organs. Factory directors should resolutely support the inspection organs. Products not passed by the inspection organs should not be allowed to leave the factory.

There are now many problems regarding the quality of export goods. To encourage export and maintain the reputation and enhance the competitiveness of our export goods in the international market, we must definitely ensure the quality of our export goods. The commercial inspection departments should send personnel to the factories or bases that produce export goods to exercise supervision. This method can be tried first. A system can be universally established if it proves effective. Meanwhile, it is necessary to strengthen commercial inspection work and to transfer personnel, provide equipment, and adopt effective means to ensure the quality of export goods.

Since 1985, we have established a system of spot testing the quality of products. The state-level quality inspection organs and various provinces and municipalities have started the work in this respect. Practice over the year has proved the effectiveness of the spot testing system in urging enterprises to pay attention to quality. The practice of making public the list of inferior-quality products shocked enterprises. This impelled enterprises with poor quality to undergo consolidation and the enterprises not being checked to heighten their vigilance and improve their quality work. We must continue to do well the work in this respect. We must establish 100 state-level quality inspection organs in the coming year. Local areas can also set up such inspection organs and conduct more spot tests. Spot tests should be conducted for the products of state enterprises, as well as collective and township enterprises. If the products under inspection are not up to standard, the enterprise concerned should undergo consolidation or stop production. When undergoing consolidation, if the quality of the products cannot reach the required standard, the enterprise should be punished and its distribution of bonuses should be partly or wholly suspended according to the circumstances.

Fifth, it is necessary to maintain the system of creating fine quality products and choosing the best through public appraisal and to issue a certain number of gold and silver medals every year. Gold medals should be awarded to fine quality products or fine quality products which are uniquely Chinese which have reached international advanced standards (they should be economically rational), and silver medals should be awarded to the products which have reached the international standards. The ministries, provinces, and municipalities may also award a number of medals. According to our recent survey of some 3,000 gold and silver medals awarded over the past few years, only 4 or 5 were questionable. The method of awarding gold and silver medals played a positive role in improving the quality of products. It set a quality target for enterprises and encouraged workers to forge ahead.

We must continue to carry out the system of assessment for state-level quality management awards. In the years ahead, we should annually do a good job of overall quality management of over 1,000 enterprises and choose some state-level overall quality management enterprises from among them through public appraisal. The provinces and ministries should also choose a number of overall quality management enterprises to serve as typical examples for other enterprises.

We must adhere to the policy of higher prices for better quality products and widen the price difference for products of varying quality. We have already adopted this policy on a number of products and should continue it on more products in the future. We should work out policies that stimulate the prices of the fine quality, famous brand products and the products that have won gold and silver medals.

We should also adopt policies in finance, credit, and taxation to encourage the fine quality, famous brand products. For example, we can take specific measures to improve the quality of products. The enterprises which cannot attain better economic results within a short period and which have difficulties in repaying their loans may repay before taxation (not repaying with new profits) with the approval of the financial departments. We can also adopt discount policies in credit and exempt new products from taxation for a certain period.

Sixth, it is necessary to improve the quality of the ranks of workers. The quality of the ranks of workers is directly related to the quality of products. The quality of products can be ensured if the quality of workers is good. It will be impossible to improve the quality of products if the quality of workers is poor. Naturally, the quality of workers refers to political and technical qualities.

We cannot expect an enterprise producing poor quality goods to carry out well the building of spiritual civilization. The fundamental measure to ensure the fine quality of products lies in improving the quality of the ranks of workers. For this reason, it is necessary to adopt various means and make strenuous efforts to train and educate workers politically and technologically. It is particularly necessary to train and educate leading cadres, including bureau chiefs, factory directors, and workshop and section heads. We must be determined to do this painstaking work well, as it is the only solution.

### III. Accelerate the Pace of Upgrading of Products

Accelerating the pace of upgrading of products is an important strategic task in promoting technological progress. The progress of many enterprises in upgrading their products has been rather slow. It is due to the following: First, they lack understanding of the great strategic significance of upgrading their products and have not realized that their products will lag behind and lack competitiveness unless they are upgraded. Second, they lack understanding of the ongoing socialist commodity economy and a sense of commodity and have failed to readjust their product mix according to changes in the market at home and abroad. For this reason, we should deepen our understanding, forecast well the market at home and abroad, and learn how to make strategic policy decisions and carry out operation and management. A correct strategic policy decision can open up a new phase for an enterprise and enable it to develop vigorously, while an incorrect strategic policy decision may lead an enterprise to failure and even bankruptcy.

In accordance with the present and future needs of the market at home and abroad, the constantly developing trends of new technology, and worldwide sharp competition, enterprises should decide on which kind of products to manufacture now, next, and in the future. In other words, we should "manufacture the first generation of products, develop the second generation, and forecast the third."

Along with correct strategic policy decisions on operation and the strategic principle of the "three generations of products," we should also have specific plans and measures to accelerate the pace of upgrading of products.

We must vigorously apply international standards. Organizing production in light of international standards is an indication of the upgrading of products. In accordance with the instructions of the State Council, the standard set hereafter for a product should be the international standard. If our technology temporarily cannot meet the requirements of the international standard, we should adopt transition measures and, through the transformation of our technology, reach the international standard within a definite time.

We should deal seriously with the application of international standards. We should adopt the attestation system to judge whether the international standard is applied in every enterprise and major product. Apart from checking a product to see whether it conforms to the international standard, we should also attest the process of production, means of testing, tools, molds, and equipment. Only by doing so can we meet the requirements of international standards in mass production, eliminate the existing backward technological standards, and accelerate the pace of upgrading of products.

We must adhere to this principle: Give priority to new products and open a new technological production line when developing any new product. The development of new products is closely related to that of new technologies. Some enterprises, in particular research institutes, have concentrated on the development of new products to the neglect of the simultaneous development of the new technologies for the new products and, consequently, the new products they have developed have been no more than sample products or products for exhibition or gifts. This way of doing things can hardly serve to accelerate the pace of upgrading of products. Therefore, an enterprise must pay attention to the study of both new products and new technologies and carry out technological transformation to form new production lines in line with the requirements of new technologies.

For this purpose, an enterprise must have a powerful development body and a powerful force for developing new products and new technologies. It should adopt a policy of encouragement and reward among the technical personnel of its development body. If it is lacking a development force, it is encouraged to strengthen lateral relations with institutions of higher education and research institutes and to draw support from them rather than close itself to external intercourse.

As far as the upgrading of products is concerned, all enterprises should have their plans and specific objectives, and they should have a fairly good idea of the upgrading rates they should attain each year and in the 5 years ahead.

Importing new products and new technologies from abroad is the shortcut for us to accelerate the pace of product upgrading and an effective measure for us to rapidly catch up with world advanced levels. All departments and localities must strengthen their work in this field. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, we imported 3,000 items of advanced technology of the levels of the late 1970's and early 1980's (in reality, there were more than 10,000 items). They are playing and will play an important role in speeding up product upgrading. This is a great success. Our current task is to organize the commission of the more than 10,000 imported technological items so that they can function as quickly as possible. At the same time, to increase our staying power for the Seventh and Eighth 5-Year Plans, we must persistently adhere to the import of advanced technology and on no account must we make any error in this issue.

In the days ahead, priority in this work should be given to our products for export to make them more competitive in overseas markets and to earn more foreign exchange for the state.

Apart from doing a good job in organizing the commission of the imported new products and new technologies, efforts should also be made to increase the proportion of goods produced at home.

Increasing the proportion of goods produced at home means expanding the use of Chinese-made products and the application of Chinese-produced technologies, with the latter being the key. By the expanded application of Chinese-made products, we mean that the main and auxiliary equipment, control and testing instruments, and raw and semifinished materials used in a technological process are basically domestically produced. This is an arduous task. We must organize the machinebuilding, electronics, and military industrial departments in a planned, guided, and responsible way, with certain objectives in mind, to turn out products set by set and series by series. To increase the proportion of goods produced at home, we must give them the necessary support in terms of policies and funds. It is still necessary to carry out the production of important and precision equipment in a cooperative manner.

What will be done to further improve product quality in 1987?

First, 1,000 new standards will be set and 3,000 international standards introduced.

Second, a good job will be done in the overall quality control of some 2,600 large and medium-sized enterprises. The 1,300 enterprises which have been assigned the task previously are expected to carry out their work well. Another 1,300 enterprises will be assigned the task in 1987.



Third, of the planned 200 state quality examination centers, 100 have been completed and 100 are under construction. The examination bodies of enterprises will be perfected and organizationally strengthened so that they will be more authoritative.

Fourth, the organizational work of the assimilation and absorption of imported technology and of the greater use of Chinese-made products will be strengthened, with the 12 "dragons" organized by the State Economic Commission taking the lead. Another 100 or more "dragons" will be organized throughout the country.

Fifth, efforts will be made to set up powerful enterprise scientific research institutions, to strengthen the lateral relations between large and medium-sized enterprises and independent as well as university and college scientific research institutes, to develop new products and new technologies, to strive for a 10-percent or higher renewal rate in regard to our main products and a 20-percent renewal rate in regard to the design and variety of our light and textile industrial products.

Sixth, the management work of enterprises will be strengthened and the quality of enterprise employees will be raised with great efforts, with "upgrading" as the center. All forms of education will be adopted to enhance the sense of quality of our leading cadres and employees and to further increase their ability to manage product quality.

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CSO: 4005/308

UNDERSTAND AND DEVELOP THE NEW SITUATION OF LETTING A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF  
THOUGHT CONTEND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Wang Meng [3769 5536]]

[Text] It has been a very long time since the contention of a hundred schools of thought was talked about. In actual life, however, we had contention of a hundred schools of thought only in ancient history, or in our ideals, policies or slogans, but very little of its implementation in real life. We had never witnessed, and we did not understand, and were unfamiliar with the contention of a hundred schools of thought in real life, and still less were we capable of mastering the objective law that governs it.

Historically, the contention of a hundred schools of thought never existed in academic democracy nor in democracy in the realm of art, with the exception of the Spring and Autumn Period and the period of the Warring States. That was a basic fact. But even in the period of the Warring States, the contention of a hundred schools of thought was the result of specific social and historical conditions, the loss of control over the whole country on the part of the central feudal government, the disintegration and turbulence, and the vying for domination on the part of the seven Warring States in particular; namely, a situation of losing control, rather than conscious advocacy. On the other hand, our contention of a hundred schools of thought today is the result of the full confidence of the party leadership and the result of having proposed and accomplished something. We are now facing the task of exploring the law governing and the way to deal with the contention of a hundred schools of thought.

A sincere wish did exist in 1956 to invigorate thinking as well as literature and art and academic ideas. However, no sooner had the contention began, than the decisionmaking leading member was scared by the seemingly "frenzied uproar," "unsuitability," and "uncontrollable" situation. Eventually, the contention of a hundred schools of thought became "an evil plot," and it was actually nipped in the bud.

Contention itself has posed a question: Is it possible for everyone in the hundred schools of thought participating in the contention to represent truth, and to uphold Marxism-Leninism? Is it possible for every contender to be

modest and meticulous, radiant with smiles, and pleasing to the ears when they contend?

The answer is in the negative, of course.

The precondition for drawing up the academic principle of letting a hundred schools of thought contend is to acknowledge the differences in people's understanding, that it is impossible for anybody to understand and to master, or to monopolize truth once and for all, and the fact that more than one school and more than a single person are capable of making some great or small contributions to developing truth. The contention of a hundred schools of thought brings invigoration and disputes. However, invigoration and disputes themselves are not equal to truth or the discovery of truth. The levels of invigoration and disputes may be very high, or they may not be very high, and even be very low. In other words, the level of the contention of a hundred schools of thought may be high or low, and the contention may not entirely surpass the qualities of the contenders, namely, the academic workers and art and literary workers. However, people's qualities may also be developed and upgraded in the course of contention. Their intelligence and wisdom, sincerity and solemnity, spirit of blazing new trails and originality will be given play in the course of contention. Likewise, their narrow-mindedness, arrogance, and frivolity, as well as their shortcomings and weaknesses in morality, scholarly style, and knowledge will be fully displayed in the course of contention.

This is to say, truth may not be attained immediately through contention. On the contrary, cheap absurdities in all their excitement will more often than not come sooner than truth. But if only pure and great gentlemen were allowed to contend, and if only truth of and above "14 karat line" were allowed to contend, the result would only be the elimination of contention, which would only take it further away from the truth, and block the way leading to truth.

We are happy to see that today, the contention of a hundred schools of thought is becoming a reality of life. People are now lively in their thinking, and speak their minds freely; they are open in exchanging their ideas, each airing his own view, and are bold in exploration and creation. An excellent situation full of vigor and vitality is emerging. The ease of mind among the intellectuals is unprecedented. A democratic and harmonious social and academic atmosphere is shaping. All these are new-born things in China.

But when the contention of a hundred schools of thought appears before us not as an ideal or a slogan but as a reality, we soon discover that the reality of contention does not appear before us like a piece of spotlessly fine jade, but rather a huge stone with both its defects and merits before our naked eyes. Neither is it like a specially mixed drink, sweet and germ-free, but probably like a vast sea with turbid waves. In other words, we should not set demands on or measure the contention of a hundred schools of thought with an idealized yardstick, just as we should refrain from doing so regarding the entire cause of socialism.

First, amid many opinions "voiced" by those who are bold at exploration, rigorous in their scholarly research, and solemn in bearing responsibilities, there are bound to be loud voices of all descriptions, which are rough and rash, and even piercing to the ears, in making a great fanfare in the contention of a hundred schools of thought. For a time, such shrieks trying to please the public with claptrap may seem to have created a bigger "box office" than solemn academic views, and views on literature and art.

Second, in lively discussion with everybody trying to get a word in, with each airing his own view, like everyone talking at the same time in a hall when nobody hears the others, the contention becomes greatly plural. If in the first half of 1986 the question of "the major aspects" [zhu ti xing 0031 7555 1840] may be largely generalized into two different concepts with their representatives, there were more than two concepts by the second half of the year. We may even say that the contention between the concepts is now overshadowed, and has now developed into a "tangled warfare" among a variety of concepts.

Third, it would be very difficult to give guidance under such circumstances. Some people say, now is the time when "the warmth of the spring breeze is wafted, and the war drums are beating, while nobody is afraid of anybody in our world today." Others say, now "the green light is on simultaneously with the red" in every undertaking, and people are at a loss as to what to do. Still others say, "great masters were honored for their literary excellence for 3 decades" in the past; later, "it was 3 or 5 years that they were honored for their literary excellence"; but now "it is only 3 or 5 days such honor will last." The last remark is, of course, a joke; but this reflects certain conditions of the academic and literary and art circles in following up-to-date fashions, which grow, mature, and are soon gone. Some young people in the literary and art circles love to declare that the ideological concepts and aesthetic taste of some people older than they are "outmoded" to show that theirs are new. What is interesting today is the fact that those who loved to pronounce others being outmoded are now being labelled as outmoded themselves.

Now, a correct suggestion is made, filled with good intention, but drowned in people's talking all at once, with hardly anybody hearing it. Such a condition does not seem very encouraging. However, there is still a bright side to this. Now that people have seen much, their abilities and habit of analysis and selection are greatly strengthened. Absurd big talk can no longer so easily create a sensation among the masses; in other words, people are not so easily taken in as in the past.

We could easily criticize the above-mentioned situation for the confusion, the uncontrollable scope of contention, and the deviation from the correct orientation, all of which are not without grounds. However, to confine ourselves in viewing things this way can only be the feigned love of what one really fears regarding the contention of a hundred schools of thought, and one will come to the conclusion that it is best to refrain from letting a hundred schools of thought contend, and eventually stand against the "double-hundred" policy.

We cannot expect the contention of a hundred schools of thought to be a harmonious chorus throughout its course, or a blessed duet between a pair of nightingales. In fact, anything goes in the contention of a hundred schools of thought, in which there are blessed duets between nightingales, the chirping of birds, the crowing of cocks, as well as the barking of dogs, and even the lousy frogs and owls will join in. But only in such contention will the beautiful voices of the nightingales be amplified and developed with new vitality, and the chirping of birds, the crowing of cocks, and the barking of dogs be upgraded and improved, attaining a new height, while the irritating noise of the frogs and owls will be separated, overcome, and discarded.

In other words, we should first acknowledge the normality and enthusiasm of the present situation of contention, and continue to implement the "double-hundred" principle resolutely, as well as the principle of the freedom of creation, academic freedom, the freedom of criticism and counter-criticism, and the freedom of discussion as stipulated in the Constitution. Neither should we change our policy because of the emergence of some inharmonious jarring sounds in contention, nor should we change our explanation on the policy; and still more should we refrain from a panic.

Second, we must have a clear head: By no means should we drift with the tide, chime in with others, and join in the boos and hoots with those big words and lies of all descriptions aiming at pleasing the public with claptrap, and all kinds of opinions full of subjective arbitrariness, which will inevitably, and more often than not, easily emerge in the course of contention. We should understand that truth is never so cheap, and commodities in season come and go quickly on the market, while the craze for them also dies down fast. Is it not true that such rises and falls have also taken place in the literary world and in literary critique circles on several occasions? We should not set great store by some fanatic and irresponsible views, neither should we underestimate the distinguishing ability of the masses, nor should we resort to administrative means of intervention or altering the policy to overcome what are regarded as absurd theories whenever problems crop up. The effects of such practice would often produce the opposite of the desired result, by expanding the effects of certain absurd theories, with certain such theories that have gradually "cooled down" unexpectedly heated up again by catching people's attention. I hope that we will refrain from doing things that actually help achieve the aim of those who are trying to please the public with claptrap.

Third, we should get used to, learn, and be good at uttering convincing Marxist voices with originality in the course of contention and discussion in which everybody is talking at the same time. Marxism was founded under the conditions of varied opinions, endless struggles and polemics, with more than one opponent, while drawing nutrients from more than one academic school. And Marxism will develop only under the condition of such exchanges of ideas and polemics, confronting not only just one contender, whether they are friends or enemies. Experiences have proved that the voice of a single school with hundreds responding to a single call, and even the implementation of "dictatorship" in the ideological realm is not a sound way to develop

Marxism; on the contrary, that can be an "effective" way to suffocate the vitality and militancy of Marxism. If a Marxist was only good at being angry when facing absurdities of all sorts, and appealing for banning them, such a Marxist would be only too green, and incompetent. A genuine Marxist should be good at analyzing, facing, and answering all kinds of acute challenges, as well as standing tests and drawing nutrients in the course of the contention of a hundred schools of thought. Marxism can only preserve and develop its vitality in the vast sea and even terrifying waves in the contention of a hundred schools of thought; in no way can one be of any help under perfectly safe protection or sitting high up on the throne. It is precisely under such circumstances that genuine Marxists should plunge themselves into contention, make full use of all positive factors in such a situation to substantiate themselves, and utter the loud voices of the times, rich in originality, voices positive, progressive, and favorable to the "four modernizations" and the building of the two civilizations, and voices with Chinese characteristics, facing modernization, the world, and the future.

Fourth, we advocate a solemn, serious, modest, and meticulous scholarly style, which is truth-seeking, original, constructive, characterized by careful consideration, and shows respect to comrades holding different views, as well as adhering to truth and revising one's mistakes. We disapprove of and oppose the practice of talking irresponsibly on academic, art and literary issues, and making a big show on the strength of hearsay. We oppose big talk aimed at bewildering the public, and the practice of "blowing up" others--to "push forward" oneself by abusing all around one. We oppose the practice of following the fashion and purposely turning simple things into mysteries. We oppose the practice of slinging mud at others when one is not even clear about the viewpoints of one's opponent or has not even read the original text of one's opponent's argument. We also oppose the practice of judging life with an ossified theoretical pattern, scaring others with labels, as well as other crooked and dishonest ways of such like.

Fifth, we should gradually establish a set of methods through study, and a whole set of procedures and regulations and even laws necessary on contention. We must realize that freedom without procedures can only end up in thorough confusion, while such confusion is precisely the negation of freedom itself. For example, we must make it a rule to oppose slander in contention, and to forbid slandering others in the name of contention. For another example, we should be accurate in quoting others' statements, and the original sources must be clearly noted. Articles of a critical nature must be upright, and the authors should sign their true names; at the same time, the original source of the article under criticism should be clearly noted. We should refrain from mysterious attacks under a pseudonym or the frequent practice of criticizing others without mentioning their names. Alarmist adjectives and personal attacks should be given no place in academic contention. Besides, the law of publication and the law of copyright are closely related to the level of contention of a hundred schools of thought, and we hope that they will soon be appropriately drawn up. At present, some papers and journals specializing in articles as well as some internal materials are

good at cutting up articles, and such a practice often results in alarmist talk, or taking up one point while neglecting the whole picture, and even entirely distorting the author's original intention. Respective regulations should be drawn up regarding this.

In short, we must overcome the long-standing habitual practice of trimming the sails in the academic, art and literary circles. We must refrain from currying favor, lying low, and being evasive, while we should be bold at airing our own views, and making known our views that run counter to certain tendencies. We should welcome the contention of a hundred schools of thought in reality, not only in ideas, and make mental preparations for its further development with our joint efforts. We should learn to contend in the course of contention, and heighten its level, and the degree of civilization. We should actively utter the Marxist voice full of originality, so that an active, methodical, and open-type forum and literary world may be well suited to the four modernizations, to the general scheme of the building of material and spiritual civilization, and to our long-term principle of reforms and opening up. With all this achieved, a still more brilliant situation with more solid accomplishments will emerge in our theoretical, academic, and scientific research as well as in our art and literary creation.

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HOW DOES COMRADE CHEN YUN CARRY OUT INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATIONS?--A FACTUAL REPORT ON A FORUM ON COAL

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[Article by Su E [5687 2502]]

[Text] Comrade Chen Yun said: "In formulating policy, the leadership should devote more than 90 percent of its time to the business of investigation and study. It will suffice to have less than 10 percent of that time for a discussion and a final decision." ("Selected Works of Chen Yun (1956-1985)," p 180) Comrade Chen Yun not only said this but also acted this way.

In the difficult 3-year period in the 1960's, to get at the bottom of things and restore and develop the national economy, Comrade Chen Yun made penetrating investigations in the agricultural and industrial spheres. As far as agriculture is concerned, the "Qingpu Rural Survey" has been added to the "Selected Works of Chen Yun." On the industrial front, Comrade Chen Yun once presided over a coal forum and a steel forum, but few people know much about them. Here, I will tell something about the concrete conditions concerning the coal forum, so that readers can get some idea about the way Comrade Chen Yun conducted investigations in the industrial field.

#### I. Pay Close Attention to Briefings

From 14 October to 3 November 1961, Comrade Chen Yun presided over a coal forum for more than 20 days at the Xiangshan Restaurant in Beijing. Participating in the meeting were Bo Yibo, Zhang Linzhi, Xue Muqiao, Song Yangchu, and other comrades, secretaries of the CPC committees of the mining affairs bureaus in Yangquan, Kailuan, Pingdingshan, Zibo, Jixi, and Fuxin, and other comrades from relevant departments.

At the beginning of the meeting, Comrade Chen Yun first made clear the nature of the forum and the ways to call a meeting. He said the following:

This is an investigation and study forum. In light of typical conditions (based on six mines selected from among 61--directly under the authorities concerned--representing one-tenth), certain problems were singled out for a special discussion. Similar as well as opposing viewpoints should be brought out. If similar views are obtained, no decision should be made.



A forum should be free from all scruples, so that things can be thought through in every way. As problems are considered from every angle, things will be better taken care of, without one-sided views.

In discussions, problems were classified into two categories. One concerned problems inside a factory or enterprise. The other had to do with problems viewed from the angle of a department or that of the whole nation--problems involving the situation as a whole. These were related to the Ministry of Coal Industry, the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry, and the Ministry of Railways.

Industry is unlike agriculture. Simultaneous attention must be paid to problems inside and outside an enterprise. A cross-section rural survey would tell almost enough about the situation. Giving consideration to only things inside an enterprise cannot bring a solution of a problem. Things inside and outside an enterprise must be taken into consideration simultaneously.

The ways of discussion: A report would first have to be given before problems could be singled out for special discussion. Attention was to focus on special discussions. Special problems were to be collected from comrades' reports. A day was to be divided equally between a meeting and deliberation, with ample time given to the latter. Problems go from immaturity to relative maturity, before final maturity is reached. In listening to reports, the sole aim was to sort out special problems. The purpose of listening to reports was not to solve the problems of the six units but to sum up some national problems. A special problem should be discussed for half a day or a bit longer. Less attention should be given to general reports. A bit more time should be reserved for a special discussion.

From 14 to 20 October, the briefings of six mining affairs bureaus were listened to. On the 21st, the report by Comrade Zhang Linzhi, then minister of coal industry, was listened to, with the business of submitting reports finished at a given stage.

Comrade Chen Yun showed up punctually every day to listen to briefings. He always listened to the speech by every comrade with undivided attention. He also took down the important points in a notebook. According to Comrade Zhou Taihe, he sorted out his notes after his return in the evening. While he listened to briefings, he sometimes cut in with some remarks, but he did not say much in this way.

When he did say something, he mainly encouraged everyone to seek truth from facts and tell the truth with courage. On the first day of the forum, after listening to a report by the secretary of the CPC committee of the Yangquan Mining Affairs Bureau, Comrade Chen Yun said: Revolution is always an exercise in which we do right things and wrong ones. No harm can come out of anything said about good things. Anything said about bad things cannot undo them. If we greet each other with nothing but a roar of laughter every time we meet, then ruin is spelled out for the revolution. A revolution with a victory already won is also no exception. Revolution is amenable to reason.

What is true cannot be described as wrong. What is wrong also cannot be described as right. No one in the world can always do something right the first time they try. With Comrade Chen Yun's encouragement, those comrades who gave reports really spoke as freely as they liked. Some comrades said that what could only be said under the table in the past could now be laid on the table. They analyzed the problems brought by the "Great Leap Forward" and the causes of these problems and the consequences. They aired their own views on many important matters about general lines and specific policies. For example, after the large-scale vigorous effort to destroy what was considered both bad and good in 1958, less than half of the existing management systems remained, and they were left to take their own course. Targets were set too high and regulations and systems (including balanced planning and coordination in mining) were not upheld. Mining was done in a haphazard way. Piece rate wages were dropped, causing a reduction in labor productivity. Life was made tough, causing instability in the ranks of workers. The policy toward skilled personnel was not firmly carried out. No one was distinguished for merits and hardly freed from blame for demerits. The masses lost confidence in what the cadres said, claiming that "we listened to what was called for in 1958, we were doubtful in 1959, and did not dare to say anything or believe anything in 1960."

After listening to reports about these conditions, Comrade Chen Yun once again said to everyone: We must be wise after this event. He said that without becoming wise after this event, we cannot be wise before the event. To be wise after this event is to learn from experiences. A mistake made is unavoidable. We must be objective and benefit by experiences and lessons. Experiences in eliminating counterrevolutionaries were most plentiful. Where there had been no experience, what was "leftist" was likely to appear. The same was true of the agrarian reform. Those people who had been to the central soviet area were also likely to become "leftist." In many matters where we had no previous experience, problems were likely to crop up. Every department went through a lot of debate. The problem was to take a correct attitude and view matters objectively; otherwise, mistakes would be repeated.

Comrade Chen Yun paid a lot of attention to guiding everyone in correctly understanding the nature of mistakes. He said: It was for our own good that we introduced close planting and double-harvest rice in the countryside. But the methods used were wrong. We are good men with shortcomings. For example, the peasants were unusually satisfied with electrically operated irrigation facilities. Did we, after all, do more good or bad things? Was a bad thing done intentionally, or because the wrong approach was used? We could entirely convince peasants with facts.

As to how to correct mistakes, Comrade Chen Yun contended that in setting things right, we must make a start by taking the first step. Only this would make things easy. Only with the 12 rules (that is, the CPC Central Committee's "Urgent Instructive Letter on the Current Policy About the Rural People's Commune") worked out could we come up with the 60 rules (that is, "Work Regulations (Draft) Governing the Rural People's Commune"). We must not be impatient. We must get acquainted with things, step by step.

Comrade Chen Yun's words enlightened the comrades attending the forum regarding awareness and ways of thinking. At that time, the coal industry was in a difficult period. The comrades of the coal department concerned did not feel discouraged. After the forum, their confidence only received a boost.

## II. Repeatedly Study Special Problems

On 21 October, after Comrade Zhang Linzhi finished presenting a report, Comrade Chen Yun, following deep deliberation, proposed 18 topics for discussion. He said: It did not harm to have well-classified topics. This allowed for penetrating discussion. We would rather discuss grain species, vegetables, and the supply of food for family members than problems in life. The most dreadful thing to be avoided in a discussion is to absorb information without digesting it. If problems are put in more categories, the discussion would on the contrary be of shorter duration. The following points are what Comrade Chen Yun proposed:

1. How many things caused coal output to rise in the past 3 years? We might figure them out. Line up all factors responsible for the rise. With the estimates made by all units, national figures could be worked out. Which were the primary factors and which were the secondary ones? Which was the most important and the decisive one?
2. Also line up the causes of the drop in output.
3. How large was the existing production capacity? What were the factors to be taken into account in making calculations?
4. What were the conditions needed for normal operation?
5. Internal and external repairs to machines. What were those internal and external repairs needed? Internal repairs were not necessarily justifiable. [as published]
6. The problem of safety. Environments are very important to a worker's mental state. Unlike work above ground, production [underground] could not be handled well without regard to the safety factor.
7. Which were the first regulations and systems to be restored? Which necessary?
8. What were the benefits of the mass movement? What were those that must be retained? Regulations and systems of the past were more stable. There should be more such things coming from the upper to the lower levels. People should work in a more orderly manner.
9. What were the advantages and defects of the factory manager responsibility system?
10. Was the piece rate wage good or not?

11. How should awards be given under the grain incentive system? What were the defects to be prevented?
12. The problem of grain species.
13. The problem of vegetables. The problem of 1 jin of oil. How to give a guarantee, for that matter?
14. The problem of an inadequate ration of grain for family members living in the countryside.
15. The problem of technical personnel. Was the lack of enthusiasm favorable to our cause or not?
16. How to solve the problem of compensation for a loss incurred? Compensation was taken for granted. But what was the appropriate method to be used, for that matter?
17. As far as state-controlled coal was concerned, were large mines better with their higher degree of mechanization, or small mines better? Were coal mines different from general factories? How do we understand things about large, medium-sized and small enterprises? Involvement with "small indigenous groups" and "small foreign groups" in handling iron and steel in 1958 was prompted by a desire to double output. What should the size of a furnace be after all? A small furnace might be up to the standard technically. But could the economic target be met? In judging the large, the medium-sized and the small, we must also check the production capacity of relevant equipment.
18. What was the general level various lines and trades of the country were to reach after all? How much coal could be produced?

After preparations, discussions on special topics began on 23 October. The first topic had to do with the causes of the rise in coal output in the past 3 years. Among those who spoke were comrades of the Fuxin, Pingdingshan, Kailuan, and Jixi Mining Affairs Bureaus, and the Ministry of Coal Industry. The Fuxin Coal Mining Affairs Bureau cited five causes: Work on transforming old mines had basically been completed; a reserve stock for 1957; relatively good standard of living for mining workers; keen enthusiasm among workers; and relatively stable relations in cooperation. The Kailuan Mining Affairs Bureau said in addition: Small coal pits also contributed something. Here, Comrade Chen Yun summarized four causes: the potential of old mines; new mines being put into production; small coal pits; and workers' enthusiasm. He also asked what else caused a rise in output from 92 million tons to 240 million tons? Pingdingshan pointed out two more reasons in addition: New mines being put into production in a simple way, and random excavation and mining. Jixi also reported the situation of excavation and mining being done in a random way. Then, the Ministry of Coal Industry summarized four causes: old mines; new mines being handed over; satellite mines (including small coal pits); and construction mines (mines operating with fundamental construction work on them being carried out). Comrade Zhang Linzhi said that the targets

in the past 3 years had been set too high. The annual output for 1959 should have been 190 million tons, but 210 million tons were produced; that for 1960 should have been 210 million tons, but 240 million tons were produced. Based on these targets, 60 million tons should have come from new mines to be handed over. But capital construction basically failed to catch up. There was no guarantee for capital construction. Logically speaking, there should be a drop in production targets. Comrade Chen Yun quite agreed with this. He said that if new mines involving 60 million tons were added, that would be no problem. A reduction in production targets would also be no problem. But our industrial level was incapable of maintaining such a large output. Neither could we get involved with such a large scale of capital construction.

After repeated discussions, Comrade Chen Yun summed things up on the basis of everyone's views:

First, increases came from four sources. On the average, in 3 years old mines accounted for 65 percent, new ones 21 percent, satellite ones 10 percent, and construction ones 3-4 percent.

Second, workers' enthusiasm. There was then enthusiasm generated by material conditions.

Third, there were some cases of improper mining. Judging from the situation as a whole, this accounted for 60 million tons.

When everyone talked about the four sources making up coal output increases as still being a bit unreliable, Comrade Chen Yun said that figures about mining must not be inflated. Losses must be properly accounted for in accounting.

Then, Comrade Chen Yun again summed things up as: 1) four sources; 2) a good basis (meaning material conditions); 3) great enthusiasm; 4) random mining in some areas.

Comrade Bo Yibo suggested that technical innovation should be added to the list. Comrade Chen Yun then said that effective technical innovation was to be added as the fifth item.

Thus, the causes of the rise in coal output after 1958 were basically made clear.

On 24 and 25 October, the causes of the drop in coal output in 1961 were discussed. At the very outset, Comrade Chen Yun said: Let us make up a few simple rules to be observed by all concerned. The second meeting can repudiate the views of the first meeting. Views are to be studied repeatedly and thought over from every angle, before they are finalized.

On the 24th the three mines of Kailuan, Fuxin, and Yangquan submitted reports. In their reports, they cited many causes [for the drop in coal output]. For example, in the past, targets were set too high. Higher

output was eagerly sought and extra shifts or extra hours were worked leaving little time for keeping relevant mines in good repair. Coal mining methods were improper. More attention was given to thick coal seams and less attention given to thin ones. Large tunnels were left unrepaired, causing a deterioration in working conditions. Required materials and equipment were inadequately supplied. There was a large percentage of new workers. The technical level and the level of ideological consciousness were low. Management was poor. There were some other factors. But the most prominent were problems in life. The comrades of Fuxin said: With problems in life unsolved and with an inadequate supply of staple and non-staple food, there was a general deterioration in workers' physical strength.

After listening to reports from three mines, Comrade Chen Yun said:

A couple of days ago, it was a matter of becoming wise after the fact. To sum up experiences was to peer into the future. Outsiders had no idea of conditions in the coal industry with its swings up and down. How many relevant causes were there after all? Which were the primary ones? The causes of a decline must be discussed a bit more thoroughly. The average daily output of coal dropped from 630,000 tons in the second half of last year to 520,000 tons in the first half of this year. Now it has further dropped to 440,000 tons. What were the causes after all? Just the problems in life could not account for a drop from 520,000 tons to 440,000 tons. What was, after all, the existing level that could be considered suitable? What level was considered reasonable after all when it came to development and extension?

On the 25th, Comrade Zhang Linzhi summarized national conditions and analyzed the causes of a drop in coal production. He held this view: 1) Originally there was a balance between production and capital construction. Now, with envisioned capital construction projects not completed, we had naturally to make do with existing ones. 2) Beginning in 1960, production of materials and equipment required failed to catch up; operations continued with difficulty. 3) There was a deterioration in material conditions. 4) Management, and tunnel maintenance failed to catch up. There were also problems in life.

After Comrade Zhang Linzhi gave his report, Comrade Chen Yun said: 1) There was an imbalance between production and capital construction; 2) required materials were inadequately supplied; 3) there were problems in life; and 4) there was a problem with management. Some people said that the State Economic Commission, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Coal Industry, and given areas had different views. One view was that a lot could be produced. Another was that a lot could not be produced, because capital construction and the means of production actually could not provide that much. In the past few years, the targets had been set too high and the scale had been too large. Given input, there was an increase. Given no input, two results were inevitable: Either the existing level maintained by making do with existing mines, or a decline in production occurred.

Then, everyone concentrated on discussing the targets that were set too high. On the basis of everyone's discussions, Comrade Chen Yun made a change raising five points: 1) Production targets were too high; 2) the scale of construction was too large; 3) there was, therefore, a reduction in material and equipment allocations, with faulty equipment in operation; 4) problems in life began to crop up in 1959; 5) management (involving technical revolution, tools, tunnel maintenance, and various systems). Meanwhile, it was pointed out that the failure of mining to catch up was caused by the targets being too high. With production targets set in the first place, there are other things related to it.

Comrade Chen Yun said: In the first few years, no matter what the cause, production always went up. Both central and regional authorities showed high enthusiasm. Of course, foreseen problems could be set straight, but it was quite difficult, for that matter. In 1959, the possibility of an annual steel output of 16.5 million tons in Shanghai was debated. At that time, there was also lack of confidence. Later, after only 2 months of investigation and study the target was set at 13.5 million tons. Through this forum, we must first check where the problem lay, second, check what the comprehensive level was, and third, study the fundamental problems during those 8 or 10 years.

In conclusion, Comrade Chen Yun said: Something more might be said. Abnormal things were still having an effect. Remaining unsettled loans were yet to be paid. To meet economic needs, there was the need to be continuously in debt. Interest had to be paid. One point more was to be added to the list about remaining obligations to be met.

The causes of a drop in production were finally pinned down only after repeated discussions.

From 26 October to 3 November, 8 days were spent discussing such problems as materials, equipment and safety, the problem of large, medium-sized and the small [mines], the problem of oil, meat, egg and fish supplies, the problem of food rations for family members in the countryside, the problem of piece rate wages, the problem of policy toward technical personnel, and so forth. Comrade Chen Yun divided the problems discussed into three categories: 1) problems providing a little more input; 2) problems calling for less discussion; and 3) problems calling for serious discussion. After discussions, conclusions were generally reached.

### III. Summarize Experiences in an Overall Manner

The forum paid attention to summarizing experiences from beginning to end. The forum ended on 3 November. Comrade Chen Yun said: There were both positive and negative experiences. Summing things up in a proper way would help in our future work and would have a positive effect on our work. Given successes and failures, there would be something else. This something else, I understand, is something in the nature of laws.

What are those things in the nature of laws summed up at this forum?

First, acting according to the plan mainly calls for acting on a proportionate basis.

When the Ministry of Coal Industry referred to the proportionate relations between production and the scale of construction being upset during the period of the "Great Leap Forward," Comrade Chen Yun said: Acting according to the plan mainly called for acting on a proportionate basis. There were proportions to be followed in 5 or 10 years, and proportions to be followed in 30 years.

Acting on a proportionate basis allows no involvement with targets that are too high. In studying coal targets, Comrade Chen Yun said: The core of the problem was to decide how much coal production should be increased every year. But how much that could be increased annually was not determined by our subjective wishes. During the period of the First 5-Year Plan, there was an average annual increase of 10 million tons. In the first 3 years of the Second 5-Year Plan, there was an annual increase of 26.9 million tons. For a time, foreign equipment was relied upon in building coal mines. Now, there must be a switchover to complete reliance upon home-made equipment in a bid to link up parts as a whole. Thus, an annual increase of 23 million tons was no easy matter. An increase of 20 million tons would be more likely to be achieved. Then, Comrade Chen Yun called for figuring things out in several respects:

- 1) An annual increase of 20 million tons of coal would require an annual increase of 2 million tons of steel. How much alloy steel, brass and aluminum would be required as contents of equipment, how much ordinary rolled steel would be required, and how much equipment would be required? These figures must be worked out in order to act in coordination with the metallurgical field.
- 2) Take a look at railroads. China had few railroads. Mining is a matter of hauling rocks. It would not do to rely upon handcarts and automobiles. In 1949 and 1950, conditions were such that industrial development gave roads and electricity first priority. When a start was made in building the Baoji-Chengdu railroad, little was known about the burning of coal being needed in building railroads and power plants.
- 3) Investment. An annual increase of 20 million tons of coal would require an investment of 500 million yuan. With each ton of coal costing 25 yuan, 10 million tons require an investment of 250 million yuan.
- 4) The scale of capital construction. Given an annual increase of 10 million tons of coal, the scale of construction would call for 80 million tons. The time for construction could not be underestimated.

These are problems involving action on the basis of proportions.



Summarizing the lessons from the 3-year "Great Leap Forward," Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: We must figure things out: Main equipment required for production and capital construction; ordinary equipment, and auxiliary materials; and materials classified in three categories. How much of them was required? Figures must be worked out for different kinds of materials. Then we must start with actual work. Where a shortage of materials was experienced, we might refer to a comprehensive organ for instructions, or make do with existing stocks, or cut down on production. The cleverest housewife cannot cook a meal without rice, as a Chinese saying goes. We must make calculations and bring materials in line with targets. Making calculations is very important. Five yuan will allow only 5 yuan worth of work to be done and not 8 yuan. Comrade Chen Yun specially stressed: There should be no fear in lowering targets. A downward adjustment would mean getting down to earth. An upward adjustment could mean going for inflated figures. When we lower targets there should be a minimum limit set. Six months later, any surplus resources will show up. After the investment in capital construction in 1957 was adjusted to 10 billion yuan, surplus resources showed up half a year later, with the result that projects valued at 13.8 billion yuan were completed.

Second, a balance must be achieved between commodities and purchasing power.

Some mines adopted the method of reducing the number of people [employed] and not reducing the quantity of grain to solve workers' problems in life. When this was taken up, Comrade Chen Yun said: With the number of people reduced in all lines and trades and the quantity of grain not cut down, the problem could not be solved. With people added to the city and production reduced in the countryside, a strain would be put on the supply of grain. An increase in grain production would again affect cotton and oil output. When the 1957 level was reached, the quantity of goods for consumption was not like that in 1957. With 10 million people discharged from work and sent back to the countryside, the effect would be seen the next year. Then it was a case of taking the grain ration from peasants. The basic cause of the appearance of a black market was an imbalance between the supply of commodities and purchasing power. Concerning purchasing power, food and clothing would amount to 20 billion yuan. In the past, with 6 to 8 billion jin of pork brought into urban areas--given the price of 1 yuan a jin--an amount of 6 to 8 billion yuan would be returned, leaving out hen's and duck's eggs. With 25 jin of fat from each pig, the amount would be 75 million yuan. With hen's eggs taken into account, it would be a total of 10 billion yuan. Given 20 feet of cloth and a population of 600 million, the amount would be 6 billion yuan. With knitted goods added, it would also be around 10 billion yuan. To meet the purchasing power required with these two large sums involved, it would be unreliable to use some other things. In 1950, 30 billion jin of grain and 8.8 million dan of cotton were enough to meet market needs, given little purchasing power then. Now, 90 billion jin of grain would be no solution to the problem. The fundamental problem was to increase production. It would not do to raise prices and increase wages. We should not drag our feet and let things slide. Only with production developed could there be a balance.

Comrade Chen Yun also said that the toughest problem was food and clothing. The solution depended mainly on the countryside. When peasants found hen's eggs profitable business, they would work like mad. The result was a drop in price. The link in turning the economy around lay in the countryside. With this link set in motion, things would come alive. Now there were several dozen commodities with stable prices. As for the rest, the value of money had dropped. Commodities on the market had become scarce. We had to wait for a decline in purchasing power and an increase in production. With commodities properly taken care of, wages and commodity prices would be readjusted at the same time. This would take no less than 3 years. Only with the problem of grain solved could the cotton problem be solved.

Third, we must study central and local management systems.

When the forum took up the problem of the economic management system, Comrade Chen Yun said: The fundamental problem was barriers between departments or regions, with relations not handled correctly. Looking back over history, he then said, in the 12 years since the founding of the state, several things had swung back and forth, without a good solution having been worked out. Before 1957, there began to be a need for a monopoly on everything. Later, there was some liberalization after criticism from Chairman Mao. At every meeting, the point of liberalizing or not liberalizing things was raised. Given areas and enterprises all wanted to be allotted a percentage of profits. In 1956, 10 major relationships were discussed. In 1957, a meeting on enterprises retaining a percentage of their profits was held. Percentages of profits were assigned to enterprises. Percentages of local revenues were also retained for given areas. After the Second Session of the Eighth CPC National Congress in 1958, enterprise management began to be handed over to lower levels on a large scale on 30 June. At every subsequent meeting, the matter of coordinating all activities at a national level, like pieces in a chess game, was again taken up. With each enterprise going its own way, there could be no centralization. There was no centralization where it was needed. After as long as 3 years of discussions, the recent Lushan conference decided on the need for some centralization. To what extent should centralization and decentralization of power be carried out, after all? This had so far not been solved. As far as industrial construction was concerned, centralization and unity were needed. A province or a large area was incapable of solving problems on its own. Meanwhile, Chairman Mao said that in a vast country like China, some provinces were larger than a European country. If we just called various meetings at ministerial levels without holding conferences of secretaries of provincial party committees, it would be charged that everything came from above. Provincial party committee secretaries represented local centralized leadership. If no local efforts were made, Pingdingshan and Baotou would not have been brought into being. Coordinated efforts were right and proper. But power and materials that should have been given were not granted. When a given area proposed a project, it was not just working for the local industry. It was also serving large enterprises. At that time, areas had little room to maneuver. Retaining a percentage of profits earned would bring great joy. Could well water and river water leave each other alone, as a Chinese saying goes? What you deserve should be given to you. What large enterprises deserve should be

given to them. What belongs to the city party committee should be left alone. What is mine should be mine. What was meant for you should be handed over in full. Money should be granted where a couple of important projects were concerned. What had been given should be forgotten with no designs on it. A given area should also have no designs on what belonged to the central authorities. Commodities should be properly centralized; otherwise, construction could not be carried out. What were the strong points and weaknesses of the practice of centralization during the First 5-Year Plan and the practice of decentralization during the Second 5-Year Plan? We must make an investigation.

It was a pity that there was not enough time for the careful study of this problem.

Fourth, only with a diversified economy could there be flexibility.

When the forum took up the matter of the economic pattern being too simplistic, enterprises were compelled to "get socially involved," Comrade Chen Yun said: What were, after all, the advantages of cooperatives being established for haircutting and shoe repairs? It would be much more flexible with the establishment of cooperative groups. At the time of joint state-private ownership, cooperative groups were established. Now it seemed that there must be some retreat. Touching on commerce, Comrade Chen Yun said: With individuals selling vegetables separately, the sales volume was much greater. We, for our part, were mostly involved in handling of big items. Without being responsible for their own profits and losses, businessmen would not apply themselves. Leaving small operations alone would not interfere with socialist economic development.

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EIGHT YEARS OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE, THREE MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS--WRITTEN ON THE 8TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESISTANCE AGAINST VIETNAM PUT UP BY THE PATRIOTIC CAMBODIAN ARMY AND PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 19-23

[Article by Yang Mu [2799 2606]]

[Text] On 25 December 1978, war clouds covered the sky over Indochina. With a superpower's support, Vietnam, which claimed to be "the world's third major military power," outrageously dispatched troops to comprehensively invade Democratic Kampuchea, a weak nation whose territorial area is half that of the former's and whose population is just one-tenth.

That very day, under the cover of more than 500 tanks and armored cars, tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops broke through and encircled the Democratic Kampuchean Army from many directions, the east, north, and south. On 7 January 1979, they occupied Phnom Penh, capital of Democratic Kampuchea, and on 10 January, a puppet regime headed by Heng Samrin was set up. Along the main roads and rivers, the aggressor forces "pursued and annihilated" the Democratic Kampuchean Army and massacred the innocent. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of people were compelled to flee westward. Hence, there was an unprecedented exodus of refugees to the Cambodian-Thai border areas. After the 80,000-strong Democratic Kampuchean Army was defeated, no more than 20,000 troops managed to retreat to the southwestern and western mountain and forest regions of Cambodia and, moreover, they were confronted with grave difficulties, such as hunger, malaria, and ammunition shortages.

The Cambodian earth was burning and the Art Treasury at Angkor Wat, symbol of the zenith of ancient Cambodian civilization, was sobbing. Assuming the air of conquerors, the Vietnamese aggressors arrogantly declared in Phnom Penh: Within 3 or 4 months, the Democratic Kampuchean forces will be annihilated once and for all and the whole of Cambodian territory will be under the control of the Heng Samrin regime which they were propping up....

The towering Phnom Krachav, Phnom Dang Raek, and Phnom Melai have furnished the answer: Justice is bound to triumph over evil and truth over power politics. The years that have passed have inexorably testified that instead of being annihilated within 3 or 4 months, the patriotic soldiers and people of Democratic Kampuchea have persisted in fighting, and have grown increasingly stronger as they fight. Why?

They have set a new example to the world of a small nation resisting a big one and a weak nation checking a strong one. Practice over the last 8 years in their resistance against Vietnam has provided the following answers:

1. The outcome of a war is decided by the nature of the war and the will of the people. Vietnam once carried out a just war to resist U.S. aggression, creating an example of a weak nation beating a strong one. But now, following the same old disastrous road once taken by the United States, Vietnam launched a more cruel, unjust war against a small and weak nation, thus arousing the most firmly determined resistance of the nation of Cambodia as a whole, and meeting with opposition from the world community. Its unjust war will inevitably result in failure.

2. The 1970-80's have not been years when aggressors could act as they please. Desire for peace, independence, and development are the common aspirations of all people in all countries of the world, and an irresistible historical trend. Those who run against the trend will not only encounter the vigorous resistance of the nations subject to oppression and the denunciation and sanctions by the world community, but they will also arouse dissatisfaction among their own peoples and eventually be punished by history. The current Cambodian war has these characteristics of the times.

3. Whether or not the strategy, tactics, and policies of the nation subject to aggression are correct is also of crucial importance. The strategy, tactics, and policies adopted by the Democratic Kampuchean resistance forces in the last 8 years can be generalized as one turning point and three major policy decisions. The one turning point refers to the time when the Democratic Kampuchean National Army, after learning lessons from its military defeats, adopted the strategy and tactics of conducting guerrilla warfare in the tropical jungles, thus establishing a foothold in the western border areas and reversing the situation of being passive and vulnerable to attack. The three major policy decisions are the setting up of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK), fighting deep into the interior, and issuing the "8-Point Proposal" for a political settlement of the Cambodian issue.

#### Conducting Guerrilla Warfare

In the last 6 years or more, this reporter has gone deep into the Cambodian battlefields to cover events there on more than 20 occasions. A Democratic Kampuchean National Army leader once told me: Prior to the Vietnamese Armed Forces' all-out invasion of Cambodia they kept attacking and harassing areas along the long Vietnamese-Cambodian border. During the first 6 months of 1978 alone, division- or regiment-sized armies of the Vietnamese Armed Forces intruded into Cambodia on 10 occasions. Vietnam's invasion became even more brazen after 3 February that year, when Vietnam and the Soviet Union signed the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation," which is a military treaty by nature. The leader said: "At that time, however, we were not fully on guard against Vietnam's all-out invasion and occupation of our territory, and therefore failed to make overall preparations to defend the country."

That was why we suffered great losses!" According to what this reporter has learned, at that time the Democratic Kampuchean forces accepted battle hastily, and most of the time they fought as if it were a regular war, trying to confront the enemy and wear it down. Although they fought valiantly, they were divided and encircled by the enemy and their contacts with their headquarters were interrupted. Because they lacked logistic support and were hopelessly outnumbered, they suffered great casualties and many soldiers were separated and missing. Instead of giving up, however, the heroic Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces continued to fight in the dense jungles. In May of 1979, to sum up the experiences both positive and negative gained in the military field, Democratic Kampuchea held a cabinet meeting in the jungle and realized that, since they were confronted with an enemy stronger than themselves, the military strategy of fighting what was primarily positional warfare was wrong. The meeting pointed out: "It is imperative to vigorously carry out a people's war based on guerrilla warfare." In June of the same year a national conference of military cadres was held to discuss the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare. The two important meetings became a turning point for the Democratic Kampuchean National Army's resistance against Vietnam--a point where the Democratic Kampuchean National Army, instead of retreating in defeat again and again, was able to keep rebuffing the enemy from bases along the Cambodian-Thai border, thus enabling it to establish a foothold in the western border areas and build up its bases there to resist Vietnam.

Between 1979 and 1980, with a squad or group as the combat unit, the Democratic Kampuchean National Army practiced a "three-three system" in regard to the use of time in fighting, training, and rest, reorganization, and study. From November 1980 to April 1981, that is, the period before and after the 3d dry season of the Cambodian war, breaking through the enemy heavy encirclements, the separated and missing National Army officers and men converged on the region south of Phnom Dang Raek and were reorganized into several divisions. Like divine troops from the heavens, they suddenly appeared in Preah Vihear, Oddor Meanchey, and Siem Reap Provinces, opening up the qia pu [1874 2528]-ta la ba li hua [0100 2139 1572 6849 5478] and Siem Reap-Road No 6 new war zones. Greatly stunned, the Vietnamese forces moved troops in a great rush to defend Road No 6 and other transport lines. During the dry season the National Army basically wiped out the enemy troops in Phnom Melai and raised its combat level of guerrilla warfare. In other words, apart from being able to mass troops on a squad or platoon basis, it has managed to concentrate a force of two or three battalions to annihilate one enemy platoon completely, to maul one enemy company heavily, or to rout one enemy battalion.

In the 4th dry season (1981-82), the National Army smashed the vigorous offensive waged by Vietnamese forces using more than 10,000 troops, 40 tanks, and 100 cannon in the region south of Sisophon in Battambang. Again it raised its guerrilla warfare combat level. In other words, it has managed to put guerrilla battles in a small combined battlefield under unified command on a considerably large scale. In the 5th dry season (1982-83), the Vietnamese troops adopted a principle of giving priority to launching an offensive on the western battle line and consolidating positions in the

interior. While opening more new war zones in the western region of the country and consolidating positions on the western battlefields, the National Army dispatched small troops to fight deep in the interior. With the expanded scope and structure of guerrilla warfare, the Democratic Kampuchean forces have constantly developed guerrilla warfare strategy and tactics and achieved noticeable improvements in the political quality and combatworthiness of their troops.

#### Setting Up the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea [CGDK]

The establishment of the CGDK is a necessity of the situation and the aspirations of the people, and also the common demand of the three sides of the CGDK. Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Khieu Samphan, a faction in the CGDK, was the first to propose national unity and the formation of a coalition government. On 21 August 1979, Khieu Samphan issued a statement, announcing the establishment of a patriotic and democratic front of national unity and raising the combat slogan: The Cambodian nation and the entire people unite "to drive the Vietnamese aggressors away and overthrow the Heng Samrin puppet clique." Along with this, Khieu Samphan sent telegrams to Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, suggesting that Sihanouk serve as president of the front and welcoming Son Sann's participation in it to jointly lead the cause of resistance against Vietnam. On 9 October the same year, Son Sann declared the establishment of the "Khmer People's National Liberation Front" to lead the "Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces" which was established as early as 5 March that year. In May 1980, Son Sann and Khieu Samphan held their first talks on matters of unity in resisting Vietnam. The meeting produced fairly satisfactory results. In February 1981, Sihanouk issued a statement and made a speech in Pyongyang. He said that it was necessary to acknowledge the "Khmer Rouge" (referring to Democratic Kampuchea with Khieu Samphan as its head), expressing his readiness to "lead a coalition front in which the Khmer Rouge is a member." Therefore, in March the same year, at Sihanouk's invitation, Khieu Samphan went to Pyongyang to meet him. They reached consensus views on several major issues. On 26 March 1981, Sihanouk announced the establishment of the "National Unity Cooperative Front for an Independent, Neutral, and Peaceful Cambodia," with himself as the president. On 3 August of the same year, Sihanouk and Son Sann met in Paris to exchange views on the alliance of all anti-Vietnamese forces in the country. In early September the Sihanoukist National Army was built up in Cambodia.

On the basis of the understanding reached through several bilateral contacts, leaders of the three sides eventually held their first meeting in Singapore on 2 to 4 September 1981 and signed the famous Singapore Joint Statement. The statement says that on the basis of supporting UN resolutions and the international conference declaration on the Cambodian issue, the three sides unanimously agreed to set up a coalition government, and to leave the principles and details for its establishment to a special committee. From September to November that year, the special committee held nine meetings in Thailand's capital and the meetings made positive progress. Through over 6 months of tortuous deliberations and consultations, the establishment of the CGDK was eventually declared in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia, on 22 June 1982.

This was a historic moment for the Cambodian nation and a great event in which the world community was interested. On the afternoon of 22 June, Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan signed the "Declaration of the Establishment of the CGDK" in a milky white conference hall in Kuala Lumpur. At that moment, photoflashes from some 100 reporters lit up the entire hall. Leaders of the three factions hugged one another, raising their clenched fists high. On this happy and grand occasion, this reporter was greatly moved by the stately scene of great warmth. At that time Vietnamese newspapers maintained that the CGDK was "built on sand" and some Western news agencies asserted that the tripartite coalition would not last longer than 6 months. However, ironclad history shows that having weathered winds and storms for more than 4 years, the foundation of the CGDK has become more consolidated with each passing day. What has caused the CGDK to become increasingly united? In a talk with this reporter in a seaside hotel in Penang, Malaysia, at the end of June 1982, CGDK President Sihanouk put it thoroughly: In the history of the Khmer nation's last hundred years, Cambodia has only lasted for 2 or 3 decades as an independent state and its people have led a slave's life under foreign powers for 7 or 8 decades. Now, Vietnam has invaded our territory by dispatching troops in an attempt to exterminate the Khmer nation. Who is willing to be the slave of a foreign power? The differences and grudges between individuals and parties should be put aside. Resistance against Vietnam and national salvation are the supreme interests of the individuals and the nation.

These ringing remarks indicate the political and ideological foundation for the establishment and development of the CGDK and the historical significance of the establishment of a coalition government.

The fact that the CGDK has existed for more than 4 years shows that its establishment was the result of the adoption of a correct strategic policy decision, which has:

1. United the three resistance forces against Vietnam and set up an authoritative and popular government that could lead the whole nation to resist Vietnam. Since it represents the interests of the whole nation and can rally all patriotic forces to save the nation, it has pushed the struggle against Vietnam to a new stage.
2. Rebuffed the Vietnamese aggressors and made them more ostracized, thus thwarting their attempt to divide and disintegrate the three resistance forces against Vietnam.
3. Carried out a centralized diplomatic policy and strategy, thus heightening the CGDK's prestige and winning it even broader international support and assistance. In UN General Assembly sessions over a period of nearly 5 years since the CGDK was founded, the number of votes demanding that Vietnam withdraw all its troops from Cambodia has increased steadily and Vietnam has suffered one diplomatic setback after another.



## Fighting Deep in the Interior

With the founding of the CGDK, the struggle against Vietnam has made fairly remarkable progress in the military field. During the 6th dry season (1983-84), the anti-Vietnamese armed forces launched surprise attacks on 17 occasions in 6 interior provinces in Cambodia, thus shocking the Vietnamese forces, encouraging the masses of people in the interior, and attracting world attention. The Democratic Kampuchean National Army has long formulated a strategy of opening "three battlefields." That is, the first battlefield was located in the areas around Tonle Sap; the second in the Cambodian-Thai border areas; and the third in Phnom Penh and the area east to Tonle Mekong. However, the Army was short of armed forces to implement it. During the 7th dry season (from November 1984 through March 1985), the Vietnamese forces threw in 40,000 to 50,000 more troops, organized "dare-to-die corps" and special task units, and attacked and occupied most of the tripartite CGDK bases along the Cambodian-Thai border in a steady and planned way, and using large numbers of tanks and artillery. Although the tripartite armed forces carried out valiant resistance, owing to the disparity in strength they had to make a strategic military shift--the main forces have gone deep into the interior, the people have retreated to the rear, and part of the armed forces have stayed in the Cambodian-Thai border areas to fight the enemy.

This was another strategic policy decision. At that time this reporter was visiting the main bases of the three CGDK factions to cover what was happening there. When this reporter met Son Sann and some high-ranking military officers of the Khmer People's Liberation Armed Forces, they said that when the Vietnamese forces were bombarding their positions, there were only two choices open to them: One was to defend their positions to the death, and the other to pull out their defending troops to avoid unnecessary sacrifices and fighting in the interior. It was not easy to rebuild the bases' destroyed thatched sheds and to regain the lost effective strength. Therefore, they made the second choice. Through 5 months of battles, the Democratic Kampuchean tripartite armed forces inflicted heavy casualties upon the Vietnamese forces, leaving several thousand troops injured or dead, they themselves suffering light losses. However, the Vietnamese publications and radio made a big fanfare of their "great victories," claiming that the CGDK armed forces "are no longer in existence." Nevertheless, some people in the world with insight were optimistic regarding the CGDK's situation and predicted that the tripartite armed forces' fight in the interior would certainly produce far-reaching effects, and that the situation would become even more unfavorable to Vietnam. The following facts prove that shifting the main resistance forces to the interior to fight the Vietnamese was a correct policy decision:

1. It has destroyed the Vietnamese forces' strategic plan. Following its occupation of Cambodia, the Vietnamese Army deployed nearly 10 divisions on the western battle line and 5 to 7 divisions on the central and eastern battle lines. Their strategic intention was to force the Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces to the western border and then divide and annihilate them. They made various changes in their tactics in the west with a view to

realizing this strategic intention. However, when the resistance forces gave up their border bases and operated actively in the areas surrounding Tonle Sap and even Phnom Penh, the Vietnamese Army had to transfer its troops from the west to defend the interior heartland. With its strength divided, the Vietnamese force has found itself to have too many things to take care of at the same time. They failed to seal the border and to find opportunities to fight the main forces of the Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces. Therefore, after the 7th dry-season offensive, the Vietnamese forces were unable to launch any large-scale offensive and found themselves in a quite passive position.

2. As for the CGDK armed forces, after their main forces shifted to the interior they faced the difficulty of transportation of ammunition and the problem of whether or not they could establish a foothold in the interior. After more than a year's readjustment, these two problems have basically been resolved. The key links in this respect were implementing a correct policy and establishing good relations between the army and the people. Now the anti-Vietnamese forces are gaining the trust of the people with each passing day, their problem of vegetable supply has been solved on the spot, and there is a steady flow of ammunition and medicine from the border areas to the interior where they are located. They have now established and built up their strength in a relatively large area. The change of foothold from the border areas to the interior is a fundamental change. This is because only in this way can a national protracted war be fought and can they establish a relationship of fish and water with the people. With this change, the Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces have made fairly great progress in conducting guerrilla warfare, developing from concentrating on military operations to paying simultaneous attention to military struggle and political work. Now in the interior there has emerged a situation in which three forces, namely, the coalition government armed forces, the masses of people, and the patriotic officers and men in the Heng Samrin forces, are united to resist Vietnam.

3. As the main forces of the CGDK's tripartite armed forces are all fighting a strong enemy in the interior, they share a common task which has compelled them to strengthen their unity and cooperation. The three forces' joint offensive against Battambang and other large and medium-sized cities was an example of their success.

#### The 8-Point Proposal for Solving the Cambodian Issue

Vietnam is good at using military and diplomatic tactics alternatively in regard to the Cambodian issue. The so-called "Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Three Nations in Indochina" which was held twice a year, would invariably adopt some "proposals" concerning the issue of Cambodia, which never showed the least sincerity about troop withdrawal. Vietnam's diplomatic flourishes which misled people for a while do not work any longer now. After making the strategic policy decision to fight in the interior on 17 March of this year, the CGDK announced the "8-Point Proposal" for a political solution to the Cambodian issue. The main points of the proposal are that Vietnam may talk with the CGDK concerning the course of total

withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia, that the Vietnamese troops should totally withdraw from Cambodia in two phases before definite dates, and that after the first phase of the withdrawal is completed the Heng Samrin regime may hold talks with the three sides of the CGDK on the organization of a coalition government of the four sides.

The "8-Point Proposal" fully reflects the sincerity of the CGDK's desire for peace, its attitude of restraint and conciliation toward Vietnam, its desire for the unity of the nation, and its acceptance of the reasonable portions of plans put forth by friendly and neutral countries for solving the Cambodian issue. The "Proposal" not only puts forward a plan for solving the Cambodian issue but also shows the direction for rebuilding Cambodia following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, and principles of domestic and foreign policies. Therefore, it is a charter for national unity and construction in Cambodia as well as a foreign affairs document for national salvation and resistance against Vietnam. To the three sides of the CGDK, it is a common program that was formulated after reaching an agreement on how to solve the issue of Cambodia. We all know that resolutions on solving the Cambodian issue adopted at past UN sessions, and the declaration adopted at the international conference on solving the Cambodian issue, are the foundation for solving the Cambodian issue. They are universally acknowledged. Now the "8-Point Proposal" put forward by the CGDK is a natural foundation for the international solution to the Cambodian issue.

This rational and reasonable "8-Point Proposal" by the CGDK was immediately, unwarrantedly and wantonly rejected by the Vietnamese authorities. This helps common people clearly see their true colors of having no intention of withdrawing their troops from Cambodia, and of their attempt to enslave the country for a long time. Therefore, at this year's UN General Assembly, the number of votes in favor of the resolution demanding that Vietnam withdraw all its troops from Cambodia increased to 116 from last year's 114. The number of countries which officially supported the "8-Point Proposal" has amounted to 60 or more. It can thus be seen that the CGDK's "Proposal" is a wise policy decision favorable to realization of peace in the Indochinese region. Its historical significance will gradually display itself in the days ahead.

The Cambodian people, who have endured great hardships and difficulties, and the tripartite coalition government, have been rigorously tested by 8 years of war and they have become stronger and are more united through their combat experience. The three great policies are their magic weapons for politically, militarily, and diplomatically defeating their enemies and the crystallization of their practice. So long as Vietnam refuses to withdraw its troops, the forces against Vietnam will continue to fight dauntlessly. Tempered in fire and blood, they will certainly create new experiences in resisting aggression, set a new example for the world's oppressed nations in winning national liberation and independence, and for weak nations in opening up a new road of peace and development, and make fresh contributions to peace in the Asia-Pacific region and the world.

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STRIVE TO CREATE A FAVORABLE ENVIRONMENT FOR THE GROWTH AND MATURITY OF STUDENTS--ON IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK AMONG STUDENTS OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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[Article by Lin Ke [2651 0344], secretary of the CPC Committee of Fudan University]

[Text] The policy of invigorating the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world has brought our country new vitality, provided more opportunities for people to bring into play their initiatives and originality, and created a general environment and atmosphere favorable to the emergence of talented people. Of course it may also foster some new problems and contradictions. In undertaking ideological and political work for college students, we must fully use these favorable conditions and advantages while alleviating the effect of disadvantages, and take this most favorable opportunity resulting from the reform and the opening-up process to create a promising environment on campuses. These are the important features representing the flexibility, adaptability, and vitality of the ideological and political work for college students in the new period.

Our experiences in the ideological and political work for college students in the past few years have shown us that the emergence of a harmonious, competitive, and open environment in colleges and universities is favorable to the growth in the vast number of students and in keeping with the students' keen desires.

Encourage the Pursuit of Truth; Foster a Healthy Socio-Psychological Environment

The ideological and political work for college students in the past few years has presented many fresh experiences. However, our work still fails to keep up with the new situation. For example, when hearing different viewpoints and debates on social, academic, and ideological issues among students, some comrades who are influenced by the principle of "taking class struggle as the key link" may immediately relate them to a student's "standpoint" and interpret them as issues of "political significance," thus taking an evasive attitude or adopting repressive measures in response. Some cadres in charge of political work intentionally or unintentionally always go against

students--interpreting the ideological and political work for students as a passive and preventive work--and are accustomed to the method of "forced inculcation." In using this method for ideological and political work, which is not congruous with the new situation, these cadres always treat students as people to be educated and guarded against. As a result, the expected equality between school administration, teachers, and cadres in charge of ideological and political work, on the one hand, and students, on the other hand, has been replaced by confrontation between them. The harmonious and agreeable atmosphere has been replaced by tension, and thus an oppressive socio-psychological environment has taken shape. In such an environment, students dare not discuss and voice their innermost feelings. How can we expect talented people and brilliant thoughts to spring up from such an environment? Therefore, to foster capable persons and to bring students' talents into full play, our ideological and political workers must exert themselves to create a harmonious atmosphere on the campus, encourage students to seek truth, and promote a healthy socio-psychological environment.

Today's college students are mostly young people, 17 to 22 years old. On the one hand, they have little experience and their understanding of society and life is one-sided in one way or another. Therefore it is quite natural that they may voice some erroneous or radical views. On the other hand, young people at this age have a strong sense of self-reliance, they show strong initiative, and they expect others to respect them. If our ideological and political workers concentrate their attention on students' shortcomings, continue to criticize them, always fear that students will make mistakes, and thus take various passive and preventive measures, then they will arouse a repugnance among the young people and it will be impossible to create a harmonious and agreeable atmosphere. However, if we devote our efforts to inspiring young people, try our best to bring their strong points into play, and tap by every means all their fine qualities, then we will be able to impel them to strive for success. Therefore, in doing ideological and political work, we must respect students' opinions, be adept at bringing all the positive factors on their part into full play, be friends with them, try to communicate views to them on an equal footing, attract them by reasoning, convince them with the truth, and inspire them to become educated. Only in this way can we promote young people's initiatives and can our ideological and political work achieve good results. A student from the Department of International Economics of my school wrote a 10,000-character proposal on the reform of the teaching system based on his survey and studies in late 1984. Although some of his ideas were immature, his case showed that students of our times are concerned about the reform and they are eager to play an active role in the reform. The school party committee made use of this typical case, publicized it on campus, and aroused an enthusiastic response among students. Inspired by this case, many students presented a lot of useful suggestions which have helped to improve the school's operation. Another student who came from a large city took a fact-finding tour of Xinjiang at his own expense. He set out to organize an association to promote the economy in the northwest when he returned, and volunteered to work in Xinjiang when he graduated. We commended him, and his example has inspired a number of his schoolmates. This year 16 graduates from our school

followed this student to go to the border areas to take part in construction there. Facts have shown that students have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm, and our key responsibility is to tap and use their initiative. As soon as our ideological and political workers manage to establish a mutual understanding with students, education will no longer be a kind of "forced inculcation" but a matter of common concern for both the educators and the educated.

The efforts to create a healthy socio-psychological environment for ideological and political work in colleges and universities should also be linked to academic research. Only in a free environment for academic research can students think independently and actively contribute original ideas. Only through exchanges, competition, and criticism between different schools, theories, cultures, and ideological trends, can we effectively enhance and revitalize our thinking, our ability to choose, compare, and criticize, and our creativity. Stifling democracy by administrative means will be unfavorable not only to academic development but also to the growth of qualified personnel. Therefore, it is necessary to create a good environment to encourage young people to seek truth. Of course some people may make mistakes in pursuing truth. In such a case, both suppression and open refutation will not work, and this has been proved by history. Of course a laissez-faire policy is also inappropriate since this indicates an irresponsible attitude toward students. The only solution is positive guidance. In particular, we must invite those teachers who specialize in the study of topics that puzzle students to talk with them face to face or to write articles giving them earnest advice. Several postgraduate students in the School of Arts at our university went astray in their studies of Marxist theories. After investigations and studies, the school party committee reckoned their problems as issues of an academic nature. So we guided them in studying the basic theories of Marxism and helped them to correctly and comprehensively understand Marxism. At the same time, we had heart-to-heart talks with them, helping them dismiss their mental burden and encouraging them to carry on their theoretical exploration. Casting a load off their minds, these postgraduate students went on with thorough studies and made gratifying achievements later. Experience has shown that this method is correct. In fact, young people's academic views are changeable. A young man may hold a very radical one-sided viewpoint on a certain issue. However, if he further studies and deeply ponders the issue for a while, he might correct his point of view. Therefore, there is no need to make a big fuss over some immature views voiced by young students. Since exploration of truth is allowed, we must tolerate mistakes in the course of exploration and allow some time for the correction of mistakes.

#### Encourage Competition and Promote an Enterprising Spirit in the Pursuit of Success

"Competition" has been taboo in China for a long time and seems to be something which is related to "capitalism" but incompatible with Marxist principles. In the wake of the development of the socialist commodity economy, more and more people have now abandoned this concept, realizing that competition not only exists but is necessary in the economic life of our socialist

society. Then can we encourage competition in the fostering of qualified personnel? My answer to this question is yes.

From the standpoint of schools and teachers, they always want to see that all their students grow into qualified personnel that can meet the needs of the state. Such a wish is understandable and justified, and it should be made the starting point for every kind of work in a school. The school should make every effort possible to prepare an environment and conditions favorable to the growth of all its students in terms of equipment, a qualified teaching staff, and a quality education.

In fact, however, the difference in academic results and in other aspects between students always exist because individual students enjoy different gifts and they do not work equally hard. Acknowledging this fact will help us to implement the principle of teaching students in accordance with their aptitude and to improve the quality of education. As far as this issue is concerned, we have committed two mistakes in the past: First, "those birds that raised their heads would be shot"--in other words, whoever studied hard would be labeled a "specialist without a socialist consciousness" who "took his own road isolating himself from the collective"; and second, we treated outstanding and inferior students equally, and jobs were arranged for all graduates by the state in a uniform way. Such practices would of course dampen students' enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity but encourage students to be slack, lazy, and content with "60 points." This training method has had a very bad influence on the development of science, technology, and academic research in our country. To meet the needs of modernization, we must change the status of our education sector. And this is the very aim in encouraging competition.

Encouraging competition commends whoever has studied and performed well and provides him with more facilities so that he can study even better. In other words, outstanding and inferior students are not treated equally anymore. Does this mean that the majority of students whose performance is just up to or below average will be ignored while a small number of outstanding students will have the best of care? The answer is no--this will not happen as long as we follow a correct guiding ideology for education. We have set a definite target, namely, to produce more and better qualified persons for the country. Then how are we going to reach this target? The old policy we used to practice can only lower the level of outstanding students to that of average or even inferior students. On the surface, this practice seems to have given consideration to the majority of students. But, in fact, by excessively lowering academic standards, it creates obstacles for a small number of outstanding students, while discouraging the majority from making greater progress. On the contrary, the promotion of competition, which seems to only be in favor of outstanding students, can also play a role in stimulating backward students. It reminds all students of their pressing duty to strive for China's four modernizations; fosters an ardent atmosphere which urges students to emulate, learn, advance, and help each other; exerts pressure on those who are content with "60 points" so that they can no longer feel at ease just staying idle. Such an atmosphere can push average and backward students to emulate advanced students and encourage the advanced to

further improve themselves. Only in this way can we reach the target of "producing more and better qualified personnel."

People would readily link competition with the principle of "the superior squeezing out the inferior." Our purpose in practicing the principle of "the superior squeezing out the inferior" in our socialist society is to encourage the advanced, spur the less advanced on, and bring most people's initiative into full play. Similarly, our purpose in promoting competition in colleges and universities is to create an environment which will urge students to work harder, and it is not meant to be a passive measure aimed at a certain number of students. Ideological and political workers in schools should do a good job in transforming less advanced students. What is the use of ideological education if we just ignore all the backward students? There is always one reason or another for a decline in students' academic performance and for defects in their moral character. We must analyze every specific case and help students patiently. Not only our ideological and political workers but also our teachers and students, especially outstanding students, should help those who lag behind to catch up. If the phenomenon of "the superior squeezing out the inferior" were a natural practice in schools in a capitalist society, then we would say we are actually different from them in this regard. We work hard to help more people to catch up rather than sit by idly and remain indifferent while the situation deteriorates and a large number of inferior students are squeezed out. Idleness and indifference to student affairs are a kind of irresponsible behavior and dereliction of duty which are harmful to both the state and the growth of students. We must believe that most of the less advanced students can catch up with others. Of course there will be a small number of students who fail to improve, and these students cannot be treated as equals to the advanced or transformed students. Those who should be weeded out must be weeded out resolutely. As far as their political status is concerned, we should never discriminate against those whose academic performance is poor because they are less gifted but rather against those who are slack. Instead we should give them more help and make them feel the warmth of living in the collective. However, as far as the matter of promotion and graduation is concerned, they must be assessed in accordance with the set criteria and no preferential treatment should be given to them by disregarding the set principles. It is in this sense, and only in this sense, that we say the principle of "the superior squeezing out the inferior" applies to the fostering of qualified personnel.

To foster the growth of a greater number of better qualified persons, we have adopted a series of measures favorable to competition in the reform of the teaching and administrative systems. For example, we have replaced the grant system with the scholarship system; we have agreed to let some outstanding undergraduates be excused from the entrance examination and directly enrolled as postgraduate students and to let outstanding students pursuing masters degrees be enrolled in doctoral programs earlier; we have set up some "triple-A pacesetters" as examples of balanced development in moral, intellectual, and physical education, and called on all students to learn from them; and we have practiced an outstanding student training system, granting brilliant students some material rewards, assigning supervisors to



them, and giving them preferential treatment regarding book borrowing, studying conditions, and so on. A first-year student of the Department of Physics completed all the second-year college courses through self-study before he was admitted into our university. So the department specially assigned a professor as his supervisor to take care of him in accordance with his aptitude, and allowed him to take courses designed for third- and fourth-year students. As a result, this student passed the examination for candidates for overseas postgraduate studies at the end of his first year in college. On the other hand, our university has taken action to deal with those students who do not study hard, fail examinations, and make no progress despite others' help. The school administration has asked some of them to repeat a whole year's work, advised some others to quit school, also taken some appropriate and efficient measures. All these measures have inspired the advanced, pushed the less advanced to work hard, and fostered an enterprising spirit in the pursuit of success. This semester we have tried some new systems, adopted a system of variable length of schooling, and further carried out experiments to promote a competitive environment in which "the superior would squeeze out the inferior."

#### Cater to the Needs of the Society and Provide an Arena Where Students Can Temper Themselves

Creating an open environment for the ideological and political work for college students means, on the one hand, the opening up of the ideological field which gives students to have an access to Chinese and foreign schools of thought and ideological trends and helps them to broaden their field of vision, to assimilate different views, and to enhance their ability to analyze and judge different schools and ideological trends; and, on the other hand, the opening up of a stage for practice which enables students to have more real experience with the reform and the opening-up process before entering society so that they can have a more profound understanding of social realities. Here I would like to say a few words about my personal understanding of this latter point.

The practice of "open-door schooling" was promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution." In substance this meant to give up education--there was no schooling although the door was opened. It is quite natural that the practice of "open-door schooling" was negated after the downfall of the "gang of four." But the negation of "open-door schooling" should never go as far as another extreme--the old road of "closed-door schooling." At present, many students are not acquainted with the actual circumstances in society. They always panic when they graduate, and it usually takes them quite a long time to get accustomed to the social environment after graduation. This is related to the divorce between schooling and social realities. Therefore, we should really pay a lot of attention to shifting from a closed education mode to an open one, trying our best to cater to the needs of society, and to provide an atmosphere where students can temper themselves.

Young students of our time must integrate academic knowledge and social practices before coming useful persons in society. All knowledge is derived from practice and will after all serve practice. The basic theories of

Marxism and human being's scientific and technological knowledge will display their great power only when they are incorporated with the four modernizations of China. Therefore, the new generation of youths needs not only academic knowledge but also practical knowledge. While earnestly studying theories, they should bravely learn social practices and be adept at integrating academic knowledge with social practices. Only in this way can they keep up with the needs of the modernization program and become useful persons serving the motherland. In his speech, "Further Discussion With Young Intellectuals on Their Growth," Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "A person with academic knowledge can benefit the state, the people, and the society only when he integrates his academic knowledge with economic construction, scientific experiments, the building of democracy and the legal system, and social practices in other fields, as well as with the rich practical experience of the people who are creating a new life."

In the past few years, we organized an investigation of the economic structural reform in rural and urban areas, a study of the growth of young intellectuals, a survey of border areas, and other activities of social practices, such as fact-finding tours, field training, and social services. We have exerted every effort to support a work-study program. The students' Scientific and Technological Consultation and Development Center established in our university nearly 2 years ago is a work-study organization run by students on their own. So far more than 3,000 students have joined this work-study program to provide service outside the school during their spare time and vacations. They have established ties with more than 100 firms and enterprises and completed more than 10 technological development projects which involve rather difficult and complicated technological problems. One of these projects has filled a technological gap in our country and enabled the firm to raise its output value by more than 1 million yuan a year. More than 700 students have worked as coaches. Students participating in the work-study program have also provided various kinds of consultative services and worked as professional translators. The boom in the work-study program has helped to raise students' working ability, pushed ahead the study of professional knowledge, enabled students to earn more money, added to the wealth of the society, and encouraged students to stand on their own feet. The program has helped to change the image that students know only books but nothing about life and society. The program has also liberated students from their closed world, opened their minds, helped them to stand on their own feet, and fostered their creativity. Through the work-study program, students have entered the present tide of reform and have had personal experiences in the mammoth program of the four modernizations. Having heightened their senses of responsibility and mission, they have corrected their mistaken concept of despising workers, peasants, and physical laborers, and have overcome the harmful tendency which tempts them to pursue grandiose aims despite their limited abilities. Thus it can be seen that this work-study program launched among our college students is a new idea and a new way for young students to integrate with the masses of workers and peasants. It is an active, complementary, and effective integration. It is not a form of passive "reeducation" at all but a spontaneous process actuated by a desire buried in the bottom of their hearts. It is not a form of one-sided "forced inculcation" or "preaching" but a program that allows the parties involved to

learn from each other's strong points and to make up each other's deficiencies. It does not lay undue stress on enhancement of ideological understanding but pays equal attention to socioeconomic benefits. In my opinion, the work-study program which emphasizes education through experience is after all a new field to be explored in the ideological and political work for college students in the new period.

In the past summer vacations, nearly one-fourth of the students of our university took part in social surveys and the work-study program. The "survey of 100 Chinese peasant families" and the survey on the "spark plan" in which nearly 300 students participated were quite successful. Many students who conducted the surveys said: To understand China in the reform and the opening-up process, one must first understand the peasants who make up the vast majority of the Chinese population. Through the surveys which lasted more than a month, our students have had a deeper understanding of the national conditions of China and a real experience with the reform as a pressing, arduous, and complicated project.

Experiences have shown that replacing the closed-type education with the open-type education and encouraging students to participate in a wide range of social practices according to their specialities, their special mental capabilities, and the local needs will enable students to integrate the knowledge they have learned from books with their social practices, help to heighten their sense of social responsibility for involvement in the reform and promote their initiative in studying, and will be favorable to the enhancement of their abilities and their comprehensive training.

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## BEGINNING THE TALK FROM 'SOCIALISM OVER 400 YEARS'

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[Article by Li Yuanjiang [7812 0337 3068] and Yu Youjun [0060 1635 6511]]

[Text] "Socialism Over 400 Years" is a theoretical publication narrating the history of the development of socialist ideology in the form of historical romance. It discusses the 470-year process of socialist ideological development from the publication of "Utopia" (Footnote) (The full title of the book is: "A Useful and Interesting Golden Book on the Perfect State System and the New Utopian Island"), written by the United Kingdom's Thomas Moore in 1516, up to now, with the aim of popularizing scientific socialist theory among the broad masses of the people, and particularly among youths. Is it necessary to promote this kind of popularization now? What kind of form or method should be adopted to promote this popularization? As authors of the book "Socialism Over 400 Years," we had turned these questions over and over in our mind. The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," adopted recently at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, noted: Vast numbers of cadres should take the lead in studying Marxist theory. The masses, and particularly young people, should also be encouraged to study Marxist theory. We should see to it that what they study is not divorced from reality and that the methods of instruction are not dull and monotonous. This clearly explains the importance of popularizing Marxist theory. In this article we would like to put forward our ideas about this book and our thoughts on some issues so that we and our theoretical and propaganda workers can jointly probe them.

### Inculcation--An Educational Policy That Should Be Upheld

"Inculcation" [guan shu 3487 6551] is a term familiar to theoretical workers. It is a term that has been used many times by authors of Marxist classics. Lenin said: "It is impossible for workers to have an inherent consciousness of social democracy. This kind of consciousness can only be inculcated upon them from the outside." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 247) Mao Zedong also said: "The basic requirement of political work is to constantly inculcate the peasant masses with a socialist ideology." ("Editor's Note From 'Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside'") However, the term "inculcation" has not been used for a period of time. What is the reason? It may be assumed that

this is due to the fear of mixing up the different meanings of the two types of "inculcations." We think that "inculcation" has two meanings: The first meaning refers to educational policy and its opposite concept is "spontaneous generation"; the second meaning refers to an educational method and its opposite concept is "teaching with skill and patience." Some comrades have mistaken "inculcation" with a sense of educational policy for the "all-round" "inculcation" with a sense of educational method.

We feel that "inculcation" used as an educational policy should be upheld and that "inculcation" used as an educational method should be improved. This is because Marxist theory is a scientific course and a crystallization of all the knowledge attained by mankind. This scientific course is just like any other scientific course. People cannot spontaneously attain this scientific knowledge by merely relying on direct perception and impressions. Therefore, in implementing the educational policy, we must maintain a systematic instillation from the outside and constantly use Marxist theory to educate vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses of the people.

This viewpoint and proposition exists: There is no need to sedulously popularize Marxist theory. The masses should be allowed to choose spontaneously since the advanced theory represents the way forward in society and truth, and people will naturally be attracted to it.

We cannot agree with this kind of viewpoint. When an advanced theory is said to have a powerful attraction, this is referring to the general trend of historical development and is viewing mankind as a whole. Different ages, different societies, different strata, and different individuals have different theoretical requirements and different cognitive abilities. We cannot expect everyone to be good at spotting and accepting advanced theories as this is determined by one's political quality, cognitive level, and ideological method. In any social environment, the range and depth of the people's acceptability of an advanced theory depends first and foremost on the content of the theory and also hinges on the people's theoretical requirements and the level of their cognitive ability. Therefore, we say that the following formulation is an oversimplified one: People naturally accept advanced theories and what they do not accept can only be a theory that is not advanced. We think that our Marxist theoretical workers are placed under an indispensable obligation to correctly propagate Marxist theory in a distinct and lively way among the broad masses of the people in accordance with historical requirements at different stages and on the basis of the level of the people's cognitive ability to enable them to accept this theoretical weapon and to constantly raise the level of their cognitive ability through practice.

Our book "Socialism Over 400 Years" is precisely aimed at realizing the inculcation educational policy in a distinct and lively way. The creative idea for writing this book was conceived in 1979. At that time, our country was at the important juncture of bringing order out of chaos and there was a nationwide discussion on the criterion of truth. The "leftist" bonds established over many years were also broken at that time. During the tide of ideological emancipation, we and many other young people who were concerned

with the future of the motherland thought a lot about the destiny of socialism in China. Through a relatively systematic study of Marxist theory, and after soberly comparing Marxist theory with other political theories, we achieved the following conclusion: As a scientific course, the truth of Marxism is unquestionable. However, the established generalization of Marxism is not a completely thorough probe of the truth and scientific socialism remains to be enriched and developed. China's faults in its socialist practices were not basically caused by scientific socialism, but were the results of deviating from scientific socialism. Meanwhile, history demanded that we develop scientific socialist theory. As some people's faith in socialism had been shaken, there is nothing strange about them having been perplexed and at a loss. These people not only had not achieved a true understanding of scientific socialist theory but actually knew very little about theory. Therefore, it was difficult for them to pass a scientific judgment on China's faults in its socialist practice over the past 30 years and more. Of course, solving this problem in a relatively successful way depends first and foremost on convincing and real achievements in socialist practice. However, this takes time. Moreover, practice in socialist construction has to be completed by people. If people are always ideologically perplexed and cannot inspire great revolutionary enthusiasm, how can we score great achievements in socialist construction? For this reason, we urgently feel that to resolve the problem of a number of people in our society whose faith in socialism has been shaken, we must first popularize scientific socialist theory and enable people to understand the course of socialist development and to master the scientific method of understanding society and history.

#### Correctness--The Basic Requirement for Popularizing Theory

In popularizing Marxist theory in the past, we have not only done a lot of work and had quite a few successful experiences but we have also failed in some areas. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" and also during a period prior to this revolution, there was a pragmatist phenomenon within the work of popularizing Marxist theory. For example, the profound and comprehensive Marxist theory was condensed into a number of simple and easy-to-memorize articles--a creed--and was even "simplified" as quotations that could be cited at will. At that time, people were encouraged to read and memorize their articles and quotations. Moreover, people were advised that when they encountered difficulties and when they had to judge between right and wrong, they could find answers within these quotations. Of course, this kind of one-sided and vulgar approach failed to explain the realities of life. The failure to explain these realities led to the failure to convince the masses; the failure to convince the masses led to the adoption of "instillation," "test," and other rigid and inflexible methods in an attempt to keep people within bounds. As a result, this kind of "inculcation" created a very strong aversion among the masses. It not only failed to popularize scientific Marxist theory but actually impaired the reputation of the scientific Marxist theory. It created the following misunderstanding: It seems that Marx left us a treasury of all-embracing and inexhaustible truths, and that in the treasury we could easily find ready-made solutions to all problems in our actual socialist practice, including some very specific problems.

In fact, this was just the point that Marx opposed most. In his letter to Arnold Luge in September 1843, Marx ridiculed those who adopted a dogmatic approach to revolutionary theories: "Hitherto philosophers have had the solution to all riddles lying on their writing desks, and the stupid, esoteric world has only had to open its mouth for the roast pigeons of absolute knowledge to fly into it." He also said: "It is precisely because of the advantage of the new trend that we do not dogmatically anticipate the world, but only want to find the new world through criticism of the old one." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 416) "We do not confront the world in a doctrinaire way with a new principle: Here is the truth, kneel down before it! We develop new principles for the world out of the world's own principles." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 418) In fact, the founders of Marxism never modeled themselves on Hegel's attempt to establish a categorical system characterized by "absolute spirit." They actually severely criticized every attempt to establish such a "system." Throughout their lives, from their youthful days to their later years, and through their research of philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism, they made assessments, statements, predictions, and explorations for finding solutions to problems. They always paid close attention to historical developments and were ready at all times to readjust, replenish, and develop their viewpoints and theories in accordance with actual conditions. They continued upholding this kind of scientific pursuit to the end of their days. We can say that if we deviate from the viewpoints regarding practice, development, and bringing forth new ideas, there will be no real and living Marxism. We must popularize this kind of real and living Marxism, abandon the practice of regarding Marxist theory as the "ultimate truth" for "taking seats according to numbers on tickets," guide the people to achieve a comprehensive, correct, and scientific understanding of Marxism, and lead the people to take Marxism as their guide for action to understand and transform society instead of taking it as a panacea. Although Marxism is a great truth, it is not a finished truth. Through practice, Marxism constantly opens up new ways to understand truth. The popularization of Marxist theory is aimed at enabling people to master a scientific world outlook and a scientific methodology and is not aimed at enabling people to merely learn some Marxist terms for "passing judgments on life." Adopting a scientific attitude to comprehensively and correctly popularize Marxism is the basic requirement for promoting this type of work.

Our reason for choosing the history of socialist ideology as the contents for our book is that there is a special need in this field to look at problems in a historical and developmental perspective. Socialism is the opposite of capitalism and has been in existence for more than 400 years, from its embryonic stage to the present stage. During this period, an unstable historical torrent surged forward with great momentum in an intricate and volatile way. Socialism progressed from fantasy to science, from an ideological system to a real movement, from victory in one socialist country to victories in many socialist countries, and from one and only one socialist mode to many types of socialist modes. Numerous soul-stirring and tremendous changes took place and people with lofty ideals emerged in large numbers and achieved numerous heroic and moving deeds that are crowned with eternal glory. On the basis of this historical development, we have recognized

the necessity of having socialism and established our scientific faith in socialism. We think that by accurately introducing the historical conditions under which socialism was born and developed to the people and particularly to those young friends who long for understanding history, we can enable them to understand that scientific socialist ideology has not come easily and to treasure this precious cultural wealth of mankind. We feel that this practice is more effective than the practice of rigidly instilling all kinds of ready-made conclusions and viewpoints into people's minds from the very beginning. After achieving a preliminary understanding of the origin and development of socialism, many people will make greater demands and will study Marxist classics and other theoretical works to master the theoretical guide to socialist practice. Compared with the practice of using ready-made "quotations" to find solutions, this practice will do a better job in enabling people to establish faith in socialism.

#### Liveliness--A Form of Expression That Should Not Be Neglected

The book "Socialism Over 400 Years" adopted China's traditional form of historical romance to narrate the history of the ideological development of socialism. During the process of writing this book, we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Can we use this kind of popular approach to publicize such a serious content?" For safety purposes, the title of the book was changed from "The Popular Romance of Socialism" to "Socialism Over 400 Years." In retrospect, our change and misgivings may now be regarded as unnecessary and uncalled for. However, judging from another angle, did the change and misgivings reflect the fact that our past popularization of Marxist theory was characterized by narrow-minded thinking, numerous restrictions, and a lack of effective measures?

In fact, there were precedents for utilizing this very popular, informative, and interesting approach to publicize socialist theory. In the 1930's, Ai Siqi's publication DAZHONG ZHEXUE used lively stories to explain in simple terms profound philosophical viewpoints and principles, thus attracting tens of thousands of young people to plunge into the mighty torrent of the revolution. It is a pity that there are not many outstanding popular theoretical publications of this type. With the development of modern science and technology, there will be more and more theoretical tools and forms for popularizing Marxist theory. For example, television, video recordings, audio recording, slides, and picture-story books for adults can be used but have not yet been fully used. As workers who publicize Marxist theory, we must not have a "sense of having outstanding accounts." It should be our responsibility to be capable of daring and knowing how to integrate serious theoretical contents with popular publicity forms.

However, will the popular and interesting forms of popularizing Marxist theory lower the masses' level of accepting Marxist theory? In our opinion, to master a higher level of systematic Marxist theory, it is not enough to rely merely on the inculcation in a popular form. It is imperative to devote time and energy to the study of the original works of Marx and Lenin. However, in real life, the targets of our popularization (particularly young people) do not have much understanding of Marxist theory. It takes time for



them to gradually master a higher level of understanding of theory. If we ask them to begin reading large numbers of abstruse books, we may possibly create a fear of difficulty and even resentment and resistance among them. Therefore, beginners should only be given the ABC's of Marxist theory. Moreover, the popular and lively forms are well-suited to the beginners' course. In particular, the popular and lively forms can easily arouse the interest of those youths who have a strong thirst for knowledge and wide interests.

Judging from its style, the book "Socialism Over 400 Years" can be described as a historical novel with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist of its contents. It reminds people of traditional Chinese novels with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist of its contents, such as "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms." This form is very popular with the old, middle-aged, and young and can easily shorten psychological distances between theoretical contents and the masses. Moreover, this style is also loaded with a large amount of theoretical knowledge and has some uniquely strong points. The book leaps over more than 4 centuries, covers Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and the United States, and touches upon several hundred personages. To enable readers to have a clearer historical picture, in addition to having the major theme reflect the history of the ideological development of socialism, in this book we have also provided two secondary themes, namely, the modern history of the world and the history of international communist movements. This book, written in "historical romance" form, not only depicts the development orbits of these three historical themes but also depicts the overlapping conditions of them. Moreover, the book depicts the basic viewpoints of representative figures of socialist ideological trends at every historical stage, the historical background of such viewpoints, and details the creation process of such viewpoints. Furthermore, the book not only depicts historical figures as thinkers and revolutionaries but also as ordinary people. If we try to present all its contents in the form of a textbook or in the form of a political article, we would find that using the same space can hardly absorb the same amount of historical and theoretical knowledge and we will also immediately find that the contents will become too boring and unreadable. From this we can see that there is no contradiction between using popular styles and publicizing serious contents. If handled well, popular styles can sometimes be more effective than serious styles for publicizing serious contents. This can probably be described as the style-and-contents dialectics.

The popularization of Marxist theory is indispensable for promoting ideological construction and building socialist spiritual civilization in China. Without deepening the study of Marxist theory, there is no way to popularize Marxist theory; without the popularization of Marxist theory, it is impossible for the broad masses of the people to turn the brilliant theory into their powerful weapon for understanding and transforming the world. With achievements in deepening the study of Marxist theory, there will be a desire and requirement for popularizing Marxist theory; to score valuable achievements in popularizing Marxist theory, there must be a deepening of the study of Marxist theory. Judging from the orientation of development in the days to come, to achieve a relatively big leap in the popularization

of Marxist theory, more comrades engaged in deepening the study of Marxist theory are required to devote part of their energies to the popularization of Marxist theory. Our book "Socialism Over 400 Years" is only our tentative attempt. We hope that more theoretical workers will bring out more and better popular works to make contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

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## STUDY MARXIST THEORIES, REMOLD THE SUBJECTIVE WORLD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 33-37

[Article by Li Fengwu [2621 7685 2745] and Wang Jingxi [3769 4842 6007]]

[Text]

### I

In recent years, the problem of remolding the subjective world seems to have been forgotten by people, so much so that when the word "remold" is mentioned, certain comrades have reacted badly and have asked us the following question: In the new situation, is it at all necessary to remold the subjective world? Is not further emphasizing the remolding of the subjective world like "fearing the collapse of heaven when peace reigns on earth"?

If we do not start from subjective expectations but objectively and soberly face the new situation and the new tasks, then we may definitely reply: In the new situation, remolding the subjective world is still necessary and urgent.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has enforced the policy of internally invigorating the economy and opening to the outside world and has carried out a series of reforms in rural areas and cities and towns. This is a creative initiative and also a difficult and complex one. It demands that the broad masses of cadres not only further liberate their ideas and open up and advance forward but also insists on seeking truth from facts and avoiding and reducing the blind and aimless wandering, and not only vigorously develop a commodity economy and learn advanced technology and management experiences from capitalist countries but also firmly insists on the socialist direction, learning from their own experiences, and so forth. This requires the broad masses of cadres to earnestly study Marxist theories and strengthen the remolding of the subjective world. Only by doing so is it possible to make our own ideological level and our ability to understand fit in with the invigoration, opening up and reform and stand at the reform's forefront. Otherwise, our ideology will fall behind the developing situation and our legs will "stall when trying to step forward." Facts have also shown that in the course of invigorating, opening up and reform, certain comrades, due to overlooking the remolding of the subjective world and suffering from the bondage of old concepts, were unable to break the impediments of the "leftist" barriers and could not

understand or tolerate the new things and the new atmosphere. When a portion of the people were allowed to become well-off before others, they suspected that this would cast aside the principle of joint affluence; when the government was separated from enterprise functions, they thought that this would weaken the party's leadership; and when regulation by market mechanism was put into full play, they were worried that the "universe would be in great chaos," and so on. Therefore, strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world is the new situation's natural demand and cannot and should not be avoided.

As seen from the serious lesson of certain party members and cadres who are currently the victims of "sugar-coated bullets," it is also extremely urgent that the broad masses of cadres earnestly study Marxist theories and strengthen the remolding of the subjective world. Needless to say, invigorating and opening to the outside world have brought about intense and active changes in the people's spiritual world. But, it similarly cannot be denied that under the conditions of invigorating and opening to the outside world, through capitalist rotten ideas, corrosion of the people has also increased. When a pool of still water is stirred, some of the sediments are bound to float to the surface; and opening the window can result in some flies or mosquitoes flying into the room. Under such conditions, if remolding of the subjective world is not strengthened, then we may suffer ideological defeats. This phenomenon of ideological defeat is found among the rank-and-file cadres, among the leadership cadres and even among a small number of senior cadres. Some of them have bent before money, damaging the country and harming the people; some have gone so far as to sell their souls, losing their national character and human character, and so forth. Some of these people have been brought up under the communist red banner and some have crept out from foxholes on the war front, having gone through stern and serious trials and tests. And why have they suffered defeat now? Naturally, the causes are numerous but failure to study theories and refusing to remold their ideology must be attributed as an important cause. A certain vice chairman of an economic committee of a certain large city was found guilty of accepting a bribe and was sentenced to imprisonment. When he recounted the lesson from his crime, he ascribed the principal cause to his laxity in the study of theories, saying that he had taken off his ideological guard, which resulted in the opportunity for capitalist class ideas to creep in and cause him to "lose in a day's time his virtuous traits of many years' standing." This may be called an expression from the bottom of his heart after his reversal but it has also sounded the warning that the broad masses of cadres must strengthen their study of Marxist theories and earnestly remold the subjective world.

Strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world is still the urgent need of the broad masses of cadres in eradicating the evil legacy of feudalism. Our country has, for a long time, been a country with a feudal society, many feudal ideas have formed in our national understanding of such concepts as a special privileged class, patriarchal ideas, despotic work styles, and so forth. They have all exercised a very great influence on many of the cadres. In addition, there are also the influences of petty production concepts, such as self-sufficiency,

narrow conservatism, egalitarianism, and so forth. If these are not eradicated, then our active implementation of party guidelines and policies will be impeded and as will our development of a commodity economy and our active prosecution of the reform. We should never underestimate this point.

Strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world meets the needs of training and building of a new socialist people who have ideals, morals, and culture and abide by discipline. The training of these people with these four good qualities is a basic task of socialist spiritual civilization. Cadres should take the lead in the fulfillment of this task. At the same time, to go through the process of acquiring the four qualities is not an unconscious or spontaneous task. It requires studying Marxist theories, learning and acquiring scientific and cultural knowledge, and consciously struggling with the erroneous ideas in one's mind. This implies the need to remold the subjective world. It is impossible to become a new man with the "four qualities" without devoting serious efforts to remolding the subjective world.

Since the structural reform, our cadre corps have gone through intensive changes and have taken long strides in the direction of becoming revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable, well-informed and specialized. However, a large number of young and medium-aged cadres who have ascended to leadership posts are still facing the problem, in varying degrees, of not having been sufficiently armed in their ideology. In an investigation in a certain city in Shandong Province, of 1,450 leadership cadres in posts above the county grade, it was found that only 25 percent had systematically studied Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialist theories. Among the cadres in the pharmaceutical, public health and petrochemical systems, although over 70 percent had been graduates of colleges and specialized institutions of learning or above, 92 percent of the cadres, who had originally studied in specialized schools in science, industry, medical science and agriculture and principally engaged in these specialized fields after graduation, lacked a systematic study of Marxist theories. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has earnestly overcome the past tendency of doctrinarism toward Marxist theories, become brave enough in setting aside certain outdated principles, and greatly enriched and developed Marxist theories. If we do not study the theories anew, then it will not be possible not only to correctly understand the outdated viewpoints but also to accept the new viewpoints. From this it can be seen that strengthening the study of Marxist theories, remolding the subjective world, and basically elevating the level of the theories and the ability to understand them are urgent and important tasks before the broad masses of cadres.

## II

If the problem of strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world is so important, then why should certain comrades react adversely to remolding the subjective world? It may be said that this phenomenon is a punishment from the past "leftist" errors and also a reflection of these comrades' inability to clearly separate "leftist" errors

from Marxist principles. Because in the "Cultural Revolution" remolding the subjective world was seriously twisted and its good name tainted, people now shudder whenever it is mentioned. This is understandable. However, in opposing erroneous things, we cannot likewise oppose correct things and not want them.

First, Marxist theories have all along advocated strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world. In many of their publications, Marx and Engels emphasized that a communist society would create new men of all-round development. They pointed out that the proletariat would "in revolutionary activities and concurrently with remolding the environment transform themselves." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 234) "Only when the class of people who have overthrown the ruling class throw away all the antiquated and filthy things in their bodies can they set up a new foundation for society." (Ibid., p 78) In other words, only when the proletariat simultaneously remolds the objective world and its own subjective world can it establish a new society and realize communism. Lenin many times emphasized that the proletariat must strengthen its study of theories, remold its ideas, overcome its errors and defects, and improve its understanding capacity. He pointed out: "The proletariat is not devoid of the defects and weak points of a capitalist society. It struggles for socialism and at the same time is opposed to its defects." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 179) "In order to establish communism, the industrial and agricultural working masses...must remold themselves; not to do so will render them unable to take up the construction initiative." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 366) Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries all made significant contributions in this regard. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The struggle engaged in by the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to change the world consists of the following goals: changing the objective world as well as changing one's own subjective world--changing one's own awareness and changing the relationship between the subjective world and the objective world." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 272-273) Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: "In our socialist society, everybody must be remolded. Not only must those people who have not yet transformed their basic stand be remolded but also everybody must study, continuously remold themselves, study new problems, learn new things, consciously reject the corrosion of capitalist ideas, and in a better manner bear the glorious but difficult task of building a modern and strong socialist country." ("Selected Essays of Deng Xiaoping," pp 90-91) All these men have told us that since each and every person must participate in social practices, it is necessary to earnestly remold one's own subjective world, so as to improve one's level in ideology, theory and understanding ability, so that the subjective will conform to the objective.

Second, strengthening the study of Marxist theories and remolding the subjective world is our party's successful historical experience in strengthening ideological and political work. To a definite degree, the well-known Yanan rectification campaign was in reality a big movement to study Marxist theories and remold the subjective world. In the course of the movement, the broad masses of cadres earnestly studied Marxist publications, Comrade Mao Zedong's important works such as "Theory of Practice," "Theory of

Contradiction," "Rectifying the Party's Work Style," and "Remolding Our Studies." They liquidated Wang Ming's "leftist" doctrinairism and rectified subjectivism, patriarchy, and the party's erroneous tendency to stereotype writings, thus bringing about a leap forward in people's ideological consciousness and understanding ability. All this has played an important role in training and building revolutionary personages, and ensuring the success of the war of resistance against Japan. In the course of the war of liberation and after the establishment of the PRC, our party paid close attention to the problems of the cadres studying theories and remolding the subjective world. Despite the appearance of certain defects and errors in these problems, they have definitely played an important role in strengthening people's ideological culture, remolding the world outlook, establishing the idea of serving the people with a whole heart and soul, displaying the revolutionary tradition of staging difficult struggles, fostering a selfless attitude toward labor, and molding revolutionary sentiments. These valuable experiences proven by actual practice should not be carelessly forsaken.

Third, only through strengthening the study of Marxist theories, clearly distinguishing between correctness and error, and correctly carrying out remolding work can we advance in the correct direction of remolding the subjective world. The expansion of the anti-rightist group and other political movements, particularly the "Great Cultural Revolution," have injected confusion into the problem of remolding the subjective world. The confusion takes the form, under the conditions of "taking the class struggle as the key link" and "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," of twisting "remolding" into a problem of struggle between the enemy and ourselves, treating ideological understanding and even minor matters of daily life as problems of struggle between the two classes and the two lines, and also treating the problem as "a cruel ordeal" and "an attack without mercy," and so on. This has set remolding the subjective world and strengthening the party character as factually opposed to each other and made people refrain from speaking the truth. To insist on remolding the subjective world, it is necessary to duly rectify this problem. In this connection, the documents and the many talks and speeches of the leadership cadres of the central government since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have pointed to the direction which is, firmly insisting on seeking truth from facts, displaying democracy, casting aside the theories of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "continuing the revolution under the leadership of the proletariat," and throwing away the set of methods of the "great criticism." Of them, an exceedingly important point is to organize the cadres to study Marxist theories, so that everybody can understand the scientific meaning and necessity of remolding the subjective world, to change the blind and passive stature into a conscious and initiative one, and to employ a correct attitude and scientific method in treating the problem of remolding the subjective world.

### III

Marxism is a sharp weapon for remolding the objective world; it is also a sharp weapon for remolding the subjective world. In the new situation, studying

Marxist theories carries an even more important significance to the broad masses of cadres and people in remolding the subjective world.

First, only through studying Marxist theories can we liberate our thoughts, and establish and develop the advancement spirit. At present, there seems to be a misunderstanding that studying Marxist theories will bind people's thinking. This is erroneous. In essence, Marxism is critical and revolutionary. According to Marxist dialectics, "there does not exist anything that is ultimate, absolute and mystic." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 213) Hence, studying Marxist theories will not bind people's thinking but can make people's thinking become wholly liberated, never to side with any kind of superstition, prejudice or custom, but to break the narrow, closed-door and conservative concepts, and, following the changes in economic life, political life, and work style, to continuously renovate concepts, creatively understand new things and solve new problems. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, those who could break the bondages of the "two whatevers" (the two "fanshi's") and were the first and the fastest to comprehend the central party's direction, guidelines and policies and fervently support the series of reforms extending from the rural villages to the cities and towns, were the cadres who were well-grounded in Marxist theories and rich in knowledge. On the other hand, in the final analysis, certain cadres, who for a prolonged period, could not turn around or who would even harbor doubtful sentiments toward the central party's policies and toward the reform were frequently those who could hardly understand and discern between right and wrong in the policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In expressing their opinions, some people merely looked at the phenomenon because they had no background in theory or practice. Only through building a background can we truly rectify errors, including the 'leftist' and rightist errors." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 337) How can a person who does not know how to use Marxist stands, viewpoints and methods to understand a problem but merely depends on sentiments to judge a problem correctly treat rectification, and invigorating and opening to the outside? How can a person ignorant of basic socialist contradictory theories correctly understand the inevitability of reform and the character and method of reform?

Second, studying Marxist theories can held us in resisting the corrosion of various kinds of rotten thoughts, firming our confidence in communism, and strengthening the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly. Some comrades have erroneously believed that under the conditions of internally invigorating the economy and externally opening to the outside world, we need to stress developing a commodity economy, learn from foreign countries, and take part in competition, while serving the people with a whole heart and soul is no longer an important problem. In reality, developing a commodity economy, learning from foreign countries and taking part in competition have the basic motive of striving for the welfare of the masses. Hence, so far as communists are concerned, it is necessary to forever insist on the communist ideas, harbor a firm idea of serving the masses with a whole heart and soul, and unite the various races of people in the whole country to struggle for the realization of the common ideal. All these require boycotting the corrosion of feudalism and capitalist rotten ideas. Marxism is



the proletariat's world outlook. It represents the interests by far of the majority of people and is a spiritual weapon in our hands for resisting corrosion and maintaining the purity of communism. Only through earnestly studying Marxist theories can we understand that the social development law of socialism and communism will inevitably replace capitalism and thereby place communist beliefs on a scientific foundation; or can we clearly distinguish between a capitalist commodity economy and a socialist commodity economy, thereby firmly insisting on a planned commodity economy on the basis of the public ownership system; or can we understand that the basic motive in establishing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to make the country wealthy and strong and the people well-off and not to make the individual suddenly rich; and far less the capitalist disintegration of the two poles, thereby correctly treating the problem of being "well-off" and never forsaking the idea of serving the populace with whole heart and soul. In one word, only by studying Marxist theories can we remain clear-headed in a complex environment, possess the ability to resist corrosion, and make the subjective world reach a lofty plane.

Third, only through studying Marxist theories can we firmly insist on the method of thinking of materialist dialectics and break the method of thinking of metaphysics. Firmly insisting on materialist dialectics and breaking metaphysics are the long-term tasks of people's remolding of the subjective world, and they are especially important in modern construction. The different and complex character of socialist modernization determines that the broad masses' method of thinking must be scientific. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has reestablished the line of thought for seeking truth from facts. And the broad masses of cadres, having gained an increasing understanding of the serious dangers of metaphysics from penetrating lessons, have employed the materialist dialectics method of understanding problems and their conscious character and ability to solve problems has been further improved. However, due to the influences of old traditions and former practices and customs, particularly the idealism of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the wretched influences of metaphysics, as well as the limitations in theoretical and cultural attainment, in the minds of a portion of the cadres, metaphysics has still occupied a definite position and forever and continuously manifested itself in the understanding and solution of problems. For example, in looking at the situation, only branches and outward appearances are seen and the main stream and real essence are disregarded; in looking at the reform only the problems that have surfaced are seen and the important and big results are neglected; in looking at opening to the outside world, only the infiltrations of certain passive things are seen and the onslaught of new ideas and new concepts on outdated concepts is not regarded; in looking at the economic situation only the rise in commodity prices is noticed, not the development of the social productive forces and the improvement in the people's actual standard of living, and so forth. In particular, for several decades our old malady of liking to do things in a "gust of wind" and "applying one solution to all" is still quite outstanding. This method of thinking, of driving to the extreme, and to a stage of absolutism is a kind of historical laziness. To overcome it and make the broad masses of cadres establish a materialist dialectics scientific

method of thinking, the fundamental method is to earnestly study Marxist theories. Marxism carries a scientific world outlook and a scientific methodology. Only through grasping it is it possible through the various manifestations of metaphysics to understand its essence, to correctly learn from the experiences and lessons so that one's method of pondering over problems and doing things can become scientific, and to correctly analyze and solve the complex problems in the modernization program.

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WHY DO WE SAY TAXATION IS AN IMPORTANT ECONOMIC MEANS IN EXERCISING  
MACROECONOMIC CONTROL?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 37-38

[Article by He Zhenyi [0149 2182 0001]]

[Text] Taxation is a basic form for the state to participate in the distribution of the national income and obtain financial income by using its political power. Because taxation is a kind of mandatory payment of money without compensation, in order to protect their own economic interests, taxpayers will decide on their production and business operation in light of the scope of taxation and the rate of various taxes imposed by the state. Thus, taxation can condition and influence the economic activities of the taxpayers. Therefore, taxation is not only a basic form of state revenue, but is also an important economic means for the state to exercise macroeconomic control.

Taxation is an important means for maintaining the balance between total social demand and total social supply. This regulatory role of taxation is realized through the adoption of different tax policies toward different items of production and consumption. The changes in various taxes imposed on different items of production and consumption will correspondingly increase or reduce the incomes of the producers and consumers, thus stimulating and restraining producers' capacity of expanding production and consumers' capacity of consumption. For example, when total social demand exceeds total social supply, taxation will be coordinated with other economic levers, such as financial policies and credit policies, under the guidance of the state plan, with the rates of all kinds of taxes for production enterprises being lowered so that they can increase their after-tax profits for their own use and can thus expand their reproduction capacity. This will help increase total social supply as quickly as possible. At the same time, various taxes imposed on consumers can be raised so as to reduce the consumers' income and to restrain the swelling of the total social demand. Thus, a general balance between total supply and demand in society will be restored and maintained.

Taxation is an effective economic lever for controlling and regulating the major ratios in the distribution of the national income. As a distribution activity, taxation exists throughout the process of the national income distribution. With the adoption of different tax policies for various

sectors in the national economy, taxation can directly influence the proportion each sector can get from the national income. This thus plays a role in controlling the distribution of the national income among various economic sectors. For example, if the state increases taxes on various sectors, such as wages and bonuses, which will turn the national income into the consumption funds, the consumption funds will be reduced, thus changing the ratio between accumulation and consumption in the national economy.

Taxation can help control the industrial structure and promote the proportionate development of various industries. Material production includes manufacturing, agricultural, construction, commercial, and transport industries. Under the conditions of a commodity economy, when an investment is made in an industry, consideration is first given to the profit level of this industry. If heavier taxes are imposed on the industry which is to be restrained from excessive development, the profit level of this industry will be lowered and the investors will have less interest in making investment in this industry or will even withdraw funds from this industry. This will then result in restraining the development of this industry. On the contrary, if taxes on a certain industry are reduced or exempted, or a negative taxation policy is adopted to encourage the development of this industry, the profit level of this industry will rise and more investors will be attracted to this industry. This will help achieve the purpose of accelerating the development of this industry.

While playing a role in macroeconomic control, taxation is also an important means of microeconomic regulation. Macroeconomic control regulates the major ratios in the national economy. At the same time, some specific ratios in each economic sector, such as the production and consumption of a specific product, and the incomes and economic activities of some corporations and people also need to be regulated. This is microeconomic regulation in macroeconomic control. Taxation can be highly selective in its effects. Taxes not only can be selectively imposed on a specific economic sector, but can also be selectively imposed on a certain part of an economic sector. For example, income tax can be imposed on all profits and incomes indiscriminatingly, but can also be imposed on the incomes of a certain category of people or on certain parts of their incomes. Product tax can be imposed on all products alike, but can also be imposed merely on a certain category of products or even a certain product. Through the selective imposition of taxes and the flexible delimitation of the scope of the taxes, taxation can regulate the economic activities in a certain scope and can be focused on some specific targets in light of the needs in the sustained, stable, and well coordinated development of the national economy, thus achieving the purpose of microeconomic regulation in macroeconomic control.

Taxation can play an extensive role in regulating and controlling the national economy. This is mainly because it has some special regulatory functions that other economic levers do not have. First of all, taxation is the integration of administrative, legal, and economic means. It is an economic lever based on the administrative and legal means and motivated by the economic means, and it is highly compulsory. For example, the credit

means can be used to control consumption through regulating the amount of cash held by the residents by the means of changing interest rates. However, if the residents do not deposit their money with the bank, the credit lever will not function in controlling consumption. Taxation is quite different. Taxes can be directly imposed on the residents, and all residents whose incomes reach the standards will have to pay taxes regardless of their desires. Second, taxation performs its regulatory and control functions in flexible and diverse ways. The regulatory functions of the elements of a taxation system enables taxation to play a role in controlling the economy. The elements of a taxation system include the scope of taxation, the categories of taxpayers, the items of taxes, the rates of taxes, and the regulations on tax exemption and reduction. The definition of the taxation scope and taxpayers determines the scope and objects of regulation; the items of taxes determine the concrete scope of regulation in the same category of taxation; and the tax rates and the tax exemption and reduction rules determine the intensity and degree of regulation. The different forms of combining the elements of the taxation system will achieve different purposes in controlling the economy. Finally, taxation can complement other economic regulatory levers. When performing the regulatory functions, some economic levers may produce mixed effects. For example, when the price lever is used to regulate the economy, the price rises will stimulate production and at the same time produce the by-effect of restraining consumption; and the price falls will stimulate consumption and at the same time produce the by-effect of restraining production. In such circumstances, taxation can help offset the by-effect of the price regulation. When prices are lowered to stimulate consumption, in order to prevent production from declining, we may correspondingly reduce the taxes on productive enterprises so as to offset the by-effect of the lower prices which may restrain production development.

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## ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 p 39

[Article by Li Zhaofu [2621 0340 1381]; excerpted from LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE], No 19, 1986]

[Text] In ideological and political work, both firmness and flexibility, and feelings and reason must be combined. What is referred to here as "firmness" means that we must firmly adhere to principles and struggle in ideological and political work. For example, in all fairness to those comrades who have committed serious mistakes or said or done things that violate the interests of the party or the people, we must be brave in carrying out serious criticism and in revealing their faults. As Lenin said: "We should have the nerve to reveal our running sores so that without the slightest falseness and in a down-to-earth way we can diagnose and thoroughly treat them." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 17, p 175) This is the basic aim of persisting in "firmness" in our ideological and political work. As to the term "flexibility" it refers to the tenacity manifested in attitudes of a kind and pleasant demeanor and in a work style which is like spring wind and rain. This includes profound feelings of comrades-in-arms and those of comradely affection. It can thus be seen that the combination of firmness and flexibility requires both principles and emotions.

However, in life some of our comrades often change "flexibility" into "softness." They confuse it with not stressing principles and with keeping on good terms with everyone, and they contradistinguish necessary criticism with paying attention to feelings. This is a manifestation of weaknesses and feebleness in ideological and political work and is also a misinterpretation of firmness and flexibility. Overly exaggerating comrades' mistakes clearly is not correct, but looking on unconcerned or just saying a few words as if it were of no consequence are not responsible actions either.

In ideological and political work, it has been taboo to speak of "feelings" and we persist in putting on stern expressions when teaching people. This situation must be eliminated. In the last few years, the phenomenon of "speaking in a reasoned way without involving feelings" has been corrected, but there has appeared the phenomenon in which only "feelings" are stressed and reason is neglected. Some people believe that now we must "change from firmness to flexibility" and in actual life they blindly advocate

"soft-heartedness" and "sweet words." When criticizing someone who has made some mistake, fearing that they will "hurt his feelings" they simply engage in "consoling" and "helping." In teaching classes in politics, they one-sidedly seek appealing things and they do not put any effort into fully explaining revolutionary principles. When there are evil trends and unhealthy practices which violate the interests of the party and the people, or mistaken words and actions, they dare not criticize them in a bold and assured way, but call them by some fine-sounding name--this is intended to influence people through emotions....

From the facts we can see that feelings that lack reason are often weak and feeble. We should firmly believe that "as long as theory can convince people, it will be possible to control the masses; and as long as theory is thorough it will be possible to convince the people." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 9) Marxist theory is an ideological weapon for educating people and today it is still capable of eliminating some people's "resistance." We say that although "feelings" are a bridge to the soul, they need reason to reinforce them. Only if feelings are based on reason and regulated by reason can they be voiced and exercised and thereby promote our work. If we cannot educate people with reason then it will be difficult to avoid them wanting to replace principles with narrow "emotions" such as "personal attachments" and "sympathy."

In brief, firmness and flexibility, and emotions and reason become consistent in their form and contents, permeate each other and rely on each other for their existence. Neither can be emphasized at the expense of the other. Only by linking the two closely together can we bring into play the due effectiveness of ideological and political work.

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## DISPARITY MEANS HOPE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 p 39

[Article by Xiao Rong [5135 2837]]

[Text] Governor Xiong Qingquan of Hunan Province said: Disparity means potentiality and potentiality is hope.

To take disparity as a sort of hope may seem at first to be difficult to understand but upon careful scrutiny there is a deep reason behind it.

The existence of disparity has its subjective causes as well as its objective conditions, but its becoming larger or smaller is principally determined by man's subjective activities. Used as a stimulant, it can attract reaction and thereby generate a special effect. It stimulates an ambitious person to start from "not being equal to others" to rousing himself and opening up and from "being better than others" to tapping the potentials and creating something new. By so doing, disparity will continuously diminish, attain a balance, and even expand in the other direction. This is progress and hope.

In an era of competition, disparity frequently grows and frequently diminishes, but it forever exists. In other words, this reflects social advancement. Hence, disparity embodies the hope of promoting social progress.

The change of disparity into hope envisages the conversion process of a quantitative change to a qualitative change. If one indulges in the midst of disparity, contented to be a "winter jackdaw," crying all day and never wishing to advance, then the conversion can hardly take place and the disparity stays put. The ancient sages said: "Only in discontent is there progress." Let us arouse ourselves in disparity.

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## THE EXPLORING AND PIONEERING SPIRIT THAT INSPIRES THE CHINESE NATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 pp 40-41

[Article by Chen Xiaochuan [7115 1420 1557]]

[Text] A new kind of excitement has recently gripped the young people of China, who have been focusing their attention on the Hutiao Gorge in the upper reaches of the Chang Jiang. They have sent telegrams, letters, money and gifts and volunteered to work for a rafting team whose itinerary has become a celebrated topic on university campuses, among workers, and at discussion meetings. People are excited at the arrival of the first rafts at the mouth of the Chang Jiang after a hardship-ridden trip of more than 5 months. These brave members of the expedition have made many sacrifices and risked their lives for the final triumph.

Rafting down the Chang Jiang was an adventure initiated voluntarily by young people, and nearly all of the expedition members were young people. When some of them lost their lives during the expedition, their wives resolutely joined the team, to complete their husbands' unfinished mission. The adventure that these brave youths initiated is unprecedented.

The significance of this rafting expedition is manifold. But its most profound implication is the excitement it has engendered among the young people of China. Old sayings such as "sons of good families never travel to places unknown" and "never do something until others have attempted it"--sayings that caution people against taking risks--have long had a profound influence upon the masses. But now, this type of heroic expedition and pioneering spirit are beginning to win similar esteem, which is a sign that people's conceptions are undergoing a quiet transformation. If we liken this transformation to the slow movement of an iceberg, those who risked the lives on this expedition are like the tip of the iceberg, while the tens of millions who followed the event, the young people in particular, are the base of the iceberg beneath the surface.

The Chinese people are not born cowards; they have not always lacked the adventurous spirit from time immemorial. Zhang Qian, Zheng He, and Xu Xiake are only a few of China's famous adventurers. During the period of the revolutionary war, the older generation of revolutionaries all engaged in extremely difficult and bitter struggles in their attempt to accomplish a

great, unprecedented task. Nonetheless, there is no denying the fact that China's backward economy and the Confucian culture have nurtured many men who opposed and looked down upon adventurers. During China's long feudal period, the natural economy, characterized by weak, scattered small production, lacked the material wherewithal sufficient to conquer nature. In the face of various difficulties and risks, people were found to demonstrate the retiring, shortsighted mentality of preserving whatever is handed down from the ancestors. And this mentality was further rationalized by the Confucian ideology. When given material conditions were in conflict with people's desires, the people were not always encouraged to courageously explore the unknown. Instead, they were urged to maintain a balance between the subjective inner world and the objective external world through introspection. Thus were advocated the notions that "happiness is being content with one's lot" and "strength is the absence of desires." Today, many aspects of our socioeconomic system continue to foster inertia. Workers and cadres, for example, enjoy lifelong tenure. As long as they avoid committing serious mistakes, their income will increase with time regardless of the quality of their work. One who achieves success by taking risks does not earn any more than one who avoids risks. Moreover, his career is likely to be destroyed by rumor and slander. This only reinforces the belief that seeking immediate comfort is preferable to taking chances, and that sticking to the old road is better than striking out on a new one.

Opportunities to invigorate the nation are lost when the pioneering spirit is absent!

Today's world is full of challenges; in opening up to and confidently facing the world, a nation needs people who are capable of meeting these challenges. New qualities are expected from today's young people. Modern men must possess the exploring and pioneering spirit as a prerequisite for any quality achievement. Fleeting opportunities must be grasped by strong hands. In the commodity economy society, he who is overly cautious and fearful of taking risks is doomed to fail, and the same applies to a nation or a state. Any opportunity, whether it be for national invigoration, economic takeoff, better profits, or an individual's academic or career success, more often than not is accompanied by its twin sister, risk.

By making a comprehensive review of the history of the development of mankind, it has been found that each time an assault is made on the realm of necessity, it carries along with it the coloring of adventure-making. People have gone through many experiences and setbacks to obtain an increasing amount of freedom. The all-round reform we are undertaking today is a kind of new adventure and is an unprecedented event like rafting down the Chang Jiang. But probing is bound to have risks. In this context, the reform implies that the Chinese people are advancing in the face of risks. People may then ask: Why can we not avoid the risks? Avoiding the risks may not be insurance at all. As an illustration, take people learning to use fire. Despite people having been injured or even killed when learning to use fire, the inability to use fire may have threatened people with illness because of eating raw food, or discomfort and sickness or even death because of the cold weather. If because fire has injured or killed people its use is

discarded, then human beings could live only a primitive life eating raw birds and animals. Reform is just like this. Not to reform will certainly have no risks but will make one at ease for only a while and it will not be long before China is forsaken by the world and "deprived of membership in the globe."

Regarding the pioneering and opening up spirit for invigorating the Chinese nation, the youths possess the best conditions. They have the least conservative thought and their bodies bear rather scanty signs of the brand of the old. The fact that the creative undertaking of rafting down the Chang Jiang was first started by the youths precisely manifests the youths' fullness of vigor and vitality. Like the pioneers of the past Chinese revolution, they were mostly intellectual young people. They went westward and eastward, in search of a way to salvage the nation and the people. They made scathing remarks in the XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] and XIANG JIANG PING-LUN [HSIANG RIVER REVIEW] magazines and left their footprints in the snowy mountains and grasslands. And in actively participating in the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation they bore a heavy burden for invigorating the nation. On such occasions, were they not putting the risks squarely on their own shoulders?

Regarding the pioneering and opening up spirit of invigorating the Chinese nation, the youths are duty bound to take up the responsibilities. In similar manner, the younger generation has no way to avoid its self-transformation and rebuilding. None of the sons and grandsons of the dragon can shirk the heavy burden endowed by history. Youths are by no means natural born modern people; they also require steeling by iron hammers and the hammering block. A youth cannot pull himself up by the hair and leave this yellow soil where he was born and has lived. Rather, he urgently needs to study and learn the reform and opening to the outside, gradually building up a risk concept suitable to meet the challenges and to take part in competition. Naturally, today we commend the adventurous spirit not for the purpose of encouraging rude or unprincipled acts or taking risks in an unscientific way. Not to fear taking risks but also striving to pay the minimum price in risk-taking is the unification of contradictions. Just like in the case of reform, if in advance a stipulation is laid that no mishap is allowed, then it would be tantamount to canceling the reform. The point of similarity between reform and rafting downstream on the Chang Jiang is that if there is an insurance coefficient then it must be a variable and the size of this coefficient is in direct proportion to the adventurous spirit of the reformers and the members of the rafting team. It is also directly proportional to the scientific character of their knowledge of the objective situation and to the corresponding countermeasures they have taken. In particular, it is determined by their ability to meet changes in the course of a situation with fleeting changes. This era demands that we use the right shoulder to bear the heavy tasks of the fatherland's modernization and the left shoulder to bear the risks in the course of invigorating the nation.

The Chang Jiang is the life stream of the nation. The brave men rafting down the Chang Jiang have injected into this life stream factors that are lively and full of vitality. We pray that the brand-new national spirit exhibited in the Chang Jiang rafting expedition becomes a new motivating force for the invigoration of our nation.

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## THE LIGAMENT OF LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 p 42

[Article by Wu Guoguang [0702 0948 0342]]

[Text] About a little over a year ago, I wrote a short article about certain people, whom I knew did not need to pledge their lives, express their discontent and refuse to take on responsibilities. Since then, I have come to notice a kind of phenomenon exactly the opposite. Many young friends, when feeling discontented and in despair, frequently sacrifice their lives. Opposing marriages fixed by their parents, failure in their exams, and disappointment in love affairs, have caused many people to flirt with death. Business failures and hopeless struggles against bad elements in power have likewise caused many young people to bring light into their lives.

This has scared me and made me think deeply. Those who have died are bygone. However, for the sake of the living, I can only say: This is certainly not worthwhile! I can only ask how is it possible that the state of mind of certain youths has become so immensely fragile?

True, in recent years the psychology of certain youths (naturally not the youths alone) seems to have become increasingly sensitive and increasingly weak and fragile. To manifest this through suicide is naturally going too far to the extreme but even in daily life this weak and fragile sentiment can be found everywhere. An inability to suffer setbacks, and to stand the loss of hope; impetuosity and impulsiveness, sudden cold and sudden warmth; only grumblings at unfairness and an inability to be assertive and make new deals; indulgence in loud and empty talks which win approbation for a time, but vanish completely when met with a setback; blaming heaven and earth and complaining at being born in the wrong age, sudden turns to the right and sudden turns to the left, extreme temperamentalness...all the above represent the maladies of the times. I cannot give them a better name than that of fragility.

One kind of fragility is caused by hollowness, like weeds which are hollow inside, make a noise when the wind blows, literally grunt without being ill, and eventually are bent and broken in two. Another kind of fragility is caused by being closed to the outside, like flowers in a greenhouse which cannot stand the slightest wind and frost. Still another kind of fragility

is caused by narrow-mindedness, an inability to see a larger world and a richer human life, a sticking to one single objective which may or may not be the only one or the best one, and a failure to achieve which results in desperation. In reality, this is selfishness, such as, committing suicide on account of failure in exams. At the same time, aside from the above-mentioned attitude, there is still another form of fragility, namely, the lack of tenacity to oppose social maladies. It must be said that a strong attitude of mind and a fighting spirit are essential. The urgent hope for a rapid reduction in society's irrational phenomena and the mood of going to the extreme and of using one's life to protest against the irrational phenomena can be understandable. However, these young friends do not understand that social irrational phenomena not only do not automatically vanish but also cannot be totally exterminated in a single day. In particular, in China, a country with a feudalist history of several hundred years, there are still many regressive and foolish happenings. The consequences of a prolonged period of economic undevelopment have infiltrated into each and every corner of social life. To sacrifice a few lives because of all this simply will not help. On the contrary, it requires all of us, in the course of the building of socialist modernization, to strive hard and engage in tenacious struggles generation after generation. Failure to understand this point and merely to entertain a fine hope but lack ideological preparations for real work may render us completely helpless before unexpected realities in which case we can only cry and dry our tears. Given increasing enthusiasm but lacking in tenacity, our course in development may easily lead us in the opposite direction and all at once the enthusiasm may drop to the freezing point.

Tenacity requires first of all a sense of responsibility. The individual's wishes alone are not sufficient; the capacity to take up the heavy historical burden is by far more important. It is true that a single individual's capacity is small but nobody should shirk his responsibilities. For the sake of bearing this responsibility, we must make ourselves strong enough for this purpose. The realities faced by many people suffering from fragility may not be so severe or unconquerable. Frequently, the fault lies in the individual not being determined enough. If these kind of people blame heaven and earth for their predicament or threaten to kill themselves, they may be counted as most useless. A realistic environment naturally needs remaking but without a generation of new people it would not be possible to accomplish this great mission of rebuilding the world. New people need not simply be young. More importantly, they must possess brand-new qualities among which an important one is that they must be healthy in mind, strong in body and tenacious in character. Tenacity does not mean stubbornness. It is a scientific confidence of achieving success in an enterprise and the ability to assess difficulties in a clear-headed manner. It comprises the courage to stand prolonged trials and upsets and to ultimately achieve success. China's reform and modernization are especially difficult. For the Chinese people to realize their wishes of making the country strong and the people well-off is by no means an easy matter. If tenacity is lacking, then it would be better not to try anything at all. Compared with making tenacious efforts, death or committing suicide is just shirking one's responsibilities. We hope our young friends will not become cowards. Happiness is frequently not

an individual's own affairs. Through fighting for your own happiness, you must merge efforts with the nation's tenacious struggles. Only by bravely going through various kinds of difficulties and setbacks can there be a bright future ahead.

The success of invigorating the Chinese nation lies in our tenacity. This bespeaks the mission of youths of the current era.

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A HEROIC PIONEER WITH IMMORTAL MERITS--ENJOYABLY WATCHING THE TELEVISION SERIAL 'HUANG XING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 86 p 43

[Article by Lu Rongchun [7120 2837 2797]]

[Text] The subjects of our literature and art are incomparably wide in range. Even in the period of the old democratic revolution from 1840 to 1919, there were many major events and many distinguished and admirable people worthy of a writer's or artists' diligent exploration and depiction! This was what Comrade Hu Yaobang said 6 years ago. For various reasons, since the founding of the PRC we have clearly neglected spreading information and educating people in the outstanding merits of the pioneers who came to the fore during the Revolution of 1911. In fact, many people have very little knowledge of the outstanding persons in our nation's modern history, such as Huang Xing, who enjoyed a popularity equal to that of Sun Yat-sen during the Revolution of 1911. This point is worth deep thought and examination. We must thank the television serial writers, on the 75th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911, for vividly providing us with more information on this topic.

The television serial takes Huang Xing's revolutionary experiences as the main theme and vividly recreates the history of the period of great changes before and after the Revolution of 1911. From the beginning of Part 1, people are taken to an age when China was suffering a reactionary reign of terror. The young man Huang Xing personally witnessed the killing of Tang Caichang, the leader of the anti-Qing Independence Army. He was filled with righteous indignation and he went to Japan as a student to seek a truth by which to save China. After this, the important events and situations shown in the drama, such as: Huang Xing studying military affairs in Japan, calling together comrades and discussing revolution; initiating the founding of the China Revival Society and joining with the Elder Brother Society in plotting the Changsha Uprising; allying with Sun Yat-sen and establishing the China United League; cutting off all means of retreat and leading his comrades-in-arms in launching the Guangzhou Uprising, which shook China and the world; the independence of Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow; Huang Xing supervising the troops at Hanyang, and Yuan Shikai secretly plotting to usurp power, and so on--all of these depict and represent vividly and dramatically how the unity of artistic reality and historical authenticity



were achieved. Part 5, entitled "Justly-Shed Blood and Chrysanthemums," depicts the oath-taking activities before the uprising and is splendid in its portrayal. Huang Xing, Lin Juemin, Fang Shengdong, and Yu Peilun all clearly understood that the uprising could fail. However, with a duty-bound attitude not to turn back and with an attitude that "if we are not successful, at least we will die for a righteous cause," they wrote their last words in blood and struggled with the utmost loyalty. Added to this was the great act of the Overseas Chinese Mr Li who sent his son to serve the country. This brings the story to a climax and it is stirring, intense, lofty, sadly beautiful, and truly moving! It is really an extremely moving patriotic ode.

In depicting the relationship between Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing, the two founders of the Republic, the television drama "Huang Xing" handles it very successfully and appropriately. Needless to say, for a time there were divergences between the ideas of Sun and of Huang in terms of revolutionary strategy and methods. However, in general they had a harmonious relationship, respecting each other while keeping the overall situation in mind. The writers of "Huang Xing" based their work on historical fact and had a good feel for propriety. They depicted the moving scenes of the contacts between the two great men with great fullness and feeling. "The Alliance Between Sun and Huang" is an example of this.

Through an introduction by their Japanese friend Toten Miyazaki, Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing, who from early on had wanted to meet, met for the first time in Tokyo in the spring of 1904. On the glorious screen, there appears a greatly stirring scene: Urgently seeking worthy people, Sun Yat-sen braves the rain and goes to Huang Xing's house. On Sun's arrival, Huang Xing rushes out anxiously to meet him. They are like old friends at their first meeting. In a confidential meeting, they achieve a complete consensus of political views. At the instigation of these two great men, the establishment of the China United League is announced and the Chinese national democratic revolution enters a new period.

Another aspect of the television drama worth commending is its portrayal of a group of characters, with Huang Xing as the central one, with fresh personalities and both external and internal characteristics. In our nation's modern history, Huang Xing is a hero with a legendary hue. His heroism was intense, his energy boundless, his integrity great and his knowledge broad. Huang Xing is played by the young actor Ma Shaohua who explores valuable terrain in trying to correctly portray this historical figure's external actions and internal qualities. As a revolutionary of outstanding merit for the Republic, throughout his life he was selfless. He took as his motto: "It is difficult to proceed from self-interest. Fame need not be achieved for myself and successes need not be ascribed to myself." The television serial borrowed the words of praise written by Zhang Taiyan: "If it had not been for him, there would have been no Republic. He will certainly go down in history." There is profound meaning in this. Shi Weijian, who plays Sun Yat-sen, is also successful in his role. The great bearing, the extraordinary willpower and the optimistic spirit of this national pioneer are vividly portrayed. The other personages such as Xu Zonghan, Toten Miyazaki, Liao

Danru, and even the negative characters such as Wei Wenxuan and Yuan Shikai all have their own unique personalities and are properly portrayed in that particular historical environment.

Naturally, there are also some shortcomings. In "Justly-Shed Blood and Chrysanthemums," Huang Xing personally leads the vanguard in attacking the office of the viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi. The scene should be solemn and moving. History books record this in great detail and it could have been shown very specifically. However, on the screen from the beginning all we see is gunpowder and smoke filling the air and party members swarming forward, and all we hear are the shouts and the screams from killing. There are no scenes of soul-stirring struggles which could have come from this model environment.

In the same way, as the various films and television plays about Sun Yat-sen that have recently been screened have been well-received, the television drama "Huang Xing" has received our favorable opinion. This fact shows that the influence of vivid education based on patriotism is very deep and cannot be underestimated. Only when writers and artists put great efforts into the quality of their works will they be able to have works that have serious historical themes and that are well-received and enjoyed by the masses.

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RECORDS OF STORMY STRUGGLES--INTRODUCING MARSHAL XU'S MEMOIRS 'HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS' (MIDDLE VOLUME)

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[Book review by Shi Xiaoyan [4258 5135 1484]]

[Text] It is a resonant and stirring symphony. It is a heroic epic which touches people at the bottom of their souls and brings tears to their eyes. The memoirs of Marshal Xu Xiangqian, "Historical Recollections" (Middle Volume), which was presented to the vast masses of readers recently by JIEFANGJUN CHUBANSHE, is precisely such a work. And after reading it one feels inspired and one also ponders deeply.

With great boldness of vision and a smooth writing style, the author, throughout the book, presents to the readers a three-dimensional picture of incomparable magnificence: During the third decade of the 20th century in the Chinese hinterland, the 4th Front Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Kuomintang reactionaries and other reactionary feudal forces of every hue. This book comprises 180,000 characters and is divided into 7 chapters which record the course of the major battles of the Red 4th Front Army in this period, which establishes and defends the Sichuan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area, the Long March by the Red 4th Front Army; and the story of the western expedition by the West Route Army.

An outstanding characteristic of this book is that "events must be recorded factually." The author, in accordance with this aim rigorously and with scrupulous attention to every point, details and narrates the events. If you look at the book in a comprehensive way, then no matter if you talk about the campaigns, the course of the battles or the resolutions and decisions of the Red Army commanders--regardless of whether it is discussing the experiences and lessons learned in military affairs in the Red Army, or summarizing the experiences gained in a campaign--the author describes and sums them up from his own personal experiences. Thus, this is different from ordinary works which are written by collecting historical materials and also different from those historical works which refine and distill information based on the memoirs of other people. The idea that "events must be recorded factually" runs through this book from beginning to end and results in this book being greatly valuable.

First, it has historical value. If historical materials are insufficient or they lack accuracy, memoirs will lose their basis for existence. Only if there are solid, dependable historical materials can the memoirs be full of life. This is not only advantageous for the study of history and for gaining new insights in studying the past, but it will also be helpful in the future and will benefit later generations. These memoirs by Marshal Xu start with the establishment of an administration in the Sichuan-Shaanxi base area and extend to the western expedition by the West Route Army. In this it touches on various important matters which contemporary historians and other people in society have focused their attention on. These include, for example, the Red 4th Front Army's withdrawal from the Sichuan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area; the parting of the Red 1st Front Army and the Red 4th Front Army; the western expedition by the West Route Army; and so on. The author, basing his writing on historical archives of written and telegraphic materials, takes these one by one and provides an objective and impartial discussion in which truth is sought from facts. It can be said that this is a very rare and valuable work in CPC history, Chinese revolutionary history, and modern history.

Second, it has scholarly value. In this book, after every major campaign and battle description, the author provides his own remarks and conclusions. He not only summarizes successful experiences, but also rethinks the pain of the defeats and condenses the spiritual nourishment that should be drawn from them. This is especially so in the descriptions of the establishment and development of the Sichuan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area and the major campaigns through which the troops and the people of the base area crushed the enemy's 3-prong siege and 6-prong siege, which total nearly one-half of the book. Starting from the external and working inwards, he thoroughly summarizes the many valuable experiences and the strategic-tactical principles of military struggle. This still has an important enlightening role in the strengthening of our Army today under modern conditions.

A point particularly worth noting is that Marshal Xu, as a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation, when writing these memoirs does not dodge those mistakes he made in the revolutionary struggle of the past. This is greatly commendable. As readers go through the work, they will certainly feel deep mental inspiration and gain a profound understanding of the fine style and generosity of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and through this will strengthen the building of our nation's spiritual civilization.

The years have come and gone and it is now fully 50 years since the three major Red Army forces joined together. Today, in our new Long March of the four modernizations, we must continue to bring the spirit of the Red Army into play. This is something the author also places his hopes on. We believe that in the future when people recall the Chinese revolution, they will not forget the Red Army and they will not forget this work, which records the glorious achievements of the Red Army--"Historical Recollections."

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