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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 11, 1 June 1983

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

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LEARN FROM ZHU BORU AND PLAY AN EXEMPLARY ROLE IN IMPROVING THE PARTY'S
WORK STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 2-5

[Article by Zhang Tingfa [1728 1694 4099]]

[Text] Originally, Comrade Zhu Boru was the vice director of an oil depot of the air force in Wuhan. Before he joined the army, he was a model laborer. Since joining the army, he has made some contributions and has been given awards many times. For a long time, he has persisted in emulating Comrade Lei Feng, subordinated his personal interests to the interests of the revolution, done whatever the party told him to, and conscientiously attached primary importance to the revolution, to work, and to the interests of others. He is like a brazier of charcoal which warms people by burning itself. As he works, he is like a glittering screw, which can function wherever it is placed. Amid unhealthy tendencies, he is like a gigantic tree which stands firm and lofty and never wavers. People praise him as a true Communist Party member and the new Lei Feng of the 1980's.

A fine example has immense power. The exemplary deeds of Zhu Boru have exerted great impact on the army and other areas. He has been invited more than 70 times to report his deeds in Beijing, Tianjin, Anshan, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Nanjing, Lanzhou, Xian, and other places, and more than 220,000 people have listened to him. Many party members, cadres, workers, peasants, fighters, intellectuals, and juvenile delinquents have sent letters and telegrams and made phone calls in all sincerity to the broadcasting stations and newspapers, praising the noble character and style of Zhu Boru and expressing their resolution to emulate him. The Communist Party members expressed that they should be like Zhu Boru and be Communist Party members worthy of the name. Some leading cadres expressed that they want to be like Zhu Boru in being public servants who wholeheartedly serve the people. Some old comrades, who have taken part in the revolution for decades, in contrasting Zhu Boru's deeds with their own, have found a gap between Zhu Boru and themselves. Consequently, they have further strengthened their revolutionary will. The masses of CYL members and young people have begun to understand what people live for. Thus, they resolve to acquire the communist outlook on life. Some juvenile delinquents thank Zhu Boru for pointing out to them a new way of life and giving them the key to a new life. The cadres and masses closely combine the thinking and deeds

of Zhu Boru with party style and praise him for straightening out the party style with actual practice. They think that such a fine party member makes the party full of promise. Thus, they are more convinced than ever that our party can rely on its strength in checking the unhealthy tendencies and in effecting a radical turn for the better in social customs and party style.

The issue of party style is to many people not a matter of theory but a matter of practice. It is a question of whether we can do things according to the demands set by the party. For example, it is necessary to stop the practice of getting things done through pull and to forbid the cadres to occupy more living quarters than they should or to seek personal gains by taking advantage of their positions and power. The central authorities have issued repeated injunctions. People know what should not be done and they support the injunctions in words too. However, some of them deliberately violate the injunctions and persist in their own ways of doing things. Do their deeds match their words? Is this not a divorce of theory and practice? We can learn many things from him. The very things for which he is most valuable and which are well worth our learning are that his deeds match his words and that he pays close attention to practice. He never indulges in empty revolutionary doctrines. He resolutely starts doing the thing as soon as he understands it. He works cautiously and conscientiously and he has a down-to-earth style. In the past 20 years or more, in the army of other units, he never let himself become famous. He has done many good things for people without attracting public attention. He takes delight in doing such things. Even his wife knows nothing about some of the things he has done. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," some people said that Lei Feng was but a "docile tool" which "pulls the cart without looking at the road." However, Zhu Boru persisted in emulating Lei Feng and advanced along Lei Feng's line to the end. Having experienced the 10 years of internal disorder and with the serious degeneration of party style, some people have become pessimistic and slackened their efforts, some blame everyone and everything but themselves, while some mind their own business in order to keep themselves out of trouble. However, Zhu Boru refuses to do the same. He said: "It is better to do solid work than to regret." With the high sense of responsibility of a Communist Party member, he resolutely stands in the forefront of effecting a turn for the better in party style and social customs. He teaches and helps the young people who have gone astray and whom he does not know at all to turn over a new leaf and follow the correct path. He takes good care of the aged and childless widows and widowers who live close to where his unit is stationed in every possible way. He helps the people who have met with setbacks in their lives and even the people who want to commit suicide pluck up courage to live. As for the laborers working on public projects, if they are critically ill, he helps them generously with money until they have recovered. With his actual practice, he plays an exemplary role in effecting a turn for the better in party style.

The principal reasons Zhu Boru can match his words to his deeds and play an exemplary role in effecting a turn for the better in party style are as follows:

First, Comrade Zhu Boru has firm communist faith. He never takes actions blindly and he is not a philanthropist who finds pleasure in helping people with money. He has lofty ideals. He said: "I am in pursuit of what the last line of 'The Internationale' says: 'Internationale shall be the human race.'" In the past 20 years or more, like other people, he has gone through storms and stresses. Whether under favorable or adverse circumstances and despite hardships and setbacks, he is never perplexed and never loses heart. Instead, he always adheres to the correct political orientation and firmly believes that communism is necessarily the end-result of the development of human societies. His communist faith never wavers and is manifested in both his words and his deeds. He said: "We cannot have faith in communism only in name. To have faith is to struggle." Whether in the 1960's, 1970's, or 1980's, he always persists in embodying communism in his practice and spreads communist ideas wherever he goes. With his breadth of vision, he does his utmost to unite with people, to educate people, and to help people, thus displaying the high sense of responsibility of a Communist Party member. He cherishes a revolutionary ideal, strives to do his own job well, and regards every bit of his work as a part of the party's cause. He is a hardworking, conscientious worker. He is ready to work both at the top or at the grassroots and he lets the party make arrangements for him. He puts strict demands on himself. He is honest in performing his official duties and he has a spotless reputation. In 1975, when the headquarters of the building site where he worked was about to be abolished, some people seized this opportunity to make chests and cases with public timber, thus appropriating public property. He resolutely resisted such a practice. He entered the headquarters with his knapsack and came out with it and nothing else. He is honest and upright and remains uncorrupted.

Zhu Boru's vivid deeds tell us that: The advanced character of Communist Party members comes from the firmness of their faith. There are some people whose deeds do not match their words and whose actions are not in keeping with their promises. Outwardly, they stress the need to act in unison with the CPC Central Committee in political affairs. In reality, they deliberately find fault with the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee or even spread rumors about them. Some people outwardly stress unity but privately do things or say things disadvantageous to unity. Some even practice factionalism and form small coteries. Some people agree in words to give first place to work. In fact, they are extremely irresponsible and shift their responsibilities onto others. All these are directly related to the question of faith. The communist faith of some comrades has weakened or even wavered. To these people, ideals, faith, and revolutionary doctrine are but empty talk. How can they fight for the cause of communism? How can our party style improve? The most essential feature of Marxism is its practicalness. However, practice cannot be separated from a firm faith or from the guidance of revolutionary theory. The unity of faith and practice and the combination of theory and practice are an important expression of the party spirit of a Communist Party member. In addition, they are also the principal factors in Zhu Boru's becoming the new Lei Feng of the 1980's. In emulating Zhu Boru, it is necessary to be like him in

acquiring a firm communist faith and to conscientiously practice and fight for its realization. All of us know that the course of the development of things can never be straight and smooth. Communism can be realized only after many complications and through protracted efforts. Our socialist system also remains to be perfected. For this reason, we must not lose sight of the inevitability of the development of history and of the difficulties in the realization of communism. Whether at a time when the socialist cause develops smoothly or at a time when we meet with setbacks and when we are under adverse circumstances, it is necessary to have a firm communist faith and to fight for it unswervingly.

Second, Zhu Boru consistently shares the comforts and hardships of the masses. He regards the interests of the people as the most important thing. He resolutely does the things beneficial to the people. This is why he can successfully combine theory with practice. Once, he made a very meaningful remark, regarding the masses as people who enjoy a higher social position. On another occasion, a lonely old man, who has received special care from Zhu Boru for many years, asked him in tears: "People curry favors with powerful people but you curry favor with me. I am a lonely old man, why do you make friends with me as though I were a man of high social position?" Zhu Boru sincerely replied: "Granddad, if a Communist Party member does not 'make friends with the masses as though they are people of high social position,' whom should he make friends with?" His simple and unadorned remark reflects the great importance of the people in his mind. In addition, it tells us the cardinal principle of historical materialism, that the masses are the creator of history. Marxists at all times think that the proletarian cause can only rely on the masses and that it cannot be separated from the people for a single moment. Under the guidance of such ideas, Zhu Boru has persistently maintained close links with the masses for scores of years. He is eager to meet the needs of the masses and always bears in mind their suffering. In order to help the masses, he is generous in donating money, goods, and blood. He thinks that if two persons bear suffering together, each person will bear half of the suffering and thus suffer less, but if two persons share happiness together, they will become happier. This is not a matter of simple calculation but something which reflects his deep proletarian affection for the people and his desire to share suffering and happiness with them. All the people who have received help from him feel deeply the warmth of the party. Consequently, they ardently love the party, the people, the army, and the socialist motherland more than ever before.

The mass viewpoint is the basic viewpoint of our party and the mass line is the basic line of our party. The question of party style is essentially a question of the relationship between the party and the masses. The greatest danger to our party, one which leads 1 billion people, is its being divorced from the masses. In discussing the relationship between the party and the masses Comrade Stalin likened the party to Antaeus of Greek mythology and the masses to mother earth which gave birth to, brought up, and educated Antaeus. He used the myth to tell us of the importance of the party's reliance on the masses and of the danger of its divorce from the masses. At the 7th CPC National Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the hallmark

distinguishing our party from all other political parties is that we have very close ties with the broadest masses of the people. The communists can do nothing without the people. In the war years, we recruited soldiers from among the masses and the masses provided us with food, clothing, shelter, and transportation. At that time, we launched military campaigns all over the country. All the victories could not have been scored without the support of the masses. If we could not have maintained good relations with the masses, we would have been defeated and all of us would have been killed. In peaceful times, since our party has become the party in power, it seems that the relationship between our party and the people is not as directly related to the rise and fall of our party as it was in the war years. However, it is in fact a major issue which is closely related to the rise and fall of the party. The leading position which the party enjoys in state life is very likely to make the party members and the cadres of the party have the erroneous style and the erroneous idea of seeking personal gain by taking advantage of their positions and power. Such an idea and style lead to a divorce between the party and the people. At present, there are some party members and cadres who do not regard themselves as the public servants of the people but regard themselves as the people's masters. They seek privileges and personal gain. Some people worry too much about their children and give too much consideration to their personal gain. Thus, they seldom concern themselves with the interests of the party and the people, the future of the state and the nation, and the suffering of the masses. Some even bully and oppress the masses, abuse their power tyrannically, and abandon the party's purpose to serve the people. Thus, the people are very discontented. If such a situation is not changed, the party can no longer enjoy the high prestige among the masses as it did in the past. It is necessary to point out that the leading position of the party is not founded on the power of the party in power but on the people's faith and their support for the party. All our party members and cadres should earnestly study Zhu Boru's idea of "making friends with the masses as though they are people of higher social positions," always care for them, cherish them, win their trust with exemplary behavior, and take root among them. In this way, our party and our army will forever be in an invincible position.

Third, Comrade Zhu Boru has a high sense of self-sacrifice. In order to be fearless, one has to be selfless first; in order to serve the people, one must sacrifice oneself first. All the comrades who know Zhu Boru's deeds are deeply moved by his sense of self-sacrifice. Once, he paid the living expenses and medical expenses for a laborer working on a public project although he owed somebody 200 yuan; on another occasion, he transfused 300 ml of his blood to an old man he did not know at all although he was suffering from a gastric disease; on a certain Lunar New Year's Day, he spent the day caring for a lonely old man while his family, who had not seen him for 1 year, were looking forward to the family reunion. He has done many similar things, not to benefit himself but to benefit others. The masses praise him as a "completely selfless man."

To be willing to sacrifice oneself to the interests of the party and the people is the true political quality of Communist Party members. In

protecting the motherland, in implementing the four modernizations, and in the great practice of fighting for the communist cause, it is necessary to have such a quality. Without such a quality, we are not qualified Communist Party members. Practice tells us that, whether in the revolutionary war years or in times of peace, without the voluntary and conscientious self-sacrifice of thousands of Communist Party members, we absolutely cannot score any victory in our cause and we can never enjoy high prestige among the masses. In the past, in the war years or in the period of White terror, if one wanted to be a Communist Party member, one could not be afraid of being imprisoned, of being killed, or of sacrificing one's life. In the period of socialist construction, the question of life and death appears less immediate than in the past. There is, however, the question of sacrificing all one has in the interests of the people and of the party. This is precisely how Communist Party members differ from ordinary people. On all fronts of the four modernizations, the masses of party members work cautiously and conscientiously, they are the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comfort, they work selflessly for the public interest, and play an exemplary role. In protecting the interests of the motherland and the people, many party members face danger fearlessly, step forward bravely, and risk their lives. They are very brave and they have an indomitable will. Thus, heroes and exemplary persons emerge in large numbers and they are highly praised by the masses. They are worthy of the glorious title of communist. We must, however, not lose sight of the fact that, after the 10 years of internal disorder, with the corrosive influence of capitalism, some party members have become less well qualified. They will not sacrifice all they have for the interests of the party and the people but will infringe on the interests of the party and the people in order to protect their own personal interests. They want to seek personal gain by taking advantage of the status of members of the party in power. They are not willing to make any contribution to the party's cause. They pick easy jobs but they want to enjoy high pay and excellent conditions. They are after fame, benefits, and status. They try to establish relationships with influential people, get things done through pull, scramble for power and profit, and seek personal privileges. All these unhealthy tendencies have caused damage to the party's image, ruined the party's reputation, and weakened the party's fighting power. We must fight against such erroneous ideas and behavior. Lenin felt deeply that the egoistic idea of "each for himself and God for all" would gravely endanger the socialist cause, thus he said: "Leave in the party only politically conscious elements who are sincerely devoted to communism," "purge the party of those who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to the membership of a government party and who do not want to bear the burden of devoted work on behalf of communism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 76) Of course, we must educate most of the people who conduct unhealthy activities. As for the people who have made serious mistakes and the people who refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education, we must punish them according to party discipline.

Once, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Historical conditions make it necessary for 20th century Chinese to endure more hardships. We should be generous enough to make the necessary sacrifice in the interests of the people. For the sake

of the well-being of the coming generations, we must do so." Each party member, each cadre should do this. We should be like Comrade Zhu Boru in regarding the sacrifice of our own interests for the sake of others as the requirement of party spirit, as our duty, and as our unshirkable responsibility to society. We should adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people are of paramount importance and that personal interests should be subordinated to the interests of the party and the people, handle our work, studies, and lives with communist ideas, conscientiously and voluntarily give all we have for the cause of the party, be pure, moral persons, be persons of noble character and good taste, and be persons beneficial to the people. In this way, we can live up to the expectations of the party and the people and meet the demands of the times.

The emergence of the exemplary person Zhu Boru, like the emergence of many other advanced people of the Lei Feng type, is the product of our socialist system. Zhu Boru's communist world outlook is not an inborn quality or something fallen from heaven. It is the result of his arduous practice and of the long-term training provided by the party. The course of his growth tells us that, if we have a firm communist faith, the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly, the courage to make sacrifices, and the ability to keep our promises and to combine theory with practice, we can become exemplary people of the Zhu Boru type.

In improving the party style, in addition to paying close attention to bad people and bad deeds, we should also pay close attention to good people and good deeds. Party organizations at all levels should vigorously train and support advanced and exemplary people of the Zhu Boru type and disseminate their deeds so that thousands of Zhu Boru's will emerge. We should educate the party members and correct their erroneous ideas with the noble character and exemplary deeds of these advanced personages. We should replace the negative factors and unhealthy tendencies with positive factors and healthy tendencies. As Comrade Zhu Boru said, in our country, there are 39 million party members, who constitute 4 percent of the total population. If each member can unite with 20 people to fight against the unhealthy tendencies, a radical turn for the better in party style and social customs will be effected, our cause will flourish, and our party will certainly appear with a greater image before the 1 billion people.

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THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PATRIOTIC MORALS AND SENTIMENTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 6-11

[Article by Gan Baolu [3927 5508 7216] and Zhang Mingeng [1728 3046 5087]]

[Text] "Patriotism is the deepest feelings toward one's motherland which have been fostered over hundreds and thousands of years." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 608) These kinds of feelings are concentratedly expressed as national pride and national confidence; deep love for the motherland's rivers, mountains, people, history, culture, and all material and spiritual wealth; and close links between one's destiny and that of the motherland, meritorious service to make the motherland strong and prosperous, and self-sacrifice in the interests of the motherland. Patriotism is expressed in real life in form of morals and sentiments and produces a powerful spiritual force urging people to make progress. Therefore, it is indispensable to expound the formation and development of patriotic morals and sentiments in conducting education on patriotism in a deepgoing way.

I

Patriotism is not inborn but is gradually formed in the course of social practice. It is our special reflection of objective reality.

In the early stages of human society, people developed a love for their native land with the development of a settled life. With the formation of a nation and country, this feeling gradually developed into national consciousness and love for the motherland. The natural surroundings of one's native village and motherland is the initial source of patriotic morals and sentiments. Both people's thorough understanding of the motherland's rivers, lakes, mountains, forests, and plains and their thanks to the land which is essential to their subsistence and activities contribute to their love for the motherland. The sacred word "motherland" includes in its meaning the natural surroundings in which the people of various nationalities of our country labor, live, and multiply. However, the motherland's natural surroundings are not the only source of people's patriotic morals and sentiments. This is because the meaning of motherland is not confined to a piece of land on which generation after generation have lived, and patriotism is not confined to sentimental attachment to one's native land.

Patriotism has a much richer meaning. In "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," Comrade Mao Zedong penetratingly outlined the image of our motherland: China is one of the largest countries in the world. It has an vast territory, an immense population, and rich resources. It has a recorded history of nearly 4,000 years. Throughout the history of Chinese civilization its agriculture and handicrafts have been renowned for their high level of development. There have been many great thinkers, scientists, inventors, statesmen, soldiers, men of letters, and artists, and we have a rich store of classical works. The people of various nationalities in our country not only are well known for their industriousness and stamina but also have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Over thousands of years of history, the Chinese nation gave birth to many national heroes and revolutionary leaders. Our motherland is these natural and social surroundings in which the Chinese nation has lived generation after generation. Although, in the class society, the Chinese nation was divided into mutually opposed classes and class interests, and while class struggle did exist, people were after all carrying out activities within a common region, using the same language and sharing the same historical and cultural tradition. Therefore, some common ideology and feelings existed to a certain extent. "Motherland" is the concentrated expression of this kind of common ideology and feelings. Like an incessant stream of clear water, the motherland's natural and social surroundings are moistening the patriotic morals and sentiments of the children of the motherland.

Patriotic morals and sentiments are a special form of reflection of objective reality. To be specific, patriotic morals and sentiments are a reflection of the dependent relations between people's needs and the motherland. People's needs are met by means of productive labor, but people's productive labor is inevitably carried out under natural and social conditions provided by the motherland. With the passage of time, psychologically, people's understanding through personal experience of the fact that the motherland can meet the needs of their material life will gradually stabilize and deepen, giving rise to the formation of feelings of thanks and love toward the motherland, that is, patriotic morals and sentiments. Productive labor needs social cooperation and men's productive labor must be carried out within social collectives. Through countless repetitions, people have understood and experienced the relation of individuals depending on collectives and their psychological attachment and love for the collectives have been aroused. These kinds of feelings can be expressed as love for one's family and respective collective and can also be expressed as one's love for class and nation. However, the most extensive expression is individuals' love for the motherland. The survival and development of the motherland are prerequisites for the existence and development of all individuals and the destiny of the motherland and that of individuals are as closely related as flesh and blood. Long, long ago in the past, fine sons and daughters of our Chinese nation already understood and experienced this relation. There have been numerous people with lofty ideas and high patriotic morals and sentiments who have done countless heroic and moving deeds. They have helped consolidate and develop patriotic morals and sentiments and turn them into a fine tradition of the Chinese nation.

People's needs are not confined to natural needs. Their more important needs are social ones. Social needs are based on natural needs and they are needs which can better manifest the characteristics of human beings. Under certain circumstances and subject to social needs, people can overcome some of their natural needs. As in the case of the relation between individuals and the motherland, if necessary, people can sacrifice their own needs for the sake of the needs of the motherland. They can even sacrifice their lives. In this way, patriotism is not only strongly characterized by sentiments but also carries deep moral significance. The last words of revolutionary martyr Chen Jue vividly show that when people have to make their choices from among various kinds of needs, patriotic morals and sentiments will guide them to make the most noble moral choices. In his last words, he wrote: "Who has no parents? Who has no children? Who has no sweetheart? It is precisely to help and save the wives, children, and parents of the people throughout China that we sacrifice everything we have." When people are guided by patriotic morals and sentiments to make moral choices, what they seek are not material needs but spiritual replenishment. Psychologically, people will have a fervent desire to devote themselves to the motherland, being dutybound not to turn back. This kind of mental state most concisely reflects the dependent relation between individuals and the motherland. It was in this mental state that numerous people with lofty ideals made patriotic achievements in the history of our country. We can say without the least exaggeration that the powerful strength of patriotic morals and sentiments has been the spiritual support of the struggle for national unity, state unification, national independence, national defense against foreign aggression, national progress, and social development.

II

Patriotic morals and sentiments have formed and developed with the deepening of people's understanding of the motherland, with the relations between individuals and the motherland, and with the patriotic moral codes.

Each and every person nurtured by the motherland has a thousand and one links with the motherland. Marx once said: "A concrete and specific person is unexceptionally conditioned by something and has his own tasks and missions. Whether or not he is aware of this is of no consequence. His tasks result from his needs and from his relations with the existing world." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 329) We may also put it this way: As long as one is one of the sons and daughters of the motherland, one is dutybound to love the motherland, to serve it, and to dedicate oneself to it no matter whether one is aware of this or not. This is determined by people's objective needs and by their relations with the existing society. However, this sense of mission and duty does not spontaneously exist in people's minds and has to be realized and experienced. Only when people have consciously realized their objective relations with their motherland and realized and experienced their dutybound responsibilities toward their motherland will they have deep patriotic morals and sentiments and do all they can to fulfill their duty of serving their motherland and dedicating themselves to it. Here, the understanding of

patriotic ethics and patriotic morals and sentiments promote each other and are dialectically in unity. This means that understanding kindles sentiments while sentiments enrich understanding.

In actual life, the process of formation of the patriotic morals and sentiments of an individual is complicated. From their childhood, people live in different parts of the motherland, use the motherland's language, master the motherland's culture, and inherit the motherland's national tradition, habits, and customs. With increasing cultural training and education and increasing social experience, people gradually realize through their personal experience the connections between their own destiny and that of the motherland and will quite naturally have simple patriotic sentiments toward the motherland's rivers, mountains, and culture. In the meantime, the patriotic moral codes which have been formed over several thousand years are also exerting an edifying influence on people in the form of social public opinion and moral education. As long as people do not reject this kind of education and influence, their simple patriotic sentiments will develop into understanding of patriotic morals and they will establish a correct standard for distinguishing between right and wrong, glorious and disgraceful attitudes toward the motherland. They will also realize their duties toward the motherland. They will have a deep affection for their motherland and will be loyal to it in their deeds which take necessary self-sacrifice as a prerequisite and realizing the motherland's interests to the greatest extent as their purpose. Patriotic morals and sentiments based on the understanding of patriotic moral codes are deep and stable and can be manifested as staunch patriotic moral will. To meet the needs of the motherland, and spurred on by the sense of patriotic moral duties and responsibilities, people with patriotic morals and sentiments and a strong will can overcome all difficulties, make the greatest sacrifices, and persist in their patriotic deeds through to the end. The formation and development of the patriotic morals and sentiments of Qi Jiguang, a famous patriotic general of the Ming Dynasty, were quite typical. According to "Mingshi" [History of the Ming Dynasty], "Jiguang was natural and unrestrained and was ambitious even as a child. His family was very poor. He liked to read books and understood the doctrines of classical and historical works." From his childhood, he was influenced by patriotic ideas through reading the motherland's classical books and through family education. When he was a child, Qi Jiguang witnessed Japanese harassments along the southeast coast and immediately write a poem to express his aspirations on the margin of a book on the art of war: "I have no desire to become a lord. I only wish to bring about peace along the coast." This shows his noble views on glory and disgrace. He was determined to put down the Japanese harassments and to defend the motherland's territorial waters, but thought lightly of his own interests. For the sake of the nation, he endured being impeached and being dismissed from office on several occasions and continued to direct the troops in spite of his "crimes." In order to train a strong "army of the Qi family," he "spent almost every day of the year on horseback with weapons in hand" and fought in various localities. He made the greatest self-sacrifice and showed his staunch patriotic will. After fighting for more than 10 years, he finally put down the Japanese harassments and wrote a brilliant page in the history of the Chinese nation's resistance against foreign invasions.

The process of putting patriotic morals into practice is also the process of increasing the understanding of patriotic morals and of personally experiencing patriotic morals and sentiments. Many examples in history have proved that when people have decided to dedicate themselves to the country, they will value their patriotic deeds, show disdain and contempt for all activities which are harmful to the interests of the motherland, and have an even stronger sense of self-respect, so that all patriotic deeds will become even nobler and all traitorous deeds and deeds harmful to the interests of the motherland will become even more despicable in their eyes. They will realize that their self-sacrifice will bring about peace, happiness, wealth, strength, and prosperity to their relatives, to future generations, to the people, and to the motherland, and this will give them spiritual satisfaction. They will realize that what they are doing is similar in certain aspects to numerous earth-shaking patriotic undertakings in the motherland's history. They will feel proud to find themselves in the ranks of patriots and will echo and have mutual affinity with great patriots in history. These understandings and personal experiences will greatly enrich, deepen, and stabilize people's patriotic morals and sentiments so that patriotism will become firm faith which will strike deeper and deeper roots in people's minds. Public opinion's praise of patriotic deeds and denouncements of activities harmful to the interests of the motherland increase the influence and effectiveness of patriotism like alloudspeaker. In the formation of patriotic morals and sentiments, the endless cycle of development of the process of cognition, of practice--knowledge--practice--knowledge is realized in the form of signal feedback and mutual promotion of patriotic understanding, sentiments, will, faith, and deeds.

III

Patriotic morals and sentiments are concrete and are affected by different times. Therefore, patriotic morals and sentiments in history were unavoidably stamped with a brand of times and classes. History is a long river which rolls on incessantly. The culture, mental state, ethics, and psychological quality of a nation are all in a process of continuous inheritance and development from the past to the present. As with the national ideology and ethical features of the Chinese nation, patriotic morals and sentiments are also characterized by inheritance and continuity through different historical periods. The CPC has attached great importance to inheritance and continuity. In the process of leading the revolution of the Chinese people, it has developed the traditional patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation to a new level.

The Chinese history of the past 100 years or so was the history of the imperialists and their running dogs attempting to turn China into their colonies, the history of the Chinese people resisting the imperialists and their running dogs, and the history of the inheritance and development of the patriotic tradition and of the kindling and spurting of patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation. After the Opium Wars, various imperialist countries stepped up their aggression against China. The struggle to resist aggression, to defend the motherland, and to defend their native land greatly

aroused the patriotic morals and sentiments of the peasants of this period. The struggle of the Sanyuanli people in resisting British aggression, the struggle of the Taiwan people in resisting against Japanese aggression, and the struggle of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and of the Yihetuan against imperialists were epics of patriotism and resistance against imperialists written by modern Chinese peasants with their blood and lives. The peasants advanced wave upon wave in their struggle. These struggles show that when the patriotic morals and sentiments inherent in the Chinese nation are fully kindled, the masses of the people will have unparalleled courage and strength. These struggles have also made it clear to the imperialist aggressors that the Chinese nation will not allow itself to be trodden down and that China will never be subjugated. Because of the limits of historical conditions, the patriotic struggle of modern Chinese peasants did not and could not have won complete victories. Nevertheless, such struggle slowed down to a certain extent the process of the colonialization of China, aroused the patriotic passions of other classes of Chinese society, and initiated the struggle against imperialism and feudalism in modern Chinese history.

Encouraged by the patriotic passions of the masses of the people, many patriotic people with lofty ideals also emerged from feudal ruling classes. The first of them was Lin Zexu who banned opium, defended the interests of the nation and the country, and saved the nation at a critical moment. With the warm support of the people of Guangdong, he ignited the blazing fire of banning opium at Humen, which checked the arrogance of the foreign aggressors and encouraged the fighting will of the Chinese people. During the opium wars, the Sino-French war, and the Sino-Japanese war, a large number of patriotic generals emerged who faced death unflinchingly on the battlefield. They were Guan Tianpei, Yu Qian, Feng Zicai, Deng Shichang, Zuo Baogui, Ding Yuchang, and others. Persons with breadth of vision, persons who were circumspect and farsighted, and persons who wanted to conduct reforms also emerged from the feudal ruling classes. They endeavored to sum up lessons of failure in wars against aggression and looked for ways to reform improper administration, to increase the strength of the country, and to defeat imperialist aggression. Wei Yuan and Gong Shizhen were two among them. As a class, the feudal landlord class at the end of the Qing Dynasty was no longer able to rid itself of its chronic maladies, to sustain its rule, or to save the Chinese nation from subjugation, and the reactionary rulers compromised with and surrendered to the imperialist aggressors and betrayed their country. However, urged on by patriotic morals and sentiments, some members of this class also carried forward patriotic tradition and showed noble national integrity. This not only showed that resistance against foreign aggressors was the sacred undertaking of the entire Chinese nation but also showed that patriotic morals and sentiments extensively and forcefully appealed to various classes of the Chinese society. The patriotic and heroic deeds of some officials and generals of the feudal landlord class also set brilliant examples, inspiring future generations of the Chinese nation with patriotic morals and sentiments.

The national crisis after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 awakened the Chinese bourgeoisie. Seeing the weakness of the country and the danger of its subjugation, the bourgeoisie shouted aloud: "Where is our motherland?" Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and others initiated the reform movement with a view to making China strong and prosperous. After the failure of the reform movement, Tan Sitong said: "I smiled with my sword drawn" ready to die for a righteous cause. He tried to arouse the patriotism of his fellow countrymen. Finding that it could not save China by conducting reforms, the bourgeoisie was determined to make revolution. The militant call to arms, "The Revolutionary Army" written by Zou Rong, advocated the patriotic political views of the bourgeois revolutionaries with tremendous momentum and passionate sentiments and added new historical content and flavor of the era to the patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation. At the same time, a generation of patriotic revolutionaries such as Chen Tianhua, Qiu Jin, and the 72 persons who later died as martyrs and were buried at Huanghuagang also emerged. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary predecessor, was determined to save the country and the people. He wrote: "We should not delay in saving the people from sufferings and in giving support to our country, which is about to fall." He was the first to put forward the slogan of "invigorating China" and led about a dozen armed uprisings of varying scale. He defied death and bent his back to the revolution until his dying day. As an outstanding representative of the bourgeois revolutionaries, Dr Sun Yat-sen's life shone with the brilliance of patriotic morals and sentiments.

During the period of some 30 years, from the opium wars to the setting up of the CPC, in modern Chinese history, patriotic personages of various classes and strata of Chinese society tried in various ways and carried on various struggles to liberate the nation and to make the country independent, strong, and prosperous. However, they all failed to realize their ideals. Neither peasants' wars nor bourgeois reforms and revolution succeeded in freeing the Chinese nation from imperialist fetters. It was only after the setting up of the CPC and after 28 years of revolution carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC that the fond dreams of the Chinese nation were realized. The motherland became independent, the nation was liberated, and the people became masters of the country. The history of the CPC over the past 60 years or so has convincingly proved that CPC members are most faithful and most thorough patriots. In the history of the CPC's leadership of the Chinese people in making revolution, the traditional patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation have not only been carried forward and developed but have also been enriched and elevated. They have developed into the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people with characteristics of our times and scientific content.

That the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people are orientated to a clear target of struggle is determined by the historical mission of the contemporary Chinese people. When the CPC was set up, a sanguinary picture of imperialist aggression against China unfolded itself before her. Taking up their unshirkable mission, and with a strong sense of duty toward the people of the motherland, CPC members held high the

banner of patriotism and led the Chinese people in the national democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. Therefore, the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people are unavoidably characterized by a clear orientation. Anything which is conducive to the national democratic revolution of the people in opposing imperialism and feudalism is patriotic and will win the wholehearted support of the Chinese people, and will be praised and respected by them. In contrast, any act of compromise, surrender, betrayal, or betrayal of one's country for personal gain will be hated, denounced, and cast aside by the Chinese people. After leading the Chinese people in winning victory in the national democratic revolution, the CPC continued to lead the Chinese people in building a modern, socialist, new China, a society far more splendid than the ideal society visualized by some Chinese in the past, as in "The Legend of the Peach Blossom Land," "The Heavenly Land System," "The Datong Submission," and "The General Plan for Building the Country." It most concentratedly and most deeply reflects the people's interests, the nation's desire, and the motherland's hopes. Therefore, the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people are also orientated to the magnificent goal of building a modern socialist motherland. The development of the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people, orientated to the motherland's independence and then to national liberation, and the building of socialism and communism, is in conformity with objective laws. In this sense, we regard patriotism as a bridge leading to communism. This is precisely the road taken by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Zhu De. This is also the road taken by party and nonparty communists such as Lu Xun, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Guo Moro, Shen Junru, and Zou Taofen. As long as they are faithful to their motherland and act in conformity to the desires of the people and the demands of history, all thorough patriots will also take this road, being pushed forward by patriotic morals and sentiments.

In modern Chinese history, numerous patriots with lofty ideals made remarkable contributions to saving the country and the people. However, they all had a gnawing regret because they failed to free the motherland and the people from national and class oppression. This was not because they were not patriotic enough or because they had not made enough sacrifices for the nation, but because they lacked correct guiding ideology. The CPC is the vanguard of China's most advanced class, the working class. It has mastered a scientific ideological weapon--Marxism-Leninism, and has armed the people of the whole country with this weapon. Therefore, CPC members not only thoroughly understand the value of the motherland's mountains, rivers, history, and culture, but have also mastered the objective laws and inevitable tendencies of the motherland's social development. "The more you understand something, the more you love it." It is precisely on the deepest understanding of the motherland that CPC members and revolutionaries have based their deepest love for the motherland. What thorough understanding and unparalleled love for the motherland of countless CPC members have been crystallized in martyr Fang Zhimin's "Beloved China!" When expressed in revolutionary practice, this deep love means to regard the interests of the motherland, the nation, and the people as our sole objective of struggle

and, in accordance with the objective laws of social development, to carefully formulate correct strategies, lines, and policies and dauntlessly to push the revolution forward to victory. Recalling the history of the Chinese revolution, we can say that driving out, with broadswords and spears, the Japanese imperialists, who were armed to the teeth, defeating, with millet and rifles, 8 million KMT troops armed with U.S. weapons, and building a thriving and prosperous socialist new China with a large population and a flimsy foundation are unexceptionally beautiful flowers of patriotic morals and sentiments based on Marxism.

The contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese people have inherited and carried forward the traditional patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation. The brilliant undertakings and lofty aspirations of numerous national heroes and patriotic people of outstanding talents in the history of our country have greatly encouraged and inspired CPC members and revolutionaries. In the struggle to liberate the nation and to build the motherland, they died a martyrs' death, encouraged by the idea "What man was ever immune from death? Let me but leave a loyal heart shining in the pages of history." They regarded the famous saying "A silk-worm dies after it has spun all its silk and a candle stops shedding tears after it has burned itself out" as a motto to encourage them to exert themselves to their utmost for the motherland. The reason we say that CPC members and revolutionaries have inherited the merits of people in the past but are greater than people in the past is that they love their motherland and struggle for a powerful and united motherland not because they are loyal to any king, not because they want to make personal achievements, and not because they want to defend any exploiting system, but because, under the guidance of their communist world outlook, they want to build an excellent socialist communist system in their motherland and to fulfill the internationalist task of thoroughly emancipating all mankind. Are these patriotic morals and sentiments, which are completely and thoroughly in the interests of the motherland and the nation, not even more brilliant?

The patriotic morals and sentiments of the Chinese nation, which have developed from the provincialism and national consciousness of people in ancient times to the contemporary patriotic morals and sentiments of 1 billion Chinese people today, can be compared to the Huanghe River and the Changjiang River which originate from small streams in plateaus of Qinghai and Xizang that converge into mighty torrents flowing into the sea. Each Chinese should ask himself: Is this river also flowing through my heart? If you not only love the fine rivers and mountains and long-standing culture of the motherland but also love the socialist motherland and the people who are building socialism, you will then be able to give an affirmative answer to the above question. If you are dedicated to the socialist modernization of the motherland and are endeavoring to realize the reunification of the motherland and are opposing hegemony and safeguarding world peace, you will be able to give an affirmative answer. We hope that each Chinese can give an answer without a guilty conscience.

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ALWAYS GRASP THE OVERALL SITUATION--STUDYING COMRADE CHEN YUN'S EXPOSITIONS
ON LEADERSHIP METHODS

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[Article by Hua Yu [5478 1937]]

[Text] From 1949 to 1956, Comrade Chen Yun, being one of the principal leading members in the CPC Central Committee, took charge of national economic work, which was very difficult and full of contradictions. He paid great attention to correctly handling the relations between the part and the whole. He always grasped the overall situation and in this way, appropriately solved a series of complicated problems. Thanks to his efforts, the unification of financial work was achieved smoothly, the national economy was restored and developed rapidly, and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was completed quickly. To study Comrade Chen Yun's method of always grasping the overall situation is not only beneficial to economic work, but is also beneficial to the work in all other fields and to creating a new situation in the construction of socialist modernization.

Master the Concept of Viewing the Situation as a Whole

Socioeconomic life, in its entirety, is complicated. When doing economic work, it is necessary first to master the concept of viewing the situation as a whole. In a sense, leadership over economic work means to use, in light of the actual conditions and proceeding from the fundamental interests of the people throughout the country, the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to appropriately harmonize and handle various relations in economic work, including the relations between various economic departments, the relations between various economic sectors and forms, the relations between various economic interests, and the relations between economic work and other work. The economic life and the entire social life in our country cannot develop healthily unless these relations are handled well.

Comrade Chen Yun attaches great importance to, and is good at, the handling of the complicated relations in economic work. He often teaches economic workers to acquire the viewpoint of taking the relations of things into consideration and looking at things from all sides, and to oppose and overcome the viewpoint of seeing things as isolated and one-sided. In his

speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee in 1950, he said: "In economic work, it is necessary to give due consideration to all concerned and to make overall plans which take all factors into consideration." This was an important guiding ideology during the period when he took charge of economic work and is a concrete expression of the concept of viewing the situation as a whole. "Giving due consideration to all concerned" means to take the relations of things into consideration and to look at things from all sides. "Making overall plans which take all factors into consideration" means to take the whole country into account and to take the interests and demands of various fields into consideration in dealing with problems so as to weigh the advantages and disadvantages and to achieve overall balance.

In accordance with this guiding ideology, we must make an overall investigation of the contradictions which have appeared in economic life, relating them to various factors concerned and the development of history rather than taking them as isolated phenomena. On 11 June 1951, RENMIN RIBAO carried an editorial written by Comrade Chen Yun. It called on the peasants to sell the cotton in their own storage to the state or to store it in the state economic departments so as to satisfy the urgent needs of the textile industry and to break the imperialist blockade. Why was there much cotton in the peasants' hands, cotton which had not been sold to the state? There were certainly reasons in the ideological consciousness of the cotton growers, but there were also many other reasons, such as whether the supply of necessary commodities for cotton growers was ample and whether the purchase price was reasonable. So, the editorial pointed out that in order to fulfill the cotton purchase tasks, local CPC organizations, people's governments, and mass organizations must take concerted action. Comrade Chen Yun always relates a problem with other problems concerned and tries to find out the cause and effect of an incident when studying its existing state. This enables him to make a correct analysis of the problem, to promptly get things into shape, to find out the crux of the problem, and to put forward an appropriate way to solve it.

In accordance with this guiding ideology, Comrade Chen Yun never attends to one thing and loses sight of another when he puts forward a policy, principle, or method to solve economic problems. He never fails to take all factors and the interests of all parties concerned into consideration. For example, soon after liberation, the Shanghai Cotton Mill met with some difficulties in production. Should it be moved to some other place? If it had been moved to a cotton-growing area, the supply of raw material could be guaranteed. However, other problems, such as workshops, power supply, and equipment, would be difficult to solve. Furthermore, some workers in Shanghai would lose their jobs and the new factory would not be able to go into operation in half a year or so. So, it was then decided that the factory would not be moved for the time being and that great efforts should be made to maintain its production. As another example, the prices of some commodities were a bit higher in 1953. Should all of them be reduced at one time? Comrade Chen Yun held that we should not take any hasty action, but should deal with each case on its merits. Those which should be and could be reduced should be reduced, but those which could not be reduced

for the time being should not be reduced because, since self-employed traders still existed, some middlemen might seize the opportunity to hoard some goods and resell them at higher prices when state commercial departments had sold out of the goods. The consumers could not benefit from such a drop in price. In dealing with other relations, such as the relations between state enterprises and private or joint state-private enterprises, the relations between large and small enterprises, the relations between coastal and inland industries, and the relations between the development of production and the improvement of the people's living standard, under normal circumstances it is also necessary to take the whole situation into account and to make overall arrangements. All problems are not isolated. In solving a problem, it is necessary to take into account all possible influences it may have on other matters. It is not only necessary to consider its influence in the near future, but also to consider its long-term influence. Only thus can we prevent the occurrence of new problems after a problem is solved.

In accordance with this guiding ideology, Comrade Chen Yun often emphasizes the necessity of making an overall plan for economic work so that all important matters can be brought into line with the state plan. To develop in a proportional and planned way is an objective law governing the development of the socialist economy. It is also an important expression of the superiority of the socialist system. In the period from 1949 to 1956, our country was undergoing a change from new democratism to socialism. There existed diverse economic factors. However, the main lifelines of the national economy were grasped by the socialist state economy. The proportion of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership in the national economy was continuously increased. The entire economic life was under the control and leadership of the state political power, characterized by the people's democratic dictatorship. Thus, it was both necessary and possible to carry out the major and basic economic work in various fields under a unified plan. In making plans for production, not only the interests of that very year, but also those of the next year and the long-term interests should be taken into account. Plans must be made not only in production and construction, but also in the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production. The correct handling of various internal economic relations and the leadership of the party and the state over economic work can be realized only through such plans.

All things are interrelated and interact on each other. It is nothing other than such interrelation and interaction which form a unified and regular course of movement. Engels said: "Dialectics is a science of universal relationship." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 521) Lenin pointed out: "Law means relationship." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 161) In doing our work, especially in doing leadership work, it is necessary to acquire a firm conception of viewing the situation as a whole and to discover the internal relations of things so that we can grasp facts and laws as a whole through various relations. This is a basic skill and an important key to success which leading cadres must master. Although, due to the restriction of various conditions, we often fail to act at all times in and in strict compliance with this way, it is necessary and possible for us to grasp those major and basic relations through effort.

Work Should Be Done in Order of Importance and Urgency

"Giving due consideration to all concerned and making overall plans which take all factors into consideration" does not mean that we need not differentiate what is primary from what is secondary in our work or that all construction projects can be developed all at once rather than being arranged in order of priority. On the contrary, Comrade Chen Yun has stressed time and again the importance of doing economic work in order of importance and urgency. This does not contradict the concept of viewing the situation as a whole, but is a further development of this concept. Since there are many economic departments in our society, within a certain period the positions and roles of various departments in economic development cannot be the same. Meanwhile, at any time, there are limits for the financial and material resources which the state uses in economic construction. It is impossible to use them in an unplanned way. This determines that our work should be done in order of importance and urgency.

Comrade Chen Yun's thinking about doing work in order of importance and urgency is rich in content and is displayed in the whole course of his leadership work.

First, it is necessary to grasp the focal point of work. Economic work is like a chain made up of a series of links. In order to promote economic work, it is necessary to find out and grasp the focal point. Whether one can act in this way is an important symbol to show whether one is a good leader. Comrade Chen Yun always pays great attention to grasping the focal point of work. He said: "A government has many things to do. If it fails to grasp the focal point of work, it is just like getting lost at sea." He is good at grasping, in light of the political and economic situation of the state and the trend and demands of economic development, the focal point of economic work for a certain period and the most important link in the entire chain. For example, in August 1949 Comrade Chen Yun presided over an important conference in Shanghai on economic work. The conference discussed the problem of how to tide over the serious financial and economic difficulties. At that time, the war of liberation was still going on and many areas had not yet been liberated. So, the war was still a task of primary importance. The financial and economic difficulties could not be fundamentally overcome if a thorough victory was not achieved in military affairs. For this reason, Comrade Chen Yun said: "At present, the overriding task is to win the battle. We must do everything for victory in the war." In the spring of 1950, the war of liberation was moving from victory to victory and the new political power was established. The work to rehabilitate the economy was placed on the agenda as an important matter. So, Comrade Chen Yun said that it was necessary to "concentrate our financial strength to wipe out the remnants of the enemy and to rehabilitate the economy in some major fields." At the end of that year, since the U.S. imperialists had expanded their aggressive war in Korea and had greatly threatened the security of our country, we had no other choice but to wage the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. Thus, economic construction was unavoidably affected. In making financial arrangements, the needs of the war were usually considered before everything else. Comrade Chen Yun said: "Undoubtedly,

priority should be given to the war. Everything must be subordinated to, and for the victory of, the war." During this period, which was a little longer than 1 year's time, Comrade Chen Yun promptly and appropriately determined the focal points of the economic work in light of the development and changes of the situation. Thus, the economic workers had a clear orientation to follow and knew what to do.

Second, it is necessary to ensure that the resources are used on major projects. According to Comrade Chen Yun's viewpoints, major projects must be guaranteed. When determining construction projects, the less important projects should give way to the key projects. All expenses which can be cut down should be cut down. All projects which should be postponed should be acted upon accordingly. It is necessary to oppose such phenomena as undertaking full-scale reconstruction and doing everything all at once. It is also necessary to oppose "investment according to one's feelings," that is, to make investments in order to soothe some people's feelings. Also, financial and material resources must be used in order of priority, importance, and urgency and must be used appropriately where they are needed most. They must be used first on some important national projects rather than on some unimportant projects. When there are not ample funds and materials in reserve, it is necessary first to satisfy the needs of the major projects and the overall situation. Once the focal points of our work are determined, it is necessary to work out concrete measures and methods to ensure the fulfillment of the major tasks. Otherwise, we will accomplish nothing at all.

Finally when we have difficulties in economic work, we must endure and conquer small difficulties and prevent great ones. After we won the national victory in the war of liberation, we were confronted with a lot of difficulties in the economic field, such as skyrocketing prices, a shortage of materials, and financial disorder. In solving these difficulties, there was also a problem of dealing with them in order of importance and urgency. In other words, it was necessary to differentiate between various difficulties with regard to their seriousness and consequences and to give priority to the solution of the most serious and most harmful ones. We must not act in a reverse way. For example, if the problem concerning unified planning in the management of the national finance and economy was not solved promptly, there would have been a great disorder in finance and prices, which would bring about great difficulties in the state economy and the people's livelihood. However, in many newly liberated areas, difficulties would occur in their work and economy if unified planning was carried out. But since the difficulties in the latter were much smaller than the former and their consequences were less serious, Comrade Chen Yun repeatedly stressed and educated people that it was necessary to endure small difficulties so that great ones could be prevented. Facts showed later that as a result of carrying out unified planning in financial work in good time, not only was our country able to tide over the economic difficulties relatively smoothly and to ensure the victory of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea as well as a stable political situation, but good conditions were also created for conducting construction in a planned way later. If the problems had not been solved in this way, if, instead, they had been treated as the same and everybody had only looked at his own difficulties

without taking the difficulties of the whole into account, naturally the result would be losing a lot to save a little. The initiative could not have been regained in the whole situation. Leading cadres must have strategic foresight and must be good at weighing the advantages and disadvantages as well as gains and losses. They must grasp the decisive links and solve the key problems so as to promote the smooth development of the work in its entirety.

Of course, this does not at all mean that we can ignore the less important and less urgent problems. Comrade Chen Yun clearly pointed out: "It is also incorrect to only stress the important and urgent problems to the neglect of the less important and less urgent ones." All these problems relate to each other. They are not isolated. What Comrade Chen Yun stressed was to arrange our work in an appropriate order, in accordance with the law governing economic development, and to decide what should be done first, what should be done later, what should be guaranteed and satisfied, what should be taken into proper consideration, and what could be reduced. In some cases, in order to concentrate efforts on some major projects, the interests of some parts are temporarily ignored. This is normal and must be allowed. Lenin said: "In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole. If so, it must be rejected." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 863) This phenomenon often occurs in revolutionary wars. It also occurs at times in socialist construction.

The Part Must Be Subordinated to the Whole

Grasping the whole situation chiefly means to be good at handling the relations between the whole and the part. The part and the whole form an entity. On the one hand, the whole cannot exist without the part. On the other hand, all parts are subordinate to the whole. However, there are also contradictions between the part and the whole. For example, some plans which seem to be feasible in the part are not feasible in the whole; and some work which seems to be profitable in the part is not profitable, or is even harmful, in the whole. In order to solve the contradictions between the part and the whole, it is necessary to deal with different cases in different ways in light of the concrete conditions. It is not correct to totally exclude the part regardless of time, place, and conditions. However, it is a general principle that under most circumstances, the part must be subordinated to the whole. While leading economic work, Comrade Chen Yun has repeatedly stressed the necessity of "adopting an overall point of view," "taking the whole country into consideration," "taking the overall situation into consideration," and "taking the whole country rather than a specific area into consideration." All this has the same meaning: The part must be subordinated to the whole. What was mentioned above on doing our work in order of importance and urgency and giving priority to major projects was also a question of the part being subordinated to the whole, because the so-called major projects are those which are of decisive significance to the whole situation.

The reason why the necessity of the part being subordinated to the whole should be repeatedly stressed is that this is not an easy job to do. Except

for the complicated nature of things, there are also limitations in man's subjective world, which are mainly expressed in two aspects: Man's understanding of things and consideration of interests.

As a result of the social division of labor, each person is doing a job different from the others. No matter how important one's job is, it constitutes only a part of the whole revolutionary cause. However, since one has been working at a specific post for a long time, one may pay less attention to the whole situation and may fail to have a full understanding of it. Thus, there can easily be limitations in one's understanding. In other words, one can easily overstress the importance of one's work and proceed from the partial interests when one looks at problems and does things. One-sidedness is hard to avoid. Such phenomena also occur in economic work. For example, some trade and service units have considered only convenience in their management and thus have adopted oversimplified methods in their work. As a result, the entire economic life has been inconvenienced. Some trades, departments, and localities have been developed blindly, to the neglect of the objective conditions and the needs of the whole situation. As a result, overall planning has been affected.

In view of these limitations, Comrade Chen Yun holds that the comrades engaged in financial and economic work must stand on a high plane and see far ahead and must take more important matters into consideration rather than merely having some figures in their heads. Of course, this does not mean that economic workers can pay no attention to studying and getting familiar with their specific jobs and can indulge in empty political talk without considering their economic work. It only means that they must take into consideration the central tasks of the party and the state and the interests of the whole while studying and dealing with concrete economic problems, rather than discussing them in isolation. Comrade Chen Yun said: "It is necessary to relate one's own job to the whole national situation. If one finds that what one has done does not conform to the tasks for the whole country, one should face this and correct it at once." This is not only a requirement for economic work, but is also a requirement for our work in all fields. We must never merely pay attention to one aspect of things and to the interests of the part.

In order to overcome limitations in understanding, it is also necessary to find out about the situation and widen our field of vision. Those who are working in local units must pay more attention to and know more about the whole situation, know more about the party's central work and its general line, principles, and policies, and know more about the work in other parts. Those who hold positions as commanders for the whole situation must circulate to the local units more often notices on the development of the situation and carry out propaganda and education in this respect so that every comrade working in local units can understand that the part must be subordinated to the whole and so that they can take an overall view of the situation and keep abreast of the development of the whole situation, knowing the major tasks for each period, the existing problems, and the demands of the whole situation on various local units. This is also an important duty for the leaders.

The relations between the whole and the part also include those between the interests of the two. This is particularly the case in economic work. Engels said: "The economic relations in all societies are expressed first in interests." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 537). In our socialist country, the fundamental interests of the whole and the part, of the central and local authorities, and of the state, the collective, and the individual, are coincident. However, there are also contradictions. In order to develop the whole situation, it is necessary to handle these contradictions well.

The duty of all cadres in our party is to serve the people, or to "serve the country and the people." However, due to the differences in social positions and political consciousness, there are differences in "serving the country and the people." It is certainly beyond doubt that when one works in a place, one makes great efforts to develop the economy and other undertakings in that place and to do people good turns. Otherwise, to work hard for the prosperity of our country and to serve the people would become mere empty talk. However, since our party is charged with the great task of leading China's revolution and construction, with serving the people of the whole nation as its purpose, and since this is the whole situation, everyone working in the local unit must take this whole situation into consideration when he makes plans, does his jobs, and ponders problems. The interests of the part must never injure the interests of the whole, and the work of the whole must never be replaced by that of the part. Otherwise, not only will the whole suffer losses, but the interests of the part will be damaged as well. "Are we working for the great majority of people or for a small minority of people? Of course, we are working for the former." We must often remind ourselves of these remarks by Comrade Chen Yun.

The fundamental purpose of developing production is to raise the level of material and cultural life of the people. There is no doubt about it. However, this purpose can only be achieved step by step. We cannot accomplish everything well in one morning. Therefore, we must combine our immediate interests with our long-term interests. But in economic work, contradictions often occur between these two aspects, especially between economic construction and the improvement of the people's living standards. Comrade Chen Yun always advocates that consideration must be given to both. "First, to eat; second, to carry out construction." This has always been a guiding ideology of Comrade Chen Yun. If we fail to take the immediate interests into consideration and fail to improve the people's livelihood, the people will not benefit from their hard labor. Thus, we are surely to be divorced from the masses and our production will not be able to develop smoothly. However, if we have only taken the immediate interests into consideration, to the neglect of the long-term interests, and have affected the scope, speed, and results of our economic construction, the fundamental interests of the people will also be damaged. In 1953, when talking about narrowing the price difference in the exchange of industrial products for agricultural products, Comrade Chen Yun said that although it was our goal to narrow the price difference, for the purpose of the revolution was to improve the livelihood of the great majority of people, this goal could not be attained very soon because we still had to accumulate funds for expanded

reproduction. This also meant that consideration must be given to both the immediate and long-term interests and that the immediate interests should not be one-sidedly stressed to the neglect of the long-term interests.

The main expressions of the limitations with regard to the question of interests are individualism and departmentalism. In view of this, Comrade Chen Yun holds that it is necessary to carry out education among the financial and economic workers so that individualism and departmentalism can be criticized and overcome and the concept of serving the people can be established. The "Manifesto of the Communist Party" pointed out: "The communists fight for the immediate purpose and interests of the working class, but they also represent the future of the movement in the present movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 284) Lenin also said: "In guiding the proletarian struggle at every stage in its development and under all circumstances, the social democratic party, as the conscious champion of the aspirations of the working class, must constantly bear in mind the general and fundamental interests of this struggle as a whole." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 11, p 13) Being a member of the political Communist Party, especially a member in a leading post of this party, one should endeavor to make oneself "the conscious champion of the aspirations of the working class," to acquire a firm conception of viewing the situation as a whole, and to fight for the overall interests of the broad masses of people and the realization of the party's long-term objective of struggle.

Mobilize the Enthusiasm of Various Fields

Will the enthusiasm of the people be dampened since we have emphasized the importance of the whole situation and have required that our work be done in order of importance and urgency and to make the part subordinate to the whole? No. The purpose of emphasizing the importance of the whole situation is merely to arouse, in the most effective manner and to the greatest extent, the enthusiasm of various fields, which is favorable to the socialist cause.

To give priority to major projects in construction means to concentrate the enthusiasm of the masses on the most urgent key projects. The comrades working in the units responsible for the construction of these key projects must certainly spare no efforts to fulfill the tasks for the construction of the key projects. However, those who are doing less important work in other units can also make contributions to the construction of the key projects. If they cut down the funds used on the less important projects or do their jobs well with less financial and material resources, they are actually supporting the major projects.

The localities must be subordinated to the central authorities. But this does not mean that the initiative of the localities is to be hampered. Comrade Chen Yun has always attached great importance to giving full play to the initiative of the localities. He holds that the localities must be given the power, within certain limits, to flexibly allocate funds, and that in economic construction, both unified planning by the central authorities and responsibilities assumed by the localities at various levels are

necessary. He said: "China is a large country with complicated local affairs. We cannot, and should not, manage China's affairs in a rigid manner." If the comrades in localities have a clear understanding of the whole situation, they will be able to do their own jobs in a more appropriate way in accordance with the needs of the whole situation and in light of the concrete local situation. This is just like playing chess. One can play well in a game of chess only when one takes the game as a whole. To make the localities subordinate to the central authorities and to give play to the initiative of the localities can be, and must be, related to each other.

The purpose of sacrificing some partial interests to guarantee the long-term interests is to effect the construction with a higher speed so that better results can be achieved after bringing the initiative of the broad masses of people into full play. If the leaders do not stand high and see far and look ahead and behind but, instead, yield to the backward feelings of a small part of the masses and try to pursue some temporary interests, the construction will inevitably be held back. Even if the enthusiasm in certain fields is aroused for the moment, the fundamental interests of the great majority of people will be infringed upon and the initiative of the masses will be dampened.

What Comrade Chen Yun has in mind is to bring into play all positive factors, no matter whether they exist at higher or lower levels or in what localities and departments and kinds of people they exist, and to do whatever we can to change all negative factors into positive ones so as to promote the development of our socialist cause.

Some of our comrades also have often said that it is necessary to give play to the enthusiasm of the people but have often failed to approach this question from the high plane of viewing the situation as a whole. They have often completely forgotten the final purpose of our work and the responsibility of the party leadership. "Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 269) This is the truth. However, we must also realize that a correct orientation and persistent motive force can be attained and that good results can be achieved only when the initiative and creativeness of the masses are brought into play under the leadership of the political party of the working class, which is armed with Marxist theory. This is also the truth. Due to the differences in the level of consciousness and the understanding of problems, the masses usually have different kinds of initiative. Some are correct, and some are motivated by individualism and departmentalism. If we blindly support the latter, which is harmful to the interests of the whole, disregarding the general task and objective of the party, it shows that we have, in reality, cast off the responsibility of party leadership.

Some other comrades also want to mobilize the initiative of the masses. But since they often look at and deal with things one-sidedly due to the lack of dialectics in their thinking, when they attend to one thing, they often lose sight of another. When they stress a certain point, they often neglect the

others. As a result, things often go contrary to their wishes. All things are related with each other, and the interests of various fields are connected with and affect each other. Therefore, it is necessary to grasp scientific methods and to adopt an overall point of view in our work. Comrade Chen Yun especially stresses the importance of "being appropriate." For example, in light of the concrete situation in a previous period, he said that the tax rate must be appropriate. A low rate would be unfavorable to the state, and a high rate would add a burden to the people. The prices of products must be appropriate. Both the interests of the producers and the purchasing power of the consumers must be taken into consideration. At the same time, the merchants must be enabled to make profits. In industry and trade, the proportion of various economic sectors must be appropriate so that the leadership of the state sector of the economy can be guaranteed and the other sectors can be united around it. Lopsided purchase of public grain must be prevented, and the sales of state bonds must be reasonable and appropriate. All this shows that Comrade Chen Yun has always kept "appropriateness" in mind. This is a quantitative guarantee for the stability of the quality of certain things. While working out economic policies, measures, and methods, it is necessary to carefully study and give due consideration to the interests of various sectors according to needs and possibilities so that the forces of various sectors can be well coordinated and promote each other. Only in this way can the best results be achieved.

There are still some other comrades who do not pay attention to mobilizing the initiative of the masses through implementing the policies of the party and the government. The interrelationships between various interests, such as the interests of the whole and the interests of the part, the interests of the central authorities and the interests of the localities, the long-term interests and the immediate interests, and the interests of various sectors, must be reflected by a series of policies and principles. Comrade Chen Yun has always taught the comrades engaged in economic work to study, get familiar with, and implement the policies. For example, when he talked about tax revenues, he pointed out that it was not only necessary to set the tax rate and taxable items, but that it was also necessary to work out detailed regulations and methods. Tax collectors must always put the handbooks on tax revenue in their pockets and must act according to relevant policies. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has formulated a series of correct economic policies. They have become a powerful force in practice for mobilizing the initiative of the broad masses of people. We must regard these correct policies as the life of the party and treasure them, study them, and implement them.

To always grasp the whole situation is a correct way to apply the tenets of dialectical materialism and an important leadership art. To conscientiously study Comrade Chen Yun's expositions in this respect will certainly help the whole party raise the level of leadership.

CAN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MATERIAL CIVILIZATION AND SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION
BE EQUATED WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MATTER AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN PHILOSOPHY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Yan Ming [3601 2494]]

[Text] In studying the papers of the 12th CPC National Congress some comrades raised the question about whether the relations between material civilization and spiritual civilization could be equated with the relations between matter and consciousness in philosophy. In my opinion, each relationship has something to do with the other. However, they cannot be simply equated.

First, Marxist material and spiritual concepts have wider implications than the concepts of spiritual civilization and material civilization. We should have a clear understanding of the difference between them before we can examine the similarities and differences between the two relationships. Material civilization is simply a specific form in which matters exist. It came to exist as mankind tried to improve nature, it is a manifestation of human wisdom and the material achievement in science and technology. The material concept in Marxism is, however, an objective existence which can be reflected by human consciousness without depending on it. The concept is the highest condensation of the basic characteristics of all natural and social phenomena. It includes the existence of all matters prior to human existence, all natural matters which have objectively existed in the natural world after human existence and which have not been developed or polished; the "second nature" which is formed through man's improvement of the natural world and which includes the material achievements of mankind; the objective existence of human relations and the relations between the society and humanity, for instance, the relations in production, class struggle, and so forth. Matters are limitless, with movement being their basic characteristic and time and space as their form of existence. All matters evolve in accordance with their own definite conditions. Spiritual civilization refers to a specific form of spiritual phenomenon. That means not all spiritual phenomena can be included in spiritual civilization, which is composed only of the spiritual wealth gained by humanity in the course of improving their subjective and objective worlds. Such wealth is beneficial to the progress of human history. It can be manifested by the progress in education, science, and cultural knowledge and the raising of

ideological, political, and moral standards. The "spiritual" concept in Marxism is derived from the objective material existence, a summation of all subjective states of mind and phenomena of consciousness. It includes not only all forms of lofty, healthy, correct, and rational ideas but also despicable, low, incorrect, and absurd ideas and cognition. It also includes all mental activities and psychological phenomena (such as feelings, awareness, impressions, and emotions) of the people who do not make any spiritual achievements.

Furthermore, the relations between matter and spirit are the basic or noblest subject in philosophy. They consist of all the existing properties, characteristics, essence and interrelations of the material and spiritual phenomena in the natural world and social life. It is also the key to the question concerning the relations between the origin of the world and its derivatives. It exposes the most common principles of the interaction between material civilization and spiritual civilization. The relations between material civilization and spiritual civilization consist of the relations between two forms of human achievement made during the course of improving their world. In fact, they are the relations between the material achievements which take the form of material substances and the spiritual achievements which take the form of theoretical substances. The aim of studying their relations is to probe into the law of their development and promote social development.

Last, in the relations between material and spiritual civilizations in Marxism, there exist the relations between the reflecting and the reflected, the determinant and the determined action and reaction. All spiritual phenomena are reflections of the objective material world. The nature and content of social consciousness are determined by the nature and conditions existing in society. Social consciousness is relatively independent and under certain conditions, it also has an influence on the existence of the society. In the relations between material civilization and spiritual civilization, although certain development in material civilization stems from the same material conditions for and foundations of the development of spiritual civilization, the development of spiritual civilization is restricted by the degree of the development of material civilization. However, spiritual civilization, its ideas in particular, does not stem directly from material civilization. In general, the development and progress of intellectual factors like education, science, and culture in spiritual civilization are quite directly restricted by the degree of the development of material civilization. Material civilization can only have an indirect effect on ideas, politics, and morality through economic foundations. In other words, factors like ideas, politics, and morality which stipulate the nature and direction of the development of spiritual civilization can only be determined by the nature of production relations which play a governing role. The establishment and development of an advanced ideology, communism for instance, must go through a summation and generalization of socialist implementation and also absorb all superior achievements of the ideologies and culture of the past several thousand years. If we want an advanced school of ideology to be the guiding ideology for the entire nation, we must struggle against various rotten, backward,

and reactionary ideological systems and proceed persistently with ideological political work. This process is not a spontaneous process. Therefore it is difficult to expound on the sophisticated relations between material civilization and spiritual civilization if the nature of production relations and the conscious activities of the people are not taken into account. On the other hand, material civilization and spiritual civilization supplement each other because they are the results of the people's effort to improve their world. The development of material civilization will set a higher standard for spiritual life as well as providing favorable conditions on which a reliable foundation for cultural and ideological construction can be laid. It should benefit the development of spiritual civilization and the training and substantial improvement of socialist personnel. On the other hand, the construction of spiritual civilization is not for self-satisfaction. The results of spiritual civilization will directly speed up the development of material civilization. Through constant improvement in the relations of socialist production, they will enhance people's ideological consciousness and ensure that the development of material production is heading in the right direction. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in the report at the 12th CPC National Congress: "The construction of the two civilizations is mutually conditional and they set targets for each other." In Marxism, although matter and spirit are mutually transformational, a mutually conditional relationship is non-existent. The reason is that the objective existence of matter has nothing to do with people's subjective will. It takes place and develops according to its own objective law. People can only reflect, know and utilize it, but never destroy it. The material world is eternal and boundless, without any beginning or end. Our spiritual world is only the outcome of material development at a certain stage. Therefore, matter cannot make spirit the conditions and targets for its existence and development.

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A BRILLIANT CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY'S NEWSPAPERS--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INITIATION OF XINHUA RIBAO

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 19-27

[Article by Shi Ximin [4258 6007 3046]]

[Text] This year, 1 November is the 45th anniversary of the initiation of XINHUA RIBAO. XINHUA RIBAO was the official newspaper of the party during the period of the democratic revolution in the areas under the control of the KMT and it was in operation for a record length of time. It experienced the war against the Japanese aggression and the early days of the war of liberation. Under dangerous and complicated situations in the areas under the control of the KMT, this newspaper displayed a very great role as a "collective propagator and encourager" and as a "collective organizer."

XINHUA RIBAO was an official newspaper publicly circulated across the country and the CPC Central Committee paid very much attention to it from when it was founded. In its notice to party organizations at various places across the country on 1 April 1938, the CPC Central Committee announced that XINHUA RIBAO was the "national and official newspaper of the party," set up according to the conditions at that time, and laid down that each party branch must subscribe to it, each party member must read it, and party organizations at various places must study the editorials of this newspaper and the articles which it carried and which were written by leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee as party principles of work and policies.

Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai spoke highly of XINHUA RIBAO. Comrade Mao Zedong said that like the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, XINHUA RIBAO was an army of the party. The good party tradition and style of work shown by the newspaper created a particular style of work and experience in running a newspaper and this style of work and experience still represents enlightenment and education for us today.

I

XINHUA RIBAO was founded at a critical moment that would decide the fate of the Chinese people; the foundation of this newspaper was also a result of the second cooperation between the CPC and the KMT. Following the

Lugouqiao Incident in 1937, the Japanese invading forces began their massive attack on China proper. This was followed by the fall of Nanjing. The people in the areas controlled by the KMT watched the situation in the battlefields heavyheartedly. Under this situation, XINHUA RIBAO made its first debut on 11 January 1938 when it came off the press in Wuhan, which was the political center of the areas under the control of the KMT. The newspaper solemnly declared: "This newspaper is ready to become a bugle call that will encourage marching ahead in the great struggle for national survival and independence." As the official newspaper of the CPC, XINHUA RIBAO began to shoulder the responsibility of propagating the importance of resisting the Japanese aggression, saving the country from extinction, arousing the national spirit and mobilizing the people of various walks of life to save their country in the areas controlled by the KMT.

XINHUA RIBAO broke through the KMT monopoly of news sources and relied on special dispatches and dispatches from the battlefields to reflect the reality of the battlefield being fought on by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army against the Japanese aggression. The front page headline news of the first issue of this newspaper reported the victory won by the Eighth Route Army in repulsing Japanese forces in the forefront in Shanxi. In commemorating the first anniversary of the founding of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, this newspaper devoted a lot of space to reporting the victories won by these two people's armed forces. Through these reports, the people in the KMT-dominated areas were able to see the prospects for the people's war under the guidance of the CPC, and consequently they were hopeful of victory. Therefore, each time the newspaper launched such charitable activities as donating gold and other things in support of, or expressing sympathy for, fighters of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, they were warmly responded to by tens of thousands of people.

XINHUA RIBAO faced KMT obstacles right from the first time it came off the press. One week following its publication, its printing office was destroyed by KMT special agents. But the newspaper considered the needs of the whole situation and still truthfully reported active deeds of the KMT forces in the battlefields such as the Taijizhuang battle, the Xuzhou battle and the battle around Wuhan in its effort to uphold the party's aboveboard attitude in cooperation with the KMT. During this period, XINHUA RIBAO reporters were discriminated against when they visited battlefields to cover stories. Yet they wrote many articles carried by the newspaper about deeds of patriotic KMT officers and men in the battlefield. At that time, as cooperators, they also pertinently criticized the KMT for refusing to mobilize the masses and to introduce democracy and for infringing upon and violating the rights of the people, press-gaging able-bodied men and showing no concern for injured soldiers. Consequently, XINHUA RIBAO was not only praised by various social sectors in the KMT-controlled areas but was also welcomed by many people in the KMT forces. The situation changed in 1939 when the KMT implemented the policy of restricting and opposing the CPC. The reporters and other staff of XINHUA RIBAO were deprived of their right to cover stories in the battlefield and we were even forbidden to leave Chongqing and Qingmuguan. Under such difficult conditions, XINHUA RIBAO

relied on the broad masses of the people and progressive forces from various circles to open up news sources, and spared no effort to reflect the heroic deeds of the armymen and civilians of the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines to the people in the areas that were controlled by the KMT, in its effort to encourage them with the news of victory to resist the Japanese aggression to the end and to make them confident of victory in the war against the Japanese aggression.

II

Directed toward the specific conditions of the areas under the control of the KMT, XINHUA RIBAO correctly disseminated the party general line and principles and policies and worked hard to disseminate Marxist truth among the masses of the people and to win over the people in these areas and to educate the masses. During the war against the Japanese aggression, XINHUA RIBAO mainly disseminated party principles and policies in the following aspects. First, disseminating the party line and principles of launching the war against the Japanese aggression in an overall way and resolutely opposing resisting Japanese aggression unilaterally and capitulation and retrogression; second, disseminating the party advocacy of introducing democratic politics and establishing a coalition government and resolutely opposing the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship and domination by special agents; third, in international issues, disseminating publicity for the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin and supporting the antifascist just war that was launched by the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States of America. In the early days of the war of liberation, the work was mainly carried out in the following aspects. First, disseminating the party line and principles of striving for peace and opposing civil war; second, exposing and opposing the U.S. imperialist criminal plot to turn China into a colony; third, supporting the patriotic and democratic movement launched by the people in the KMT-controlled areas. With regard to these major questions, XINHUA RIBAO loyally and resolutely implemented the directives of the CPC Central Committee and made tremendous achievements through correct propaganda strategy and methods.

When XINHUA RIBAO was in the initial stages, many people were surprised and skeptical. But as the party political advocacy propagated by this newspaper represented their interests and views, they soon became ardent readers. When there were major events, they would read XINHUA RIBAO to understand the attitude and stand of the party. The beginning of the war against the Japanese aggression was followed by a major question of whether to resist the Japanese aggression by lopsidedly relying on the army or to mobilize the whole nation and launch an overall war. XINHUA RIBAO worked unremittingly to disseminate from various aspects the party advocacy of launching an overall war by the whole nation. In the early days of the war, the two wrong notions of the "theory of subjugation" and the "theory of winning victory rapidly" were quite popular among certain people within the KMT-controlled areas, thus creating ideological chaos. From 7 to 9 October 1930, XINHUA RIBAO continuously carried editorials from a long article written by Comrade Zhou Enlai for the newspaper "On the Present Situation of the War Against the Japanese Aggression" to explain the ideology of "On

Protracted War" written by Comrade Mao Zedong and correctly expounding the three stages of the protracted war. The newspaper also published a collection of XINQUN (XINHUA RIBAO and QUNZHONG WEEKLY) with "On Protracted War" and Comrade Zhou Enlai's article as contents and it was warmly welcomed by people from various walks of life. Following the fall of Wuhan, Wang Jingwei openly surrendered to the enemy in December 1938, the rightist forces within the KMT were rampant, and the situation was critical. Under this situation, the party made a declaration in marking the second anniversary of the "7 July" war against the Japanese aggression and put forth the political slogan "persist in the war against the Japanese aggression and oppose capitulation; uphold unity and oppose separation; uphold progress and oppose retrogression." Under the leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai, XINHUA RIBAO lost no time in disseminating this slogan among the people in the areas under the control of the KMT so as to make it their common aspiration.

In order to disseminate in the quickest possible time party principles and policies among the masses in the areas under the control of the KMT, XINHUA RIBAO displayed courageous spirit. Following the Wannan Incident, XINHUA RIBAO was no longer in a position to issue news from its own sources. Under this situation, it carried Comrade Zhou Enlai's inscription and poem: "Mourn Those Who Laid Down Their Lives for the Country South of the Changjiang River!" and "Unprecedented Injustice, Members of the Same Family Drawing Swords and Killing Each Other" to expose the evil deeds of the KMT authorities in undermining the war against the Japanese aggression and to show the solemn stand of our party and to draw attention at home and abroad. Disregarding various forms of persecution by KMT reactionaries and the danger of being closed down, XINHUA RIBAO carried a number of important articles written by Comrade Mao Zedong such as "On the Strategy of Guerrilla War Against the Japanese Aggression," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party Style of Work," "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," and "On Coalition Government," and other articles written by other leading comrades of our party and army such as Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Peng Dehuai, Ye Jianying, He Long, Nie Rongzhen, Deng Yingchao, and Wu Yuzhang. It also carried a number of important editorials and articles of JIEFANG RIBAO, published in Yanan. The struggle was very acute and complicated. XINHUA RIBAO resorted to the method of flexible tactics in the struggle by combining legal and illegal methods and observing and opposing investigations so as to guarantee that the party's important principles and policies and political advocacy could be disseminated widely and in a timely way and that the newspaper itself would not be closed down. It could be said that the influence and role displayed by XINHUA RIBAO in disseminating the party's principles and policies were beyond expectation.

The trial of strength in political and ideological sectors in the areas under the control of the KMT was very acute and tortuous. In addition to explaining the party's political advocacy and principles and policies, XINHUA RIBAO also paid much attention to carrying out its propaganda work by combining it with the experiences and interest of the broad masses of people. This was the best way to attract the broad masses of readers, raise

their political consciousness, and lead them to become concerned with the party's political advocacy. For example, in reporting the protest against the killing without reason of Hu Shihe, a worker in an electric power station in Chongqing by special agents, and the strike launched by workers of the Dadukou steel factory in Chongqing, reporters of XINHUA RIBAO carried out deep investigations, reported the events in time, and revealed the truth. In this way, the newspaper was able to reflect the situation of the masses of workers who were subject to brutal persecution and heavy exploitation and to expose the various forms of fascist violence perpetrated by KMT special agents and police. These reports aroused strong protests and struggles in various social sectors. And these massive struggles finally caused a sensation in the mountain city of Chongqing and in southwest China, shook the reactionary dark forces, promoted the development of democratic movement and further raised the prestige of our party among the people in the areas under the control of the KMT.

III

The united front was one of the three magic weapons of our party. Practically speaking, Comrade Zhou Enlai was the most brilliant representative of the party's policy of the united front and his activities in leading the work of the united front during his stay in Chongqing demonstrated this brilliance. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai, XINHUA RIBAO carried out colorful and effective work in developing the work of the united front in the areas under the control of the KMT.

From its initiation, XINHUA RIBAO held a very honest attitude in defending the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC in fighting against the Japanese aggression and spared no effort for this purpose in various aspects. The letterhead of XINHUA RIBAO was written by veteran KMT member Yu Shiren. This newspaper also carried articles to oppose Japanese aggression that were written by Sun Ke, H. H. Kung, Shao Lizi, Zhang Zhizhong, Pai Chongxi, Chen Cheng and even Chiang Kai-shek. Mr Zhang Chong (Huainan) was the representative of the KMT in talks on the second KMT-CPC cooperation and he contributed to the realization of the cooperation against the Japanese aggression. He died of illness in Chongqing in September 1941 at a time when the KMT reactionaries launched civil war and the New Fourth Army was eliminated as it was retreating north. This was also the time when the world-shaking Wannan Incident occurred. And yet, XINHUA RIBAO still published a special issue to commemorate Mr Zhang Chong and carried an article written by Comrade Zhou Enlai "Mourn Mr Zhang Huainan." This showed that communists treasured the whole situation of the war against the Japanese aggression and KMT-CPC cooperation, and that they would never forget their friends who had done good deeds. XINHUA RIBAO was particularly concerned with those who were attacked and discriminated against because they were dissatisfied with Chiang Kai-shek, who was inactive in opposing the Japanese aggression, and with dictatorship. Our reporters who once visited General Feng Yuxiang and many other KMT leftists, reflected their political views in the newspaper and issued their articles and poems.

Democratic political parties that were represented by Minzhu Tongmeng, KMT leftists, and progressive social dignitaries formed the alliance of the party united front. Comrade Zhou Enlai educated us to respect these friends, listen to and reflect their opinions, and work together with them. In a situation where freedom of speech was arbitrarily trampled upon by reactionaries, XINHUA RIBAO devoted space to carrying articles written by friends from democratic parties and from various circles as a move to provide them a forum with more freedom. In this aspect, the column "Friends' Voice" was particularly influential. This whole column was devoted to articles written by friends from various circles; we did not require these articles to be unanimous with the views of the party and we tried to publish them as long as their orientation was in line with the party's political advocacy. This column carried a thesis written by famous economist Ma Yinchu. In his long article, he sharply denounced the four big monopoly capitalist groups of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung and Chen Li-fu, and treacherous businessmen when he said: "At this critical moment, they plundered the property of the people in a big way and stockpiled goods, they were so wicked and hateful that they ought to be killed." He also proposed to realize industrialization in China. He said: "All attempts for dictatorship must be abandoned, instruction government must be ended, constitutional government must be introduced and the government must be returned to the people" and, "it is first of all necessary to set up a democratic state." These opinions and advocacy of Ma Yinchu, a democratic scholar, were very easy for middle level people to accept. XINHUA RIBAO set up a column "Scientific Edition" that was regularly edited by the "Association of Chinese Scientists" with professors from Zhongshan University such as Liang Xi, Pan Shu, Jin Shanbao and Tu Changwang as the core, and this column attracted other famous scientists as Li Siguang, Zhu Kezhen, Ren Hongjun, Yan Jici and Ding Xilin. There was also a "Medical Letter" column edited by those from medical circles such as Huang Dingchen, Xue Yinghui and Zuo Ang. In this way, XINHUA RIBAO was able to constantly promote the growth of patriotic progressive forces.

An outstanding contribution made by XINHUA RIBAO in promoting the united front was that through its own work, it helped promote and develop progressive cultural movements in the areas controlled by the KMT. In the early days of the war against the Japanese aggression, there was a cultural movement under the guidance of Comrade Zhou Enlai with Guo Moruo as its brilliant representative. This movement was a continuous development of the leftwing cultural movement during the 1930's and its ideological theory and strategy of struggles became more and more mature and its scale gained momentum. But cultural circles on the KMT side were waning and desolate, without any good achievements. XINHUA RIBAO was then our important base for the progressive cultural movement in the areas under the control of the KMT. The ranks of this movement often took XINHUA RIBAO as their center, from where they attacked the decadent rule of the KMT reactionaries. In the second half of February 1945, Guo Moruo wrote a declaration "Cultural Circles' Views on Current Situations," which put forth six proposals to guarantee democracy and freedom and to persist in the unity against the Japanese aggression, and these proposals implemented our party's idea for the establishment of coalition government. In a matter of several days, more than

300 persons from cultural circles signed their names and they included writers and poets such as Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Lu She, Bing Xin, Zhang Kejia and Cao Yu; a number of artists such as Cai Chusheng, Jiao Juyin, Li Keran and Tai Ailian, and a number of scholars and professors such as Ma Yinchu, Du Guoxiang, Jian Bozan, Gu Jiegang, Liang Xi, Pan Shu, Jin Shanbao and Yang Hui. Famous painter Xu Beihong also signed his name. Responsible members of democratic parties, KMT leftist personages, and social dignitaries such as Shen Junru, Liu Yasi, Deng Chumin, Tao Xingzhi, Zhang Ximan and Guo Chuntao also signed their names. When this declaration and the list of these persons were carried by XINHUA RIBAO, the various circles in the areas under KMT control were shaken. This declaration was a valuable collection of the history of the democratic movement in China.

In order to unite with, and win over, the broad masses of intellectuals, it is necessary to be concerned with and protect them. The areas under the control of the KMT were characterized by soaring prices; people had no means of livelihood and many friends in intellectual circles were living in dire poverty. XINHUA RIBAO tried its best to help. Writer Zhang Tianyi was not only poor but also ill, while scriptwriter Hong Shen was also living a very poor life. XINHUA RIBAO created public opinion through news reporting so as to form social activities to support the needy and consequently a large number of friends in intellectual circles felt the concern and warmth showed by the party and the broad masses of the people. In particular, XINHUA RIBAO was politically concerned with friends in intellectual circles. When XINHUA RIBAO was compelled to print works of Mao Zedong or important articles from JIEFANG RIBAO in Yanan secretly, it promptly sent copies to friends in intellectual circles so that they could get valuable mental stimulation. Soon after, the article "On New Democracy," written by Comrade Mao Zedong was published in Yanan. XINHUA RIBAO lost no time publishing it in brochures which were distributed secretly. When I visited Mr Zhou Taofen I saw he was lost in reading the article. He said to me excitedly: "It is great! This time all the muddled things that have lingered in my brain for so long are now resolved!" I still remember this scene. At that time, KMT lackeys were everywhere barring the distribution of XINHUA RIBAO and consequently, it was very dangerous to read XINHUA RIBAO and the brochures published by this newspaper. In order to enable friends to read the newspaper and brochures safely, the comrades who were responsible for distribution racked their brains and spared no effort so that nothing went wrong with this work. At the same time, the site of the office of XINHUA RIBAO was also under close watch by special agents, but in spite of this, the staff continued their contact with the masses of people openly. XINHUA RIBAO's sales department and covering department in Minsheng Road, Chongqing and southern bureau youth department in "Xinglu" were the places where we contacted our friends and chatted with them. Comrade Zhou Enlai and other leading comrades from the southern bureau also often met friends from various circles there.

XINHUA RIBAO established close relations with friends in national industrial and commercial circles. The newspaper ardently reflected the activities of those in these circles in their hard struggles for survival. It also carried, on a number of occasions, articles and speeches by many

representative figures from industrial and commercial circles which criticized the reactionary ruling authorities for introducing a financial policy to destroy national industry and for exercising fascist rule. Messrs Hu Juewen and Hong Liang, who are still making their contribution for the unification of the motherland and for the modernization program, were friends, readers, and writers of XINHUA RIBAO. XINHUA RIBAO also supported the struggles waged by the "Labor Association," a social organization of workers in the areas under the control of the KMT. When reactionary authorities fabricated crimes and arrested Zhu Xuefan, leader of the association, XINHUA RIBAO launched momentous activities to help and support him and to deflate the arrogance of the reactionaries.

The work of the united front carried out by XINHUA RIBAO in press circles in Chongqing was very effective. In various ways, we set up a wide public opinion base in the areas under the control of the KMT. And each time important events happened, progressive reporters stood by our side, sympathized with, and supported us and even fought side by side with us. Following the "Jiaochangkou murder case" in Chongqing, a total of 42 reporters from various newspapers in the city jointly issued an "open letter to the Central News Agency" in February 1946 in order to expose reports made by this KMT Central News Agency that confused truth and falsehood, and to refute the reports of this agency that were contradictory to reality. This was followed by another open letter "Ensure Human Rights and Make Reporting Truthful," which was signed by 221 reporters. As a result, the Central News Agency was extremely isolated and consequently it was not in a position to repulse this attack.

Under the long period of leadership and education by Comrade Zhou Enlai, we established very close and intimate relations with friends from various circles in the areas under the control of the KMT in our common struggle for national survival, democratic rights and peace, and to oppose civil war. The party's newspapers should always maintain close and intimate relations ideologically and politically with friends in various circles. Even today, it is imperative for us to learn from these experiences.

IV

XINHUA RIBAO was not only a party newspaper but also a newspaper that belonged to the people. In an article "Discussions and Encouragement" written by its editorial department on 11 January 1947, XINHUA RIBAO pointed out that it "totally stands on the side of the people and proceeds from the interest of the people," and "the highest party principle of XINHUA RIBAO is that it must fully reflect the life and struggles of the people and fully reflect the feelings, thinking, and demands of the people." These words clearly showed the nature of XINHUA RIBAO and they represented an important facet of the guiding ideology of XINHUA RIBAO in running the newspaper.

XINHUA RIBAO often solicited readers' opinions and on its anniversaries it carried out investigations on readers' opinions. From an enormous number of letters from readers, we really felt that the broad masses of people

strongly desired party newspapers to explain many important questions to enlighten their understanding and guide them in making progress; they demanded that the newspaper should point out their hopes, reflect their miseries and say what they wanted to but could not. XINHUA RIBAO was able to cover all these aspects in protracted struggles and consequently it was warmly welcomed by the broad masses of people. They said that they liked to read XINHUA RIBAO's editorials and commentaries because from these articles they could get "much benefit." They particularly liked reading XINHUA RIBAO articles and speeches by leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee and editorials from JIEFANG RIBAO. They demanded that the newspaper carry more articles about "disseminating communism" and also carry "feature stories about the life of the people in liberated areas." Facts proved that the broad masses of people ardently hoped that the party's newspaper would be able to enlighten their thinking and guide them onto the correct road.

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out at that time: "It is not abstract propaganda but lively facts that are able to enlighten people." In carrying out its propaganda work XINHUA RIBAO always paid attention to raising the questions that were in line with the consciousness of the broad masses of the people in the areas under the control of the KMT, and it tried its best not to use a tone that could be regarded by the masses as ordering them. It carried out propaganda work by closely combining it with reality in the life of the masses. It proceeded from basic questions that were commonly shared by the people in KMT-controlled areas such as striving for survival and opposing persecution, and used those facts that were within their experience to arouse their emotions and to guide and educate them. In this way, XINHUA RIBAO was able to make concrete through propaganda work, the party's program, line, and principles and policies.

In order to turn itself into a true spokesman for the interests of the people, XINHUA RIBAO made numerous creative efforts. It set up a "Letters to the Editor" column to carry letters from readers. Through this column, the broad masses of workers, peasants, junior government staff and teachers and also poor citizens directly related their sufferings to the whole of society, accused local tyrants and evil gentry, and army ruffians and rogues of persecuting them, and exposed the dark rule of the KMT. Acting upon the directives of Comrade Zhou Enlai, XINHUA RIBAO set up the columns "Sea of Life," "Life Corner" and "On the Brink of Life" while on page 4 there was a column "Life of the Laboring People." These columns carried long interviews, feature stories, and local dispatches that were edited from newspapers published in various places so as to reflect, through facts, the reality of the life of the people and particularly the laboring people in the areas under the control of the KMT. It could be said that those articles were written in blood as a part of the struggle against the dark and decadent society. A letter written by several workers said: "We have never seen in the past such a newspaper as this one that suits our interest and therefore we workers regard this newspaper as the only news organ, no, it is our mouthpiece!"

A newspaper must be able to attract readers before it is able to educate them. XINHUA RIBAO regarded the broad masses of people as its target and resolutely discarded the style of writing that was characterized by mixing a classical style of writing with writing in the vernacular which was the disagreeable "news style" that was commonly used by news circles in the areas under the control of the KMT and instead, we used a simple style of writing in vernacular that was easy to understand, so that those with an ordinary cultural level would be able to read the newspaper while those who were illiterate could understand what they heard. This newspaper also dared to create and it used many forms of literature. It carried articles with different and rich contents, reflecting random thoughts like daggers to sneer at and scold, and comprehensive reports to analyze and discuss situations, and also articles which analyzed international situations. With such rich contents, XINHUA RIBAO became a newspaper that was well received by readers.

Staff of a party newspaper must pay attention to their own exemplary roles. People in the areas under the control of the KMT came to know the CPC and judged the value of the words of XINHUA RIBAO through the deeds of the staff of the newspaper. If the staff acted contrarily to their words and failed to set a good example, the whole work of the newspaper was criticized by Comrade Zhou Enlai: "Such political work will naturally become empty words, like selling quack remedies!" In such a case, who would believe us? The staff of XINHUA RIBAO held a resolute political stand, with clear-cut demarcation between love and hate. They loyally served and warmly treated the people, readers, and friends while, in the face of oppression, they resolutely followed the dictum of "neither richness nor honors can corrupt him, neither threats nor force can bend him" and they overwhelmed the enemy spiritually. They never stopped perfecting their work. Although XINHUA RIBAO's material conditions for printing and other work were very poor, the newspaper came off the press earliest, with the clearest printing and fewest mistakes. The comrades in XINHUA RIBAO maintained the communist style of leading a hard life, from director right down to messengers. With the exception of Comrades Pan Zinian and Xiong Jinding who were somewhat old, the whole staff of XINHUA RIBAO was young people whose ages ranged between 20 and 30 years and therefore they were full of vigor, with strong combat strength.

V

XINHUA RIBAO was in operation in an area under the control of the KMT for more than 9 years. It completed the task assigned by the party and people, and trained the ranks of cadres with combat capability so that they were termed "XINHUA army."

XINHUA RIBAO was operating during the period when Mao Zedong Thought was making further progress. It was none other than Mao Zedong Thought that enabled XINHUA RIBAO to have correct guidance in politics, ideology, and theory. The newspaper was initiated by comrades most of whom had no experience at all in running a newspaper. Therefore, it was demanded that the whole staff must study and grasp the skills of running a newspaper in

practice. The birth of XINHUA RIBAO was followed by KMT oppression as well as interference by Wang Ming, and during the 9 years, it experienced the test of struggles one after another. The whole staff studied and grew in the process of their work. These staff members had their own ideals and disciplines and they united in struggle. In an environment full of struggles, each member of these ranks had his own political ideal and target for struggle and most were self-conscious in studying politics, culture, and profession. In particular, after the layout of XINHUA RIBAO was changed, the newspaper set up a strict system for political and professional study and attention was paid to combining theory with practice. In this way, the office of XINHUA RIBAO was turned into a school for training cadres.

XINHUA RIBAO had very strong ideological and political work. Party organizations in the newspaper persisted in carrying out education in party theory and revolutionary spirit. Comrades Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Wang Ruofei and Wu Yuzhang often made reports for the staff on current affairs and party history. Leading members of the newspaper spoke of their experiences in carrying out struggles when they were jailed by the KMT. In such a risky political environment, the comrades in XINHUA RIBAO were ready to follow the examples of revolutionary predecessors and revolutionary martyrs and sacrifice their lives in struggles. The most moving thing was the situation of messengers. They were from poor families and yet, nourished by the party's ideology, they grew politically and rapidly. Some of them were insulted and beaten almost every day by special agents, military police, and police but they washed their blood off and continued sending newspapers, with newspaper bags on their backs. It was known to all that the staff of XINHUA RIBAO were tough.

Even today, comrades from XINHUA RIBAO cannot forget the good relations of unity and friendliness which existed. Leading members and the masses were equal and there was no difference between the noble and the humble which was popular in society at that time. In order to handle layout well, editors often discussed, and worked together, with typesetters. In their work and in discussions during study, there may have been heated arguments among comrades, but there was no ill feeling. The spirit of criticism and self-criticism in this collective and particularly the strict self-discipline and the spirit of never being conceited, was very moving.

XINHUA RIBAO was able to train these ranks because the collective had a strong leading core. Comrade Pan Zinian, director of XINHUA RIBAO, joined the revolution during the great revolution, was imprisoned for many years and as a result, he fostered unremitting revolutionary spirit. He was a scholar with extensive knowledge as well as a division commander who was respected by other comrades in the newspaper. He was easy to approach and tireless in teaching and all the staff, including messengers, were only too happy to approach him. Xiong Jinding, manager, was considered the best "parent." Long before the founding of the CPC, he fought alongside Comrade Mao Zedong in Hunan. During his employment with XINHUA RIBAO, he spared no effort to maintain living expenses for about 300 staff and to maintain the publication expenses of the newspaper. Therefore, he had to contact persons from various strata in society and yet he was able to maintain the

nature of a communist. He was good at writing poems and articles and yet he was willing to do support work for the party newspaper. He had medical knowledge and often diagnosed comrades. Editor in chief, Comrade Zhang Hanfu, worked tirelessly and with loyalty for the party and all comrades were influenced by his spirit. He was warm toward comrades and merciless toward the enemy. On the night of 17 January 1941, KMT authorities issued an order and slandered the New Fourth Army as a "rebellious army." The same night, the KMT news censorship bureau sent staff to watch XINHUA RIBAO and on the second day they forbade the newspaper to expose the truth. Comrade Zhang Hanfu declared to this man the solemn stand of the party. He expounded the righteous cause of the party and despised this man who consequently found himself in a difficult position. Thus, with these three outstanding communists as the core, the whole staff of XINHUA RIBAO were closely united.

XINHUA RIBAO not only wrote a brilliant chapter in the history of party newspapers with vivid color but also trained a number of cadres for the cause of the party. We cannot but remember the dozens of courageous and stubborn comrades in the XINHUA RIBAO who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the revolution. Among them were 16 comrades, including Comrades Xiang Tai, Pan Meinian and Li Milin who died under the bombardment by Japanese planes when they were retreating to Chongqing from Wuhan; Comrades Hu Lan and He Tianquan who were murdered by the KMT in "Baigong Mansion" on the eve of the liberation of Chongqing; Comrades Zhang Ziyang, Li Guoqing, Zhou Changwen and Wang Yuwen who died in battle when they followed the army to the south during the war of liberation, and the party's good cadre and responsible member of the Chengdu sales office of XINHUA RIBAO, Comrade Lu Shiwen who was killed by KMT agents at the Sino-American Cooperative Institute. The names of these comrades will remain forever in the glorious history of XINHUA RIBAO.

As a party newspaper, XINHUA RIBAO had a very strong party discipline, close relations with the masses, strong combat spirit and high skills of struggle, and all these represented the historical characteristics of this newspaper. The important role played by XINHUA RIBAO during that period can be proved from the negative aspect by the words spoken by Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, when he sadly recalled this period of history. He said that it was a serious mistake to allow XINHUA RIBAO to be published. Many people knew that during that time, there was a copy of XINHUA RIBAO on the desk of Chiang Kai-shek every day. People jokingly said: "Chiang Kai-shek is the 'most loyal' reader of XINHUA RIBAO!"

But it did not mean that the work of XINHUA RIBAO was absolutely perfect. There were shortcomings and mistakes in the process of the growth of this newspaper. In its early period, XINHUA RIBAO was interfered with by Wang Ming and there were mistakes in its reports and articles and consequently it was criticized by the CPC Central Committee until the mistakes were corrected. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, and under direct guidance by Comrade Zhou Enlai, the comrades in XINHUA RIBAO made progress step by step in the process of constantly overcoming shortcomings and mistakes.

The history of XINHUA RIBAO has its position, not only in the history of party newspapers but also in the history of the party. The history of XINHUA RIBAO recorded a great and arduous era. People can see from this history very vivid materials in various aspects. What is particularly valuable is that from this history we will be able to find many records of the struggles waged by the broad masses of the people.

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AN IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR SCIENTIFIC WORKERS TO STUDY

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[Article by Lin Jingyao [2651 0079 5069]]

[Text] In order to construct a modernized socialist country with a high degree of spiritual and material civilization and in order to carry out communist education even more effectively, not only do we need to develop and to glorify the natural sciences, we also need to develop and to glorify philosophy and the social sciences. This thus demands that natural sciences and social sciences integrate with even greater intimacy and implement a cooperative alliance between natural and social scientists. An important condition for achieving this aim is that social scientists study the natural sciences and natural scientists study social sciences. However, some comrades believe that the areas to be studied in social sciences and natural sciences are completely different and that the former involves studying the movement and developmental laws of social history and the latter the study of the objective laws of the natural world, and that neither can exceed its bounds. Some natural scientific workers believe that the social sciences represent ideology and that the further away from it they stay, the better. These beliefs all affect the enthusiasm of social scientists for studying the natural sciences and that of natural scientists for studying the social sciences.

In his speech before the burial of Marx, Engels said that in Marx' view, science was an effective historical lever and that it was a revolutionary and mobilizing force in history. The "science" which he referred to here included not only the natural sciences but also the social sciences. Any occurrence in society and any regularity no matter from how small and one-sided a social phenomenon it arises from, is always of benefit to social development and historical advancement. Thus the depiction of social phenomena by the social sciences may not today come up to the standards of depiction of the natural world by the natural sciences in terms of "precision," but it is still the same in the sense of objective truth. Naturally, not all social theories which act as ideologies may be said to have a scientific nature to them. Social theories which reflect social historical phenomena in a distorted and subversive way are not scientific and thus are not objectively true, just as theories of natural phenomena which reflect in a distorted and subversive way should not be considered as

natural sciences. Thus it is important that both social scientists and natural scientists understand what out-and-out pseudoscience is.

Materialist dialectics proposes that the world is a unified whole. All motions and events within this whole are mutually constrained. Specific links exist between the natural world and human society and between all phenomena within the natural world and within human society. Although all the parts of science which reflect this unified whole differ in quality, they are not isolated and sealed off systems, but instead they are mutually linked and intermingling and thus, in overall terms, mankind's scientific knowledge is an integrated, unified whole. Philosophy represents the system of the fundamental views and concepts that mankind has of his entire world (natural, social, and mental) and thus it is the summarization and assimilation of all natural and social knowledge and thus the natural sciences are an important foundation for philosophy. Without the necessary natural scientific knowledge, or equipped with only outdated natural scientific knowledge, it is impossible to achieve new results within philosophy or to develop philosophy. The natural sciences are constantly developing and old concepts and theories are being constantly replaced by new concepts and theories. Philosophy must also constantly develop and must also come up with new concepts and theories, otherwise it will fall behind the times. Marxist philosophical knowledge is an extremely important and pressing topic for research and developments in present natural sciences have already provided and still are providing a rich abundance of new knowledge for this topic. In China, in order to develop Marxist theories of knowledge, we not only need to research new experiences in socialist modernized construction, but we must also rely on fully utilizing new results and achievements in modern natural sciences. Thus an important fundamental requirement for carrying out research into theories of knowledge is for philosophers to study a little psychology, cerebral science, molecular biology, electronics, optics, information theory, quantum mechanics, nuclear physics, and so on, giving close attention to all new developments in every one of these areas of the natural sciences. Otherwise, we can only repeat and annotate problems which have already been brought up and solved in the history of philosophy. In the past, philosophical circles have been wrongly critical of some important achievements in modern natural sciences, such as the theory of relativity, the theory of hereditary genes, control theory, and so on and a major reason for this was a lack of sufficient knowledge of the natural sciences. It can be seen that if we impose considerations of philosophical theories of knowledge on all the questions and problems thrown up during the development of modern natural sciences, and if we want to make accurate appraisals of the philosophical significance of the achievements of modern natural sciences and judge what the natural sciences mean to philosophy on the basis of the latest developments in the natural sciences, then we simply must possess a certain amount of natural scientific knowledge. The belief that we only need to grasp a few philosophical concepts and some philosophical principles to provide a Marxist response to the question of the philosophical theory of knowledge within the natural sciences and that we do not need to study historical and present scientific knowledge is not very realistic.

The social sciences study social phenomena. The theory of Marxist historical materialism has already exposed to us the fundamental laws of social historical movement and has provided us with the most general methodology for studying social and historical phenomena. The key to success in every area of the social sciences is to maintain the historical materialist world view and methodology. The basic laws of social development are extremely rich in content and this is because the factors which influence social advancement are many, and some are scientific and technological factors. The new world of knowledge that natural scientists have opened up has not only transformed the natural world, it has also changed the face of social history. In addition, there are mutual links between changes in the natural world and social changes. The development of science and technology not only spurs on the advancement of the social productive forces and economic development, it also brings about revolutionary changes in every aspect of human society and life. In other words, its sphere of influence includes economics, politics, culture, ideology, and international relations within human society. In the process of carrying out their theoretical activities, Marx and Engels paid a great deal of attention to the social effects of scientific and technological development. Engels referred to the steam engine, modernized machinery, the railway, steamers, and large-scale colonial and world trade as "the forces which have created modern capitalist class society." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 31, p 470) Although such Chinese inventions as gunpowder, the compass, and printing technology were not widely used in ancient times, Marx examined the revolutionary role that they played after their introduction into Europe and said of these inventions that "they were all necessary premises for the development of the capitalist classes." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 30, p 318)

The great emphasis that Marx and Engels placed on the role of "the forces of science" in social development is not only illustrated in their enormous amounts of theoretical work, but is also embodied in the times in which they guided revolutionary practice. In August 1868 Marx drafted resolutions concerning the effects of using machinery under a capitalist system. As we know, mechanized industrial civilization is a product of modernized science and technology and the effects of using machinery are in actual fact the effects of the development and use of modern science and technology. If one omits "the forces of science" and omits "an effective historical lever" from amongst the various factors in social historical development, then one is being very biased and indeed sometimes it makes things simply incomprehensible. During the development of modern capitalism, this has become clearer and clearer. History is created by the people and within a class society the class struggle represents the motive force behind social development. This concept of Marx is in no way contradictory to accepting that science is the revolutionary force which promotes social development, indeed it is entirely in keeping with it. New scientific developments and technological inventions represent the glorious achievements of people creating history. The results and effects of scientific and technological advancement manifest themselves in the changes in social relations and the class struggle. In the past, when one studied history, the "red line," representing people creating history and the class struggle, was always

stressed and exaggerated out of proportion, so that one was led to believe that that was what all of history was and thus the enormous role that science and technology has played in history was not given sufficient attention. It must be admitted that was very one-sided.

There are constant new developments in modern science and technology and great strides are being made every day. New results of science and technology have caused the productive forces to develop at an unprecedented speed and have caused far-reaching and profound changes throughout human life. These changes not only affect mankind's economic and material life, they also affect mankind's spiritual life and ideological methodology. As modern science develops, new technology and new materials are constantly produced and thus new production sectors are produced and developed. In the past, man was accustomed to limiting production sectors to material production sectors and exploitation but as science and technology quickly developed even information gradually developed into a production sector. Advances in modern science and technology also affect relations in international economics, politics, ideology, and culture. Nuclear weapons and their advanced delivery systems, reconnaissance satellites, and various kinds of advanced technology which play an important role in economic development are all factors which cannot be lightly dismissed when considering and dealing with international relations. The birth and development of microelectronics and the use of communications satellites has produced fundamental changes in the world of information and in the press, breaking down geographical barriers and the division between the town and the countryside, helping people to exchange ideas and cultures and at the same time providing possibilities for the dissemination of corrupt ideology and culture by some poisonous elements in the world. While developing its own culture, every country in the world can not but take into consideration these results and effects which advances in science and technology have produced.

Since modern science and technology have already permeated every aspect of social life we should not allow our field of vision to remain too narrow, but instead we should broaden our horizons and allow the developmental situation in the natural sciences and their results to be included within the sphere of study of all sectors of the social sciences which research and illustrate social phenomena and the social relations between people. If we do not do this it will be impossible to develop the social sciences within modern science and technology and to elevate the social sciences to a new, higher level.

Looking at the social sciences research methodology, qualitative differences between the social sciences and the natural sciences mean that there are methodological differences in terms of research as well. However, this is not the same as saying that the research methods of the social sciences and the natural sciences are totally unconnected. As the natural sciences develop, certain branches of the social sciences will gain stimulation from the research methods of the natural sciences and will incorporate these methods into their own research methods with the result that the fruits of research in these branches of the social sciences will no longer be limited

to theoretical and qualitative analysis but will gradually move toward using more models and quantitative analysis. Some social scientific theories have only been formulated through quantitative analysis. The mutual permeation and tendency toward similarity which exists in the research methods of the natural and social sciences makes the social scientist's need to study the natural sciences much more pressing and urgent.

Having fully recognized the strength of the natural sciences and appreciated that the natural sciences form the foundation of all knowledge, Marx and Engels always handled the development of science and technology with great enthusiasm and paid a great deal of keen and joyous attention to the scientific revolution which was constantly evolving. In order to establish and develop Marxist theory, and in addition to participating in the practice of the proletarian revolutionary movement and assimilating and evaluating new experiences gained in practice, Marx and Engels also arduously studied and researched recent developments in the natural sciences. Their study was not ordinary study, it was intense, profound and deep research. Marx was a proficient mathematician. He gradually accumulated his knowledge of mathematics through his study of and intense research into political economics. In the process of researching political economics, Marx not only studied and researched mathematics, he also studied and researched other areas of the natural sciences such as technology, agricultural chemistry, and so on. In addition, he also studied and researched cytology, biology, anatomy, physics, geography, astronomy, and so on. Engels read cursorily and researched almost every area of the modern natural sciences, reaching the very frontiers of contemporary developments in the natural sciences. This meant that not only did he have an intimate knowledge of all the latest developments in the natural sciences, but he also made very capable use of them. Engels' two works "Anti-Duhring" and "Natural Dialectic Theory" are not only rich in natural scientific knowledge, they also contain a great deal of the achievements in the natural sciences in philosophical terms.

The link and permeation between the natural and the social sciences is not one way, but mutual. The natural sciences permeate the social sciences and the social sciences also permeate the natural sciences. Thus an important requirement for the development and prosperity of the natural sciences is that natural scientists study social sciences. The natural sciences need philosophical guidance and direction and natural scientists, especially, need to study Marxist philosophy to improve their theoretical and mental capacities, so that they may correct their thinking and avoid going in the wrong direction. This is still extremely important today.

The results of developments in science and technology are not only things which the social sciences need to study, they are also things which natural scientists need to study and to concern themselves with. Real scientists and inventors all aspire to using their scientific discoveries and technological inventions to serve society and to promote social advancement, and thus it is very natural that they should express concern with new developments and results in science and technology. Of course, it should be

admitted that the results and effects of a scientific discovery or new piece of technology cannot be completely controlled or predicted by a scientist or inventor, but are dependent on many factors, including the society's economic and political system, the state of development of the society's productive forces, and the ideological and cultural tradition of the society. Einstein discovered the law of value between mass and energy. On the basis of Einstein's principle, Hahn and others discovered nuclear fission of uranium but they never imagined that these scientific discoveries would be used to construct enormous weapons with which to kill people. Even further from their minds was the possibility that two atomic bombs would transform the cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima into ruins. However, questions which go beyond the limits of matters of science and technology themselves such as questions of evaluating and predicting the outcome of advances in science and technology are by no means questions which scientists and inventors should ignore. Scientists should not only work so that the fruits of their labors may help mankind to control nature, but in addition should actively strive to help mankind make greater use of the results of science and technology, so that all new scientific discoveries may produce the best possible social results, and for this reason they should study the social sciences so that they may come to possess the fundamental knowledge of Marxism and understand Chinese and world history, economics, politics, law, logic, literature, aesthetics, and so on. As far as scientific and technological workers are concerned this is in no way an added burden, but rather an integral part of their own research work.

Scientific and technological history tells us that the development and extensive application of science and technology not only depended on the hard work of scientists and inventors and the value of scientific and technological discoveries themselves, it also depended on all sorts of social conditions. When scientific and technological workers study the social sciences they will come to understand that the extent of mankind's influence on the natural world is also affected by all sorts of complex social factors. Why was recent science and technology unable to emerge on the basis of traditional Chinese science and technology? Why was the appearance of Western science in China toward the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty unable to boost the development of recent Chinese science and technology? In the last 1 or 2 years scientific and technological circles have been investigating these questions. Just as these questions cannot be simply explained through the class struggle, neither can they be explained simply in terms of science and technology. Traditional Chinese science and technology had its drawbacks, it is true, yet the very special social structure of feudal China and various other social factors such as ideological cultural (philosophical) traditions were even more fundamental. Thus a very deep investigation of these questions must, in order to arrive at any scientific conclusions, strive for a very intimate understanding of the history of ancient Chinese science and technology, and in addition, must grasp the fundamental concepts of Marxism and come to fully understand Chinese and world history and the differences in political, economic, and cultural terms between feudal Chinese society and European and American countries. One characteristic of developments in modern science and technology is the socialization of science and technology.

Science and technology represent an integral part of a country's economic development and in addition they are a very strategic integral part. The socialization of science and technology demands that scientists and technologists be aware of society and tackle their work in terms of strategic social and economic development. It demands that scientists and technologists should work closely with social scientists, solving relevant problems within the development of science and technology. This also demands study, so that each worker possesses the necessary social scientific knowledge.

In terms of the history of science, many scientists and inventors place a great deal of importance on studying and researching the social sciences. Some famous modern natural scientists are not only very well versed in historical and modern philosophical thought, from which they are able to draw nourishment and raise their own theoretical and mental capacities, they also have a fairly rich knowledge of the social sciences. For many years the tendency to "emphasize science and ignore the arts" in China was quite serious and a great many scientific and technological workers did not care about the social sciences and students in hospital schools, worker schools, peasant schools, and science schools did not study anything to do with the social sciences apart from the obligatory lessons in Marxist-Leninist theory. Some scientific and technological workers and some educationalists have now realized that these courses had their drawbacks and were not well designed to train and create a new generation of scientists, experts, technologists, and engineers.

As modern science and technology develops, it throws up many questions which need to be researched and solved through joint efforts between the social sciences and the natural sciences, thus producing a series of interlinking disciplines and fringe disciplines such as the science of systems, the science of information, the science of science, psychology, the study of population, the study of the future, environmental studies, technological economics, management sciences, political science, and so on. In addition there is cerebral science, which in actual fact is a natural science but also permeates philosophy and the social sciences. These new subject areas amalgamate the natural and the social sciences into one and the topics facing them, such as energy, grain, population and the balance of nature, and so on do not depend solely on either the social sciences or the natural sciences for their solutions but they demand the integration of social scientific workers and natural scientific workers and technologists who together may carry out composite research, and they require the hard work of social scientists who understand the natural sciences and natural scientists who understand the social sciences. Today, both abroad and in China, there are some academic research organizations and groups emerging involving natural scientists, technologists, and social scientists. The very famous Club of Rome is made up of some very well known scientists, economists, and educationalists, whose topics of discussion and research include the present and future plight of mankind. It can be predicted that as social economics and science and technology develop, these kinds of overall or composite questions are going to appear more and more frequently. Only if we break down our narrow field of vision and diligently research the

social sciences when doing natural scientific and technological work and only if we diligently research the natural sciences and technology when doing social scientific work can we ensure that our work comes up to the demands of modern scientific development.

In order to construct a high degree of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization, we need a high standard of research results in the natural and the social sciences and we need a large output of people richly knowledgeable and spiritually and ideologically healthy. This depends on the labors of the natural scientists and the social scientists and it is here that a lofty spirit and far-reaching scientific and cultural accomplishments are absolutely necessary. When social scientists study the natural sciences and vice versa the spiritual realms of workers in both fields will be constantly widened, as too will be their scientific and cultural accomplishments and thus at the same time the quality and standard of their labor will also be improved.

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THE FLAME OF THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SALVATION WILL NOT BE STAMPED OUT--
THE PATRIOTIC KAMPUCHEAN ARMY AND PEOPLE HAVE VICTORIOUSLY ENDURED THE
FIFTH DRY SEASON

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 33-35

[Commentator's article]

[Text] As soon as, 4 years ago, the Vietnamese aggressors rode roughshod over the Kampuchean soil, the Kampuchean Army and people lit the flames of the struggle for national salvation. Since then, the Kampuchean battlefields, amidst the smoke of gunpowder, have been recording the glorious course of the hard struggle of the Kampuchean Army and people. Now, the fifth dry-season offensive of the Vietnamese aggressor troops has ended in ignominious defeat. In this offensive, the Vietnamese aggressor troops brutally massacred Kampuchean civilians and refugees in the Kampuchean-Thai border regions, and invaded the Thai territory. Their intentions were: 1) To weaken and wipe out the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces; 2) to sow discord in and to cause to crumble the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea; and 3) by military pressure, to force the ASEAN nations and international society to accept the fait accompli of Vietnamese invasion in Kampuchea in order to legalize the Phnom Penh puppet regime. However, these intentions of the Vietnamese authorities have come to nothing, and the situation in Kampuchea is developing in favor of the Kampuchean Army and people.

First, in the invasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese troops concentrated powerful military strength and dispatched heavy weapons such as tanks and artillery. Under such disparity of strength, the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces shifted forces in a timely manner, preserved their effective strength, broke up into parts, carried out guerrilla warfare, and attacked the Vietnamese troops from both sides and in the rear. When the rear of the Vietnamese troops was weakly defended, the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces launched attacks along Route 5 and Route 6, wiped out enemy strongholds, destroyed transportation lines, and penetrated deep into the interior to expand their areas of control. The Kampuchean patriotic armed forces coordinated the battles in the west, north, northeast, and center of the country so well that the Vietnamese troops could not cope with the situations all at the same time.

Second, in the invasion against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressor troops tried to destroy one by one the Kampuchean tripartite armed forces of resistance against Vietnamese invasion and to disintegrate the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. But, things ran counter to what they had expected. The more barbarous the attacks the Vietnamese aggressor troops launched and the more insanely they oppressed, the more united the Democratic Kampuchean tripartite armed forces became, and the more effectively these patriotic armed forces carried out military and political struggles. As a result, the plot of the Vietnamese aggressor troops could not succeed. Not long ago, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, chairman of Democratic Kampuchea, received credentials presented by six ambassadors in a liberated area in Kampuchea. World opinion made commentaries on this matter, saying that it fully showed that Democratic Kampuchea was bringing into play the role of a sovereign state and that Kampuchea was getting increasing international support.

Third, faced with the invasion of the Vietnamese aggressor troops, Thailand was not scared. On the contrary, it launched a powerful counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressor troops and succeeded in driving them away. Other ASEAN nations were not won over by Vietnam's soft tactics. On the contrary, they became more united and, together with other countries in the world, strongly condemned Vietnam's new atrocities, voiced support for Thailand, and continued to support the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces. Public opinion in the ASEAN nations further exposed the tricks of "dialogue" and "partial troop withdrawal" played by the Vietnamese authorities, saying that this was "only a diplomatic offensive after the defeat of its military offensive."

People still remember how arrogant the Vietnamese aggressor troops were when they pressed up westward to the Kampuchean-Thai border after occupying Phnom Penh in early 1979. Backed by the Soviet Union and relying on superior military equipment, they categorically claimed that it would take them only a few weeks to wipe out all Kampuchean patriotic armed forces and to swallow up the whole of Kampuchea. Since then, 4 years have elapsed. However, the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces have not only stood firm, but have also grown in strength. Their united struggle of resistance against Vietnamese invaders is developing. In an article entitled "See How Vietnam Gets Out of the Predicament," Singapore's NANYANG-SINGAPORE JOINT MORNING POST pointed out: "History always severely punishes and satirizes those who refuse to accept its teachings. Now, Vietnam's Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, and their followers are being punished and satirized by history, as they have picked up the weapons left over by U.S. soldiers, embarked on the old road trodden by U.S. soldiers, and fallen into the traps which U.S. soldiers fell into and crawled out with cuts and bruises--the very traps set by the Vietnamese themselves in dealing with U.S. soldiers. There is nothing more satiric than this."

No one negates that in the wars of resistance against French and U.S. invasions, the Vietnamese Army was a brave, militant, and self-sacrificing army. With inferior equipment, they defeated their enemies who were far more powerful than them. Today, in the Kampuchean battlefields, the

Vietnamese Army is far superior to the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces in terms of military strength, weapons, equipment, and supply of materials. But the Vietnamese Army cannot win the war. Poorly equipped and weak in military strength, the Kampuchean patriotic armed forces have frustrated successive fierce attacks by the Vietnamese Army. What are the reasons?

The nature of aggressors determines that they always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the strength of the people of the country invaded. Vietnamese aggressors have forgotten the truth proved by the wars of resistance against French and U.S. invasions: A people fighting a patriotic just war is invincible. Under contemporary historical conditions, in an aggressive and antiaggressive war, the aggressor country, which has powerful armed forces, will not be able to deal with antiaggressive people's guerrilla warfare or to wipe out the people's patriotic armed forces, even though it can defeat the regular army of the invaded country. Of course, the people's patriotic armed forces will win final victory only by having correct leadership and policies, by firmly relying on the support of the people, by uniting with all the forces that can be united, and through a protracted and arduous struggle. The history of war has again and again proved that the outcome of a war is decided not only by the balance of military forces of the warring nations, but also by the just or unjust nature of the war, by the will of the people and by the factor of how much international support is given. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The former is changeable in the course of war, as the military superiority of a side is a factor which plays only a temporary role, while the latter are factors which play a lasting role throughout the war. As far as the latter are concerned, in today's Kampuchean battlefields, superiority is on the side of Democratic Kampuchea.

On Vietnam's side, this war is aggressive and unjust in nature. Therefore, the morale of the majority of the Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea is low, and they are homesick and war-weary. As the war drags on, their combat effectiveness is becoming low. It is just because the Vietnamese authorities have waged an aggressive and unjust war that Vietnam is bogged down in more serious economic difficulties and social contradictions. If a progressive and just war can encourage the whole nation and promote social progress, then a reactionary and unjust war will inevitably make a country degenerate and cause society to retrogress. When Vietnam plunged its nationwide strength into resisting imperialists, it was vigorous, united and progressive. Now, things are the other way round with Vietnam, because it is carrying out an aggressive war and oppressing another country's people. The use of a large quantity of manpower and material resources in the aggressive war against Kampuchea has added a heavy burden to Vietnam's finance and caused economic depression and an extraordinary shortage of materials. As a result, profiteers in the black market are rampant and the people live in destitution. Over a million strong young people have put productive work aside and joined the army in Vietnam, which has a population of 50 million people. A very large part of its revenue, which is already in straitened circumstances, must be taken for military use and for maintaining the aggressive war. The people's indignation is increasing daily. The Vietnamese authorities keep intensifying their fascist rule,

and this has aggravated the contradictions between themselves and the people, the contradictions within the ruling circles, the contradictions between various domestic nationalities, and the contradictions between north and south Vietnam. Cadres at all levels have lost confidence in the country's future, and the phenomenon of being morally degenerate can be found everywhere. Following its losses in the aggressive war against Kampuchea, these contradictions will certainly develop and be aggravated.

In contrast to this, in this war, the patriotic Kampuchean Army and people are on the side of justice. Hegemonists in Vietnam have forced the aggressive war on the Kampuchean people in an attempt to colonize Kampuchea. Under such circumstances, people of different beliefs and belonging to different political groups are faced with the question of the life or death of the nation. At this critical juncture, all Kampuchean patriots, who are not willing to be slaves of a foreign power, have stepped out and, fearing no sacrifice and sharing a bitter hatred of the enemy, are fighting against Vietnamese aggressors and their puppet regime. They are fighting for national survival and the restoration of their motherland's independence and sovereignty. The Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas, in particular, are fighting heroically against Vietnamese aggressors and loyally defending their national interests. They are winning support from the broad masses of the people. The perverse acts of the Vietnamese aggressors have, by negative example, taught a small number of people who adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward the war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression. The patriotic Kampuchean armed forces enjoy popular support. The founding and consolidation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea are greatly beneficial to persistence in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression and to defending the country's independence and sovereignty. The patriotic Kampuchean Army and people have stood the severe test of five dry-season offensives carried out by Vietnamese aggressors. This is a great victory. Now, in the united struggle against Vietnamese aggression, they have greater determination and a stronger will, and are dealing more powerful blows at the aggressors.

Since they are carrying on an aggressive war, Vietnamese troops cannot but commit strategic mistakes which all aggressor troops generally commit and be confronted with difficulties which all aggressor troops generally meet with. They originally thought of fighting a "war of quick decision," but in the end, they have been bogged down in a protracted war of attrition. Moreover, they have dispatched troops without just cause. Officers and soldiers have been away from their native places for a long time. They are engulfed in the ocean of the people who are full of national hatred and who resist in a death-defying spirit. All this has caused a negative effect and fatal manner on the morale of Vietnamese aggressor troops. In order to consolidate the occupation of towns, transportation lines, and numerous points, and to deal with guerrillas who fight on unfixed fronts, the aggressor troops have no choice but to decentralize their military strength. As a result, their long supply lines and miscellaneous logistic support are often attacked and destroyed. In dealing with guerrillas who operate in jungles and mountainous regions, the artillery and tanks of the aggressors cannot play their superior role, because it is inconvenient to

move their heavy weapons. This has provided favorable conditions for the patriotic Kampuchean Army and people in the war against aggression. Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea have aroused the indignation of the world's peace-loving countries and of people who uphold justice. Some responsible persons of the Vietnamese authorities have gone about selling their ideas and begging for assistance and support, but only very few people have responded. The atrocities and political hoaxes of Vietnamese aggressors have enabled more and more people to see clearly their nature and image, under which they have brutally trampled on the international code of relations, acted in perfidy, and been wildly ambitious, and made themselves the accused and isolated in many international activities. This is the law which shows that an unjust cause finds meager support. It has emerged just from the nature of the war of aggression carried out by Vietnam.

In contrast, the patriotic Kampuchean Army and people are obtaining extensive international assistance. The UN General Assembly adopted resolutions by an overwhelming majority on four successive occasions to safeguard the Democratic Kampuchean seat in the United Nations. The UN General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchean Questions have condemned Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and demanded that Vietnam unconditionally pull out all its troops from Kampuchea and let the Kampuchean people solve their own problems. The ASEAN nations, and Thailand in particular, have stood up against the threat and sabotage of Vietnamese aggressors, and expressed sympathy and support for the Kampuchean people in the war against Vietnamese aggression. The Chinese Government and people have consistently supported Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression and played their role and performed their international duty in checking the expansion of the ferocity of the Vietnamese aggressors. The Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression has not only safeguarded the national survival and independence of Kampuchea, but has also contained the aggression and expansion carried out by hegemonists and safeguarded peace and security in Southeast Asia and the whole of Asia. It is right and proper for the Kampuchean people to have extensive international sympathy and support in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression. This is the law which shows that a just cause enjoys abundant support. It has emerged just from the nature of the war against aggression carried out by the Kampuchean people.

The Kampuchean nation is a great nation, and the Kampuchean people are heroic people. The patriotic and just struggle of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression will inevitably enjoy firmer support from the broad masses of the Kampuchean people and will inevitably obtain more extensive sympathy and support from the people of the world. This is the political basis of Democratic Kampuchea on which it will inevitably defeat the Vietnamese aggressors. The struggle of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese aggression once again declares to the whole world: The days in which aggressors can ride roughshod without being punished have gone once and for all; and no strength can stamp out the flames of the struggle for national salvation.

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QUADRUPLING AND THE QUESTION OF WATER RESOURCES

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[Article by Wang Changsheng [3769 7022 0581]]

[Text] Water is the source of all life. Man's origins, existence and development are all intimately linked to water and all of mankind's production and social activities depend on water. Without water there would be no history of civilization and there would be no way that present society could exist. The importance of water is understood by everyone. What needs to be studied today is what the requirements of water resources are for achieving the glorious target as outlined in the 12th CPC Congress, to quadruple industrial and agricultural production value by the end of this century. What measures and policies should be adopted in relation to water resources? This article makes a few preliminary investigations into these questions.

The Characteristics of Water Resources

In comparison with other natural resources, water resources have the following characteristics:

1. Water is a replenishable natural resource. Water resources are not like oil, coal and other mineral resources. Coal exists in specific amounts and coal deposits diminish as the extent of coal exploitation increases. Water resources are replenished every year through the hydrology cycle and thus water can be used forever. However, water resources are not like lumber and aquatic resources, which can be constantly increased through afforestation or human cultivation. The total amount of rainfall in the world is about the same every year. According to statistics published by the UN Water Committee, annual average precipitation throughout the surface of the whole world is 800 mm and the total amount of rainfall measures 119,000 cubic kilometers. In China annual total precipitation measures 6,000 cubic kilometers, making up 5 percent of the total world precipitation. Average precipitation in China stands at 630 mm, lower than the world average. Although the quantity of precipitation varies annually, over a period of years there is a constant.

2. There is a great deal of salt water and little fresh water. Throughout the world there are vast oceans and seas and many rivers, lakes and streams. Seventy percent of the earth's surface is covered with water. What an abundance of water resources! This gives one the impression that water resources are truly inexhaustible. However, most of this water is salt water and the amount of fresh water is very small. The total volume of water on the earth is 1,385,980,000 cubic kilometers, of which sea water makes up 97.3 percent and fresh water 2.7 percent, and the total volume of exploitable fresh water is 3 million cubic kilometers, representing around 0.2 percent of the total volume of water on earth. China has coastal regions on the Bohai Sea, the Yellow Sea, the Eastern Sea and the South Sea and most of China's water is sea water.

3. There is a great deal of evaporation but little runoff. When it rains, snows or hails, most of the water is lost through evaporation and little ends up as runoff. The total volume of water which evaporates on the earth every year is around 72,000 cubic kilometers, around 60 percent of total annual rainfall. Runoff totals around 47,000 cubic kilometers, around 40 percent of total rainfall. The situation in China is also like this, with annual rainfall of 6,032.2 billion cubic meters and 2,614.4 billion cubic meters of runoff, making up 43 percent of total rainfall, while the other 57 percent is lost in evaporation.

4. Water resources are not well suited to being transported long distances. Water is different from energy. Electricity can be transported from a power station to distant towns and villages by means of high voltage cables; coal and oil can be transported by rail, road, water and pipeline, thus allowing it to be brought from the production area to the consumer area. Consumption of water is enormous and according to statistics the annual amount of water used in China in industrial production and daily living reaches 57 billion cubic meters, and in terms of weight this is equal to 570 times the annual production of oil and more than 80 times the annual production of coal. Using trains, lorries and ships to transport water is thus completely pointless. Transporting water by means of irrigation ditches and underground pipes is technologically feasible but is economically expensive. For example, in 1981 Tianjin decided to "extract water from the Yellow River to help Tianjin" and set up a water transportation line 800 kilometers in length, which flowed all the way to Tianjin with each ton of water from the Yellow River costing 1 yuan. Thus, in general, water resources are best suited to local exploitation.

In comparison to water resources in other countries, China's water resources have the following characteristics:

1. A great deal of water is lost and the amount of water that can be used is small. This is because: a) Periods of precipitation are very concentrated and 60 percent of annual precipitation is concentrated in 3 to 4 months during summer and autumn. During every wet season there are torrential rainstorms and rivers become swollen and overflow and the surging river waters flow for hundreds of miles until they empty into the sea and mix with the salt water; b) water storage capacity is limited and it is not

possible to store most runoff water and we can but watch helplessly as the valuable fresh water disappears and is lost. Since the founding of new China, 86,000 large-, medium- and small-scale reservoirs have been built and 6.4 million dikes and dams have been constructed, creating a total water holding capacity of more than 400 billion cubic meters, but this only represents 15.3 percent of all annual runoff in China and thus most water is lost.

2. Absolute quantities of water are large, but average amounts per person are small. China's water resources on land total 2,614.4 billion cubic meters, making our water resources very abundant, fifth in the world after Brazil, the Soviet Union, Canada and the United States. However, on an average per person basis, each person in China only has 2,700 cubic meters and, with China's population making up one-fourth of the total world population, it places China 17th among the 18 countries richest in water resources.

3. There is a great deal of water in the southeast, but little in the northwest. There are enormous differences in precipitation distribution in China and in general most occurs in the southeast and little in the northwest, with the amount of precipitation dropping as one moves inland and northwest from the southeastern coastal regions. In areas surrounding the Changjiang River, the Pearl River, in Zhejiang, Fujian, Taiwan and all the various river regions of the southwest, there is abundant rainfall and thus rich water resources. The total volume of water in these regions makes up 82.2 percent of all water in the whole country. The Yellow River, Huai River, Hai River, Luan River, and Liao River, as well as Heilongjiang and the northwestern river areas, are areas of low rainfall and drought. The total volume in these areas makes up 17.7 percent of China's total, while cultivated land in these areas represents 63.7 percent of all such land in China and 46 percent of China's population inhabits these. Thus with little water, a large population and a great deal of cultivated land, the contradiction between supply and demand is very obvious. This is especially true in the Yellow River, Huai River and Hai River valley regions where the total amount of water only amounts to 5 percent of the entire country's runoff and where 30 percent of China's population lives and 37 percent of China's cultivated land is to be found. Thus the average person's water usage equals only 451 cubic meters (about one-sixth of the national average per person) and each mu of cultivated land only has 243 cubic meters of water, thus proving how tight water resources really are.

4. Distribution of underground water resources is very uneven. China's underground water resources total around 700 billion cubic meters per year, making them very abundant. However, in terms of distribution, areas with a great deal of surface water are also rich in underground water resources while areas poor in surface water are also poor in underground water resources. The Changjiang River and the land to the south of it represent around 70 percent of it and the northern regions make up a little bit over 30 percent. The four provinces of Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong, and Henan represent one-fourth of China's total cultivated land and yet together they only have 70 billion cubic meters of underground water, representing 10

percent of the total. There are rich underground water reserves in the flatlands and the Songliao Plains, Sanjiang Plains and the plains on the northern foot of the Tianshan Mountains which together make up 16 percent of China's total land mass, 29.4 percent of all underground water reserves. Of all underground water reserves only about one-fifth to one-third can actually be exploited which is rather limiting.

The Realization of the Quadrupling of the GNP Will Bring an Enormous Increase in Water Consumption

Water is an important material requirement without which industrial and agricultural production could not function. By the end of the century, the value of industry and agricultural output will have quadrupled and production will have developed greatly and thus there will have been great improvements in the people's living standards. At the same time, water usage will also inevitably increase by an enormous amount.

In recent years, water consumption in agricultural irrigation has been about 400 billion cubic meters per year, representing around 84 percent of total water consumption. In the future, irrigated land is going to expand and thus water usage will increase. On the basis of irrigation planning forecasts in all provinces, cities, autonomous regions and river valleys, by the year 2000 the entire country's water consumption for agricultural irrigation will have increased to 541.8 billion cubic meters of water, an average annual increase of 1.77 percent. At present rural animal, live-stock and various other water consumption areas use around 11.4 billion cubic meters of water per year and by the year 2000 this usage will have increased to 37 billion cubic meters per year, an annual increase of 11.2 percent.

At present industry consumes about 50 billion cubic meters of water, 11 percent of all water consumption, of which thermal power stations use about half. If we look at the present overall average quotas for water consumption in industry and consider the feasibility of cutting down on water consumption, then, based on an average annual increase of 5 percent, by the year 2000 industrial water consumption will have doubled to around 100 billion cubic meters.

Civilian water consumption totals around 13 billion cubic meters a year, of which 5 billion cubic meters are consumed in towns and cities and 8 billion cubic meters in rural areas. In the future, as the population increases and standards of living improve, water consumption in urban areas will increase quickly. Assuming that by the end of the century the population of China will be 1.2 billion, of which 0.24 billion will inhabit the urban areas, then the average per capita annual consumption of water will be around 50 cubic meters of water, in all 12 billion cubic meters of water per year. With the population in the rural areas reaching around 960 million by 2000, average per capita annual water consumption will be around 12 cubic meters, a total of 11.5 billion cubic meters. In all water consumption needs in both rural and urban areas will total 23.5 billion cubic meters of water.

By the year 2000 total water needs for agricultural, industrial and civilian consumption will be in the region of 707 billion cubic meters of water, a net increase of 247 billion cubic meters, or 50 percent, over actual water consumption in recent years of around 460 billion cubic meters.

According to estimates, the total volume of usable water in China's land water resources stands at about between 1,000 and 2,000 billion cubic meters, while the maximum volume of underground water resources that can be used stands at between 100 and 200 billion cubic meters. Added together this gives us between 1,100 and 1,200 billion cubic meters of water. Thus in terms of the whole country, water resources sufficient if we do quadruple industrial and agricultural production value by the end of the century. However, imbalances in geographical distribution have naturally created areas rich in water and other areas very poor in water resources. Water consumption will be very tight mainly in the northern regions where water resources are insufficient. In cities situated in the northwest and other northern areas, water crises are going to appear. In general, regions to the south of the Changjiang River have surplus amounts of water but because periods of precipitation are very changeable and distribution over the year is not even, there are some dry periods and thus some areas will also experience water shortages. Thus in achieving the glorious target for quadrupling the gross national product by the end of the century we must pay a great deal of attention to the question of water resources.

Effective Policies Which Should Be Implemented

Based on objective conditions and characteristics of China's water resources, and taking into account the development of water consumption and economic requirements in China, I feel that the following few policies should be implemented in developing and exploiting water resources.

1. Active development of sources. a) We should carry out large-scale afforestation. In view of the large quantity of water lost through evaporation in China, as well as the small amount of runoff, we must pay attention to preserving existing vegetation and forbidding the destruction of forests and grasslands. The more ground vegetation that exists, the more "forest reservoirs" will increase. At the same time, we must not lose our grip on mobilizing people to plant more trees and thus conserve water in this way. "Afforestation means creating water." According to calculations, every mu of afforested land can increase water resources by 20 cubic meters and can cut down on evaporation by 30 percent. The results are very obvious. b) Planning work in river valleys must be well done and reservoirs of varying scales must be built in river valleys in a planned way so that water holding capacity can be expanded and as much runoff as possible may be caught. c) Urban areas should construct water supply plants in a planned way, thus expanding supply capacity. According to estimates, water supplies to urban areas (including water for industrial production and civilian consumption) will by the year 2000 have to increase water supply capacity to 200 million cubic meters of water per day, making an average annual increase in water supply capacity of 10 million cubic meters of water per day, equal to 50 200,000-ton large-scale water plants, and thus construction

must be entered into state planning and begun. Technological transformation and reforms should be carried out on existing water plants so that their full potential may be exploited. d) Processing plants for polluted water should be constructed in a planned way in areas poor in water resources. In this way, polluted water may be treated and then reused. This is not only the same as developing new water resources it is also an effective way of reducing environmental pollution.

2. Work hard to cut down consumption. According to estimates, water supplies to urban areas alone will have to increase their water supply capacity by an annual 10 million cubic meters a day in the future, which will require investments of around 2 billion yuan. By the end of the century, new increases in water consumption will need around 40 billion yuan in investments, if we depend only on developing water resources to solve the problem. Investments for developing water resources in the rural areas are also enormous. Such enormous investments will be difficult for China's financial capacity to bear. Thus, at the same time as developing resources, we must work even harder at cutting down consumption. In the rural areas, traditional irrigation methods are very ineffective and uneconomical in terms of water utilization and there is thus serious water wastage. On the basis of investigations into 20 irrigation areas in the lower reaches of the Yellow River, the rate of effective utilization of water was only between 25 and 40 percent. Thus we must change these traditional methods of irrigation and introduce more scientific methods of using water, using spray irrigation and similar advanced technology as well as water conservancy measures such as seepage prevention techniques. In the urban areas water consumption quotas must be specified and planned supply should be carried out. Excesses in water consumption should be paid for with additional fees and if necessary, drastic measures such as closing valves to stop water supplies could be used. Independent water resources should also be managed and administered more efficiently. Those who misuse water supplies should be punished with economic sanctions. Cyclic water consumption should be developed and we should get to grips with reusing water. At present the rate of reused water in industrial production is very low, around 20 percent in the whole country. By implementing effective measures, raising the rate of reused water to around 70 percent or above is totally feasible. In addition, we must also reform production techniques and reduce water consumption. We must step up management overhauls of water supply and water consumption equipment and thus cut down on enormous losses through leakage. Any enterprise or piece of equipment in coastal areas which is able to use sea water as a coolant should make great efforts not to use fresh water, or to cut down on fresh water consumption.

In order to ensure that our work in cutting down on water consumption is effective, we must also adopt some economic and administrative measures to encourage both enterprises and the population to cut down on water consumption. At present, enterprises with running water make more profits the more water they sell. This kind of accounting method should be changed. Water conservation is good for the country and good for the people. According to calculations, for every 10,000 tons of water saved, we can save 2 million yuan in investments in water supply engineering projects, and 3 million yuan

in investments in treatment plants for polluted and drainage water. We can also save 2.2 million watts per year of electricity to be used in the treatment of polluted and drainage water and enterprises, work units or individuals can save 1,600 yuan in water rates (calculated at 0.16 yuan per ton). We must educate the masses and the workers to glorify the concept of conserving water and to feel shame in wasting it. In this way everyone will come to cherish water and a new socialist custom of saving water will be built up.

3. Preserve resources well. Water consumption in industrial and agricultural production not only demands a great deal of water, it also demands varying qualities of water. Water used for drinking, in food products, and in the textile industry must be of a very high quality. If the quality of the water does not come up to standard then it will inevitably affect the quality of the product and man's health. Thus in the past insufficient attention to environmental protection meant that pollution of water resources grew more serious as industrial production developed, and as the amount of waste water, waste gas and waste residue grew, and more and more chemical fertilizers and pesticides were used. According to investigations 80 million cubic meters of waste water from industry and polluted water from living areas is produced every day in urban areas, of which more than 98 percent directly enters the existing water without being treated, leading to pollution of our rivers, lakes and underground water resources. Because a great deal of this water contains phenol, cyanogen, arsenic, mercury, chromium and other poisonous industrial wastes, water is destroyed when they flow into it as wastage, sometimes making it unusable and rendering water resources useless. In order to maintain safe supplies of water and guarantee the demands of industrial and agricultural production and human consumption in terms of water quality, we must preserve our water resources well. At present, we should primarily get to grips with handling the "three wastages" in industry, ensuring that waste water, gas, and residue come up to nationally stipulated standards. This is fundamental to ensuring good protection of our water resources. Secondly, we should establish water resource protection areas, forbidding the construction of polluting industries within a certain area.

4. Improve management. To a very great extent, the rational exploitation, utilization and protection of our valuable but limited water resources depends on how well management work is done. At present, management of China's water resources is rather poor and has still not got onto the right rails. In strengthening management of water resources the most important thing to do is to carry out measures well suited to water conditions under examination, and to rationally deploy the productive forces. In the past some regions and towns did not thoroughly investigate the total amount of water they could utilize, due to the distribution of water resources, and thus regional and urban plans lacked any basis when they were drawn up. In other cases, the influence of "leftist" erroneous thinking meant that there was a one-sided tendency to strive for production value and quantity, ignoring the presence or lack of suitable water resources, and this sometimes gave rise to a very arbitrary deployment of the production forces in agriculture and industry and a certain amount of blindness in planning the

direction, quality and scale of urban development, with the result that considerable economic damage was done and an enormous amount of lethargy and passivity set in the work situation. In the future, the deployment of the productive forces must not only be in accordance with local conditions and suitability, but also in accordance with water conditions. Changes in the agricultural cultivation system and the geographical allocation of crops should take into account water resources. There should not be blind expansion of paddy fields and irrigated land in areas poor in water. In industry the premise for selecting a factory site should be the ease with which sufficient water supplies may be obtained. Industries which use a great deal of water should be constructed in areas rich in water resources. In terms of individual regions and towns, plans should be drawn up to organize industrial, agricultural and domestic water consumption.

5. Scientific use of water. In this area there are many topics to be researched and much work to be done. The main things to be done are: to investigate the number and geographical locations of clean water resources and to carry out long-term predictions on water consumption. We must research advanced technology in agricultural irrigation and industrial water conservation methods. We must explore new ways of tapping water resources. We must study the relationship between exploiting and using water resources and environmental protection. We must draw up plans and organize relevant technological forces together to carry out all of this research.

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STUDYING THE QUESTION OF CONVERSION AND COMPREHENSIVE UTILIZATION OF COAL

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[Article by Yang Jun [2799 3182]]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress stated that the development and utilization of energy resources is one of the strategic focal points of China's socialist modernized construction. Coal is an important integral part of China's energy resources and it is, at the same time, an important industrial raw material. Not only can coal be directly used as a fuel, it can also be transformed into electricity, heat, gas and chemical products and so on. By strengthening the transformation and comprehensive utilization of coal, it is possible to greatly improve its utilization value and economic results, and at the same time cut down on environmental pollution. All of this is extremely significant in promoting China's socialist modernized construction.

Strengthening the Transformation and Comprehensive Utilization of Coal Should Become an Important Policy in Economic Construction

Coal represents more than 96 percent of the recoverable reserves of China's combustible mineral resources, and make up 69 percent of China's present energy consumption, representing between 60 and 70 percent of heavy industry's raw materials. If we want to achieve the strategic targets set for us at the 12th CPC National Congress by the end of this century then the effective, economic, and rational utilization of coal will be a deciding factor.

However, in the last 20 years, a one-sided emphasis on the use of oil, and policies which replace coal with oil have meant that China has slackened in its research work on the transformation and comprehensive utilization of coal, and indeed it has reached the stage where technology in this area is very backward and for many years now, four major problems have existed, the low rate of utilization of energy resources, poor economic results, serious pollution and the large quantities for shipping and transportation. Of China's coal, 84 percent is directly used as a fuel, of which 62 percent is burned in decentralized, small-scale backward equipment. The heat efficiency of civilian cooking stoves and ranges is, in general, only around 18 percent and the heat efficiency of industrial boilers is in general only

around 50 percent, which is 15-20 percent lower than figures for advanced overseas equipment, which means that wastage is enormous. Synthetic ammonia energy consumption is double the overseas advanced levels while energy consumption in steel making in key industries is about 90 percent higher than levels in advanced countries. Because a large quantity of raw coal is directly used as a fuel, very little development into the research and construction of coal gasification, liquidization, and chemical product transformation is done, with the result that the economic value of coal remains very low. The price of coal was originally very low and the state has thus had to provide large financial subsidies for the costs of civilian coal consumption. In addition to this, only 18.9 percent of China's raw coal undergoes a washing process while over 80 percent of the raw coal has to be distributed for utilization over very long distances, involving the transportation of enormous quantities and placing an unbearable burden on rail facilities. According to statistics from the five major trunk railway lines, Beijing-Guangzhou, Beijing-Liaoning, Beijing-Shanghai, Gansu-Jiangsu and Harbin-Datong, transportation of coal makes up between 50 and 70 percent of all transportation of goods on these lines, thus greatly affecting the movement of other products in China. What is even more serious is that coal produces air pollution and damages the environment. According to measurements and statistics, many major towns and cities in China have already exceeded national standards for airborne dust and particle levels. Southern China burns a lot of sulphurous coal and of 25 cities which have been tested, 22 showed signs of acid rain which damages forests and crops and pollutes the rivers, lakes, and streams. China today produces 630 million tons of raw coal a year and the situation has now become so serious that by 2000, when, according to plans, production will have increased to an annual 1.2 billion tons, if today's backward coal burning technology continues to be used, the aftermath does not bear thinking about. Thus, getting to grips with the transformation and comprehensive utilization of coal so that we may utilize our energy resources fully and rationally, has become a vitally important task in China's economic construction.

When we talk of the transformation and comprehensive utilization of coal we mean the transformation of coal into gas fuel and gas raw materials, and its conversion into a liquid fuel and into chemical industrial products. Thus, we reach the aims of improving heat efficiency, improving economic results, preventing pollution and cutting down on transportation burdens. According to statistics and investigations, if new technology is employed to manufacture synthetic ammonia from coal, energy consumption could be cut by 30 percent. If coal is converted into organic chemical industrial raw materials, the economic results would be improved by between several times and more than tenfold. One ton of commodity coal which undergoes gasification and is converted into coal gas can supply civilian coal needs with the equivalent of 1.9 tons of coal burning, thus heat efficiency is almost doubled. If China's towns and cities all changed to using coal gas then between 40 and 60 percent of civilian coal consumption could be saved and more than 10 million tons of commodity coal could be saved for the country every year. At the same time, the environmental situation in towns and cities would also be vastly improved. Take Liaoning city as an example. After the construction of a plant which produces 540,000 cubic meters of

coal gas a day, 180,000 tons of standard coal can be saved every year as well as 70,000 cubic meters of firewood, 10.8 million ton-kilometers of railway transportation of goods, and 1 million yuan in civilian coal cost subsidies. In addition, it greatly reduces harmful pollution through smoke, dust, sulphur dioxide.

China has rich coal reserves and the question of how they should be properly exploited is one that should be placed on the agenda for future consideration, so that it may become an important technological and economic policy. As from today, we must greatly step up research and construction work in this area and quickly get to grips with the technology for conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal, so that China's coal reserves may be effectively and rationally utilized. This will have a profound influence on stimulating and speeding up China's modernized construction. This work was discussed as early as the 1950's but since then it has been delayed for many years. Of course there were technological and economic reasons for the delay, but the fundamental reason has been the problem of policy. In the past, when there was not enough coal, emphasis was only put on mining coal, and never on improving its rate of utilization. It was always felt that investments in the initial conversion of coal were very high and thus when balancing the budget it was never permitted that such amounts of money be spent and thus the investments were never organized and it was constantly delayed. In addition, problems related to the rational utilization of natural resources, and others directly related to the people and their lives and environmental protection caused more and more delays. Such action as this did not however save money. On the contrary, it created even greater wastage. Now is the time to completely change this situation! As from today we should resolutely strengthen research and construction work into the conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal. All countries throughout the world which rely on coal as their main source of energy are doing so and are having successes. We believe that after a certain amount of time, and with steadfastness, China will also be able to achieve some great successes in this area.

The Main Direction and Focus of Attack Today

The scope of conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal is very wide and there is much involved. At present our strength is limited and we are unable to latch ourselves entirely into this, the most we can do now is to tackle a few key points, develop a few focal areas, and hope to get twice the results with half the effort.

1. Gasification of Coal

Each year, China's towns and cities consume 100 million tons of coal, most of it through direct burning, with coal gas only having been popularized amongst 18.3 percent of the urban population in China, making up only 1.4 percent of the total population in China. Of this, two-thirds is still liquid gas. In the United States, Japan, West Germany and other industrially advanced nations, general use of coal gas has spread to more than 85 percent of the total population of these countries. As economic

construction in China develops, the urban demand for coal gas will increase. Although the state has already ratified the construction of coal gas plants in Beijing, Tianjin, and Lanzhou, progress is slow. There exists overseas well-tested distention gasification technology, which is highly efficient and extremely adaptable and which does need high quality coal as a raw material, but which can use lignite which exists in vast quantities and is to be found widely throughout China. It can also use low-viscosity bituminous coal which is also to be found widely in China. Many countries adopt this method as their main way of producing gas resources. We should grasp this technology as soon as possible and integrate it with the situation in China and launch technological attacks on the operation of stoves and furnaces, coal gas purification, and the handling of the three wastes so that within 3 to 5 years we may see some successful results and see its application being popularized. For many years, China has used high quality smokeless coal and coke to produce synthetic gas with annual production totaling around 21 billion cubic meters. Because of shortages in high quality coal and coke, and because the production technology is backward, production costs for synthetic gas are very high and wastage is great. If we adopt distention power coal gasification technology, then production costs can be cut drastically and efficiency increased. If this kind of technology is used to adapt certain chemical fertilizer plants and low quality coal is used in place of coke, then it is estimated that energy consumption would drop by around 30 percent and the production costs for every ton of synthetic ammonia would drop by around 100 yuan.

2. Develop the Coal Chemical Industry

In economic terms, it is far more competitive for China to develop the coal chemical industry than the petrochemical or oil chemical industry. For example, if one uses coal as the raw material in the manufacture of methanol, the production costs are lower than if oil is used as the raw material. After large-scale production, the production costs for every ton of methanol could drop more than 30 percent from present costs. When one compares using coal in the production of polyvinyl chloride to the use of oil in its production, production costs for every ton also drop more than 100 yuan with the use of coal. At the same time, the investments involved in the exploitation of coal are less than those involved in the exploitation of land-based oil and much less than the investments for oil exploitation in the sea. In addition, methanol as a fuel in motor vehicles can, to a certain extent, reduce the pressure on petroleum supplies which are very tight. In 1980, pilot schemes were started in units lacking oil in 14 provinces and cities, which involved the addition of 15 percent of methanol to oil fuels, since 1 ton of methanol can be used as 1 ton of petroleum. Thus, with annual petroleum consumption at 10 million tons, the addition of 15 percent methanol means a saving of 1.5 million tons of petroleum.

3. Improve Coal Combustion Technology

There is a lack of systematic research into combustion technology for high and low quality coal and this is the main reason why the heat efficiency of coal combustion in China is so low. Abroad, they have tested combustion

technology capable of guiding design and operation of conversion, and we should try and study and grasp this technology as soon as possible.

Deposits of low quality coal in China are even richer than high quality coal. Annual production of gangue is around 60 million tons, while production of waste rock ore addressed by washing, is an annual 25 million tons. The calorific capacity after partial washing can reach as much as between 1,500 and 2,000 kilocalories per kilogram. In Guangdong and Jilin, there are rich deposits of oil shale with a low oil content and in Yunnan, Heilongjiang, and Jilin there are rich deposits of lignite, while in the south, which lacks energy resources, there is some bone coal. By using fluidized bed technology this low quality coal can, after combustion, be made very efficient in heat production and electricity generation. The full use of these low quality mineral fuels is extremely important in terms of balancing insufficiencies in high quality fuels and cutting down on environmental pollution. In addition, we should organize some forces together to carry out research and development work on the liquidization of coal and the generation of electricity through the composite cycle of coal, gas combustion-steam. Although the difficulties involved in this kind of technology are many and costs are high, while it will not be possible to put it into practical use in the near future, it is nevertheless an area of tactical significance and thus should be suitably organized and arranged.

Some Measures Which Should Be Implemented

In order to actively develop the conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal, a set of comprehensive plans should be drawn up based on the situation in China using unified planning and ensuring that all factors are taken into consideration. On this basis a few concrete measures should be implemented. We feel that the first step is to implement the following few measures:

1. While experts are carrying out ample theoretical work and tests, they should draw up overall and all-inclusive plans for the conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal in China, including policies for technology, equipment and installations and plans for science and technology and plans for construction development. The investments involved in developing this work are great, and the number of other areas into which the work permeates are many, while preconstruction work is very complex. For these reasons there should be experts in charge of such projects who can bring up plans and ideas with relevant areas and get to grips with implementation.
2. We should fully get to grips with the comprehensive utilization of coal resources. On the basis of the principles of expert coordination and economic rationale, we should develop diversified economic integrated bodies, creating rational production structure and organizational structure and setting up the integrated management of these diversified areas such as coal, coal gas, the chemical industry, electric power, coking and construction materials according to local conditions. These kinds of

large-scale integrated management companies should be constructed in coal-producing areas and comprehensive integrated investment development companies should be set up according to region, setting up underneath them large-scale specialized chemical industrial plants producing only one variety of product. The price of China's commodity coal is at present too low; if by achieving comprehensive utilization of coal we can increase revenue, then this would be good for the development of the coal industry in China.

3. In order to save time and gain time, we should set up as quickly as possible some large and medium-scale bases for the comprehensive utilization of coal. At present we should get to grips with planning work for the base in Shanxi for the comprehensive utilization of coal. We should also start to try and solve the problem of supply of coal gas for civilian use in large and medium-sized cities. Some areas of work should have feasibility studies done now, involving research and testing so that they may be entered into state construction planning as soon as possible.

4. As far as technology is concerned, we should integrate the importation of advanced overseas technology and the organization of emphasis on domestic science and technology. We should make full use of the achievements of overseas technology and thus start ourselves off at a high level.

Emphasis on domestic science and technology should focus on absorbing, digesting and disseminating overseas technology. This focal work should be integrated with the setting up of new programs and technological transformations in existing enterprises. In addition to subsidies from state fund allocations for science and technology funds should be appropriated from pre-capital construction engineering costs and technological transformation costs. As far as importing technology is concerned, we should select one or two boiler-type imported software and also consider carrying out technological cooperation programs or cooperation production with overseas countries.

5. The conversion and comprehensive utilization of coal requires a great deal of investment. Where will this money come from? We believe that we can widen financial avenues by implementing share capital so that some investments will be supplied by the state and the rest can be provided by interested provinces, cities, departments, companies, enterprises and work units. We could also set up small neighborhood collective share capital and there could also be deductions taken from the export revenue from coal savings and the subsidy savings from civilian coal costs. Another method is to introduce compensation trade and thus aim for foreign investment and capital. In conclusion, we should break down old frameworks and adopt collective investment methods and in this way we can reduce the pressure on state finances.

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HOW TO DO A GOOD JOB IN CONDUCTING IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK AMONG WORKERS--INVESTIGATION REPORT ON THE ZHANGJIAKOU CONSTRUCTION SECTION OF THE BEIJING RAILWAY SUBBUREAU

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[Article by Hu Yongxiang [5170 3057 4382], Yang Fengchun [2799 6646 2504] and Luo Shugang [7170 2885 0474]]

[Text] The Zhangjiakou construction section of the Beijing railway sub-bureau, with 611 staff and workers, is responsible for construction work in the 32 stations, freight yards and workers' quarters along railway lines in Zhangjiakou Prefecture. It has eight working areas stretched out over more than 320 km in dozens of working points. Some working points have to do fieldwork year-round and have problems with food and lodging. Many young people are unwilling to go to the construction section because work there is tough and strenuous. Many workers in this section have been laid off by other units as "burdens." Some young people, thinking that they have neither the educational background nor the technical knowhow, come here because they have nowhere else to go. Thus, they do not show much enthusiasm in production. Some of them lose their temper easily and love to pick quarrels. In recent years, new hands have been steadily flowing in to replace old workers who have retired. As a result, young workers now make up 56 percent of the total number of workers employed in this section and the average grade of technicians has dropped to 2.8 from 4.4 when the section was first formed. In such a unit where conditions are poor, problems abound, and tasks are arduous, efforts to do a good job in ideological and political work are bound to meet with a great deal of difficulties. Under the leadership of the section party committee, however, this section has done a very successful job in conducting ideological and political work. It has succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of the workers of the whole section for production and has fulfilled and overfulfilled the tasks handed down by the higher levels for years running. At present, the whole section shares more or less the same view and the new and old workers are radiating with renewed zest for labor. In our opinion, the basic experience of this section in conducting ideological and political work is as follows:

1. It is necessary to have a leading group which adheres to principle and which is truly proficient in work. Whether or not ideological and

political work can yield the desired result has a lot to do with whether or not the leading group is strong. If the leading group fails to adhere to the party's principle and cannot set an example for the masses, ideological and political work is bound to be weak and ineffective. The work conducted by the Zhangjiakou construction section can arouse the workers and provide assurances in production primarily because this section has a leading group which adheres to principle and is truly proficient in work. In this construction section, most young people did not want to do heavy manual labor and bricklaying work. They preferred other types of work of a technical nature. The parents of some young workers also tried to curry favor with the leading cadres in the hope that their children might be transferred to technical types of work. The leading group of this section insisted that "the back door is open to no one." All newly arrived workers first must do heavy manual labor and bricklaying. After tests and observations, each is assigned an appropriate type of work according to individual merits. Since things are done in a "fair and just" way, the young people can more or less work contentedly in their particular field. The leading cadres of this section are strict with themselves and draw a clear distinction between public and private interests. This section has a lot of used timber and bricks at its disposal and the workers and their friends used to take some home for their own use. At first the section did not bother to do anything about it. Later, the cadres of this section set an example with their own deeds and forbade anyone to take away things that belonged to the public without paying for them. A friend went to the instructor of the engineering team and asked him for some cement. This instructor said: I can buy a bag of cement for you, but if you want to get it free, I cannot make the request for you. With their own deeds, the leading cadres are able to bring along the workers. Today, when an old building is demolished, all the timber and good bricks are sent back to the section.

An important task of ideological and political work is to bring about transformation and to stimulate the less advanced to strive for progress and take an active part in labor. In the Zhangjiakou construction section, the emphasis of ideological and political work is to conduct ideological work among the less advanced. This is by no means easy because it takes time to straighten out ideological problems among the workers. Even once the problems are straightened out, they are not settled permanently. Relapses are unavoidable. Speaking of the difficulties encountered in trying to bring about a change in themselves, some young workers said: "It is easy to make a resolution, but not so easy to turn over a new leaf." If we have formed the habit of doing something over the years, we may at times make the mistake of doing it unknowingly. When ideological relapses occur among some young workers, the section leadership heard idle remarks like "Look, I have already told you these people are incorrigible" and "Ideological and political work may have its good points, but it is not as effective as bonuses." However, the section leadership does not doubt the importance of ideological and political work because of these remarks. On the contrary, they persevere in conducting this work patiently and meticulously.

The leading cadres of this section, from the secretary of the section party committee to secretaries of working area party branches, from section chiefs to foremen, and from trade union cadres to CYL cadres, all take the initiative to make friends with the workers, exchange confidence with the less advanced, and pay regular visits to workers' homes. Comrade Fen Jinliang, secretary of the section party committee, has had 150 heart-to-heart talks with the workers over the last 1.5 years. On the average, he had talks with 8 persons each month, and 80 of these heart-to-heart talks were with young people. Comrade Shi Yinbai, chief of the section, had 60 heart-to-heart talks with the workers. Since last year, the cadres of this section have paid more than 500 home visits to over 80 households. Comrade Zhang Jiwen, an instructor of the engineering team, worked harder than usual during the Spring Festival holidays this year, visiting over 20 households in those few days. Heart-to-heart talks and home visits not only make it possible for the leading cadres to understand what the workers think and to hear their views and suggestions on work, but are useful in cementing ties and promoting friendship between the leadership and the workers. For example, a demobilized soldier who was new to the section's engineering team had been caught for repeated pilfering and punished according to military discipline during his 11-month stay in the army. After he joined the section, the party branch of the engineering team made every effort to educate him and to enhance his legal and moral concepts. When he was convalescing at home for an injury sustained at work, the leading cadres called on him and had heart-to-heart talks with him. As a result of meticulous ideological work, not only has he not stolen anything in the past 2 years, but he has performed well in labor and made considerable progress. Many of the comrades here have come to realize that ideological and political work is not a "one-way road"; that the two parties concerned must treat each other as equals and have heart-to-heart talks. If we do not make friends with the workers and find out what they think, we will not be able to understand the real situation, still less conduct ideological and political work.

Another reason why this section has been able to conduct ideological and political work in a thoroughgoing and meticulous way and with firmness and strength is that its party, administrative, trade union, and CYL organs have coordinated well and the section is of one mind. Once the party committee makes the decision, all units will render support of their own accord and proceed to do their respective parts. As long as it contributes to enhancing the workers' understanding and arousing their enthusiasm, they will take vigorous action to get the job done. Under the leadership of the section party committee, the trade union, and CYL organs have launched activities of "forming pairs" and "signing master-apprentice contracts." If something unfortunate happens to the family of a worker, the union cadres will call on him to help him tackle pressing problems. If a young man wants to get married, the union and CYL cadres will help him make arrangements and teach him to refrain from extravagance. The trade union and CYL have played a very important role in showing concern for the well-being of the workers and in uniting and educating the young workers.

2. It is necessary to arouse and enhance workers' awareness in production and stimulate their sense of responsibility as masters. In the course of conducting ideological and political work, the comrades of the Zhangjiakou construction section have established the clear-cut concept that ideological and political work must serve production. Therefore, they have paid great attention to conducting positive education among the workers in keeping with the production tasks and the special features of their unit.

In this section, quite a large number of young workers had a low educational level and poor upbringing and were looked down upon by some people in society. Instead of looking down upon them, the leading cadres of the section conscientiously analyzed the reasons for this phenomenon and worked out a solution. They believed that the main reason for this was that these young workers, "who were born during the years of difficulties and who grew up during the 'Cultural Revolution,'" had too little education. Therefore, they decided to give these young workers "make-up lessons." Starting in 1981, they began to run short-term training classes to train workers in a planned way and by groups. They gave lectures on the greatness of the motherland and on modern history and the history of railways. They also invited veteran Red army men to give talks on the history of revolutionary struggles and on the glorious traditions of the party. Many young workers were greatly moved. Some said this was the first time they ever heard of all this. The young workers here not only studied hard but were very conscientious. When the young workers of the engineering team were organized to study the documents of the NPC, one of them took leave of absence. The leading cadres of the team specially called on this young worker to give him make-up lessons and had heart-to-heart talks with him. Their thoroughgoing ideological and political work touched not only this young worker but also his parents. The parents of many young workers told the section leadership: "We feel safe with our children in your hand."

This section is resolutely opposed to the erroneous tendencies of separating ideological and political work from the realities of production and of giving up ideological and political work for production. Particular attention is paid to infusing ideological education into everyday labor and production so that ideological and political work is put on a solid footing in both labor and production. Before the commencement of an engineering project, ideological mobilization is carried out so that the workers will understand their task and its significance. Take the construction of the new freight yard at Zhangjiakou for example. It was made clear from the start that the new freight yard was a vital "passage" and that the "transferring Shanxi's coal to other places" would be affected if it was not completed on time. In this way, workers' everyday labor was linked with the four modernizations. For some time, there appeared in a number of working areas tendencies of giving preferential treatment to friends and relatives, making things difficult for the consumers, ignoring the quality of engineering work, and so on. Some even treated the consumers with indifference and expanded or reduced the size of the engineering projects at will. To counter these tendencies, the section leadership did more than just make some general criticism. Instead, they organized the workers to discuss two questions: "How to serve the people and hold

ourselves responsible to the people"; and "If I were a consumer." Through discussion, the workers raised their level of their understanding and corrected their attitude in attending to consumers. In view of the ideological problems revealed by the workers, the section leadership also carried out education on the current situation and on patriotism by means of vivid facts. They did everything possible to instill communist ideas into the workers, to arouse their awareness as masters of the country, to stimulate their sense of pride, glory, and responsibility in their own job, and to kindle their enthusiasm for production and labor.

The section leadership also realized that an important prerequisite to achieving good results in ideological and political work is to resolutely change the relationship between "exercising control" and "being controlled" and between "reprimanding someone" and "being reprimanded," and to put themselves on an equal footing with the masses of workers. As long as the leading cadres treat the workers on an equal footing and there is friendship and trust between them, the two sides will not flare up and create a deadlock even if conflicts do arise. Here, a typical example can be seen in the change in a young worker, who had received reeducation through labor for more than 1 year, into an advanced producer. When this young worker returned from the reeducation-through-labor team, he was sure the section leadership would not trust him and the masses would look down upon him. He wrote himself off as hopeless and was going to act recklessly. However, what actually happened was quite to the contrary. Before his return, the section leadership carried out ideological work among the masses and urged them not to look down upon or jeer at him so he could feel the warmth of living among them. After his return, the section leadership treated him as any other worker, did everything possible to meet his demands as long as they were reasonable, and actively helped him when he had material difficulties. On the matter of job arrangement, the leadership not only did not discriminate against him but took into consideration his strong points as a skilled worker who was willing to learn and dig into technology by assigning him to handle reinforcing bar [gang jin gong 4976 4585 1562] which was quite technical. He was greatly moved and said he would make a clean start. Over the past few years, this young worker has showed good performance in work. He has taken active part in labor, assiduously studied technology, submitted himself to job assignments, gladly accepted tasks involving filthy and hard work, showed concern for the collective, and taken the initiative to help other young workers. He also recounted his personal experience to his friends in an effort to exhort them not to follow his beaten track. He was commended for his swift progress and active work and was elected an advanced producer for 2 consecutive years.

3. It is necessary to treat others with kindness and warmth and refrain from putting on awe-inspiring airs. The Zhangjiakou construction team does not adopt oversimplified and stiff methods in conducting ideological and political work. Instead, they insist on "moving people by means of affection" and "convincing people by reasoning." They encourage heart-to-heart talks "before and after job assignments, before and after departing to take part in construction work, before and after funeral services and

weddings, and after problems have cropped up." They show concern for the well-being of the workers, not just for their everyday needs, but also for their marriage. They pay home visits and hold informal discussions with parents of young workers. These are regarded as important means for exchanging ideas and promoting understanding. They sincerely help the less advanced workers and see to it that every bit of achievement and progress made by these workers is commended in good time. In short, they try hard to make the workers feel that the party organization and the leading comrades are warm and kind.

Many of the ideological problems among the workers are related to material difficulties. Therefore, it is necessary to teach the workers that they must correctly understand the difficulties and adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts. At the same time, it is also necessary to make an effort to solve problems that can be solved. An important reason why the Zhangjiakou construction team can achieve success in ideological and political work is that the leading cadres take the initiative to show concern for the material difficulties of the workers and actively help them find a way out. Let us take a look at a construction team which has more than 150 workers. Due to repeated changes in the leadership, material difficulties among the workers remained unsolved for a long time. For this reason, people in this team were sloppy and undisciplined and only did 4 hours of work a day. Last October, this construction team was put under the construction section. The section leadership not only conducted ideological education among them and joined them in studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, but devised a number of measures to help them overcome their material difficulties. In the past, they did not have drinking water when they were working in the open country. Now, they have drinking water because they are equipped with thermos bottles. The leadership did everything in its power to help the workers find a way out of their special difficulties. As a result, the enthusiasm of the workers for labor was quickly aroused. Last November, the volume of work done in 1 month was 1.5 times that completed in the preceding 9 months.

Some young workers felt vexed and did not show much enthusiasm for production because they were unable to find a partner in marriage. Helping these young workers solve their marriage problem constitutes an important aspect of the ideological work in this section. A number of cases long-considered "tough nuts to crack" marriage-wise had their problems solved thanks to the concern and help given by the party organization. A young worker used to feel world-weary because he was already in his thirties but was unable to find a partner in marriage. He did not have a family to give him warmth. The section leadership studied his case and conducted ideological work. In addition, they also mobilized the party, administrative, trade union, and CYL organs as well as the workshifts and teams to show concern for his problem. Thanks to their "match-making," he now has a small family of his own. He is deeply grateful for the warmth shown by the party organization and his fellow comrades. He braces himself up and shows great enthusiasm for labor. He has now become a backbone cadre for production techniques in his working area.

Another important aspect of ideological and political work in the Zhangjiakou construction section is to strive to discover progressive factors, or what people call "sparks," among the workers. Young workers have well-hidden, invaluable positive factors. Provided we observe carefully and are good at providing the right guidance, we can discover a lot of "sparks" even in the less advanced young workers. The purpose of ideological and political work is to enkindle these "embers" so that they can really burn and give out light and heat. A young worker often got into fights and committed mistakes. It seemed that he did not have the least progressive aspiration. However, it was revealed in his everyday conversations that he still had a sense of shame and honor. The section leadership seized hold of this "ember" and worked on it to arouse his awareness and to stimulate a change in him. A young bricklayer nicknamed "Daredevil" used to be a crackerjack at fighting and was shunned by most people. However, this young worker was not afraid of hardship. When others were afraid of climbing up more than 10 meters to paint the eaves, he volunteered to do the job. The work of laying asphalt on rooftops in the scorching heat of the dog days is both filthy and tiring. However, when he was told by the leadership to take some men to work on the rooftop, he obeyed without muttering a word. The section leadership commended him for not being afraid to bear hardships. They called on him more than once and had heart-to-heart talks with him. They also pointed out his shortcomings and encouraged him to make progress. Gradually they were able to channel his energy onto the right track of studying technology. Speaking of the change in him and of his personal experience in making progress, a young worker said: "Everyone has a sense of shame. Who does not like encouragement?"

The comrades of the Zhangjiakou construction section summed up their course of action as follows: "It is necessary to show enthusiasm rather than indifference, to show respect rather than aversion, to resolve contradictions rather than sharpening them, and to give play to people's strong points rather than find faults with them." Their way of conducting ideological and political work has enabled even those workers whose "hearts were becoming frigid with cold" to feel the warmth.

4. It is necessary to set an example with one's own action, seek truth from facts, and distinguish between right and wrong. The leading cadres of the Zhangjiakou construction section are strict with themselves and lenient toward others. They always set an example with their own deeds and maintain the fine traditions of our party's ideological and political work. Proceeding from the actual conditions of their unit, they have formulated "10 regulations concerning the implementation of the guiding principles by party members and cadres." Leading cadres are urged to take the lead in carrying out the "guiding principles" and see to it that no one asks for material benefits, prepares extravagant wedding for his or her children, uses government transport for personal needs, or seeks special treatment in building houses or getting living quarters.

Housing is quite a problem in this section. In spite of this, many cadres have given up their chance of getting living quarters to others of their own accord. During the 1981 allocation, not a single member of the section

party committee asked for quarters for their own use or for sons and daughters. Comrade Yang Furong, secretary of the party branch of the Beizhan working area, has five members in his household. His family of three generations share two tiny rooms with a total area of less than 20 square meters. However, he has given up his chance every time quarters are available for allocation. That the leading cadres here are strict with themselves is also saliently expressed in their willingness to make self-criticism. The workers are happy with this. Some workers said: "If the leading cadres are wrong, they must admit it. The more you want to save face, the more you will lose face."

Of course this section has also learned a lesson from past mistakes. As a result of the inappropriate handling of problems and the meting out of excessively heavy punishment, the weight on the workers' minds increased and their enthusiasm for production was affected. In view of this, the section leadership pays great attention to raising the ideological and working levels of the cadres, and constantly reminds cadres of the need to overcome one-sidedness and to change the oversimplified and crude way of doing things. It also emphasizes the need to pay special attention to investigation and study and to seek truth from facts in handling problems.

The Zhangjiakou construction section has been commended by the higher authorities for its ideological and political work. However, the leading cadres there are not content with what they have already achieved. In keeping with the need to create a new situation in all fields, they are now taking further steps to sum up experience and are resolved to reap rich fruits from the flowers of ideology and politics.

CSO: 4004/38

GET HOLD OF KEY LINKS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 pp 47-48

[Article by Cao Yong [2580 0516]]

[Text] When the masses see certain comrades who indulge in incorrect work practices, they will make this kind of criticism: "He is grasping everything in the same manner, disregarding its importance; and in addition to this, he is in charge of all trivial things. His approval must be sought before you can get vegetables, fruits, poultry, fish, and even bricks." Such a practice cannot suit the needs of the revolutionary and construction cause. When promoting various forms, we should simultaneously change this practice of routinism and advocate efficient scientific methods.

Grasping the key links and thus giving an impetus to other cardinal links is a scientific method which has been consistently advocated by our party. Socialist revolution and various aspects of the cause of construction are binding like a chain. When we want to grasp the whole chain, we must, first of all, grasp the key link. Taking the chain of agriculture for example, there are numerous cardinal links in it. In the past, certain grassroots cadres working in the rural areas spent great efforts in urging the peasants to sow, step up field tending, harvest and turn in grain to the state, however, their work was still very passive. Since the implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system, they have grasped the key link of signing and fulfilling contracts, thus, promoting other cardinal links such as sowing, field tending, harvesting and submitting grain to the state. These cadres now find their job easier and the effects far better than before. This is of course a matter of system, but it is also a matter of methodology. Failure to get hold of key links will usually lead to what is called "doing a hard but thankless job." Incorrect work practices can hardly achieve the anticipated results.

Speaking in the language of philosophy, getting hold of key links means grasping the major contradiction. Once we have grasped the major contradiction, other problems will be more easily solved; otherwise, the following two situations are bound to occur. First, we will be very busy all the time without finding the crux of the problems, nor will we be able to find a way to solve the contradictions. We will not be able to perform our tasks well and will be as helpless as a "tiger which wants to eat the sky and does

not know where to start." Second, we will only indulge in grasping trivial and secondary matters and neglect the major contradictions. A vivid description of such a situation is getting hold of a sesame seed on the one hand but letting a watermelon drop on the other. In order to avoid the occurrence of these two situations, we must strive to find out the major contradiction amid various contradictions and get hold of the key links of various kinds of work.

The key links prevail objectively and cannot be chosen arbitrarily. As Lenin exhorted: "You must not grasp the cardinal link which you have arbitrarily chosen." Proceeding from the actual situation of our country, our party has decided that the state should centralize all essential funds and carry out key-point construction in accordance with the importance and urgency of the projects. In this way, the party has grasped the key link in capital construction. We definitely cannot repeat such stupid things as concentrating on small-scale projects and delaying the large-scale ones. Funds are scattered in certain localities and departments where small-scale projects have been excessively promoted. Sometimes the units concerned are unable to continue with their own construction or only manage to complete their projects with poor results. In the light of this, we can see that it is impossible to get hold of the key links if we do not take the overall situation into serious consideration and are only concerned with our own "convenience." Subsequently, this will lead to repetitions and wastage of the entire economic construction and bring about severe harm.

The key links do not remain solidified and unchanged. They are bound to change when the extent of relevant objects is enlarged or reduced. Economic construction is the key link in the entire scope of the party's work. There must be only one central task throughout the country for a certain period. However, as the situation varies in different provinces, municipalities, localities and counties, there is bound to be a slight difference in the central task which is to be grasped. Thus, when we work in different areas, we must grasp different key links. In actual work, due to the fact that different comrades are in different positions, they usually only stress the importance of their work. This will give rise to a situation in which the secondary links disturb the key links, and will leave the lower-level cadres at a loss. Being confronted with this situation, each of our leading comrades must proceed from the overall situation of his work and unswervingly get hold of the key links. When the situation changes constantly, there are bound to be new contradictions and new cardinal links. Then, each leading comrade must immediately analyze, study and find solutions to the new situation, new contradictions, and new cardinal links. It is necessary to make corrections if it is found that the original key links have been wrongly grasped; it is necessary to change immediately if the original key links have shifted; and it is necessary to continue getting hold of the original key links if they have neither been wrongly grasped nor shifted. We must tightly and consistently grasp the key links as soon as they have been precisely focused on. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "Only by grasping tightly with unslackening efforts, will we be able to get hold of things. Grasping with slack efforts is the same as not grasping at all." We should bear this in mind while getting hold of key links.

To get hold of key links, we must carry out investigations, and make analysis and comparisons. Since the key links prevail objectively and bring development to changing things, only by going deep into the real situation and carrying out investigations and studies can the leading comrades get a clear picture of the various cardinal links and their interrelationship, and furthermore, find out the key link among the various cardinal links. If they do not carry out thorough investigations and only listen to indirect and even one-sided reports, they will not be able to get a clear picture of the specific situation of the various cardinal links or to make a fair analysis of them. Such investigations must be carried out repeatedly since matters are in a state of flux, and they are particularly necessary as far as complicated economic work is concerned. Our understanding of the various cardinal links might be very superficial if we only carry out one or two investigations. Only by carrying out numerous investigations can we thoroughly understand the various cardinal links. Based on the data of the investigations, we must still make an analysis and comparison among the various cardinal links in order to distinguish the position and role of these links. We must make comparisons in both the lateral and horizontal areas; we must compare with national phenomena as well as local and departmental phenomena. We will be unable to get hold of the key links if we view each of the various cardinal links in isolation from others and without comparing it with the others.

We must give an impetus to the other cardinal links while grasping the key links. If we only grasp the key link and do not give any impetus to other cardinal links, it will be like starting a locomotive which does not bring along the other cars, and we will be unable to do a good job of our work. Since the various cardinal links of things are interrelated, it will be relatively easy for us to get hold of the other cardinal links as soon as we have got hold of the key links. However, this does not mean that we can get hold of other cardinal links without using any efforts at all. When we concentrate our efforts on grasping the central tasks, we must simultaneously take charge of the general tasks, thus enabling them to integrate as components. The one-track method of grasping only the key links and neglecting the other cardinal links represents one-sidedness. In the course of overcoming the practice of tackling all problems regardless of their relative importance, we must also prevent and correct the practice of only concentrating on one thing.

CSO: 4004/38

CONTRIBUTE THE VERY BEST TO THE PEOPLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 83 inside back cover

[Article by Fang Xing [2455 5281]]

[Text] One of Marx' great morals was striving to contribute what he recognized as the very best to the people.

While criticizing the "arrogance" of the "young German writers who attached themselves to the party" in his time, Engels pointed out: "These gentlemen always think that everything is good enough for the workers. They do not know that Marx thinks that even his very best is not good enough for the workers and that it is a crime if one does not give one's very best to the workers." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 476) Even in great material poverty, Marx never treated his intellectual products as general commodities. Neither fame nor gain could induce him to abandon his pursuit of truth.

At present, a large number of our comrades in the social science field are indeed carrying out their studies and propaganda work with the attitude of being responsible to the people. However, there is also a sinister trend. Some people are not very responsible or are irresponsible to the people when they offer their intellectual products. For instance, some people do not really understand the subject matter which is to be discussed, but they hastily write articles on it and feel a sense of achievement when their articles are published in the press and magazines. Some people even practice plagiarism, they change certain words of an article and submit it for publication under different names. "Plagiarism" is really common. In short, they cannot shake off the entanglement of personal fame and gain. These intellectual products which have been created in a rough and slipshod way not only cannot explain and solve practical problems but will create chaos both in theory and in practice. This is far from an attitude of being highly responsible to the people as was put forward by Marx.

Striving to give the very best to the people is a quality which each social science worker should possess. As far as the present situation of our country is concerned, the primary task in social scientific research is to uphold and develop Marxism in actual practice. That is to say, we must, under the new situation, further explore the socialist economy and the laws

governing social development and give theoretical explanations for the problems encountered or proposals put forward for reforms. We must bear in mind that the misinterpretation of a theory will bring about serious consequences or even lead to a totally passive situation. We have learned enough lessons in this respect. Therefore, in carrying out research in social sciences (particularly in the realms of economics, politics, and philosophy), we must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice, resolutely abandon the corrupt practice of merchandizing all intellectual products, and wholeheartedly play our advisory role to the party and the state. Regarding the practice of creating intellectual products in a rough and slipshod way, we should at least feel ashamed of it even if we do not recognize it as a "crime." These are the professional ethics by which our social science workers should abide.

In order to give the very best to the people, we must establish the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people, study in depth the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the attitude of being highly responsible to the people, and go deep into the real situation, to carry out investigations and research and sum up the creations of the laboring masses. In this respect, Comrade Sun Zhifang has set a very good example for us. He worked every day of his life for the socialist cause and in the pursuit of truth, overcoming many obstacles. When he was on his deathbed, he said in his last words: "I make no objection if my fellow colleagues of the Institute of Economics conduct a discussion meeting or a criticism meeting on my economic views after my death. I hope they will widely popularize the correct concepts recognized by all and at the same time, frankly criticize the one-sided and erroneous concepts so that they will not entail troubles for the society." His last words were filled with the sincerity of a Marxist social science worker to the people. We should be able to do what he has done.

We should take giving our very best to the people as our motto.

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END

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