[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal HONGQI of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing; boldface passages as published]

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Remembering Comrade Zhou Enlai Together With the People

[Article by Li Xiannian]

It has been 12 years since Comrade Zhou Enlai passed away. His 90th birth anniversary falls on 5 March. In order to express the profound memory of Chinese communists, celebrities without party affiliation, and ordinary people alike, the CPC Central Committee’s Party Literature Research Center invited Nie Rongzhen, Bo Yibo, and other veteran comrades, as well as Gu Gengyu, Cheng Siyuan, and other old friends of his, to write reminiscences of him. Comrade Deng Yingchao has also written an article. After the manuscripts were collected, comrades of the Party Literature Research Center asked me to write the preface for the collection. As Comrade Enlai was my old comrade-in-arms and supervisor who always won my respect, I was naturally glad to take up this assignment.

Comrade Enlai was a loyal communist who will always be remembered. Since joining the patriotic May 4th Movement in 1919, he experienced arduous and complex but great struggles—the founding of the CPC; cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for the first time; the National Revolutionary Army’s Northern Expedition; Shanghai workers’ armed struggle; the Nanchang Armed Uprising; the underground struggle against Kuomintang terrorism; fighting against the Kuomintang encirclement of the central revolutionary base; the Red Army’s 25,000-li Long March; efforts for peaceful settlement of the Xian Incident; the second cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; the national war of resistance against Japan; united front work in the rear areas in the anti-Japanese war; peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party following Japan’s surrender; and the people’s liberation war that toppled the Kuomintang reactionaries. After the establishment of the PRC, he safeguarded the country during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; rehabilitated the economy; implemented the First 5-Year Plan of Construction; overcame difficulties caused by the “Great Leap Forward”; and carried out the 3-year economic readjustment. Finally in the chaotic decade of the “Great Cultural Revolution,” Comrade Enlai became critically ill because of mental and physical exhaustion and died on 8 January 1976. During the half century or so when the Chinese people, who were being exploited, oppressed, and bullied, were waging earthshaking struggles and when weak, impoverished, and backward China was beginning to head toward a strong, prosperous, and civilized era, Comrade Enlai not only continuously took part in these great but arduous struggles led by the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong but also dedicated himself unreservedly to the glorious cause of revolution and construction until his last breath.

During the protracted struggles, Comrade Enlai kept in close touch with the large numbers of cadres and masses of people inside and outside the party. Especially during the decade of turmoil when circumstances were complicated and dangerous, he exerted his every muscle, as if “slinking in thistles and thorns and fighting in mud,” to do everything in his capacity to minimize political damage; carry on economic life; protect a large number of cadres; support justice-upholding people; and improve relations with foreign countries. Comrade Enlai’s unselfish sacrifices for the communist ideal gave the masses of cadres and ordinary people, as well as foreign friends, a noble image of dedication, amicability, diligence, staunchness, selflessness, and dauntless spirit. When news of his death spread, waves of people in the hundreds of millions, choked with tears, emerged spontaneously at Beijing’s Tiananmen Square to mourn their leader for several consecutive days; an unprecedented occurrence. On 15 January 1976, over 1 million people, young and old, stood in severe cold for several hours to pay last respects to their beloved leader lying in the hearse. There is no precedent of so many grief-stricken people voluntarily taking to the streets to mourn a party or state leader. Here, I cannot help but believe that the people’s trust and love are the foundations of a political party, far more solid than iron and steel, and concern the survival or demise of a party. This also applies to a proletarian revolutionary.

In this preface, I shall not repeat Comrade Zhou Enlai’s great contributions to the party, the motherland, and the people, and his meritorious services as a proletarian statesman, strategist, economic construction leader, and diplomat, which are recorded in annals and passed on to future generations. I would like only to share with you the profound experiences I have learned from him in various respects. (Footnote) (This is the preface by Comrade Li Xiannian for the book “Endless Remembrance” compiled by the CPC Central Committee Party Literature Research Center. Prior to publication in this journal, the author made a small number of changes in wording.)

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a communist with revolutionary courage and insight and a realistic approach. He was good at uniting the two sides in all major struggles. Being an extremely realistic man, he always kept in mind the principle of seeking truth from facts. In handling every case, he always tried to understand the actual situation while taking into consideration the situation on all sides, the positive and negative experiences, the immediate and long-term interests, the domestic and international conditions, and the actual effects. He was well-known for being careful and intensive in analyzing issues. I believe it is necessary and worthwhile for a state leader to remain prudent and careful, spend more time, and exert greater efforts in conducting investigation and study and...
to repeatedly seek consultation when handling major issues. Comrade Enlai's realistic approach in handling various matters reflected his attitude of holding himself absolutely responsible to the cause of the party, the state, and the people. Communists, particularly the leaders, must hold themselves responsible to the cause of the people. This is a fundamental principle. Comrade Enlai's realistic approach was inseparable from his modesty. Even when he was successful in doing his work, he showed no arrogance. It is not easy to do so. Even among those with outstanding achievements, not everyone can do it. Now, our tasks are even more arduous, and our work is even more complicated. We should learn from Comrade Enlai in adopting a realistic approach and remaining modest and prudent at all times.

Another good point of Comrade Zhou Enlai was his ability to unite with others. He could really unite with all the people that should and could be united. This characteristic of his had been recognized in the party a long time ago. It was well known to even more people outside the party. All those who worked with him felt the cordial atmosphere characterized by stability and unity. Over a protracted period, he opposed the "philosophy of struggle" which advocated the practice of waging struggles everywhere and at all times. At times he even resisted such philosophy. Naturally, Comrade Enlai's efforts to unite with the majority were aimed at struggling against a handful of enemies and achieving victories at the minimum cost. Therefore, this kind of unity was one of his principles and one conducive to the success of our cause. However, the practice of waging struggles without good reason and of intensifying struggles at all times constitutes a struggle without principle—a struggle harmful to our cause. This kind of "philosophy of struggle" has nothing in common with Marxist materialist dialectics, and at the same time it runs counter to Marxist theories.

Our party cooperated with the Kuomintang twice and waged serious armed struggles against the Kuomintang twice. Finally we scored victory. During the period of our cooperation with the Kuomintang, particularly during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Comrade Zhou Enlai achieved significant successes in implementing the party's strategy of both unity and struggle. At that time, he took charge of the area that was under the control of the Kuomintang, and he united with those of various parties and factions as well as those without any party affiliation, including those with some democratic and progressive ideas within the Kuomintang and those of the upper strata who advocated the policy of resisting Japanese aggression. At the same time, he carried out his work extensively among young students, teachers, workers, peasants, businessmen, and people of other walks of life; he united with the majority of the people. Thus, he fully exposed the true features of the Kuomintang reactionaries in actively opposing the communists, while passively resisting Japanese aggression. He had totally isolated the Kuomintang politically which lost the support of the people throughout the country. On the other hand, our party enjoyed high prestige among the people of the nation, as the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army vigorously fought against the enemy and the puppet regime, and we carried out our work effectively behind the enemy lines during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. This became one of the important factors in rapidly scoring victories in the later war of liberation.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a communist with a high degree of democratic spirit. In carrying out various activities within the party, working together with non-party personages and associating with people of other countries, he always treated other people on equal footing and showed his democratic work style. In doing his work, he was always happy to consult other people and listen to their views. When he heard views which were different from his own, he always carefully thought it over, even if such views were from ordinary cadres or the masses. When other people's views were erroneous, he would not rudely condemn such views right away. He always patiently listened and let other people finish talking first. Then he used the method of patient persuasion and explained his own views by presenting facts and making the reasons clear. As far as a leader is concerned, democracy means resourcefulness. Only by remaining resourceful, can a leader make good decisions. He will make arbitrary decisions if he does not remain resourceful. Our forefathers always taught us to do this. Now, in building socialism and implementing the reform and open policy as well as in invigorating the economy, the issues are much more complicated. In making major policy decisions, we must remain resourceful. Only by doing so, will we make correct decisions and commit less mistakes; and even if we commit mistakes, it will be easier for us to discover and correct them. Only by remaining resourceful, will a leader be able to arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and the people. We communists always stress this principle. But, the practice of displaying democratic work style, listening to different views, drawing on collective wisdom, and absorbing all useful ideas will always be conducive to our cause.

Comrade Zhou Enlai's industrious and hardworking spirit was astonishing. In the scores of years before the "Cultural Revolution" broke out, he worked more than 12 hours every day. Sometimes, he rested only 5 to 6 hours a day. He devoted himself to his work and worked hard day and night. Many comrades knew that during the 1959-62 period when the country was in economic difficulties, in order to guarantee grain supplies for the urban dwellers, he often worked till daybreak to instruct the distribution, transport, and store the grain. He personally computed the amounts of grain to be stored and transported and telephoned provincial and city leaders. He did not go to bed until proper arrangements were made. We often say it is necessary to wholeheartedly serve the people. How do we define "wholeheartedly"? In my opinion, Comrade Zhou Enlai was an example. During the "Cultural Revolution," Comrade Zhou Enlai
worked harder, usually around the clock. He rested only 2 to 3 hours a day; sometimes he could not even get 30 minutes of rest. Since he overworked himself and lived feeling oppressed, he later fell seriously ill. Even when his condition became critical, he still attended to state affairs involving China's development, the people's interests, and the cadres' health and did everything in his power to resist the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Comrade Zhou Enlai set a demand on himself: Never postpone until tomorrow what can be finished today. He met his demand throughout his lifetime without interruption. He dedicated all his attention and energy to work because he had a high sense of responsibility for the cause of the party and the country, and he cherished an ardent love for the people. Comrade Zhou Enlai really won honor for the CPC, and the Chinese people are really proud of Comrade Zhou Enlai.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a man strict with himself. He was broad-minded toward others but made strict demands on himself. He was careful of each remark he made and everything he did; he saw to it that the party and the country were not affected, hurt, or smeared by what he said or did. His strictness with himself was particularly shown in his attitude toward his mistakes. For a major mistake, he sincerely and repeatedly criticized himself whenever he could. For a minor mistake, he also seriously criticized himself. In making self-criticism, he never stressed objective reasons. Instead, he paid attention to his ideas and work style and sought the root cause of his mistakes from his stand, viewpoints, and methods. For the mistakes in the work of which he was in charge, he always assumed his personal responsibility and never shifted the responsibility onto others. In addition, he helped comrades concerned make up for the losses as soon as possible. He was quite noted among party members for his good work style of paying attention at all times to self-criticism. Many comrades praised him regarding his work style as an example worth following.

Lin Zexu once wrote a self-encouraging antithetical couplet on scrolls: "The sea can accommodate a hundred rivers because it has a very large capacity; a thousand towering mountains are unshakable because they are like strong men who have no selfish desire." Applied to Comrade Zhou Enlai, this couplet can represent his major characteristics if not his complete one. Comrade Zhou Enlai was really broad-minded like an ocean with a very large capacity; he upheld principles just like a thousand towering mountains. He could do so because he had no selfish motives. He had in his heart only the interests of the party, the state, and the people. He only had the great communist ideal on his mind.

Comrade Zhou Enlai's lofty image will always be engraved on the Chinese people's minds.

5 February 1988
Very good! Very good!” Flattered by this special attention, we were caught tongue-tied. Later, we all felt sorry that we had not spoken more with him. His piercing gaze and sincere interest during our talk impressed me profoundly for a very long time. I wondered: Why was he so concerned about we Mongol youths? Obviously, he regarded us as representatives of the country’s minority nationalities, and his concern expressed the party’s boundless hope in the entire Mongol nationality as well as in all nationalities of the country. After much thought and reflection, I began to consider returning to China to take part in the arduous and fiery revolutionary struggle. With the approval of our party’s representative to the Comintern, I returned to China in 1929 to launch underground struggle in the western part of Inner Mongolia. Later, I also initiated and organized the armed struggle of the Mongol people.

Fourteen years later, in 1942, I saw Comrade Zhou Enlai again in Yanan. I was then studying at the central party school, and Comrade Zhou Enlai had come to Yanan from Chongqing to take part in the rectification movement. Compared with our first meeting, the 14 arduous years had left their toll, and Comrade Zhou Enlai looked a bit older but his bright, piercing eyes were deeper than ever. His lively and fascinating talks showed that with the passing years, he had become more experienced and matured. When we met, he immediately said to me: “Comrade Yunze, Comrade Wang Ruofei has briefed me about your situation. I know about it now.” He added: “After returning to the country, you engaged in mass and army work in the Suiyuan region (western Inner Mongolia), launched the Bailing Temple uprising and armed struggle, and in particular, you have trained a number of ethnic Mongol cadres in the course of the struggle. You have done very well!” I said: “These things were all carried out according to the party’s guidelines, and in particular, during Comrade Wang Ruofei’s stay in Suiyuan as the party Central Committee’s representative, he gave our work many important guidelines and concrete directions. These achievements obtained in our past undertakings were the results of the common struggle carried out by Mongol and Han comrades under the party’s leadership. My work is far from satisfactory and still falls far short of meeting the party’s needs.” Comrade Zhou Enlai then said: “It is still necessary to carry out arduous struggle to win the victory of the resistance war. The Chinese nation is in great peril and the burdens on our shoulders very heavy. We should study and work hard and endeavor to do an even better job.” During our talks, Comrade Zhou Enlai also mentioned the names of some personalities in the Inner Mongolia area, and showed himself quite knowledgeable about their political inclinations as well as on the basic situation. This displayed his profound interest in ethnic affairs and his extensive study of the Inner Mongolia problem.

Comrade Zhou Enlai always demonstrated enormous interest in me. In some important conferences during the fifties, he would always prod me to air my opinions to which he paid much attention. I remember that at the national forum on ethnic affairs held in Qingdao in 1957, after he had already given a lucid overview of the party’s theories and policies on the nationalities issue, and even though I had not planned to say anything, he insisted that I make some remarks. So, I brought up some crucial issues about autonomy in ethnic regions. In another instance, during a discussion on the administrative jurisdiction of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Comrade Zhou Enlai made a very rational and convincing speech covering everything from historical background to existing reality, from the situation in the entire country to that in Guangxi itself. Afterwards, he again insisted that I make some remarks. At his encouragement, I talked on the necessity and feasibility of turning over the original administrative jurisdiction of the Guangxi Province to the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in accordance with the party Central Committee’s fundamental guidelines and policies on the nationalities issue. Comrade Zhou Enlai gave me encouraging words on both occasions. The reason I have been able to serve the people over the past decades is the result of the party’s training, and in this, the assistance and support given me by Comrade Zhou Enlai were very valuable inputs.

There was another unforgettable incident which touched me very deeply. During the “Cultural Revolution,” I was held under “protective custody” for a very long time. Shortly before the opening of the 10th CPC National Congress in 1973, and following considerable efforts on the part of Comrade Zhou Enlai, I was released from “protective custody,” given my freedom, and allowed to go to Beijing. I found out later that to enable me to attend the 10th CPC National Congress as well as to be elected to the Central Committee, Comrade Zhou Enlai had worked hard to correct and criticize the slanderous accusations that I “had betrayed the party and the state” and “had engaged in factionalism.” Regarding the incident in October 1945 wherein the party Central Committee sent me to Sonid Left Banner to deal with the establishment of the so-called “Republic of Inner Mongolia provisional government,” Comrade Zhou Enlai purposely described it as a “heroic solo exploit” on my part. He asserted: “The resistance war had just been won, and the international and domestic situations were still very confusing, yet, with just a handful of men, he dared to struggle against a secessionist government and even emerged victorious. That was a very difficult and very exceptional feat.” At that time, the “gang of four” was still in power and Comrade Zhou Enlai faced an enormous risk in redressing this injustice. The “gang of four” had branded me with the crime of “treason against party and state,” a crime for which I could have been put to death. Were it not for the protection from Comrade Zhou Enlai, I would not be around today, let alone have come back to work. To protect me, Comrade Zhou Enlai engaged the “gang of four” in intense struggle. This demonstration of confidence and love for an ethnic cadre was also the total expression of Comrade Zhou Enlai’s noble character of upholding party principles, of selflessness and bravery and of his total disregard.
for personal interest. Every time I think of this incident, I am filled with a sense of immeasurable gratitude. He demonstrated this care and concern not only toward me but also toward all cadres responsible for ethnic affairs and all people of all nationalities.

A Model in Implementation of the Nationalities Policy

Autonomy in ethnic regions is our party's fundamental policy in settling the issue of nationalities in our country. This policy was formulated after lengthy examination and deliberations. Our party took full account of the unique fact that our country is a unified, multinational state, and made profound analysis of the close political, economic, cultural as well as ideological and emotional ties among the various nationalities in our country, ties which were nurtured in the long process of historical development and which were best exemplified by the fact that the various nationalities in our country had in modern times united as one to oppose common enemies and share a common fate. Proceeding from the principle of upholding the political integrity of the country, yet allowing for the minority nationalities to become masters in their respective regions, the party brilliantly put forth a fundamental policy of instituting autonomy in ethnic regions within the framework of national unity. Comrade Zhou Enlai made major contributions in the formulation and implementation of this policy. The creation of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region marked the first time that the party's fundamental policy was put into practice. The party Central Committee's telegram approving creation of the region on 23 March 1947 was personally drafted by Comrade Zhou Enlai based on the spirit of the party Central Committee's collective decision.

At the time of the establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in 1947, the liberation war was still raging, with most parts of the country still under the control of the Kuomintang reactionaries. In Inner Mongolia, only most of the eastern region and some parts in the central region had been liberated. Under such extraordinary historical conditions, affirmation and implementation of the party's policy of autonomy in ethnic regions and the creation of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region were of major significance to the strengthening of our revolutionary forces, advancement of the liberation war, expansion of the liberated zones, and intensification of the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries. Our party's political foresight and revolutionary audacity were fully demonstrated in this issue, and the Central Committee's telegram drafted by Comrade Zhou Enlai was a concrete manifestation of this spirit. Aside from approving the establishment of an integrated ethnic autonomous government in Inner Mongolia, the telegram also explicitly pointed out that the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region's government was not an independent government and that the autonomous region still comes under China's jurisdiction. The government was opposed to the dictatorial Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek, its pseudo-constitution which abolished the right to autonomy of minority groups, as well as its reactionary policy of selling out the country and launching civil war. In addition, the telegram gave clear-cut instructions on questions about relations between the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the different liberated zones, on party affairs, political authority, armed struggle and on autonomy in ethnic regions. Following the establishment of the people's government in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and based on the spirit of the instruction in this telegram, we drew up a series of guidelines and policies for the autonomous region. This telegram played an important role in the revolution and construction in Inner Mongolia, as well as in other ethnic regions of the country. History has proved that Comrade Zhou Enlai laid the foundation for continuing consolidation and amelioration of the party's policy of autonomy in ethnic regions. It is indeed fitting to honor him as one of the pioneers of this fundamental policy.

Comrade Zhou Enlai always conscientiously carried out the party's policy on ethnic affairs. He played a very significant role in defining the administrative jurisdiction of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous region. When the autonomous region was set up in May 1947, the Central Committee had a general concept of its jurisdiction, but as we only controlled parts of eastern and central Inner Mongolia, objectively speaking, it was not possible to create a truly integral Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. As more victories were won in the liberation war, more regions in Inner Mongolia were liberated, and the definition of Inner Mongolia's administrative jurisdiction was put on the agenda. This issue had been discussed by the party Central Committee as early as during the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC National Congress in 1949. At that time, Comrade Zhou Enlai had sent a document I compiled about the basic situation in Inner Mongolia to comrades at the meeting. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed restoring the original historical boundaries of Inner Mongolia and gradually working for the integration of eastern and western Inner Mongolia. The autonomous region's leading organs were to move first from Ulanhot to Zhangiai-kou, and then transfer to Kuusi after liberation. The party Central Committee thus determined the administrative jurisdiction of Inner Mongolia in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal. Its intention was very clear, that is, to dissolve the three provinces of Jehol, Charhar, and Suiyuan, and integrate them into one single Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region to reverse the divide-and-rule policy perpetrated by the Kuomintang reactionaries and by traditional local rulers. This move conformed with the historical conditions of Inner Mongolia as well as with the interests of all nationalities including the Mongol people in the Inner Mongolia region. Hence, it had the broad support of the people. However, there were still a handful of people who felt otherwise and used all kinds of excuses to delay the settlement of this issue. Well aware of the feelings of the different minority groups, Comrade Zhou Enlai resolutely carried out the proposal of Comrade Mao...
Zedong and of the party Central Committee, and to do so, he conducted patient and meticulous ideological work. I remember that when I went to see Comrade Mao Zedong, he asked me at once: Have you moved? I answered no. He was quite surprised and said: "You mean to say you are still staying at Zhangjialou?" I replied that some people were still unconvinced and that more work had to be done. Comrade Mao Zedong was very firm about the original plan. I also reported the situation to Comrade Zhou Enlai who remarked: This issue has been decided by the party Central Committee, and Chairman Mao has also spoken about it. As such, I will work on it again. Finally, after numerous patient talks by Comrade Zhou Enlai, the comrades concerned were convinced, and the issue satisfactorily settled. In the summer of 1952, the leading organ of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region moved from Zhangjialou to Kuusui (Hohhot). Later, with the concern and under the direction of Comrade Zhou Enlai, and following several redefinitions of the jurisdiction, the administrative jurisdiction of Inner Mongolia became what it is today and we finally arrived at what Comrade Mao Zedong had described as: "restoring the original historical boundaries of Inner Mongolia." During the 10 years of catastrophe, the reactionary policies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" reduced a proper autonomous region into ruins, and destroyed the already restored "original boundaries." After Comrade Deng Xiaoping came back to work, he asked me to write a special report on the issue to the party Central Committee. After the restoration of order brought about by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the "original boundaries" were also thus revived. The settlement of this issue was obviously not just a simple question of drawing up boundaries; it symbolized our party's fundamental position on the issue of nationalities and is of great interest to all minority groups in the country. Hence, its effect goes beyond the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.

There are numerous anecdotes and examples to illustrate the importance attached by Comrade Zhou Enlai to ethnic affairs, his conscientious implementation and defense of the party's policy on ethnic affairs. Among them, I think there is one incident that should be mentioned. During the 10 years of catastrophe, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deliberately sabotaged the party's policy on the nationalities issue. They refused to recognize the party and the state's work on ethnic affairs and abolished all grade one central organs in charge of ethnic affairs. In such a vast multi-ethnic country like ours, it is extremely dangerous to leave issues concerning nationalities unattended for a long time. Comrade Zhou Enlai had long been aware of the gravity of the problem, and even though he was already very ill, he just could not put his heart at ease. Confronted with the complex conditions at the time, and after much consideration, he decided to propose that a research team on nationalities' policies be set up first in the NPC Standing Committee, and asserted that "Comrade Ulanhu must serve as the team leader." After the research team was formed, I naturally felt that I had to live up to his care and trust, and wanted to spare no effort in doing a good job. At that time, there were only seven people, myself included, in the team, and as the "gang of four" was still in power, it was very difficult to do our work. However, at least there was an organ in charge of ethnic affairs, and whatever happened, problems in this area could be attended to. Moreover, it could create the conditions for the gradual restoration of an organ on ethnic affairs and for normal operation of work in this area. Later, the party Central Committee would appoint me head of the party Central Committee's United Front Work Department, and I brought my team to this department to see to the smooth progress of our work on ethnic affairs. The formation of the research team on ethnic policy in the NPC Standing Committee was the final act undertaken by Comrade Zhou Enlai for our country's ethnic affairs. And what a final undertaking! For this, Comrade Zhou Enlai had to give so much more effort and heart's blood than in normal circumstances! Not to mention the fact that those were the last moments of his life! Not long after this affair, he left us forever. While paying my respects and recalling this incident and the countless others which were testament of his care and concern for the work on ethnic affairs, tears flowed uncontrollably from my eyes.

Shedding Blood From His Heart for the Development of Minority Groups

In old China, all minority groups were oppressed and exploited and led very impoverished, backward lives. The case in Inner Mongolia was no exception, particularly in the vast pastureland where the Mongol people lived in abject poverty highlighted by their low financial and educational standards, where diseases became rampant and population dropped drastically. After liberation, Inner Mongolia zeroed in on this problem and advanced the slogan of "double prosperity to the herdsmen and the herd." In tackling this issue, we received firm support and comprehensive assistance from the party Central Committee as well as from various provinces and municipalities all over the country. This support and assistance was made possible under the personal intervention and direct aegis of Comrade Zhou Enlai. Today, the conditions in Inner Mongolia have undergone fundamental transformation and the tragic images of history are gone once and for all. The heart's blood poured out by Comrade Zhou Enlai for this cause is etched forever in the memories of the people of all nationalities in Inner Mongolia.

In the early 1950's, a campaign to eradicate syphilis was launched to wipe out this disease afflicting the people of the Inner Mongolia pastureland and also to stop the decline of population. The country was still in great difficulty at the time, and to support the "anti-syphilis" campaign, large numbers of medical personnel were drawn from the central authorities and from some provinces and municipalities to form "anti-syphilis teams" and sent to the Inner Mongolia pastureland under the
aegis of Comrade Zhou Enlai. At the same time, a large volume of medicines and medical tools were made available to meet the needs of the “teams.” With the assistance of the central authorities and of the provinces and municipalities concerned, and after arduous battles waged by the medical personnel of the “anti-syphilis teams,” the disease was quickly brought under control in the pastureland. Within a short period of time, syphilis, which had brought disaster to the people of the pastureland and threatened the very survival of the Mongol people, was eradicated. Everyone in Inner Mongolia knew that this victory which had brought survival and happiness to the pastureland and to the entire Mongol population was obtained under the personal care and direction of Comrade Zhou Enlai.

During the 3 years of hardships during which the country suffered from food shortages, everyone tried hard to think of ways to tide over the difficulties. In late 1959, I met Comrade Kang Keqing while in Beijing for a conference. She told me of the problem of feeding some orphans in Shanghai and in other eastern Chinese cities due to the food shortage, and asked me if I could think of some ways to help them. I said: “I can. One way is to send them some milk powder. Another way is to send these children to Inner Mongolia. Sending milk powder to the children can only resolve the problem for so long. I think the best way is to entrust the children to the herdsmen. The herdsmen adore children and they do not discriminate where the children come from. By entrusting the children to them, not only is the question of raising the children resolved, but so is the problem of childless herdsmen. This is a perfect solution. Sister Kang, what do you think?” Comrade Kang Keqing felt that letting the herdsmen raise the children was a good idea and gave her approval right there and then. Comrade Zhou Enlai learned of this matter later. Early the following year, he asked me about it and I briefed him on my discussion with Comrade Kang Keqing, on the concept of having Inner Mongolia adopt and raise the orphans as well as on the ongoing preparations. Comrade Zhou Enlai was very pleased and said: “This is very good! Inner Mongolia is vast but also sparsely populated, particularly in the pastureland where there is a shortage of children. The herdsmen will be delighted. The adoption of the orphans from the south not only helps resolve a very urgent issue, but is also advantageous to increasing the population in the pastureland and to future construction there. It complies with the needs of ‘double prosperity to the herdsmen and the herd.’ But it is necessary to organize the undertaking well and to make proper arrangements for the children.” I replied: “Please put your heart at ease. Everything will be taken care of and the children will definitely be well-fed and well-cared for.” To take care of these southern children, we set up a special organ led by the health department head of the autonomous region, and brought in a large number of medical and nursing personnel to look after the children. From 1960 to 1961, Inner Mongolia took in thousands of orphans from Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. The youngest of these children was 2 or 3 years old, while the oldest was no more than 7. Most of them had arrived in poor physical condition. The older ones were sent directly to the pastureland and adopted by the herdsmen, while the younger and weaker ones were brought to the nursing home set up especially for them where they were first nursed to good health before being adopted by herdsmen. The herdsmen were absolutely delighted to take in these children, and many middle-aged “mothers,” “fathers,” and even “elderly mothers and fathers” fought for the right of adoption. With new “parents” and a home, these orphans blossomed and bloomed within a few months. Nourished under the sunlight of the pastureland, the chubby, rosy-cheeked children were absolutely adored by their mothers and fathers. These children are now in their 30’s and speak fluent Mongolian. They have become members of the Mongol nationality, the descendants of the herdsmen as well as the new masters of the pastureland. Some of them became cadres and scientists. If one were unaware of this story, one would never think that they were actually born in the southern region of our motherland.

Comrade Zhou Enlai also gave much of himself in leading the economic construction of Inner Mongolia. His consistent interest in the construction of the Baogang and Baotou industrial complexes is ample proof of this. The designation of Baogang as a major state project and of Baotou as an important industrial base were decided in our country’s First 5-Year Plan during the early fifties and under the aegis of Comrade Zhou Enlai. The site of Baogang at the time was still desertland, and the construction of a large-scale steel complex and of a new industrial base was indeed unusual. To ensure completion of the construction of the Baogang and Baotou industrial complexes, and thus spur on the economic development of all Inner Mongolia, the central authorities issued an appeal for the entire nation to support and assist Baogang. Comrade Zhou Enlai took the lead in realizing this appeal. With his backing and organization, many men and women came from all over the country to assist in the construction of Baogang, Baotou and of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, while installations and supplies were brought in in huge numbers. Leading cadres, scientists, technicians and workers from around the country worked relentlessly with their local Mongolian and Han counterparts under very harsh conditions. With the support of the entire country, the new industrial complex of Baotou began to shape up in 1959 while most of the basic projects in Baogang were also completed. Baogang’s No 1 blast furnace which was on a par with the world’s most advanced model of the time was put into production a year ahead of schedule. The builders were extremely delighted with the achievements
Leader of the Cause of Atomic and Nuclear Science and Technology in New China
HK180845 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 11-17

[Article by Qian Sanqiang [6929 0005 1730]]
[Text] After the founding of new China, under the care and leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai, China changed its backward situation in industry and science and technology and exploded its own atomic and hydrogen bombs, launched its own nuclear submarines, and launched its own satellites. China's national defense was thus greatly strengthened and its international standing was raised. The Chinese people will never forget the immortal contributions he made. As a science and technology worker who once worked under his leadership, I will always cherish the memory of the reverend Comrade Zhou Enlai, especially on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

While I was engaged in studying and scientific research in France long ago, I heard many things about Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Nie Rongzhen, and other comrades, who were also there, on a work-study program, and who cherished high aspirations of saving China from danger. Being influenced by their spirit, I began to admire, trust, and respect the CPC.

The first time I saw Zhou Enlai was at a meeting held in the Beijing Hotel shortly after Peiping [as published] was liberated. He made a report on the situation to personages from various circles. Although he had nothing in hand, he was able to give accurate figures. He was energetic and openhearted, and what he said was pertinent and touched our hearts. He spoke with fervor and assurance for about 3 or 4 hours. The listeners were all profoundly attracted to his remarks from beginning to end. This was the most attractive and convincing report I had ever heard, and it left a very deep impression on me. Even to this day, whenever I recall that report, Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech and deportment still leap vividly before my eyes.

At the end of February 1949, Comrade Ding Zan, who was then staying at the Beijing Hotel, gave me a call to inform me that the party Central Committee had decided to send a delegation to Paris to attend a conference for safeguarding world peace. The head of the delegation was Guo Moruo and there were more than 40 members from various circles, including Ding and me. He wanted me to help him with something having to do with going through the necessary formalities for going abroad. Ding was a member of the Chinese Association of Scientific Workers, and I was a member of the World Association of Scientific Workers. We knew of each other but had never seen one another before. At that time, I had been back in our country for more than half a year and was working at the Institute of Atomic Science under the Peiping Research Academy and teaching at Qinghua University. We had just started training atomic and nuclear science cadres and making preparations for establishing a laboratory. Since there were great difficulties in obtaining materials, I really hoped that I could attend the Paris conference so that I could take the opportunity to ask my teacher, Professor Joliot-Curie, who was in France, to help me purchase cyclotron electromagnets and other instruments, books, and reference materials. I told Ding Zan about this idea, but soon I regretted it because the war was still going on and the
state and the people were still experiencing great difficulties so that it would have been very difficult to spend such a large sum of foreign exchange on books and equipment. He said that he could report it to the higher authorities. Unexpectedly, a few days later, Comrade Li Weihan, then director of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, invited me to a small house near Huairén Hall. He said to me: "You intend to take the opportunity of attending the conference for safeguarding world peace to purchase some necessary equipment for the study of atomic and nuclear science. The central authorities appreciate your idea very much. As the expected sum of $200,000 may not be used up all at once, and since Peiping has just been liberated and we still have to rehabilitate our national economy, it has thus been decided that $50,000 will be paid first, which will be deducted from the expenses of the delegation, and the rest will be obtainable later. The central authorities attach great importance to the development of atomic and nuclear science and expect you to make good plans for it. Comrade Liu Ningyi will be secretary general of the delegation. You have known him very well for a long time. When you need the money for payment, you may discuss the matter directly with him." This pleased me, for the development of the newly emerging sciences in China could only take place if there were good party and good leading cadres who had nothing but the interests of the nation and the people's cause at heart! Later I learned that Comrade Zhou Enlai had played an important role in bringing about this decision of the CPC Central Committee.

The delegation traveled by train to Moscow, where they applied at the French Embassy for an entry visa to Paris. Their application was rejected, however, for the De Gaulle government refused to allow the Soviet Union, China, and the Eastern European countries to participate in the Paris conference for safeguarding world peace. The Soviet Union soon contacted Joliot-Curie (president of the conference), who was then in France, and it was decided that the conference would be held simultaneously in Paris and Prague. Important speeches would be heard at the same time in both meeting places. On 20 April, soon after the conference was inaugurated, Joliot-Curie lodged a protest against the French authorities for not granting the visa. His aphorism that "travel for the truth does not need a visa" won warm applause from the audience. On 24 April, while the conference was in session, we heard the news about the liberation of Nanjing, and the audience burst into thunderous applause and cheers. They embraced one another and extended congratulations to one another. The representatives of some other countries on the rostrum lifted Chinese representatives Ding Zan high over their heads. That was a high point for the conference. The Chinese people had made an important contribution to safeguarding world peace.

Under those conditions, we could not meet with Joliot-Curie in Paris as planned. I discussed the matter with Comrade Liu Ningyi and then asked a French representative who had come to the meeting in Prague to take one-tenth of the funds approved by the central authorities ($5,000) to Joliot-Curie. Later some Chinese nuclear scientists who were returning from France and England purchased some instruments and books for our country with this sum of money and brought them back. But we were never able to buy cyclotron electromagnets.

After returning to Beijing from Prague, Ding Zan told me that there was a central research institute and a Peiping Research Academy, which resulted in overlapping between the two research organizations and the dispersal of manpower, I was chosen to make the preparations for a conference of natural science workers in order to discover the specialities, achievements, and academic views of various scientists for the new political consultative conference to refer to when discussing its plan for organizing and readjusting a unified scientific research institute.

From the very beginning of the founding of the state, Zhou Enlai attached great importance to the development of science and technology in our country. Guo Moruo was appointed director of the cultural and educational committee of the Government Administration Council and president of the Academy of Sciences of China. In 1950, according to a decision by the Government Administration Council, Guo Moruo gave some instructions on the basic tasks of the Academy of Sciences of China. The main points of his instructions were as follows: 1) To establish a viewpoint of serving the people through scientific research; to emphasize the nature of planning and collectivity of scientific research and the importance of establishing organic ties among various branches of learning. 2) To organize research personnel to carry out political study so that they can master the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and methods; to contact and coordinate with various universities so that the training of professional personnel can be carried out under unified planning; and to call on scientists overseas to return and to serve their motherland. 3) To readjust and replenish scientific research institutes and merge similar independent organizations into one and to replenish them step by step; to solicit opinions from the financial departments and select some major subjects for research and solve practical problems in light of the actual needs of current construction; and to establish and develop step by step and in a planned way the research on some new subjects needed by the construction of our country.

In accordance with the spirit of those instructions and the principle of the central authorities on rational distribution of scientific research, Zhu Kezhen, vice president of the Academy of Sciences and chief of the Planning Bureau, and Qian Sanqiang, deputy chief, then called eight forums of scientists to put forth a plan on readjusting scientific research institutes for various branches of learning. According to the new plan, Beijing would mainly carry out research on mathematics, physics, and social sciences, Shanghai would take research on chemistry and biological science as its main task, Nanjing...
would take earth science and astronomy as its main subject of study, and northeast China's main task would be technological science. Since then, China's scientific and technological research has been used to serve national construction in a planned way.

At the end of 1951, Comrade Zhou Enlai personally handled the matter concerning U.S. biological warfare in Korea and northeast China and decided that Guo Moruo, president of the Chinese conference for safeguarding world peace, would request the World Council of Peace to send a delegation of scientists to Korea and China to carry out an investigation. In 1952, the World Council of Peace held a special meeting in Oslo, Norway. After heated struggles at the meeting to answer the just call of President Joliot-Curie, a resolution was finally adopted to establish an "international scientific committee for investigating into the facts of biological warfare in Korea and China." The committee was composed of scientists from England, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Sweden. China's health departments and Academy of Sciences also arranged for specialists to coordinate with the committee. After the scientists arrived in Beijing, Comrade Zhou Enlai appointed Comrade Liao Chengzhi to take charge of the work of the committee, and I was appointed to liaise between the committee and the Chinese scientists. Under grim war conditions, the committee members and the Chinese and Korean specialists carried out on-the-spot investigations for the sake of peace, in disregard of their personal safety. Finally they drew the conclusion that the United States had actually resorted to biological warfare in Korea and northeast China. When the fact was made public to the world, the righteous indignation of peace-loving people was roused and became a forceful blow at the aggressors. After the investigation concluded, Zhou Enlai accompanied Mao Zedong in receiving the committee members in Beijing's Zhongnanhai and expressing their thanks and appreciation for the members' attitude of upholding justice and seeking truth from facts. I myself was also tempered in this struggle, and my political consciousness was greatly raised. For this I will always be grateful to Premier Zhou Enlai for giving me such a good opportunity to temper myself and for giving me so many kind and helpful instructions. Thanks to the care of Premier Zhou and Comrade Li Fuchun (who accompanied him on the visit), I was able to get a chance to visit some nuclear science institutes and some special academies and departments for cadre training. At that time, the Soviet Union regarded the work in this field as confidential. During our visit, all questions concerning cooperation were discussed in French between (Si-ke-bei-er-qin) [2448 2688 6296 1422 3830], director of the Physics Research Institute of the Soviet Union, and me. (Si-ke-bei-er-qin) had once worked in the Curie Laboratory in France when he was young and knew French well. I asked him whether the Soviet Union could offer a medium-size cyclotron and an experimental reactor. He said that since cyclotron technology was relatively mature, his country might be able to offer the cyclotron through diplomatic channels; but the experimental reactor still could not be offered for the time being.

After returning home, the delegation made a systematic report and briefed the science circle on the situation, including the situation of research in semiconductors. Comrade Zhou Enlai attached great importance to this and proposed some corresponding readjustment measures for the Academy of Sciences in light of China's realities, such as carefully selecting members for the Scientific Council and establishing the division of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, the division of biology and earth science, the division of technical science, and the division of social sciences to lead the research of various subordinate institutes separately. He also proposed establishing an award system and issuing the first national award for natural sciences.

II

Comrade Zhou Enlai forcefully supported the development of newly emerging sciences, especially atomic and nuclear sciences. He showed the utmost solicitude for China's development of science and technology. After the Academy of Sciences of China was established, an institute of modern physics was also established, on the basis of the original atomic institute under the Peiping Research Academy and the original atomic physics section of the physics institute of the Central Research Academy. The main task of this institute was to study atomic nucleus physics and radiation chemistry, carry out some basic work for atomic and nuclear science and technology, and make preparations for the application of
atomic energy. In 1950, Wu Youxun was deputy president of the academy and director of the institute and Qian Sanqiang was deputy director; in 1951, Qian Sanqiang became director of the institute; in 1952, Wang Ganchang and Peng Huanwu were appointed deputy directors. Qinghua University and Zhejiang University both offered positive support for the institute. More than 10 persons from the universities, including He Zehui, Zhao Zhongyao, Deng Jiaxian, Zhu Hongyuan, Yang Chengzong, and Dai Chuanzeng, participated in the research work of the institute at the initial stage. At the end of 1953, the Institute of Modern Physics was changed into the Institute of Physics.

Through arduous effort for several years running, an initial basis was laid in theory, personnel training, and material conditions for further developing atomic and nuclear scientific research. In 1954, in a comprehensive exploration, the Ministry of Geology discovered uranium resources in our country. At the same time, an international conference on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes was to be held in Geneva, and the Soviet Union had said that it was willing to offer scientific and technological aid to other countries. Under these circumstances, on 14 January 1955, Comrade Zhou Enlai granted an interview to Li Siguang and me, asking us about personnel, equipment, and resources for China's research in nuclear science. He also asked us for details about nuclear reactors and atom bombs and the necessary conditions for developing nuclear technology. Comrades Bo Yibo and Liu Jie also joined us in the conversation. Premier Zhou told us that the central authorities would discuss the development of atomic energy, and we were asked to bring some pieces of uranium ore and simple detecting equipment to the meeting for demonstration. On the following day, that is, 15 January, Chairman Mao Zedong held an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee in Zhongnanhai, which was attended by Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, Deng Xiaoping, Li Fuchun, and Bo Yibo. The meeting listened to the reports made by Li Siguang, Liu Jie, and me. In accordance with Comrade Zhou Enlai's suggestions prior to the meeting, we used some sample uranium ore and the detecting equipment to give a demonstration. When the Geiger counter approached the uranium ore and produced some sounds, everyone was so glad that they all laughed. Then Comrade Mao Zedong asked some questions about the development of atomic energy. Zhou Enlai, who sat beside him, chimed in now and then with some supplementary remarks and reminded us to grasp the main points and make our remarks as detailed and as easy to understand as possible. After listening to our reports, Chairman Mao Zedong said excitedly: "Uranium resources have now been discovered in our country, and we will certainly find more through further explorations. Since liberation, we have trained some personnel, and a certain basis has been established and certain conditions have been created for scientific research. In the past few years, you have also had many complaints. But since there were too many other things to do, this matter was neglected. Nevertheless, the work should be done, and it is now time for us to do it. As long as we put it on the agenda and work earnestly at it, it will surely be promoted." He also emphasized: "Now with the aid of the Soviet Union, we must do a good job of it! Even if we do it ourselves, we will surely do it well! As long as we have the manpower and the resources, we can achieve miracles!" At the meeting, Chairman Mao Zedong asked about the internal composition of the nucleus of the atom and put forth the viewpoint that even neutrons and protons can be divided. Premier Zhou Enlai particularly emphasized that it was necessary to forcefully strengthen personnel training. This was a meeting of important historical significance to China's research in nuclear science and technology and to the development of the nuclear industry.

Under the situation at that time, the development of atomic energy was certainly not an easy thing to do. We had many difficulties in science and technology forces, equipment and conditions, and organization work. Zhou Enlai understood all those difficulties very well. Soon after the meeting he did a great deal of work to help solve the difficulties, such as:

1. Speeding up personnel training and establishing a technological physics department and an engineering physics department. According to our suggestions, Premier Zhou Enlai decided to transfer Hu Jimin from Zhejiang University, Yu Fuchun from Beijing University, Zhu Guangya from the People's University of Northeast China, and Lu Hefu from Shanghai's Fudan University to Beijing University to establish the Technological Physics Department [sentenced as published]. Hu Jimin was appointed head of the department. One hundred students were selected from the grade-three students of the physics departments of various universities, and the teaching equipment and instruments were supplied with the help of the Institute of Physics. At the same time, the department was also named the "sixth group" of the institute in order to make things easier for it to use the equipment it needed. Teaching facilities and housing were built by the Academy of Sciences. According to the policy of linking departments with institutes it had adopted in running the school, the Institute of Physics was responsible for establishing the Department of Modern Physics and the Department of Modern Chemistry. Facts proved that this policy decision was of far-reaching strategic significance.

2. Making timely arrangements for and readjusting professions for students studying abroad so as to meet
emergency needs. Zhou Enlai gave instructions and sent a comrade in charge of students studying abroad in the Ministry of Education to see Comrade Yu Wen of the Personnel Bureau of the Academy of Sciences with a list of students studying abroad. Yu Wen was asked to discuss with us the matter of selecting some suitable students from among those who were studying physical and engineering sciences in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to shift their studies to atomic energy. Finally more than 300 students were selected, and they all played key roles in various areas needed in the development of atomic energy, such as reactors, nuclear chemistry, chemical industry, and uranium mining. All the arrangements and plans concerning this work, which was of equal strategic significance to the work of the first category, were made by Premier Zhou Enlai.

3. Instructing us to attach importance to propaganda work. Premier Zhou Enlai said: There are two departments in our party, namely, the Propaganda Department and the Organizational Department. We have always carried out propaganda prior to organization and implementation. The number of people who know the importance of developing atomic energy is inadequate. It is necessary for all people to know it, especially the responsible comrades in the party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission. He also told us that in propaganda, we must not merely pay attention to the scientific nature of things but also to making things easy to understand. According to his instructions, I first gave a speech and demonstrated to the propaganda and lecture group and then did it again after hearing the opinions of the listeners. Finally all of the members of the propaganda and lecture group went to various units to explain and publicize the importance of developing atomic energy. As a result, more people understood its importance and an atmosphere of enthusiasm for this cause was created throughout the party and among the people.

4. Emphasizing the necessity for strengthening party leadership. Premier Zhou Enlai decided to appoint Comrade Li Yi, a university graduate and political cadre of the Political Department of the Military Commission, to the post of deputy director of the research institute and personnel. All the selected and appointed the directors and deputy directors of three offices. As a result, the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought was greatly strengthened among the working personnel of the research institute, and hard struggle and building up the country through thrift and hard work were encouraged. A positive role was played in implementing the decisions of the higher level authorities and in maintaining secrecy.

To strengthen the leadership over the cause of developing atomic energy, in July 1955, the CPC Central Committee assigned Chen Yun, Nie Rongzen, and Bo Yibo to organize a three-person leading group. In November 1956, the Third Ministry of Machine Building (which was changed into the Second Ministry of Machine Building in 1958) was established by the State Council, with Song Renqiong as minister and Liu Jie, Yuan Chengleng, Liu Wei, Lei Rongtian, and Qian Sanqiang as deputy ministers. This ministry was responsible for promoting the cause of construction and development of China's atomic energy. At the same time, to promote the development of science and technology, the Academy of Sciences established an atomic nuclear science committee, with Li Siguang as director, and an isotope application committee, with Wu Youxun as director. Since then, the development of atomic energy in China has flourished.

In 1955, the Soviet Union formally informed our country that in the field of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the Soviet Union wanted to offer us a 7,000-kW heavy-water type experimental reactor and a cyclotron 1.2 meters in diameter and would allow our scientists and technicians to do field work there. Tuoli, an outer suburb of Beijing, was selected as a testing base for installing the large equipment needed for development. At the same time, after the Sino-U.S. Geneva talks were held, a number of Chinese scientists who had studied in the United States and Europe returned to our country, one after another. Among them were 10 nuclear scientists, including Zhang Wenyu, Wang Dezhaow, Wang Chengshu, Li Zhengwu, and Xie Jialin. In light of actual requirements, the State Council also transferred some capable cadres, scientists, technicians, and skilled technical workers from various departments to strengthen the work. In the autumn of 1955, Peng Huanwu, Feng Lin, Li Yi, He Zehui, and I led a group of more than 30 to the Soviet Union to make a field study of the reactor and the cyclotron as well as some of the instruments attached to that equipment. In the summer of 1958, a reactor and cyclotron were successfully built in our country. With the approval of the State Council, the Institute of Physics became the Institute of Atomic Energy of the Academy of Sciences of China, which was under the dual leadership of the Second Ministry of Machine Building and the Academy of Sciences of China, with the former as the main leading organ. I was appointed director of the institute, and Li Yi [2621 3015], Zhao Zhongyao, Zheng Lin, Wang Ganchang, Peng Huanwu, Luo Qilin, Li Yi [0500 0001], and Liang Chao were appointed deputy directors. On 27 September 1958, a grand inauguration ceremony was held by the State Council in the Tuoli testing base for the Institute of Atomic Energy. The ceremony was presided over by Zhang Jingfu, vice president of the Academy of Sciences.

Thus, under the personal care of Premier Zhou Enlai, China's first multipurpose atomic nuclear science and technology base was basically established. Many leading comrades, combat heroes, and model workers visited the base. On 22 August 1958, Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premiers Chen Yi and He Long accompanied Prince Sihanouk on his visit to the institute. They were enthusiastically welcomed by all the staff and workers.
The range of the institute’s business expanded rapidly, and its scientific and technological level was also raised rapidly.

In that period, China’s cooperation and exchanges with other socialist countries in nuclear science and technology were mainly carried out through the Dubna Joint Nuclear Institute of the Soviet Union. In the spring of 1956, it was decided through negotiations that the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, and six other countries would jointly establish an institute of atomic and nuclear science. In the autumn and winter of 1956, China began to select some scientists and young workers from the Atomic and Nuclear Science Committee of the Academy of Sciences and from various areas of our country and sent more than 130 of them to work in the Joint Institute. Among them were Wang Ganchang, Zhang Wenyu, Hu Ning, Zhu Hongyuan, Zhou Guangzhao, He Zuoxiu, Lu Min, and Fang Shouxian. Wang Ganchang was elected deputy director of the institute for the term of 1958 to 1960. Working together with the scientific workers of various member states, Chinese scientists made great contributions to the development of the institute. The following are two examples of their outstanding contributions: First, the research group led by Wang Ganchang discovered sigmonium antihyperon \([\text{fan xi ge ma fu chao ze 0646 6007 2706 3854 6298 6389 1311}]\). Ding Dazhao and Wang Zhuxiang and workers from other member states also participated in this work. The other contribution was Zhou Guangzhao’s relatively strict theoretical proof of the pseudovector current conservation law (PCAC) put forth by (Gelman) \([\text{gai er man 5556 1422 2581}]\) and others, which directly promoted its application will bring about technological innovations in many fields and may possibly lead to a technical revolution. The formulation of the long-term plan for scientific and technological development under the leadership of Premier Zhou Enlai was a great pioneering work at that time.

III

In June 1959, the Soviet Government unilaterally tore up the agreement on new technologies for national defense. Therefore, the CPC Central Committee decided to rely completely on our own efforts to develop atomic energy. Comrade Zhou Enlai put forth the policy of basing our efforts on independence, self-reliance, and the domestic conditions. He required the Second Ministry of Machine Building to concentrate its strength on some of the more urgent work and to mobilize the forces of various areas and departments to support the cause of developing atomic energy.

In November 1962, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, a 15-person special committee was established to lead China’s construction of the atomic energy industry; study and production of nuclear weapons; nuclear testing; and nuclear science and technological work and to vigorously promote the development of China’s atomic energy. Zhou Enlai was chairman of the committee, and the vice chairmen were He Long, Li Fuchun, Li Xianian, Bo Yibo, Lu Dingyi, Nie Rongzen, Luo Ruiqing, Zhao Erlu, Zhang Aiping, Wang Heshou, Liu Jie, Sun Zhiyuan, Duan Junyi, and Gao Yang.

Being China’s first multipurpose nuclear science and technology base, the Institute of Atomic Energy was soon shifted onto the track of serving the nuclear industry so that its superiority in comprehensive study of a variety of subjects could be brought into full play. Apart from undertaking the heavy task of tackling difficult scientific and technological problems and training cadres, it also selected and commended group after group of outstanding scientific and technological cadres and sent them to relevant nuclear industrial academies, institutes, and factories to take up leading posts. When the Soviet Union tore up the agreement and ceased its aid, the strong patriotic spirit of the broad masses of scientific and technological personnel was aroused. They felt greatly honored to shoulder the heavy tasks. At that time,
our main objective was to ensure the timely and sufficient supply of uranium-235 and plutonium and lithium-6 nuclear fuel and to design and produce atom bombs, hydrogen bombs, and nuclear submarines. To attain this objective, the Institute of Atomic Energy and the broad masses of scientific and technological workers did a great deal of work. An effective and powerful organization and leadership guaranteed the development of major scientific and technological undertakings in our country. Under the powerful leadership of the special committee of the central authorities headed by Comrade Zhou Enlai, China's most advanced sciences and technologies were developed rapidly. His experiences in successfully leading and making arrangements for the development of science and technology in our country will continue to play an important role in the new historical period.

Comrade Zhou Enlai, a great Marxist, will live forever in our hearts!

Deeper the Reform, Accelerate the Technical Transformation of the Iron and Steel Industry
40050188d Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 17-21

[Article by Qi Yuanjing [2058 0337 7231]]

[Text] The Iron and steel industry is an important raw material industry and is one of the basic industries in the national economy. The product quality, the availability of varied products and the production of the iron and steel industry directly affect the development of various national economic sectors, as well as the development of advanced science and technology for national defense. Therefore, the party and the state have long placed particular emphasis on the iron and steel industry. But since in the past we allocated little investment in the technical transformation of enterprises, these enterprises lack the vitality of self-accumulation and self-transformation. Consequently, the technical standards of equipment employed by these enterprises remained backward. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the iron and steel industry has, under the guidance of reform and opening up, got more decisionmaking power, and its vitality has been strengthened. Eventually, it found a new way out by developing the existing enterprises through the practice of tapping the potential, transformation, coordination of projects and expansion. Now, a good trend of technical transformation has developed. This is reflected by the following points: First, the proportion of investment in technical transformation to that in fixed assets was sharply raised (from 28.9 percent in 1979 to 59.4 percent in 1986). Technical transformation has now become the major approach for replacing and expanding the fixed assets. Second, the focal point of technical transformation became more prominent. In addition to increasing the production volume by means of coordination of projects and expansion, the industry has gradually switched the focal point of production onto the improvement of product quality, the production of badly needed goods, the reduction of energy and other materials consumption, and the improvement of the environment. It has also made contributions for improving the economic results of enterprises, as well as the social benefits. Third, the starting point of technical transformation was better than before. Through the import and assimilation of advanced technology from overseas over the years, and through the promotion of China's technical technology, the standards of technology and equipment employed by many enterprises were improved. A number of enterprises undertaking part of the iron and steel production chain, such as mining, ore dressing, iron-smelting, steel-smelting and steel rolling, have reached the world's advanced level. Fourth, there were changes in the composition of capital employed in the technical transformation. Formerly, the sources of capital were mainly the funds allocated by the state. Now, the capital mainly comes from self-financing and bank loans granted under the state policies. This switch of the focal point of investment has improved the economic results of technical transformation.

What technical transformation brought about in the iron and steel industry was remarkable achievements. It promoted a sharp growth of profits and tax delivery. The total amount of profits and tax delivery realized between 1978 and 1987 was 1.3 times more than the total achieved in the previous 30 years. The production volume was increased from 31.78 million tons in 1978 to 56.05 million tons in 1987, or by 76.3 percent. In terms of volume, the production was increased by 24 million tons. Except for the increase of 3.22 million tons of steel made by the Boshan Steel Mill, the remainder, or some 21 million tons of steel, was obtained by tapping the potential of, transforming, coordinating the projects of, and expanding the old mills. The availability and quality of products were also further improved. The development of low-alloy steel was so rapid that its production volume was increased from 2.69 million tons in 1978 to 7.66 million tons in 1987, or by 1.85 times. There was also rapid development in the production volume of alloy steel and steel plates, pipes and belts, as well as steel products reaching the international standards. Energy consumption by each ton of steel production successively dropped. The overall energy consumption by each ton of steel production in the metallurgical sector as a whole dropped from 2.52 tons of standard coal in 1978 to 1.67 tons in 1987. Meanwhile, the constant rate of energy consumption by each ton of steel production dropped from 1.55 tons to about 1.06 tons. The constant rates of energy consumption by each ton of steel production in the Capital Steel Mill and Anshan Steel Mill even dropped below 900 kilograms of standard coal.

In the following paragraphs I am going to talk about the experience of the iron and steel industry in handling three types of relations in its technical transformation.

Correctly Handle the Relations Between Reform and Transformation

The iron and steel industry is a capital-intensive industry. Our present base of the industry was basically
founded in the 1950's and the 1960's. Because of the lack of capital for transformation over the years, the equipment and technology of the existing enterprises are outdated and backward. Leading comrades of the central authorities repeatedly pointed out: The Anshan Steel Mill would be unable to operate in the next few years if it does not begin transforming now. The conditions of the steel mill reflect in one way or another the present situation of the metallurgical sector. Judging from the development of the industry, the growth of steel production by the year 2000 mainly relies on the adoption of new technology through expansion of the existing enterprises. The task of technical transformation in the iron and steel industry is therefore very arduous. In particular, in the wake of modernizations, various national economic developments demand more variety and better quality of steel products. For instance, the percentage of various types of steel plates needed by industries such as energy resources, transportation, chemical industry, light industry and textile, and machine building is 50 to 60 in the industrially developed countries, about 20 to 30 percent of which is cold-rolled steel plates. However, the present figure in China is just 26 percent, and the proportion of cold-rolled steel plates can hardly reach 4 percent. We must, by the turn of this century, strive to improve the proportion of steel plates to 35 to 40 percent. This requires us not only to tap potential of and transform the existing rolling mills for producing steel plates and pipes, but also to promptly build a number of new rolling mills. The construction of this type of rolling mills needs a longer period, and a large sum of investment which is normally 1 to 2 times more than that in rolling mills of the same scale for molding and wires. Where can we find the sources of the investment sum? It will be neither possible nor feasible if we follow the old practice of simply depending on the state. The only way out is to carry out reforms and to further strengthen the vitality of enterprises.

On strengthening the vitality of enterprises, the state should, on the one hand, provide support through its policies for loan rates, taxation and pricing. In particular, some major production bases need preferential policies formulated by the state. On the other, we should implement the contract system, so that enterprises will have more decisionmaking power, and will be able to practice self-accumulation, self-transformation and self-development. Experience of the iron and steel industry in reforming has fully shown that the system of contracted responsibilities is an effective measure for strengthening the vitality of enterprises. According to a survey, 37 out of 110 large and medium-sized iron and steel enterprises implemented this contract system during the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The average rate of increase of profits and tax delivery realized by them was higher than the rest, that is 73 enterprises which did not implement the system (the former was 24.6 and 17.1 percent, and the latter was 8.7 and 3.7 percent). Let's take the Capital Steel Mill as an example. During the 30 years prior to reform, it totally delivered 2,107 million yuan of taxes and profits to the state. After deducting an investment sum of 1,577 million yuan in the steel mill, the state actually received 530 million yuan from the steel mill. During the 8-year reform from 1979 to 1986, however, the steel mill not only delivered 4,940 million yuan of taxes and profits to the state, but also accumulated an additional fixed assets investment of 2,000 million yuan. The total of the two items of accumulation was 6,940 million yuan. The practice of this system not only involves contracts for the profits and tax delivery but also technical transformation and increase of the assets value. This thus strengthens the production capacity of enterprises, improves the overall quality of products, constantly improves the production structure, and brings about better and continuous economic results. Therefore, we can see that this practice will help us make the country rich and help enterprises make more profits. By implementing this practice, we may kill several birds with one stone.

At present, 75 out of the 110 large and medium-sized enterprises in, or 68 percent of, the metallurgical sector have implemented the contract system. But the point is that there are still some large joint enterprises which do not implement the system. They are the core of the iron and steel industry, and play the major role in providing varied products and improving the quality of steel products. The task of undertaking technical transformation among them is arduous and needs large sums of investment, but they are the chief breadwinner of central and local fiscal income. Therefore, we must, in the process of introducing the contract system, take into consideration the interests of various parties. The conditions for implementation of the contract system in the Anshan Steel Mill, which were recently adopted through discussions by the leading comrades of the State Council, were just the resolution after they acted in the spirit of this precept. All enterprises must proceed from realities, and adopt the appropriate plans for contracting, so as to accelerate their pace of transformation through the strengthening of their vitality and capability. As the transformation and construction projects undertaken by iron and steel enterprises are generally rather long, the contract term should not be a short one. The competent departments should also bear corresponding obligations for enterprises undertaking the contracts, so that the practice of "contracting" will be coordinated in a better way with that of "guaranteeing," and the contract system will be really implemented.

The raising of funds needed by, as well as the acceleration of the pace of, technical transformation depends on reform. The improvement of economic results will be out of the question without the acceleration. In particular, after the focal point of investment is switched onto enterprises, these enterprises will care much about the pace of transformation when their results of operations are in deficit. If the interest rate of a loan is 8 percent, the loan principal will be doubled by the end of the eighth year. We can therefore see how much burden it will be on these enterprises. Now, some enterprises actively introduce the practice of competition to designing, construction and equipment-building departments, and so on.
This not only helps them accelerate the pace of construction, but also helps them save capital. Some even introduce the practice of awarding bonuses for accomplishing their construction projects ahead of schedule, and link the interests of construction units, designing and construction departments together. All these reform measures have brought about actual results. On the management of competent departments, they should gradually care less about the direct administrative and specific affairs such as the distribution of funds and materials and the approval of projects. Rather, they should strengthen the readjustment and control at macro-level, and make better arrangements. They should put an end to the present situation where organizations are overstaffed, the procedures for examining and approving projects are tedious and complicated, and efficiency is low. The competent departments should avoid interfering in affairs which may be handled by enterprises. Rather, they should create better external conditions for enterprises in accelerating their pace of technical transformation.

Correctly Handle the Relations Between the Adoption of Advanced Technology and the Improvement of Economic Results

Times are changing, as are science and technology. Every industry and trade are constantly replacing their old products by the new ones, and new industries are emerging. These have put ever-increasing strict and varied requirements on the quality and performance, as well as the appearance and specifications, of products made by the iron and steel industry. Many customers need steel products which have high rates of strength, purity, homogeneity and precision, are fatigue-free and have the best performance in welding, mangling and forging. For instance, the oil pipes used by deep-well drilling require steel products with high performance in tensile strength and corrosion-resistance. The construction of a large power generation plant requires not only cold-rolled silicon steel plates with high performance in electromagnetism and energy conservation, but also boiler pipes and so on that are able to stand high pressure. The stainless steel plants used by chemical industry and in chemical fiber production must be highly corrosion-resisting and wear-resisting. There are still more complicated requirements for high-class and sophisticated steel products by many military industries and newly emerged industries. Objectively speaking, these strict requirements for the quality of steel products have promoted technological advancement in the iron and steel industry. Nevertheless, the technological level of China's iron and steel industry is quite backward. For example, the overseas technological development concerning refining has been very rapid in terms of homogenization of molten steel to remove all non-metal impurities and to readjust the temperature of molten steel. In order to improve the steel quality, reduce power consumption and improve productivity, many foreign countries have generally installed large and high power, or super-high power, electric furnaces weighing 50 tons and more. In order to achieve high precision, flatness and homogeneity, they have generally adopted efficient and precise serial rolling mills and their production is mainly controlled by computers. In China, however, the proportion of refining steel outside furnace is minimal. Basically, no steel mill save some special ones, as well as some ordinary ones such as the Boshan and Wuhan steel mills, is equipped with refining facilities. Moreover, the weight of electric furnaces installed by most steel mills only ranges from 5 to 10 tons. On facilities for rolling, only the 1.7 meters serial rolling mills installed by the Wuhan Steel Mill are relatively advanced, while most of the rest are only of the standards of the 1950's and 1960's, or even the 1930's and 1940's. In addition, most of the rolling mills employed by the special steel mills are the outdated type of horizontally open frame which is no longer in use overseas. Such a technical standard falls far behind the requirements for developing the national economy.

We must accelerate the progress of transformation in order to put an end to the technologically backward situation in the iron and steel industry. We must have a sense of urgency in this respect. We must be good at utilizing the advanced technology adopted by the developed countries, and make the best use of our time to catch up with others so as to narrow the gap between China and the industrially developed countries. We should focus on product quality and variety, and transform the existing production lines in accordance with the requirements for careful screening of raw materials, refining, precise rolling and finishing. We should promote effective production techniques, strive to remove those harmful impurities from raw materials and semifinished products, and strive to maintain a stable content of constituents in order to upgrade the iron and steel products to the international standards. By 1990, the percentage of steel products meeting international standards produced by key enterprises should account for 40 percent, and the percentage should reach 80 percent by the year 2000. We must adopt various technology and equipment to conserve energy, greatly promote the practice of serial casting, transform furnaces and kilns that consume much energy, make full use of the residual heat and energy, and reduce the material and energy consumption. By the turn of this century, the constant rate of energy consumption by each ton of steel production in the key steel mills should be reduced to below 900 kilograms of standard coal. In addition, we must actively promote the comprehensive utilization of resources and do well in environmental protection so as to bring about a great change in the iron and steel industry by the end of this century.

When using the advanced technology, we must pay close attention to the economic results, and link the advancement of technology to economic rationality. Generally speaking, there is no contradiction between advancement of technology and economic rationality. The progress of technology should promote better economic results, or such kind of technology will not be developed.
Being a developing country, China should gain mastery of the technology though it starts late. It should strive to reach within a short time the level attained by the developed countries after spending quite a long time. However, there are cases in which a particular piece of equipment and level might yield better economic results in some countries and trades, but not in another country or trade. This is because technology and equipment are not only limited by the availability of capital but also the conditions of raw materials, the scale of production, the product quality, the management skills, the extent of socialized production and the quality of workers. Therefore, we must, in implementing our technical transformation, strive to maximize our economic results out of our minimal investment sum by upholding the practice of proceeding from reality, and adopting a system of multi-level utilization of technology and equipment in accordance with the principle of favoring advancement, thriftiness and suitability. We should avoid ignoring our actual conditions and simply pursue new technology, or even spend a large sum of money on some fancy and showy equipment. Some enterprises indiscriminately used technology and equipment that were developed for large furnaces when they simply built those small furnaces of 100 to 300 cubic meters in size. Their investment sum was of course doubled, but their index of technology was rather backward. We must guard against the occurrence of this situation.

In order to improve the economic results of technical transformation, we must also pay attention to the approach of implementation by stages. As China is still far from strong and its enterprises lack both financial and material resources, we must tap the potential from and transform the existing equipment, and use new technology to transform old equipment. We must first focus on a few projects which require little investment and can bring quick results, so that we can accumulate more capital like a rolling snowball. Eventually, we are able to accelerate the pace of technical transformation. This is the approach adopted by some enterprises such as the Capital Steel Mill and the Han [6725] Steel Mill, which experienced rather rapid development and achieved remarkable economic results in recent years.

**Correctly Handle the Relations Between Software and Hardware**

The practice of technical transformation is eventually reflected in the improvement and replacement of hardware such as the equipment. In order to make full use of the equipment, however, we must spend great efforts on software such as the process of decisionmaking, personnel training and administration.

We must strive to make correct decisions. To make an error in the process of decisionmaking is indeed the biggest mistake. The technical transformation of an enterprise is a complicated system engineering that involves many areas and needs an integration of special knowledge with practical experience. Therefore, we must, in the process of making decisions, take a scientific and democratic approach and solicit opinions from all sectors concerned, in order to make the correct decisions. We must pay attention to the "integration in four aspects" when making decisions and formulating overall plans and specific plans for implementation. First, we should integrate our needs with feasibility. We must act in accordance with China's situation and the conditions of its steel mills, do in order of importance and urgency, and strive to make breakthrough points in areas which can help improve the overall situation. We must avoid acting in haste or spreading ourselves thin in the work. Only thus can we make the best use of our capital. Second, we should integrate the macroeconomic results with the microeconomic ones. Being socialist enterprises, they must take the overall situation into consideration. While striving to improve their economic results through technical transformation, enterprises must focus on improving the comprehensive economic results of society. We must, in the process of technical transformation, proceed from the long-term interests of the overall situation and give top priority to the variety and quality of products. Third, we should integrate the internal balance with the external ones. In the technical transformation, we must earnestly strike a balance in the work concerning capital, raw materials, equipment, designing and construction capability. Moreover, we must take into consideration how to strike a balance between the conditions after the transformation and its capability in terms of energy resources and transportation. Fourth, we should integrate technical transformation with the establishment of lateral links and specialist cooperation. We should put an end to the self-contained and backward situation of "large and complete, and small and complete," and avoid splitting and wasting the financial and material resources. Through the rational circulation and reorganization of the factors of production, we should strive to improve the economic results of enterprises as well as the macroeconomic results.

**Being the main body that makes decisions, enterprises shoulder the major task of making correct decisions. The designing institutes also play a major role in the selection of proposed plans, as well as the selection of technology and equipment. They key to judging the design level of a technical transformation project rests not only with the technical level and equipment involved but also its economic results. Only projects that require a small investment sum and bring sizable returns can really meet our requirements for designing.**

We must attach great importance to improving the quality of workers. Advanced technology and equipment are the necessary means for improving the product quality and economic results, but they must be mastered by man in order to realize their productive forces. Therefore, the key is to improve the personnel quality. Presently, the leadership of some enterprises only emphasize the import of equipment and neglect the importance of training. Consequently, this expensive, comprehensive and advanced equipment is utilized for
low-level applications, and it is not worth the capital that has been spent. For instance, we imported in recent years a number of serial casting machines for small square blanks, but, to a considerable extent, many of them were not used in the designed capacity. This is because the technical level of steel-smelting and serial casting operations cannot catch up with development. Some enterprises are still plagued by the problem even though they have purchased many computers. This is also because of the close relations between management skills and the personnel quality. Therefore, we must from now on simultaneously promote both the management skills and technical progress. Particularly, under the present circumstances where “the technology is backward and the management skills are even worse,” we must attach great importance to strengthening the scientific management. In accordance with the requirements for utilizing new technology and equipment, we must strengthen the foundation work among enterprises. In particular, we must focus on and handle well management at the team and group level as well as personnel training, so as to put the technical transformation projects into production operations upon accomplishment.

Furthermore, we must strengthen the management of these technical transformation projects. Each of these projects is an arduous task as it involves the coordination of designing, manufacturing and construction. A defect developed in the process will bring about the domino effect on the whole. Therefore, some enterprises which are responsible for important technical transformation tasks have set up leading bodies managed by the units undertaking the tasks and consisting of the construction and designing units. These bodies help coordinate the relations of various parties and draw up the general engineering plans in order to ensure high quality and accelerate the progress of projects.

The iron and steel industry has made progress in recent years in technical transformation and has gained some experience. However, the tasks of technical transformation before us are still very arduous. Their scale is larger and their requirements are stricter. Moreover, to a considerable extent, some of them are projects using foreign investment. Therefore, we should, from now on, further strengthen the management, as well as the leadership over technical transformation through an in-depth development of reform. We must stress economic results and bring the work of technical transformation to a higher plane.

Modern Education and the Modernization of Education

Many articles which discuss the reform of education take modern education and the modernization of education as the same concept. Certainly there is a close relationship between the two, but they are essentially different concepts. In order to clarify the substance of and the relationship between these two concepts, we need to begin by looking at the two sets of concepts “modern” and “modernization,” and “modern society” and “modernization of society.”

“Modern” as everyone knows, is a historiographical concept indicating the historical period from a particular age until the present (sometimes people also differentiate this from the concept “contemporary”). It is relative to ancient times and recent times. “Modern society” refers to present-day society, something which has an objective existence. As the development of various countries and regions is uneven, people often see only the society of developed countries as modern society.

Modernization is a sociological concept, referring to “an artificial, targeted and planned process of social change.” (Fei Xiaotong (chief editor), “Sociological Concepts,” Tianjin People’s Publishing House, p 282) The “modernization of society” is the social development blueprints as well as the methods and avenues of their realization, conceived and planned in accordance with certain ideals, goals and value concepts. It is an “oriented process of change.”

From the above we can see that “modern” and “modernization” as well as “modern society” and “modernization of society” are closely related. First, history is continuous. Only by basing ourselves on today can we look ahead to tomorrow. Second, the reason the modern societies of the developed countries have been able to develop is that in their historical development, they have had some advanced characteristics. These include highly developed productive forces, swiftly developing science and technology, rich material resources, quite high cultural and educational levels, highly efficient operations management and so on. These characteristics indicate a common trend in social development and they can be a reference system for developing countries in drawing up...
blueprints for social development. The experiences of developed countries in the course of reaching today's level can also be used as reference in making changes to achieve modernization.

However, modern society is a complex composite entity. It has both advanced aspects and backward aspects, and involves both phenomena which accord with the pattern of historical development and phenomena which violate or obstruct historical development. No country can avoid this. What is particularly noticeable in modern Western capitalist society is: On the one hand, as has been noted above, various phenomena show the prospects for social development. On the other hand there exist serious social problems—robbery, murder, swindling, drug-taking, high rates of crime, high divorce rates, spiritual vacuums, moral crises, old people and vagrants with no one to take care of them and so on. In the area of material life, not everything is civilized either. There is damage to the ecological environment, there are some terrible working conditions and so on. And this is without even talking about the exploitative system which is at the base of modern Western society.

The modernization of society must be carried out in accordance with a blueprint which is drawn up with a certain ideal for future society in mind. In the process of realizing socialist modernization, we will need to make choices. We can only draw in and use for reference those advanced and civilized aspects of modern Western society which accord with the pattern of historical development. In respect of those backward and uncivilized aspects which obstruct the development of history, it is not a question of using them for reference, but rather one of how to guard against and overcome them. Although some aspects are referred to as advanced and civilized, as productive forces and levels of scientific and technological development differ, and there are differences in terms of social systems and cultural systems, these cannot be simply copied in their entirety. Some sociologists in the West believe that modernization is a social change whereby "underdeveloped societies" obtain the common characteristics of "quite developed societies." (See "Explorations Into the Question of Modernization," Zhishi Publishing House, p 12) Some other people say "modernization" is "Westernization." These views are essentially trying to make the modern societies of developed capitalist countries the model for the modernization of developing countries, and want the latter to change in accordance with the "common characteristics" of the former, so that the developing countries will be assimilated by the developed countries. These ideas, if not completely wrong, are indeed one-sided. Our historical experiences and lessons show: If we are to engage in modernization, we must study the advanced aspects of foreign countries, but at the same time we cannot engage in "complete Westernization" and must take China's own road.

Once we have got clear the relationship and differences between the two sets of concepts "modern" and "modernization," and "modern society" and "the modernization of society," it is not difficult to understand, in terms of principles, that the two concepts of "modern education" and "the modernization of education" are closely related but essentially different principles. It is also not difficult to understand that the modernization of education can and should draw in those advanced aspects of modern education and should not copy as its model the modern education of advanced Western countries.

II. The Characteristics of Modern Western Education

The concept of "modern education" has, like "traditional education," both a specific and a general meaning. The specific meaning, in Western educational history, refers to the new education movement in Western Europe and the American progressive education movement from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The influence of the latter on China was quite strong and its representative figure Dewey and his practical education ideas are no strangers to our country. Dewey called his ideas on education "modern education" and "progressive education," and referred to the modern Western education ideas as represented by Herbart as "traditional education." From this, there was formed in bourgeois education theory the tussle between the traditional education school and the modern education school.

Dewey's practical education ideas had their philosophical base in the empirical theories of subjective idealism, their social outlook was one of vulgar evolutionism, the view of the value of education was the promotion of the growth of people's 'instinctive abilities,' while the teaching theory was based upon direct experience. The major theses were: "education is growth," "child-centered theory," "education is life," "school is society," "the theory of remolding through experience," "learning through doing" and so on. These ideas, whether seen overall or in terms of their major orientation, are all unscientific. Over the last 10 years, in all countries of the world, including the United States, there has been continual criticism of them from different standpoints and from different angles. At the same time, regardless of whether we talk of the United States, the Soviet Union or China, educational practice which took Dewey's practical education ideology as guidance or was influenced by it, led to differing degrees to a decline in the quality of education. In brief, regardless of whether we look in terms of theoretical proof or practical assessment, they both show that practical modern education has serious errors and shortcomings. However, why was it that this type of education which was so popular for a time in the United States now receives both praise and blame and has not disappeared from the scene? Why is it that countries of different social systems around the world still use this educational theory and implement its educational proposals, resulting in this theory still having quite an influence? Does this modern education which
was produced and developed in opposition to traditional education have some rational elements? For example, it advocates the combining of education and social life, it affirms the position of students as the main aspect of education, it stresses the role of nonintellectual factors, such as interests, in study, it pays attention to the role of experience in the education process, it stresses the importance of developing students' intelligence and abilities and the role of education in promoting the student's own "growth," and so on. It might be beneficial to us in thinking about this matter if, in assessing the mistakes in the overall and major aspects, and on the precondition of casting aside the metaphysical methods and nihilist attitudes it adopted in its views on traditional education, we appropriately affirmed those rational aspects it developed in its opposition to traditional education.

What is described above is modern education in specific, that is Western educational history, terms. Today, when people talk about modern education, although it may be closely related to that specific modern education, it is not restricted by the theories of the modern educational school or the system and methods they proposed. Rather, it generally refers to the ideologies and situations of education in advanced countries, especially advanced Western countries. This general modern education is very complex, as it involves contradictory education theories and an immense variety of educational methods. As far as educational ideologies are concerned, there are both new modern schools and new traditional schools, and there are even more educational theories which both criticize these two schools and try to synthesize the ideas of both these schools. At the same time, the ideas of the governments of the various countries and the ideas of educators are often different in terms of views on education. In terms of the education situation, and the policies, systems, methods and measures, there is even more divergence and complexity. If we take the macro-management of higher education as an example, there is collective authority at the center, dispersed authority in the localities, joint management by both central and local authorities, universities which run themselves and so on. Although the situations are extremely complex and difficult to sum up, in terms of the major trends and the theories and situations which will influence our country's tertiary education, we can list the following characteristics of modern Western education.

1. It has an educational value concept centered on the individual. This educational value concept holds that the essential significance of education lies in promoting the free and full development of people's inherent qualities. According to Dewey's idea that "education is growth," growth is just a goal for oneself, and there is no goal beyond the process of growth. Thus, "the process of education has no goal beyond itself. It is its own aim." ("Selections from Works of Modern Western Bourgeois Educational Ideology Schools," p 29) Although modern educators in the West do not necessarily accept Dewey's idea that "education is growth," the majority still believe that the value of education lies only in realizing "a person's own improvement." They believe that education should not be subject to the restriction of society's needs, or that social benefit should be used as a standard for assessing the value of education. If it was, it would certainly lead to the stifling of the free development of the student's individual character, and lead to education only having "value as a tool" and losing its "real value." Of course, in general the bourgeois educationalists do not negate the social role of education, as this is an objective fact; and when governments formulate educational policies, there is an even greater need to fully consider the social value of education. However, the educationalists believe that the social function of education is a matter external to the process of education, is not a value of education itself, and therefore is not a task of education. This concept of the value of education has quite an influence among the university students of our country at present. The saying "working subjectively for oneself and objectively for society" is a reflection of the concept of the value of education where the individual is the center.

2. There is all-round education. Both in Western Europe and the United States, in tertiary education there concurrently exists all-round training and professional, specialized training functions. However, education theory in general tends toward all-round education. This view of developing abilities is long-standing and can be traced back to modern universities' "liberal education" (also translated as "cultured education" or "overall knowledge education"). However, the present age has given it new significance of the times: In accordance with the new age of rapid scientific and technological development, there is the idea that "all-rounders score success." A wide knowledge and an ability to meet contingencies is of benefit for an individual competing in society. In accordance with this, the fostering of "creative," "entrepreneurial," "adaptive," and "T-type" skilled persons has been proposed.

3. There is lifelong education. Because of the rapid development of the productive forces and of science and technology, there are constant changes in social life, and the centralized, phased education of youth is no longer sufficient to meet the needs of the new situation. People have to constantly grasp new science and technology, change value concepts and learn how to accord with the new social environment. The concept of "lifelong education" has emerged as required by the times, and now it has become an important part of modern education and been drawn into the school education system. As far as tertiary education is concerned, the continuing education after university is seen to be increasingly important.

4. The function of tertiary education has been expanded. The function of tertiary institutions is not restricted to training skilled people. They are also responsible for developing science and for supplying social service outside the institution. In order to better combine these three functions, universities have adopted all sorts of
different methods, and established cooperative relationships or alliances between the universities, scientific and technological research units and production departments.

5. There is academic freedom. In the West, universities have always been considered the hotbeds of "democracy" and "freedom" and Western scholars dwell upon this point with relish. Of course, this academic freedom is only a freedom within the scope allowed by the capitalist system.

6. Student life is liberal. There are different views as to whether tertiary institutions should, like middle schools and primary schools, make moral education a major task of education. Some Western educationalists hold that moral education is not an educational task for universities, which have adults as their targets of education. Although not all educationalists endorse this view, in fact very few tertiary institutions adopt direct, specific measures to intervene in the lives and activities of their students. Rather, through teaching, they inculcate bourgeois ideological viewpoints and moral standards.

7. There is a diversity in course structures with little or no stress being placed on the systematic nature or stability of the course. There is a great degree of freedom in course structures and the elective component in educational planning is quite high. They advocate osmosis between the arts and sciences and the combination of theory and practice. There have appeared a large number of new interdisciplinary courses and comprehensive courses centered on a particular question. The general trend for courses is synthesis, the provision of a base and the teaching of methodologies. The course contents stress the drawing in of new achievements in science and technology and researching new problems in the life of society.

8. There are flexible education methods. The stress in the education process is placed on developing students' intellect and abilities, but attention is also paid to the role of nonacademic factors in the education process. Numerous and diverse methods have been adopted in order to link up education and social practice, and to foster students' ability to work independently. The general trends in the reform of education are the development of students' intellect and abilities, the strengthening of educational practice and the utilization of modern educational methods.

9. The relationship between teachers and students is basically a business relationship. Because here money determines everything, and there is no sense of responsibility toward the correct development of young people, there exist situations where the teachers are paid to teach, the students pay to learn and there is unprincipled distribution of marks and academic qualifications. However in a greater number of situations, educational activities are geared to the individual study and development needs of students. In order to satisfy the needs of students, teachers have to understand students' psychology. Also, students' "opinion polls" play an important role in the continued employment and promotion of teachers.

10. Schools have quite great autonomy. In general, the government interferes very little in school administration, but can still control the schools through economic measures such as allocation of funds and financial aid. Thus, control and opposition to control is a topic which is often talked about by people in the tertiary education sphere in the West.

The above are just a few examples, and cannot sum up the overall situation in the complex and sometimes contradictory field of modern education. Despite this, from these incomplete characteristics it is not difficult to see that modern Western education clearly has many things worthy of our using as reference. At the same time, it is not difficult to see that modern Western education cannot be used in its entirety as a model for the modernization of socialist education. Many developing countries have completely copied the modern education of developed countries and taken that as their model in reforming education. This has resulted in the occurrence of various sorts of problems, such as a decline in the quality of education, a laxness of school discipline, investment in tertiary education exceeding the capacity of state finances, unemployment of university graduates, the flow of skilled persons abroad and so on. In the last few years, there has appeared in our country's tertiary education an ideological tide of learning from Western education. This ideological tide has played a positive role in attacking traditional education, in opening our vision, in making information available and in promoting the reform of education. In the future, this must not only be persisted in, but the avenues must be further opened up, as this will assist in the greater and swifter absorption of the advanced achievements of foreign education. Of course, in this process it is unavoidable that some negative influences will appear, which will have a bad effect on the assiduous study and healthy growth of young university students. For example: The value of education which stresses individual development overlooks the value of education for social needs. This results in students only considering what they can "get" from society and not what they can "contribute" to society. They only talk about democracy in management and academic freedom (actually referring to Western democratic freedom and not socialist democratic freedom), do not positively disseminate the four cardinal principles and do not stress organizational discipline. This results in some university students relaxing their strict requirements on their own ideology and politics. They only stress the importance of developing abilities (while their understanding of abilities is often superficial and one-sided) and downgrade the importance of accumulation of knowledge. This has resulted in some students being unwilling to study hard and in the reappearance of the idea that "study has no use."
talking about the modern education of developed Western countries, often only the successful examples are cited (and sometimes exaggerated), while the mistakes are not talked about. They only talk about "identifying with" and not in terms of "reserving differences." This clearly is biased and we should pay attention to overcoming this tendency.

In pointing out the above-mentioned problems, it does not mean that we have to return to the old "leftist" road of the past, only stressing the "clarifying of divisions" and not stressing studying and using things for reference; only "seeking differences" and being not being able to "identify with" ideas. Such an attitude of closing oneself off is not beneficial to the reform and development of education. In fact, many of the concepts and measures in our present educational reforms are the result of using modern Western education as reference. The correct method is to carry out scientific analysis of modern Western education and clearly set down the basic principles and yardsticks by which, in the modernization of socialist education, we will "identify with" and "reserve differences" about aspects of modern education.

III. "Identifying With" and "Reserving Differences" About Aspects of Modern Education in the Modernization of Socialist Education

If we are to resolve the problem of "identifying with" and "reserving differences" about aspects of modern education in the modernization of socialist education, we need to begin by talking about the factors which restrict education.

Education, a social activity for training people, is subject to the restrictions of the patterns of social development and the patterns of development of people themselves. In concrete terms it is subject to four restricting factors:

1. The level of development of the productive forces and the level of development of science and technology. These are the bases of social development and are also the basic conditions for educational development. This is especially so of tertiary education which is subject, in many basic aspects, to the restriction of the level of development of the productive forces and the level of development of science and technology. We can cite as examples the goals and standards in training specialized persons, the scale and speed of educational development, the educational system in schools, the contents of education, teaching methods and so on. If we take the educational system in schools as an example: Neither in China nor abroad was the ancient education system a structure of distinct levels and it is very difficult to divide that education into primary, secondary and tertiary education. The development of the forces of production and of science and technology caused education to grow downward, upward and outward: downward, there appeared primary education—compulsory education; upward, there grew tertiary education—modern education; and outward there appeared technical education—vocational education. The rapid development of the modern forces of production and science and technology has meant that lifelong education and continuing education will enter the system of scholastic education. That the school system should be thus restricted, the restrictions on the other aspects of education go without saying.

2. The social system. Specific socioeconomic and political systems not only restrict concepts of the value of education, the way skilled persons are viewed, the goals of education, the educational system as well as the contents of ideological and political teaching and education, but also restrict to a certain degree the methods of teaching and the system of school education. Let us take the concept of the value of education as an example: The view of the value of education in capitalist societies is, as noted above, basically one centered on the individual. This view of the value of education claims that education should not be subject to social restrictions and that social benefit should not be the standard for appraising the value of education. However, if we make a historical appraisal of this, it is not difficult to discover that its emergence actually was a reflection of the social demands of the period of laissez-faire capitalism, and that it serves the capitalist system.

3. The cultural tradition. The cultural tradition has a wide-ranging effect on moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic education in schools. The role of other factors restricting education is often refracted through the cultural tradition. Thus, although countries may be similar in terms of the level of development of their productive forces and their social systems, their education systems are often very different, as they bear the characteristics of the respective cultural traditions. The influence of cultural traditions can be positive and can also be negative. However, their restricting role is an objective fact. In the process of educational reform, we need to seriously look at the inheritance and criticism of cultural traditions as well as the capacity of the society to endure this.

4. The age characteristics of students' mental and physical development. At every level of education, the level and period of education, the curriculum attempted and its scope, the type of education and the teaching methods, are all subject to the restrictions of the age characteristics of the mental and physical development of students in schools at that level. If one goes against the mental and physical development of the children when educating them, it will not be completely without results, but the effectiveness will be low.

Of the restricting roles of the above-mentioned four factors, it can be said that: 1) The fourth factor has a great commonality in all countries and all societies. 2) The third factor has a great specificity. Of course, this is not absolute and there is specificity in commonality and
commonality in specificity. For example, the development of the forces of production and the development of science and technology is, in terms of a general trend, an inevitable tendency in the development of every country and every region, and the waves of the new technological revolution will inevitably pound all countries and societies. However, at present and for quite some time to come, the speed and level of development of the new productive forces and science and technology, the degree of pounding received from the waves of the new technological revolution as well as the roads this leads to, will be different for each country. On the other hand, the social systems and cultural traditions of each country and each society all have their own characteristics, but are differentiated in some having “major similarities and minor differences” and some having “major differences and minor similarities.” Also some have basic differences while others just have some phenomenal differences.

As the various restricting factors have some commonalities, the various theoretical and practical experiences in modern Western education which are determined by the common restricting factors, for example the experiences in terms of handling the relationship between modern science and technology and education, the experiences in getting education to accord with the patterns of students' psychological development and so on, can be used as reference in the modernization of our education, and can, to a certain degree, be “identified with.” Also, because the restricting factors all have their own specificity, those theories and practices of modern Western education which reflect the capitalist social system and the Western cultural traditions, must not be copied and must not be “identified with.” The modernization of our country's education is socialist modernization. The reform and development of socialist tertiary education is for the purpose of better according with the needs of socialist construction and producing, at all levels, all sorts of skilled persons who are able to persist in the socialist orientation. “All of these skilled persons should have ideals, morality, culture and discipline, should warmly love the socialist motherland and the socialist cause, and have a spirit which is willing to struggle arduously to make the country rich and strong and to make the people prosperous. They should all continually seek new knowledge and have a scientific spirit of seeking truth from facts, thinking independently and being brave in creation.” (“Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational System”) We can only decide what can be “identified with” and with what we must “reserve differences” about on this precondition and in accordance with the principles of socialism.

What then can be “identified with” and with what must we “reserve differences”? According to the above-noted principles, we can divide those aspects of modern education with which we can “identify” and those with which we must “reserve differences” into three types:

1. Those things which can be “identified with.” This refers mainly to those theories and practices which accord with the needs of the development of the productive forces and the development of science and technology. For example, we can take lifelong education and continuing education as important components of the development of education and as a demand of socialist modernization in terms of the training of skilled persons; the diversity and flexibility of course structures and teaching methods are beneficial to better disseminating knowledge and developing intellect; osmosis of the humanities and the sciences, interdisciplinary overlapping, the combination of theory and practice and the linking of schools and society are beneficial in fostering skilled persons and developing science; the modernization of teaching methods can improve the effectiveness of teaching; and so on. All of these are necessary in the current reforms. As the trend of reform in education throughout the world is thus, the development of our country's education can also in general “identify with” this. However, in terms of specific measures, we cannot copy everything.

2. There are things which can be “identified with” but which also require that “differences be reserved.” For example, all-round education has, in the speedy development of science and technology, been vested with a new significance of the times; academic freedom is beneficial to having various ideas compete and having a vigorous academic situation; expanding the autonomy of tertiary institutions in running their own affairs ensures that the tertiary institutions have an enthusiasm and vigor which actively accords with the demands of economic and social development. These are all beneficial aspects which can be drawn in from modern Western education and used as reference. However, we need to bear in mind that our country is a socialist country and we cannot copy things wholesale. In training skilled persons, our tertiary education must combine all-round training and specialized training, and on the basis of all-round training foster people who are specialized and have specific knowledge and skills as well as all-round abilities. In academic and scientific research, we must positively create a fine environment and conditions and encourage all sorts of earnest and serious scientific exploration. At the same time, we must not let things drift, much less engage in bourgeois liberalization. In the area of expanding the autonomy of universities in running their own affairs, we need to actively draw on foreign experiences and increase the vigor of the schools. At the same time, we cannot weaken the leadership of the party and the government over the schools.

3. Those things which cannot be “identified with.” The liberalization of student life and having business relationships between teachers and students do not accord with the educational principles of socialist society. Of course some rational elements like soliciting suggestions on the teaching from students, providing the rational requirements of research students and having ideological education spread throughout the course of education, do
have reference value for us. As for the view of the value of education which takes the individual as the center, this is an idealistic view of the value of education and of course cannot be “identified with.” This is because this violates the basic law of the relationship between education and society—education is subject to the restrictions of social development and serves social development. There is no abstract value of man which is divorced from society and there is no so-called “self-improvement of man” which is divorced from the needs of social development. The advancement of man can only be realized through the development of society and the value of man can only be manifested in a relationship with society. Thus, in assessing the value of education, the final standards can only be whether the skilled persons trained are able to satisfy the needs of the society and in the size of the role they play in society. Socialist education must serve socialist construction, while the skilled persons needed by socialist construction are those who can persist in a socialist orientation, are brave in innovation and creation and whose innate superior qualities are fully developed. Thus, in socialist society, the development of society and the development of people themselves can and should be unified. The socialist view of the value of education should be one where social development needs and the development needs of people themselves are unified. As the “Communist Manifesto” points out: “The free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all people.” That is to say, on the precondition of satisfying the needs of social development, education must fully consider the needs of the development of the individual. We must be good at drawing individual development onto the same path as social development, so that university students develop along a correct and healthy road.

Because of the overlapping and complex nature of the various factors restraining education, any simplistic understanding can easily lead to mistakes in work. The above-mentioned three types are only major aspects and it is necessary to carry out specific analysis of the complex phenomena and issues. Also, in the practice of the reform of education, we must continually sum up our experiences and fully understand them. Only thus can we travel China’s own road of developing education. At the same time, the so-called “identification with” and “moving toward differences” are only phenomena which appear in the course of reform of education and are not the essence of educational reform. The essence of educational reform is to allow our country’s education to develop healthily in the direction of socialist modernization. This requires that we take dialectical materialism and historical materialism as guidance and, in accordance with the principles of linking theory and practice, seriously research and make decisions in a scientific way. In the process of educational reform, if we do not take the modern education of advanced countries as reference, we will not be able to open up our vision. But if we chase modern Western education and blindly follow each step, we will always be behind and will find it difficult to avoid being led astray.

The modernization of our country’s socialist education is a vibrant process of change. Looking back, its point of departure was very different for that of education in developed countries. Looking forward, we are still very far from what is required for the realization of communism. This demands that our broad masses of education workers base themselves on this basic national situation of being in the primary stage of socialism and face toward the world; base themselves upon the present and face the future; progress forward along the correct road and through a long period of arduous struggle and industrious exploration, step by step change the ideal of the modernization of education into a reality.

Readers’ Mailbox
40050188n Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 p 28

[Letter to the editor from Wang Zhengping [3769 2973 5493] of the Research Institute of the CPC Central Committee Party School]

[Text] Comrade Editor:
I feel that the investigation into the experiment in the scale of operation in agriculture in Shunyi County, Beijing, provided a fairly good and very interesting investigation report. The problem brought forward in the report is an important issue faced by villages, especially those in economically developed areas, in deepening the reform of agriculture. The investigation report fully shows that because of the speedy development of nonagricultural industries, the phenomena whereby agricultural households only work part-time in agriculture has become a daily more obvious obstruction to the stable growth of the planting industry and the modernization of agriculture. The nature of this obstruction is that in agriculture, commoditization, socialization and modernization are in contradiction with contracted small-scale operations by peasant households on a per capita basis. Following the development of the agricultural productive forces, this contradiction will become increasingly obvious. Some of our comrades do not have a sufficient understanding of the importance of this problem and, facing this new situation, they either avoid the contradiction or else are quite helpless to do anything about it. This investigation report gives people inspiration. Experiences in this area have important theoretical and practical significance in the further strengthening of agricultural vigor.

Raising Funds To Run Schools Is an Important Avenue in Developing the Cause of Socialist Education
40050188f Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 29-33

[Article by Lu Keying [0712 0668 5391], director of the Education Office of Shandong Province]

[Text] When Zhao Ziyang noted in his report to the 13th CPC Congress the necessity of maintaining the cause of education in a prominent, strategic position, he pointed
out: "Following the development of the economy, the state will gradually increase educational expenditure and at the same time will continue to encourage the various forces of society to raise funds in order to run schools." This exposition, proceeding from our country's situation, points out an important avenue for arranging educational expenditure and developing the cause of education. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shandong Province has improved the conditions for running rural primary and middle schools, and traveled the road of raising funds to run schools. In the 8 years from 1979 to October 1987, there was a total investment of 2.55 billion yuan of which 2.36 billion or 92.5 percent of the total, was raised by the masses. The state provided 150 million yuan or 6.3 percent, while 40 million yuan, constituting 1.2 percent of the total came from other sources. Over 90 percent of rural primary and middle schools have obtained the "six components" of school building, schoolyard walls, school gate, toilets, playground and school desks and seats. Thereby 10 million primary and middle school students have said goodbye to dark rooms, tables made of earth and dangerous buildings, and have gone into spacious and bright classrooms. Many regions have also collected funds in order to build libraries and laboratories and provide recreation and sports equipment and have started production labor bases in order to build dormitories for teachers. The collecting of funds by the masses has allowed the completion of the task of transforming primary and middle school buildings and has laid a good base for further improving the quality of education, for implementing the 9-year compulsory education system and for developing our province's educational cause.

I

The decision of the CPC Central Committee on the reform of the educational system points out: "Education must serve socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education." This conclusion scientifically reflects the dialectical relationship between education and economics and clearly reveals the important position and role of education in our country's socialist construction. The party's 13th Congress also further drew education into the economic development strategy of the primary stage of socialism and stressed that "in the 100-year plan, education is the base. We must persist in placing the development of the cause of education in a prominent strategic position." It also specifically pointed out the development strategies for education by the end of the century: "The cities and towns and the great majority of villages will have universal junior middle school education and the large cities will have universal senior middle school education and professional and technical education at a level equivalent to senior middle school education." This clearly shows the arduous tasks involved in achieving great development of education. Our basic national situation is one where there is a great population, there is a poor base, the per capita GNP is still at the world's lower levels and our financial capacity for various undertakings is limited. Thus, in developing education there exists a contradictory situation. On the one hand there is a requirement that education be developed quickly so as to improve the quality of workers and to foster a large number of skilled persons as quickly as possible. On the other hand, the conditions which can be provided for running schools are extremely limited and are far from able to satisfy the needs of educational development and the pressing demands of the masses on education. This contradiction between "demand" and "supply" will exist throughout the entire primary stage of socialism. How we are to resolve this contradiction is a major problem we are faced with. If we solely rely on the state's financial power and we only do as much as state funds allow, then it will certainly lead to delays in the development of all kinds of education at all levels, and result in socialist modernization lacking reserves. Thus, it is necessary to achieve to "two growths" in the educational funds the state provides. That is "growth in the educational funds provided by the central and local governments must be higher than the growth in current income, and there must be gradual growth in the average amount of educational funds available per student in school." At the same time, we need to implement many avenues for raising funds to cover education expenses, encourage and guide state-owned enterprises, social groups and individuals to run schools and, on the basis of voluntary participation, encourage the various forces in society to raise funds to run schools.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been rapid development of the the Shandong economy and investment on education has gradually grown. However, in general, the development of education cannot keep pace with the needs of economic development, and the growth of educational funds cannot satisfy the needs of developing the cause of education. Also, the increased education funds are mainly used for the costs of increased numbers of students [ren tou fei 0086 7333 6316]. When the material costs growth rate facts are added, the public funds standard has actually fallen. Because of the shortage of funds, especially the shortage of public funds for primary and middle schools, there is often no way to carry out much basic construction for education. According to the statistics for 1979, of the total 30.47 million square meters school-building floor area of the primary and middle schools of our province, dark rooms and dangerous buildings comprised 15.78 million square meters, or 52 percent of the total. Also, over half the students had to go to schools where the tables were made of earth and the desks were concrete slabs or piled bricks. This situation harmed students' mental and physical health and affected both normal education work and the development of the cause of education. We have calculated that if the transformation of rural primary and middle school buildings was undertaken by the state, based on the 20 million yuan of funds annually invested in the transformation of school buildings through the great efforts of prefectures and counties, then it would have taken over...
130 years. However, relying on the masses to raise funds, the task for the whole province was completed in 8 years. This shows that solely relying on the state's very limited education funds to run schools is completely inadequate and, through such a method, there would be no way to change the situation whereby for a long period there has been a great lack of education funds. If we are to basically improve the conditions for running schools, and have this accord with the needs of economic development, we have to adopt the policy whereby the state, the departments, state-run enterprises, social groups, collectives and individuals all engage in this and arrange all sorts of forms to run schools and for education funds to be collected through various avenues.

II

Raising of funds to run schools is completely necessary, but is it feasible? This needs to be considered from two angles: 1) What is the understanding and what are the attitudes of the various circles in society toward this matter? 2) Is there the material base for the raising of funds to run schools?

Our experience has proved that the raising of funds to run schools accords with the people's wishes and desires, and receives the strong endorsement and support of the people of various circles in society. Respect for teachers and the attaching of importance to education has a widespread ideological base and is a historical tradition in our province. Among the people, the building of roads, the erection of bridges and the running of schools are all seen as magnanimous acts undertaken for the public good. More importantly, following the deepening of our party's recognition of education and the placing of it in an important strategic position, the understanding of education by leaders at various levels has continually grown. This is especially so in the development of production whereby it is increasingly pressing felt that developing education and training skilled persons is a major issue in invigorating the local economy. Xintai city in our province has good soil, rich resources and developed communications, and in recent years has developed a large number of township enterprises. However, economic results are not high. After the county committee secretary went to have a look at economically developed Jianguo village, he did a comparison and carried out analysis. He felt that Xintai city was clearly superior to the counties he had visited in terms of natural conditions, geographical situation and communications. However, the city's total industrial and agricultural output value was over 1 billion yuan less than theirs. The basic cause of this was a lack of skilled persons and backward management. Therefore the county committee and county government decided to grasp education. In the last few years, apart from there being an increase in financial investment in education by the county, over 400 million yuan has been successively raised for use in the transformation of primary and middle school buildings and for purchasing equipment. Our province's poor and backward Linyi district, in the course of throwing off its poverty, arrived at the following patterns. The malevolent cycle is: poverty—not grasping education—lack of skilled persons—inability to invigorate the economy—continued poverty. The benevolent cycle is: poverty—paying attention to education—creating skilled persons—economic development—changing poverty to prosperity. They recognized that in changing the backward mien of Linyi Prefecture, they could not simply rely on economic measures, and had to put money and great efforts into developing education. They relied on the masses to raise funds to run schools, and just in 1985 over 100 million yuan was raised. Many industrial, mining and enterprise units as well as individual enterprises also recognized while developing production that if they were to improve economic results, it was necessary to pay attention to intellectual investment and to improve the quality of laborers, and that there was a pressing need for the broad numbers of cadres and staff and workers to improve the educational standard of themselves and their children. They did not begrudge money to run their own schools and also eagerly participated in the raising of funds to run schools in the society. The 13 factories around Xinanguan village of Xintai city raised over 1 million yuan and joined with the village in building a high-standard central primary school, and in creating a good study environment for the children of workers and peasants. Some of the industrial and commercial enterprises of Linqing city raised close to 2 million yuan and built two teaching buildings for the No 1 middle school of Linqing. The concepts of the broad masses of people are undergoing deep changes following the development of the commodity economy and changes in the industrial structure, and an increasing number of people understand that if they are to escape poverty and become prosperous, they will need education, need to be able to understand technology and need to be able to manage things. Their desire to develop education and to improve the conditions for running schools has never been as pressing as now. The counties of Yangxin, Wudi and Zhanhua of Huimin Prefecture in our province border the Bohai Sea and their soil has been seriously alkalized. There although they have just resolved the problems of food and clothing, many of the people economized on their food and clothing and contributed a per capita amount of 40-plus yuan to transform the schoolhouse. Their slogan was: "To correct poverty first we have to correct ignorance, and in order to correct ignorance we have to engage in education." In 1987, Wei Lianrun, the head of a specialized household of Haogou village in Yicheng district, Zaozhuang city invested 120,000 yuan in building a teaching building. All these examples fully show that among the masses there exists great enthusiasm for running schools. This enthusiasm, combined with the enthusiasm of the leaders at various levels for running schools, will become a great material force and form a great surge in raising funds to run schools.

In all areas of society there are materials bases for raising funds and running schools. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has
implemented the policies of reform and opening up and, under the precondition of maintaining the primacy of public ownership, has developed diverse economic components. Also, under the precondition of maintaining the primacy of distribution according to work, various distribution forms have been implemented, and under the goal of common prosperity, some people have been encouraged to become prosperous first through honest work and legitimate operations. These characteristics of the ownership system and the distribution system during the primary stage of socialism in our country have provided the feasibility of encouraging, in all areas of society, the raising of funds to run schools. The development of diverse economic components and the implementation of diverse distribution forms has given all industries and trades and all units an autonomy in mobilizing financial strengths and in controlling financial resources. The policy of “common prosperity” has ensured that the wide masses have quite affluent living conditions, while the policy of encouraging some people to become prosperous first has allowed a large number of individual households and specialized households to become wealthy. This has laid a rich material base for us collecting “the wealth of the people” to initiate education undertakings. When our province raised funds to transform the school buildings of primary and middle schools, in the economically quite developed areas, in general some of the investment was made by the locality, the township and town enterprises provided some and the peasants collected some. In this way it was quite feasible for each township and town to build one or two junior middle schools, and for a village or several villages to build a primary school. In the quite poor areas, the major avenue was to rely on the masses to raise funds to carry out the transformation of the school buildings. Although the burden was a little greater, it was still possible for them to bear it. A township party committee secretary expressed it well: “We should not one-sidedly stress that because conditions are poor, buildings cannot be built. Nowadays, many families can build houses for themselves, so why can the hundred or even hundreds of families of a whole village not build a few school buildings?” These words are full of truth. We feel that it is unrealistic to do things which exceed the capabilities of the masses. Likewise, it is not a realistic attitude to fail to do those things which can be done through great efforts. Investment in education is subject to the restrictions of the level of economic development. In engaging in investment in education, it is wrong to fail to stress “doing things in accordance with one’s abilities.” However, it is also wrong to just stress that alone and not stress “putting all one’s efforts” into the undertaking.

First, having leaders at all levels pay attention to doing well in raising funds to run schools is the key to doing well in raising funds to run schools. Raising funds to run schools involves all aspects of society and affects everyone. Thus governments at all levels must set an example in mobilizing people and encourage, organize and coordinate the forces on all sides. Only thus will it be possible for the development of this task to be achieved. Here it is first necessary to resolve the problem of the understanding of leaders at all levels. Thought controls action and changes in concepts are very important. Only when there is full recognition of the importance of education and the importance and pressing nature of raising funds to run schools, will the raising of funds from all areas of society and the development of the cause of education become automatic actions. The key to the success obtained in relying on the masses to raise funds to transform the rural primary and middle schools of Shandong was the attention paid to the undertaking by the leaders, and especially by the provincial party committee and provincial government. The major leading comrades of the provincial committee and the provincial government repeatedly stressed that “it is necessary to make the situation in terms of the development of the cause of education a major part of the examination of cadres and the examination of their work.” The leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the provincial government, the provincial people’s congress and the provincial CPPCC committee repeatedly went deep into the various prefectures, counties and townships to supervise and encourage people in this work. The provincial education office called an annual provincial meeting to carry out summing up and assessment and to review the guidance being provided. The party committees and governments at the prefectural (city), county and township levels have also earnestly strengthened leadership over this work. Groups for raising funds to transform school buildings have been set up at every level and the party and the government have taken a hand in mobilization and deployment and in coordinating the financial, planning, goods and materials and construction departments to resolve problems in a timely way. This work has also been listed in the post responsibility system for leaders at various levels, and the method of the prefecture contracting with counties and counties contracting with townships has been adopted. Responsibilities have been clearly set down and these have been implemented at every level. In 1985, the Linyi prefectural party committee and administrative office held four meetings on this matter. The deputy county head of Zhanhua County in Humen Prefecture who had been assigned personal responsibility for education paid unremitting attention to raising funds to run schools. Liuguo township is the poorest region of this county and the deputy county head went there over 10 times to guide the township and village cadres in raising funds to run schools and in making plans. With her guidance and through a year of great efforts by the cadres and the masses of the county, the appearance of the school building underwent a basic change.

III

Raising funds to run schools is a good activity beneficial to the country and the people. However if such activities are to be done well, it is necessary to put in energy and efforts. It is especially important that leaders pay attention to this, take clear responsibility, formulate policies and adopt beneficial measures.
Second, the management system has to be reformed and the raising of funds to run schools must be implemented at the grass-roots level. In the early period of raising funds to run schools, we discovered that the existing educational management system was subject to departmental and regional divisions, and responsibilities were not clear. Taking township and village junior middle schools as an example, some were state-run junior middle schools, while others were junior middle schools jointly run by a number of villages. Although the state-run junior middle schools were jointly-run in name, in fact they were run by the township or small town. Such situations seriously obstructed the progress of raising funds to run schools. While there were some villages joined together, there was no one running the schools. Meanwhile, the local township and small town governments felt that the state-run middle schools were the responsibility of the state, while the jointly-run middle schools were subject to the joint management of the villages, and thus whether the schools were run well or badly had nothing to do with the township or small town. Such situations seriously obstructed the progress of raising funds to run schools. In 1982, our province’s Pingdu County implemented graded running of schools and separated management, whereby primary schools were handed down to the villages, the junior middle schools were made the responsibility of the townships and small towns and the responsibilities of villages and the townships and small towns were clearly set down. This greatly motivated the enthusiasm of the grassroots level for running schools and in the raising of funds to transform school buildings, the progress was swift and the standards attained high. We called an on-the-spot meeting to promulgate the experiences of Pingdu to the whole province. In 1985, after the CPC Central Committee’s decision on the reform of the educational system was issued, we also issued documents and provided specific regulations on the scope of the responsibilities and the management jurisdiction of the four levels of province, prefecture (city), county and township. We clearly stipulated that townships and small towns would run junior middle schools, while villages would run primary schools. With a correct first step, the whole system worked. The management system subsequent to the reform unified the responsibilities and rights of the townships and villages, eliminated the ideology of “waiting, relying and requiring” of grass-roots level cadres and truly grasped the management of raising funds to run schools. Very quickly, three major avenues for raising funds were opened up: 1) Peasants raised funds, made donations or provided materials. 2) Township and small town enterprises raised funds. The funds raised by the township enterprises of Yantai, Weifang, Zibo and other prefectures and cities constituted about one-quarter of the total funds raised. 3) The various circles of society raised funds. This mainly comprised funds raised by Overseas Chinese and compatriots abroad to run schools. The three channels have joined together and a new situation has accordingly appeared in the raising of funds to run schools. Third, in implementing policies, dividing lines must be clear, so as to guarantee the smooth development of raising funds to run schools. Since 1980, the party and the government, in order to promote the reform of our country’s education system and develop our nation’s education cause, have successively passed down several important documents and in relevant provisions have stipulated policies in respect of raising funds to run schools. The decision passed down in 1980 by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on various questions in respect of universal primary education, pointed out: “We must persist in the policy of ‘walking on two legs’ while taking state-run schools as the main part, motivate the enthusiasm of commune and work team collectives, factories and mining enterprises and so on for running schools. We must also encourage the masses to raise funds to run schools.” The decision in 1985 by the CPC Central Committee on the reform of the educational structure pointed out: “An appropriate proportion of local reserve funds should be used for education while the majority of township financial income should be used for education” and “the regions should encourage and guide state-run enterprises, social groups and individuals to donate funds to assist in running schools, and on the basis of voluntary participation, encourage units, collectives and individuals to donate funds to assist in running schools. However, this must not be done by forcing them to pay fixed levies.” Article 12 of the “Compulsory Education Law,” promulgated and implemented by the NPC in 1986, stipulates: “The state will encourage all social forces and individuals to voluntarily donate funds to assist in running schools.” In order to implement the party and state decrees and laws relating to education and, our province has in the light of Shandong’s actual situation, separately formulated implementation proposals and methods, made clear the responsibilities in the running of schools, stipulated rules for raising funds to run schools, formulated provisional standards for the transformation of the school buildings of rural primary and middle schools and, using cities and prefectures as a unit, has organized school transformation checking and acceptance rules and awards. In the 8 years in which there has been raising of funds to run schools in rural primary and middle school education, on the one hand we have strengthened leadership, adopted measures, implemented policies, encouraged the advanced, urged on those who have lagged behind and stressed “doing as much as one can.” On the other hand, we have persisted in motivating, encouraging and urging rather than issuing compulsory orders. We have not instituted levies and have stressed doing things in accordance with capability. When confused understandings of this appeared, we engaged in clarification in a timely way. At one stage, some people, including some party and government leading cadres, confused raising funds to run schools with “arbitrary levying.” Some comrades of the education department were also not clear about the difference for a time and became over-cautious. This affected the progress of raising funds to run schools. How is this question viewed? We went deep among the masses to
carry out investigative research and discovered that some regions, using the label of raising funds to run schools, have subjected people to all sorts of irrational levies. Peasants have objections to irrational levies, but they have no objections to raising funds to run schools. Of course, in the genuine raising of funds to run schools, it is necessary to grasp appropriate measures. If the capacity of the masses to bear the burden is exceeded, in the same way it will lead to objections from the masses. We have in various places repeatedly explained this point, clearly differentiated right and wrong, delineated the divisions and firmly the pace of raising funds to run schools. Further, some people have confused the levying of an educational surcharge with the raising of funds to run schools, and feel that after the educational surcharge is levied, to further engage in the raising of funds to run schools is "indiscriminate raising of funds." This understanding is wrong. The educational surcharge is a charge which must be levied in accordance with the law, and this is mostly used for teacher subsidies and administrative cost subsidies for nongovernment-run schools. In terms of quantity, these funds are extremely limited. The raising of funds in society is a voluntary activity and the funds are generally used for major expenses in transforming school buildings and for equipment and construction. These two things, in their stipulation in state documents, are two different concepts and are two different funding avenues. Neither one can replace the other. That is to say, even after the educational surcharge has been levied, there is still a need to raise funds to run schools.

Our province's work of raising funds to run schools has realized overall progress in the broad rural areas. Within 8 years problems which could not have been resolved over a long period by relying only on state investment, have been resolved, and basic changes to the school buildings of primary and middle schools have taken place. This has not only laid a good base for the development of the cause of primary and secondary education in our province's rural areas, but has also opened a road by which to resolve the difficulties in terms of education funds and to speed the development of the cause of education. Following the passage of time and following the deeper development of the overall reforms in our country, the raising of funds to run schools will show a greater vigor and will have a long-term influence on the development of the cause of our country's education.

Films: Strong Voices of the Times
40050188g Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 34-37

[Article by Teng Jinxian [3326 6651 6343]]

[Text] Outstanding Chinese films have come out one after another in recent years as the country becomes more prosperous. Many of them have found their way to the world market and are exerting an increasingly great influence. However, we are also deeply aware that the people, from leading comrades down to the general audience, are not too happy with our films. We often hear complaints, even sharp criticism, from various quarters, and we film workers find this very worrisome. What are the problems that urgently require unity of understanding and solution? After much careful deliberation, we have come to the conclusion that the crucial problem of our film industry is that our productions fail to give a powerful driving force to the torrents of the time and reproduce the strong voice of the time.

I say this because in our films the theme of reform and the open policy does not come out loudly enough. We may even say that reform and the open policy have not yet become the main theme of contemporary films. Besides, the situation has placed more pressuring demands on us. Since the putting forward of the thesis of the primary stage of socialism at the 13th CPC National Congress, the party's basic line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics has greatly pushed forward and deepened the development of reform in the country. The new period has made a much more fervent and rigorous call on the artists.

The new period has seen large numbers of films which show reform from the very crest of the tide of time, and many of these films are outstanding productions. In the last couple of years, however, the number of films on the theme of reform has been on the decline. Not only do we find a lack of films like "The Acting Mayor," "T Province in 1984 and 1985," "Wild Mountain," "The Black Cannon Incident," "Loveland Girls' Inn," and "A Village Without Trust" which loudly appeal for reform, even works like "Old Well" which unfold before our eyes the grave past and the reality of history, stimulate our creative spirit and call for ideological emancipation and cultural and ideological progress are hard to come by. In 1987 there were only a few feature films which directly dealt with reform, and "Liberation" was one of them. The churning tide of reform is now sweeping across the country, yet it is so poorly reflected in our film productions. Although we have made important breakthroughs in films on historical and military themes and have done very well indeed in singing the praises of our national tradition, the national spirit and heroism, it seems that very little has changed since Comrade Xia Yen [1115 5888] criticized many of our film people as ignorant people who "have never even heard of Han, let alone Wei and Jin."

There are many reasons for this. First, reform is a revolution in itself. Its aim is to find a way of building socialism with Chinese characteristics which accords with China's conditions. As this is an unprecedented task, it is only natural that we might find ourselves taking a roundabout course and making mistakes. Since many of our film productions are essentially contemporaneous with real life and there is no time for us to understand, comprehend, assimilate and absorb what we have learned in life, it makes it very difficult to create films on the theme of reform. Besides, the reform of the political structure, reform of the economic structure and other
Each period has its own art, and the theme of art varies from period to period. This theme is the theme of the period. Since reform and the open policy constitute the theme of our great era, our films must give expression to this theme. There is no other choice. It is by no means "trendy" nor a sign of being eager for quick success and instant benefit to portray this exciting period on the screen. Rather, it is the historic mission of film artists to do so. Film workers should not be spectators of history. We all live in the midst of the sweeping tide of reform and try to find our place in the swift-changing social relations. In my opinion, it is definitely not artists who remain indifferent and aloof while living in a time of great social changes that our period wants. Let us put it this way: Having the courage to show the cause of reform is an important indication of the spirit of emancipation, personal integrity and strength of the film artists. Whether or not they have the consciousness for reform and the open policy and can give expression to the contemporary spirit of reform and the open policy determine the overall ideological value of the films of our age. At present, it is particularly necessary to promote and encourage the production of films that directly and positively portray reform and look at reform from a macroscopic and panoramic perspective. This kind of films should form the mainstay of film production. In recent years there have been far too few outstanding films that directly portray the might of the torrents of reform, films that are capable of producing a powerful artistic impact and have an imposing and epic style that reminds one of "the great Changjiang River flowing east." The constant deepening of the ideological content of contemporary films and the arrival of a new high tide in the film industry depend on this kind of "major productions." We may say that only when there has emerged a large number of outstanding and highly artistic films that have a close grip on the pulse of the time and push forward the tide of reform, profoundly expose life and show the style and features of the period would the Chinese film industry have reached its new peak after the founding of the People's Republic.

In order that our films can strongly reproduce the theme of our age, artists must gain more personal experience in reform and have a positive sense of participation. For artists, participation is a two-fold requirement. First, they must personally take part in reform, including the structural reform of the film industry, for only by penetrating into life would they be able to produce works that can give profound expression to reform. Then there is this deeper sense of participation when they use their own works to encourage and push forward reform in society. As far as step two is concerned, step one is indispensable. It has already been proven that if we close ourselves off and merely learn reform through documents, talk about reform in salons, and move from library to hotels to meeting places, our artistic creation is bound to be interpretative and graphic, and it would be difficult to break away from the established mode of films dealing with reform. If artists just objectively observe reform from afar and do not become involved, the films they create will not be closely bound up with the people and with reality. Only by taking part in reform
Comrade Zhao Ziyang exhorted us in his report to the 13th CPC National Congress to "widen our vision, develop new concepts and enter a new realm." If we have a narrow vision and are conservative in outlook, outmoded in concept and backward in our method of thinking, we would not be able to objectively take in and correctly give expression to reform even though we are placed in the center of reform. Whether or not adequate theoretical and mental preparation has been made is a basic factor determining the quality of films on the theme of reform. There is no denying that many of our artists are lagging far behind the masses in terms of ideological emancipation and the rejuvenation of knowledge. How can they produce outstanding films that can give expression to and push forward reform if they cannot catch up with the practice of actual reform? "Climb up a high mountain and look around, you'll see the great river rolling on, never to return." Only by overcoming the inertia deep in our consciousness and ascending the height of philosophy, politics and history would we be able to understand the main current of reform and the social trend.

In the production of films on prosperity and reform there is also the issue of public acceptance and demand. Apart from the factors discussed above, the lack of strong public support, encouragement and protection also account for the decline of films on the reform theme in recent years. Imagine, if, instead of giving our artists warm support and encouragement for their efforts in enthusiastically creating films which closely approximate life, we begin nitpicking and demanding perfection, and even totally negate them on account of minor faults; the creative artists are bound to feel perplexed, and their enthusiasm will plunge. Thus, besides giving them encouragement, we should not be too harsh on finished films on the reform theme provided that they do not go against the four cardinal principles. Problems in terms of their artistic treatment and even their content may be settled through discussion in normal literary criticism. This should become one of our policies toward literature and art at the present stage. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once noted that reform is China's second revolution. It is an unprecedented undertaking and everything is in an exploratory stage. Since we are bound to make mistakes in our reform, how can literary and art works which depict this reform be above mistakes? Since many of the specific problems which have cropped up in the course of reform are still being discussed and explored, and different people have different views, how can we expect the works of literature and art to give an answer that shows great foresight? Since there are bound to be resistance, conflicts, friction and even twists and turns in the course of reform, how can we unrealistically expect works depicting reform to achieve aesthetic stability without making even the slightest mistake? Since the commencement of reform and the open policy, the powerful torrents of the times have been swiftly surging on; people's minds have been greatly emancipated; and more changes than the eye can take in have taken place in our society. Every one of us needs to go through a learning and cognitive process. It is not at all surprising for artists to show some slight deviation in this great transformation.

Of course, when we talk about the main theme, it does not mean that we should confine creative production within the parameters of major subject matters or the positive portrayal of reform. Even in the case of positive portrayal, if we stop short at making calls or appeals, we would still be unable to satisfy public demand. Thus, whether or not a film carries the message of reform and the open policy does not depend on whether it depicts the reform in a positive way. We have to look at it at a deeper level and see if it shows the sublimation of the people's spirit and the emancipation of their thinking. At the same time, we should avoid rushing headlong into the mass production of films on the reform theme. We advocate highlighting a main theme but do not object to having a chorus in different parts. While rallying support from various strata of society, we must not lower the artistic standard of our films in any way. Promoting reform and meeting the many and varied cultural demands of the audience are by no means contradictory. We should not be one-sided in this issue.

As far as the film industry is concerned, the production of films on reform and the structural reform of the industry itself are two complementary aspects. Considerable achievements have already been made in the structural reform of the film industry. Reforms are already under way in the many areas of film production and distribution, such as the delegation of the power to decide what films to make and the institution of various forms of the responsibility system. Some of the steps taken have already produced results. However, seen as a whole, progress is still slow and is not commensurate with the developments in the whole country and with the urgent demands on the film industry. This is something which deserves great attention.

The Chinese cinema has a glorious history and has a brilliant track record. The long list of Chinese films of distinction occupy an unshakable position in the garden of socialist literature and art, and they have played a positive role in promoting socialist cultural and ideological progress. Although the film industry has not been doing too well in recent years, it still has scored great achievements. There is no reason why we should underestimate our capabilities. Passive and pessimistic views are unsubstantiated. There are some signs of a depression only because we have too few films of high quality, films that are artistic and entertaining and yet prompt one to think. Through our own efforts, this situation can be changed. In a sense, whether or not the film front is crowned with achievements and presents a good image
demands on whether it has produced a number of good blockbusters. The convocation of the 13th CPC National Congress will have a salutary influence on the production of outstanding films that can show the great cause of reform, sing the praise of reformers and revitalize the national spirit, and unfold a bright prospect for the film industry. Everything is ready and it is time for us film workers to exert ourselves.

A Lesson To Be Learned From Zhuge Liang

400501880 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 37

[Article by Yi Xin [0001 1800]; excerpted from XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH], No 2, 1988]

[Text] People generally feel that in "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms," the disaster whereby Ma Su suffered defeat at Jieting came about through not employing people properly. This idea cannot be said to be without basis. However, how then could it come about that Zhuge Liang who was "careful throughout his life" happened to use Ma Su wrongly?

Actually, this tumbling by Zhuge Liang was something which could not have been avoided. This was because he was swayed by his emotions and by relationships. This caused him to lose accurate standards in understanding people and in handling matters. Thus, it was impossible to avoid trouble resulting.

In all fairness, Ma Su was certainly no slouch. He was familiar with the classics on warfare, was full of ideas and he was competent as a staff officer. However, he still had great defects, the main ones being his propensity to exaggerate, his view that he was capable of anything and his lack of practical battle experience. When Liu Bei was near death, the reason he warned Zhuge Liang that Ma Su "was not to be used in a senior position" lay in this.

However, Zhuge Liang seems to have had a fatal failing of putting those close to him in important positions. As Ma Su was often in close attendance, they discussed military plans and the two often talked together. "Every time they met, they talked from daylight to dawn." As the days and months went by, he became closer and more trusted and in the end their relationship was far closer than a normal superior-subordinate relationship would be. It developed to a stage where "Zhuge Liang saw Su as a son and Su saw Zhuge Liang as a father." When relationships become this close, it often occurs that an objective standard of appraisal is lost, leading to where the eyes see what they want. It is not strange then that in the first Northern Expedition, he did not use Wei Yan and Wu Tai who were ready vanguard officials who were able and experienced in warfare. Rather, he "went against general opinion and selected Su." This resulted in him having to adopt the "empty city strategy."

Zhuge Liang’s use of Ma Su can be said to have been putting those close to him in important positions, while not using Wei Yan can be said to have been a result of bias. Wei Yan was very capable in warfare and was a frontline commander of exceptional talents. He was also loyal, steadfast and indomitable and while not skilled in bragging and flattery, he was able to "do things in original and unorthodox ways" and spoke his mind openly. This was a strong point, but Zhuge Liang was not too pleased and deliberately cold-shouldered and suppressed him. History records: "Whenever Yan followed Liang on an expedition, Yan asked for 10,000 troops and that he be allowed to take a different route and meet with Liang at Tongguan." However, "Liang always restrained him and did not permit this." Having abilities but not being employed, it is no wonder that Wei Yan "sighed in regret that his abilities were not being used to the full."

This was also seen as grumbling and unhappiness with the leader, resulting in further distrust. Actually, if Zhuge Liang had listened to Wei Yan’s ideas, and sent him as senior commander, it could only have been beneficial to the Northern Expedition. Even Zhuge Liang’s sworn enemy Sima Yi said: "If it was I employing the troops, I would have taken Changan from Ziwu Valley a long time ago." Actually, this was the battle plan proposed by Wei Yan. If Zhuge Liang had employed people impartially instead of in a biased way, he probably would not have ended up in the difficult situation of "asking to be demoted three grades." This can be said to have been the most important lesson of his life. However, neither in the official history nor the "Romance" do we see that this man truly faced up to and recognized this point.

Both in the past and today people say: Men are not saints, so how can they be free from faults? However, as leaders, the mistake which should be most stringently avoided is the mistake Zhuge Liang made when he "went against general opinion and appointed Su." Even more important is that leaders should avoid the unhealthy work style of appointing people on the basis of their relationships with them.

Why Is It Necessary To Establish the State Civil Service System?

HK220249 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 38-39

[Article by Li Maoguan [2621 5399 4619]]

[Text] The purpose of introducing the state civil service system is to carry out scientific management over personnel exercising state administrative powers and performing public duties of the state. The civil service system was first set up in Britain in the 19th century. It subsequently developed into a systematic, stable, and effective management system and was gradually accepted by many countries in the rest of the world. We can use for reference the successful experiences and scientific management methods of other countries in exercising the civil service system. The report to the 13th Congress points out: "In the current reform of the cadre
and personnel system, the stress should be laid on forming a state civil service system.” This is an important policy for reforming China’s cadre and personnel system and is conducive to overcoming the shortcomings of the existing cadre and personnel system. The main advantages of establishing the state civil service system are as follows:

First, setting up the state civil service system is an important step for strengthening and improving party leadership and for exercising classified management over cadres. Under the existing cadre system, party and government cadres exercise uniform management over all personnel. This single-mode management finds expression in the following aspects: 1) The concept of “state cadre” has become all-inclusive; cadres in party and government organs and mass organizations, managerial personnel in enterprises and institutions, and even professionals like doctors, teachers, engineers, and reporters are classified as “state cadres.” 2) Management rights are overconcentrated. Party committees at all levels and their organizational departments monopolize the management of all the cadres in party and government organs, mass organizations, and enterprises. 3) Management methods are obsolete and of a single nature. We generally apply the management over party and government cadres to the management of all types of personnel in trades and undertakings, rather than using different methods to manage different types of personnel with different occupations and talents. As a result, the “management of affairs is separate from the management of personnel,” which hampers the smooth growth of talented personnel. By setting up the state civil service system, we will be able to rationally sort out “state cadres,” to change the single-mode management of different types of personnel, and to form a scientific, classified management system. Generally speaking, state civil servants are divided into two categories: those in charge of government affairs and those performing professional duties. Those in charge of government affairs should be managed strictly according to the Constitution and organizational law, work under the tenure system, and be subject to open supervision by society; those performing professional duties should be managed according to law on state civil servants and work under a permanent system. According to this division, the Central Committee of the party and local party committees are required to recommend delegates for civil servants in charge of state affairs to the NPC and to supervise such civil servants who are Communist Party members, whereas civil servants performing professional duties will be managed by the government according to law. All this will put the cadre and personnel system under the legal system. In this way, the party will be able to select fine party members who can assume important leading posts in the government, thereby strengthening the party’s political leadership over state affairs. Apart from this, the party will also be able to change the practice of party committees’ organizational departments exercising direct management over all types of cadres, thereby improving party leadership over personnel work. Viewed from the actual situation in China’s cadre and personnel management, it is necessary to set up this system to separate the 4 million or so government functionaries from the ranks of cadres and to form an effective management system. This, on the other hand, will provide the necessary conditions for the establishment of a scientific, classified management system and, on the other, play an exemplary role in accumulating experience in the scientific management of all types of personnel.

Second, setting up the state civil service system is an effective measure for improving government work efficiency and ensuring the stability of state administration. In order to form a highly efficient government work system, it is important for state administrative personnel to acquire both political and professional qualifications, apart from setting up administrative organs in a scientific manner and explicitly defining the responsibilities, duties, and rights of administrative personnel. The purpose of exercising the state civil service system is to ensure that talented people are selected for government organs, that they can play a full role in these organs, that they can take up important tasks in all work, and that government functionaries can be optimized. As required by the state civil service system, applicants for the post of civil servants performing professional duties must go through an open examination before they are selected and hired; promotions, post appointments, and wages of civil servants must be based on their qualifications, ability, and achievements. To exercise scientific management over state civil servants, there is a need to classify them according to their position, nature of work, responsibilities, and qualifications and to work out rules for their positions and responsibilities. In this way, each will perform his duty. This will also facilitate the formulation of criteria for employment, assessment, promotion, awards, punishment, training, and salary. The state regards training as the necessary condition for giving consideration to employment and promotion and receiving training as the right and duty every state civil servant should have, because pre-employment or on-the-job training can help improve the quality of civil servants. Civil servants’ rights to receive training, to earn wages, and to enjoy welfare and retirement are protected by law. Civil servants performing professional duties will not work under the tenure system and cannot be dismissed if they do not make major mistakes; they can work until they reach retirement age. These regulations enable state civil servants to maintain good professional quality and prevent bureaucratism from emerging. They are also beneficial to overcoming the malpractice of promoting personnel according to seniority and to maintaining the stability of administrative personnel. This will provide an organizational guarantee for improving government work efficiency, for maintaining the continuity and stability of government work, and for exercising scientific and modern administration.

Third, setting up the state civil service system is an important method to overcome rule by man and put cadre and personnel management under the legal system.
For a long time, our work concerning selecting, recruiting, employing, appointing, dismissing, awarding, punishing, promoting, and transferring government functionaries has lacked a perfect management system, a regular standard, and a systematic procedure. Management by law is not applied to using cadres, and this has given rise to a situation in which cadres are not willing to be transferred from the higher levels to the lower levels and in which there is no clear distinction between merits and demerits, awards and punishments. An important characteristic of the state civil service system is using law to set up and protect this system. As to the definition, legal position, rights, responsibilities, and duties of state civil servants as well as to how they should perform their public duties, there will be legal provisions and ordinances for all this. Civil servants are only responsible to state law and will exercise their power and perform their public duties according to law. If they go beyond the framework of law in performing their administrative duties, they will be held responsible by law for what they have done; if their rights and interests are violated, they are allowed to file lawsuits according to legal procedures. Thus, it can be seen that only by setting up and exercising the state civil service system can we gradually overcome rule by man and put the government's personnel management work into the orbit of the legal system.

Setting up the state civil service system is a very complicated task, and this task is just starting. We lack experience and our legal system is still imperfect. Therefore, we need to make a prolonged effort and to carry out the work in a planned way and step by step. We should work hard to create the necessary conditions and strive to set up a state civil service system with Chinese characteristics within the shortest possible time.

Why Will Increased Consumption Lead to Loss of Vitality of the Entire National Economy?

HK230245 Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 40-41

[Article by Jia Kang [6328 1660]]

[Text] National income is the new value created by material production departments' laborers over period of time. Its distribution determines the scale of society's reproduction and the range of the increased level of the people's consumption for everyday life. In a commodity economy, the distribution of national income is a complex economic process: First of all, distribution in the form of value is conducted through the links, such as finance and credit, and then comes distribution in the form of physical goods realized through exchange. This may possibly give rise to a lack of coordination in terms of quantities in the distribution of national income, in both value and physical goods. If the total amount of currency used in the national income distribution surpasses the national income's amount of physical goods, there will be a distribution difference in some sectors which do not have real security and funds and materials will become imbalanced.

The following facts can be attributed to such an imbalance: The amount of money spent on expanding the scale of production exceeds the supply of production means, the amount of money spent on improving people's living standards surpasses the supply of subsistence means, and accumulation demand and consumer demand are simultaneously overexpanded. Our country is now in the third state of affairs—overexpanded accumulation and consumer demand. Now more and more people have come to realize the harmfulness of the overstretched scale of investment in fixed assets and the excessively rapid growth of accumulation demand but people have not yet fully realized the consequences of increased consumption; moreover, some comrades even contended that consumer demand had not yet reached the proportions of overexpansion. However, according to statistics, compared with 1978, the gross value of social product in the rural areas in 1986 increased by 170 percent while the peasants’ per capita net income in the same year went up by 216 percent; compared with 1983, in 1986 the nation's industrial productivity increased by 21 percent while the employees' per capita cash wage in the same year rose by 61.2 percent, a gain of 33.3 percent if the factor of price rise is taken into account, or still 12 percentage points higher than the productivity. This shows that the growth of incomes of the peasants and employees surpassed the growth of production and the improvement of productivity. Increased consumer demand will not only drive enterprises to concentrate on output and output value and make it difficult to attain better economic results but it will also inevitably sap the vitality of the entire national economy. Why is it so?

First, increased consumer demand will inevitably stimulate enterprises to concentrate on the quantity of products to the neglect of improvements in product quality. Product quality is not only the key to improving enterprises' economic results but also one of the important indicators for measuring the level of development in the national economy. It reflects the quality of a nation and its ability to survive. Increased social consumer demand will inevitably lead to a rise in the retail prices on the market and drastically boost the surplus purchasing power. Under the strong market supply pressure, on the one hand, instead of relying on scientific and technological progress and improved management and operation in boosting output, enterprises will strive for increased output at the cost of lowering product quality and they even put again some of their unsalable, obsolete products on the market and on the other, to seek bigger output, enterprises have to use again their obsolete and backward technology in the process of production and do not hesitate to maintain production growth rates and to meet market demand with low efficiency and high costs.

Second, inflated consumer demand is detrimental to the readjustment and rationalization of the structure of production and this is precisely a link of great importance to the sustained, stable, and coordinated growth of the national economy. As inflated consumption leads to
price hikes, the production of industries processing products whose supply is fairly elastic (namely, with the rise of product prices, production capacity can increase considerably) can increase easily and rapidly. Because they can make greater profits in the short run, enterprises will rush headlong into mass action in carrying out such production in disregard of their current capability to withstand strains in terms of production scale, technological and equipment soundness, and employees' competence. This will inevitably lead to blind production of some consumer goods and stockpiling of such goods. This is the case of the production of black-and-white television sets and one-tube washing machines in recent years. To expand themselves, processing industries will inevitably contend with energy and raw and semifinished materials industries and communications and transportation, and other basic industrial sectors, which have a weak foundation and need vigorous development, for funds, energy, and transport facilities. This will make the supply of goods whose supply falls short of demand shorter and the structure of the national economy out of balance. In addition, since the domestic consumer goods market is strained, the state has to use its foreign exchange reserves in large quantities to import consumer goods or components and spare parts for assembling consumer goods so as to alleviate the pressure of domestic market demand. This portion of foreign exchange should have been used to import more important technology and equipment to readjust the structure of manufactured goods. This way increased consumer demand will not only disrupt the balance of the industrial setup but it will also further sap the vitality of the entire national economy.

Third, increased consumer demand will inevitably weaken the strength needed to back the continued development of the national economy. The consumption level and pattern of a society is, in the final analysis, determined and restricted by the level of its production development. Increased consumption means that society's wealth created in the previous period is excessively "consumed" for nonproductive purposes. This will inevitably lead to the use of the investment in production and construction for the coming period and as a result, the sustained growth of the national economy is sacrificed for the sake of meeting the people's immediate needs. If investment and consumption overexpand simultaneously, this will aggravate the contradiction between society's total demand and supply and result in crippling the national economy's capability to develop itself. Ours is a big developing country and it is still in the initial stage of socialism in terms of national conditions—backward productive forces, a huge population, and a poor foundation to start with. In 1986 the newly added national income came to 78.3 billion yuan and with the portion earmarked to support the newly born population excluded, the remaining sum that can be used to expand reproduction and improve people's livelihood is very limited and even if the whole sum is used in consumption, every person can get just an additional $.20 yuan or so a day. Moreover, on no account can this newly added national income be all dissipated. Otherwise, it will be difficult to expand the scale of production and unable to further develop the national economy. We are now facing the challenge of a new global technological revolution and a severe competition on the international market. Our country has a weak industrial foundation. If we disregard China's national conditions and blindly copy the high-wage and high-consumption pattern of some developed countries, this will certainly reduce fund accumulation and raise products' costs, and weaken our products' competitiveness in international markets. Not only will it be harmful to our current production but it will also adversely affect our future economic development.

Fourth, increased consumption will jeopardize the smooth progress of the reform. Reform is an important guarantee for removing the barriers to the expansion of productive forces and achieving the vigorous development of the national economy. On the one hand, if consumer demand is overexpanded, the market supply is highly strained, and prices are soaring, this will hinder the reform of the price, wage, planning, financial, banking, goods circulation, and foreign trade structures, and on the other, if prices continue to rise unchecked, this will eventually lead to the lowering of citizens' current living standards, dampen the people's enthusiasm, and cool their revolutionary zeal. And moreover, due to a lack of sound social environment and the people's support, the reform may have to be halted halfway and the period of substitution of a new economic structure for the old one to be extended, thus bringing new difficulties in developing a planned commodity economy and maintaining the good momentum of vigorous development of the national economy.

To effectively curb increased consumption, the whole party and nationshould uphold the principle of plain living and hard struggle and of building up the country with industry and thrift. In macroeconomic terms, the state should give effective guidance to society's consumer demand using economic and legal means and necessary administration flats and at the same time, it should help enterprises develop a mechanism to restrict themselves by deepening the reform so as to ensure that the growth rate of society's consumption funds will not exceed the proportion of the distributable portion of the national income and the growth rate of employees' average wages and bonuses will not surpass that of labor productivity. So long as we firmly implement the principles and measures put forth by the central authorities and further alleviate the contradiction of society's total demand surpassing its total supply, the entire national economy will develop in a sustained, stable and coordinated way.

15th Lecture of Forum on Socialist Commodity Economy: On Price Parities
40050188j Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 pp 42-45

[Article by Wang Zhenzhi [3769 2182 0037] and Li Xiaoxi [2621 2556 6007]]
The parity rate of commodities refers to the relationship about rates among prices of different commodities on the same market at a given time. The so-called "prices of different commodities" refers to commodities which are different in of category, variety, specifications and type. In other words, these commodities serve to satisfy the varied needs of people. Moreover, the phrase "on the same market at a given time" shows that the parity rates of commodities are limited by time and space, and it is not necessary that the relationship exists between any commodities.

A parity rate of commodity, or a rate at which two commodities are exchangeable for each other, is basically determined by the value embodied by the commodities. Essentially, the exchange rate between two different commodities is the relationship about a rate between the values of two different commodities. But there is no way to calculate values. Therefore, in our socialist construction, a planned price is set by adding the average cost of commodity production industry to its average return on capital employed. A price set by adding the average cost to the average return on capital employed is called the production price. It is a pattern of the transformation of value under the conditions of commodity economy, and the foundation formed under the conditions of socialist commodity economy.

In reality, the price parity relationship of commodities on the market is determined by a number of factors. By what standard can we say that a parity rate of commodity is rational? Generally speaking, the price of a commodity is rational if it reflects both its value or its price of production, and the supply-demand relations. Rational relations between commodities and prices will thus develop rational relations of price parity. On the basis of the situation in our country, we should take into consideration the following points:

First, the parity rate of planned prices is the major component for determining the rationality of our country's price parity.

In capitalist countries, the parity rate of commodities refers mainly to that kind of parity rate under free competition. China is a country which adopts a planned commodity economy. Prices of popular commodities that are of vital importance to the national economy and people's livelihood are generally formulated by the state, and the parity rate of commodities is usually arranged by planning. Therefore, whether or not the parity rate of commodities is rational is mainly determined by the relationship of rates among the planned prices. Once the relationship of a planned parity rates has been rationalized, the relationship of unplanned parity rates will also become rationalized.

Second, the realization of average rate of profit is the major yardstick for determining the rationality of parity rate of commodities.

In fact, the parity rate of commodities is the relations of rates among the production prices of commodities. Therefore, whether or not different commodities are able to yield a similar level of average return on capital employed is the basis on which the rationality of price parity is determined. Of course, the situation in reality is very complicated, and we must also use other indexes to determine the rationality of price parity. For example, we must also take into consideration issues concerning the cost-profit ratio, sales-profit-tax ratio, per capita profits retained by enterprises, per capita income, and so on.

Third, the balance between supply and demand is an important reference for determining the rationality of parity rates of different commodities.

Only when the parity rate of commodities reflects both the price of production and the supply/demand relations can we maintain a balance between the general production situation of commodities and the market demand, thereby promoting rationality among factors of production in terms of distribution among various trades.

A rational price parity relationship plays a major role in economic development economy:

First, a rational structure of price parity is favorable to the practice of optimal allocation of natural resources. To a large extent, the role of readjustment by prices is reflected by the function of readjustment by price parity developed in the structure of a trade. A rational structure of price parity means that prices are able to deliver a correct signal to the production industry and enterprises, so that the manpower, as well as financial and material resources of a society, which are limited in supply, will be distributed to industries and enterprises that need them most. This thus encourages a proportional and balanced development of the economy, in order to achieve the best macroeconomic results.

Second, a rational structure of price parity helps us exercise macro-administration. A vital factor for exercising macro-administration by the state is the control of general level of price. A rational price parity relationship helps us stabilize the prices. Otherwise, it inevitably needs a structural readjustment and will thus bring about a price fluctuation. Furthermore, the macroeconomic control by the state is expressed by way of the effective readjustment and control of monetary and fiscal policies. If the price parity is irrational, neither a correct fiscal policy nor a monetary policy may effectively readjust the market, still less help enterprises make rational decisions.
Third, a rational structure of price parity helps us to invigorate our enterprises. Prices are the lever for distribution of profits. Under the conditions of commodity economy, a rational structure of price parity helps enterprises handle their business accounting, and helps us assess their results of operations. It also directly affects the distribution of profits among them. As a result, some industries or enterprises which reap sizable profits by selling goods at a high price retain more profits, accumulate more funds and offer more welfare funds; whereas industries and enterprises which sell goods at a low price and reap little profits retain, accumulate and offer less. In particular, the profits earned by enterprises other than those owned by the state, the income level of their workers, as well as the income of peasants are in direct proportion to the price level of their products. Hence, we can see that the establishment and development of a rational price parity relationship directly affect the distribution of profits among various sectors and are of vital importance to the vitality and capability of enterprises.

Fourth, to have a rational structure of price parity is one of our goals of reform. In return, the rationalization of the structure of price parity promotes our pricing reform. One of the main tasks of our pricing reform is to rationalize the distorted parity rate of products. It is always said that the prices of agricultural products, raw materials and labor services are on the low side. This statement simply refers to the irrational structure of price parity. Therefore, we must rationalize the structure by reforming the pricing structure. Furthermore, the rationalization of pricing structure continuously creates conditions for reform of the pricing structure, as well as the overall economic structure. Only when the structure of price parity is rationalized can we promote fundamental changes in the administration system of pricing under a relatively relaxed environment. Only then will it help us adopt corresponding reform measures.

II. China's Problems Concerning the Price Parity of Commodities

The “Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure” pointed out: “As we persistently ignored in the past the role of the law of value and because of other reasons, there remains much confusion in our present pricing system. Prices of many commodities neither reflect their values nor the supply-demand relations.” Of the price parity relationship among commodities, this phenomenon is mainly found in the following areas:

First, in the parity rate of industrial and agricultural products, that of agricultural products has been on the low side. The procurement price of agricultural products was simply unchanged in the decade prior to the convention of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The income of peasants was so low that in some areas, the peasants instead of getting money out of the communes at the end of each work day for labor supplied had to put money in. The low level of agricultural accumulation eventually brought production to stagnation. Factors that account for the low price of agricultural products are: 1) We persistently put the industrial and agricultural parity rates under China's economic development strategy of industrialization. In order to achieve industrialization, cut our fiscal expenditure and increase our fiscal income, we often set the prices of agricultural products low. 2) The nature of commodity was absent in the exchange of industrial and agricultural products. Under the system of planned purchase, almost all agricultural products were delivered to the commercial departments at a fixed price. 3) The productivity of labor for industrial products was higher than that for agricultural ones. The increase of rate at which agricultural products are exchanged for industrial products was often lower than the growth rate of productivity of agricultural labor. Therefore, the prices of agricultural products were on the low side in the parity rate of industrial and agricultural products.

Second, the procurement price of grain is rather low in the parity rate of agricultural products. The yardstick for judging the level in the parity rate of agricultural products mainly depends on the comparison of net income received by a laborer on each work day. Generally speaking, the income derived from plant production is relatively low compared to that from sideline production in rural areas, fishery, forestry, animal husbandry, and town and township industries. But the income derived from the growing of grain is lesser than that from plant production. Furthermore, the price of grain is always the lowest.

Third, the procurement price of mineral products and raw materials has been persistently low in the parity rate of industrial products. This is shown by the fact that the rate of profit made by the mineral and raw materials production industries is lower than the average rate of profit of society. As the production of these products often brings little profits, or even losses, to the producers, it is not possible for them to have a strong capability of expanded reproduction. The products they provide often fail to meet the needs of society, so that these products are in short supply in the national economy. This has not only adversely affected the development of these industries and enterprises, but also developed an irrational overall distribution of social resources.

Fourth, rental, labor charges and charges on some public utilities have been low in the parity rate of commodities and services of the tertiary industry. The price parity relationship among commodities and services of the tertiary industry has been persistently and seriously distorted. The industry’s performance in operations and marketing varies greatly. There are marketable goods and marketable goods, or goods offered as a kind of welfare service. The prices of commodities and services that are highly marketable are relatively rational; whereas those that are offered as a kind of welfare service depend heavily on the fiscal subsidies. The distortion of
the latter is therefore much worse. The situation in which rental and charges on some public utilities and labor services are persistently low and are subsidized by the state puts additional burdens to the state. It also adversely affects the improvement of industries' capacity to supply these products and hinders the development of the tertiary industry.

Under the traditional system, China's authority of pricing administration was highly centralized and the administrative measures were so rigid that the prices of some commodities were persistently low and the distortion of price parity remained unchanged. Eventually, the economic development and prosperity of the market suffered. We have gradually put an end to this situation in our pricing reform.

III. Rationalization of the Price Parity Relationship in Price Reform

The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" pointed out that reform of the pricing system was the key to successfully reforming the economic system as a whole. The principles of reform are: First, to readjust the irrational parity rates in accordance with the requirements for exchange at equal value, as well as the supply-demand relations. Prices that should be increased are increased, and prices that should be cut are cut. Second, the prices of some mineral products and raw materials should be increased provided that the processing enterprises must sharply cut their consumption so that the cost raised by the price increase of mineral products and raw materials will be mainly offset in the enterprises' own books, while a small portion of the cost will be absorbed by the state by way of tax reduction and exemption. Therefore, the market price of industrial consumer goods will not be raised. Third, we should change the situation that the procurement price of sideline agricultural products is higher than their selling price, and the prices of consumer goods should be readjusted, provided that practical measures must be adopted for ensuring that the real income of urban and rural residents will not be reduced by this readjustment.

In reforming the pricing system, we have adopted the approach of "integrating readjustment with the adoption of relaxed attitudes" in accordance with the requirements of the planned commodity economy and the principle of pricing reform, and in the light of problems concerning the price parity. Through the readjustment of planned prices, we have corrected the distorted price parity and rationalized the structure of planned price parity. By decentralizing to the lower level the right to set and readjust prices of some products, we have made full use of the role played by the law of value and let the market "handle" the "ossification" of price parity. Both the "readjustment" and the "adoption of relaxed attitudes" are important conditions. It is neither practical nor conforms to the requirements of planned commodity economy that we lift all restrictions on pricing and let the market prices fluctuate without control. Likewise, to simply depend on the state to readjust the prices of tens of thousands of commodities is neither practical nor meets requirements. Our work of pricing reform over the past 9 years shows us that we took the approach of "integrating readjustment with the adoption of relaxed attitudes." Nevertheless, we focused our work on readjustment before 1984, and on the adoption of relaxed attitudes after 1984. On production, we shifted the focal point on readjustment of the prices of industrial goods; whereas, for the prices of agricultural products, we shifted the focal point on the adoption of relaxed attitudes. For commodities and service charges that are vulnerable to being monopolized, we only readjusted the prices, while we simply took a relaxed attitude toward the pricing of not so popular commodities and services.

On readjustment, we made some achievements in the following aspects: We sharply increased the procurement prices of major agricultural products, as well as the prices of major mineral products and raw materials. We carefully increased the prices of some food and nonstaple food, readjusted the factory prices of industrial consumer goods, and partially readjusted the transportation charges.

On the adoption of relaxed attitudes, the state adopted, for the past 9 years, a relaxed attitude toward the management power at micro-level about setting the prices of light industry and textile goods. According to the management system, the state was chiefly responsible for setting the prices of major light industry and textile goods, while allowing the prices of some types of goods, and all petty commodities, to fluctuate on the market. In addition, the state implemented the "dual system" for the pricing of heavy industry goods. Under the system, the state was responsible for setting the prices of planned commodities, including those subject to mandatory pricing, which was strictly implemented; whereas commodities subject to guidance planning would, if required, be allowed to fluctuate on the market. However, the prices of unplanned commodities were open to the market, and the ceiling prices were fixed for commodities which were of vital importance. On the pricing administration of agricultural products, the state adopted two approaches: The prices of products such as grain and oils were listed as contracted prices, and other prices were open to the market; and on general agricultural products, only the prices of a few important commodities were subject to the state administration, while the prices of the rest were open to the market.

The practice of reforming by "integrating readjustment with the adoption of relaxed attitudes" has brought changes in China's price parity relationship among commodities. Through the adoption of relaxed attitudes, we have put an end to the ossified system of pricing administration, and the price parity relationship gradually is now able to conform to the changes in supply-demand relations. Through the "readjustment," we have dealt with the distortion of the price parity relationship, and
rationalized the parity rate of planned prices. From 1978 to 1986, the overall level of the procurement prices of agricultural products was increased by 9 percent per year on average. Meanwhile, the increase of the selling prices of industrial products made by rural areas hardly reached 2 percent. The gap between the price rise of industrial goods and that of agricultural products was therefore narrowed. The internal price parity structure of agricultural products was also gradually rationalized. Except for aquatic products, the price rise of all agricultural products was smaller than that of grain. The long-standing problem that the price of grain was lower than other crops was thus gradually solved. Moreover, the factory prices of various industrial goods were readjusted in connection with their extent of distortion. The price rise of products from mining industry was rather high, followed by the price rise of raw materials. The price rise of products for processing industry was the lowest. On the return on capital employed by light industry to that by heavy industry, the ratio was 2:1 in 1980. It was modified to 1.3:1 in 1986. There were also changes in the price parity among products of the tertiary industry. Prices of most trades, such as maintenance and services trades, were open to the market so that the prices were no longer on the low side and some trades which would otherwise be unable to survive experienced a rapid development.

Of course, there should not be an end to the pricing reform. Many new problems about the price parity among commodities are yet to be solved in a better way. So long as we uphold and promote an in-depth development of the pricing reform, we will establish a system of pricing administration that can meet the requirements of a planned commodity economy, and will establish a price parity structure capable of reflecting both the prices and the supply-demand relations.

XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER], some comrades felt a bit anxious for the author. They thought that the author was running the gauntlet and “had not learned his lessons.” However, as the author has said, it is precisely because he has learned a painful lesson from the history of the country and the party over the past decades and has the basic moral integrity, conscience and sense of responsibility of a communist that he can speak the truth without any doubt or misgivings. Like us, the author is also convinced that extraordinary changes have taken place in our country: We have a party Central Committee that upholds the Marxist line of seeking truth from facts, and our country and party are “heading toward a bright future day and night.” Now is the time for men of insight to do their very best to offer their honest and sincere advice.

It is not a book about major cases of people wrongly charged or sentenced. It is just a record of events that took place between 1965 and the spring and summer of 1966 when the author was in Shanghai, engaged in the “four clean-ups” campaign in the workshop of a printing press. In this workshop, about 30 people were suspected of having political problems of one sort or another. Because the work team persevered in seeking truth from facts, the cases were cleared one by one. At the end, “no one was found to have any real problems.” With real examples and his personal experience, the author urges us not to act rashly when dealing with people’s political history. Instead, we must “deal with them cautiously, as if walking along the precipice or on thin ice,” and must persist in seeking truth from facts, carrying out investigation and study and doing things the gentle and mild way. Do things “cautiously, as if walking along the precipice or on thin ice”—these are truly words well said. All comrades entrusted by the party and the people to discharge this kind of work must regard other people’s political life and well-being as more important than their own.

Of course we must take care not to mistake bad people as innocent. However, what happened in the last scores of years have taught us that we must take special care not to mistake innocent people as bad. In the past, people used to talk about “not letting go any bad person, not wronging any innocent person.” But this is easier said than done, more so in the latter case. At a time when ideas of “better ‘left’ than right,” “keep to the ‘left,’” and “‘left’ is a question of methodology, right is a question of stand” are in vogue, one would not only come under pressure but might even risk his own political life doing this. Many comrades had willingly sacrificed their lives for this cause. They were worthy of the trust of the party and the people. But in those bygone years, people who, against their conscience, refused to protect the innocent and even deliberately branded innocent people as bad for the sake of private gains were by no means rare. The author says: “Those who dare not protect the innocent cannot be communists. Those who, donning the communist cloak, deliberately frame up innocent people are...
bogus communists; they are the enemy of the Communist Party and the people. This is my conclusion.” I totally agree with his conclusion.

Our party is a great, open and aboveboard, impartial and truth-seeking party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many people once wrongly charged and sentenced have gained a new lease on life. The masses are elated and exultant. However, this also shows that there was once a seamy side to the great and bright side. We must not forget our past lessons. With its sincere, frank and unadorned accounts and profound feelings, this booklet will definitely be able to remind people that they must handle the issue of people cautiously and in a truth-seeking way, that they must prevent the tragic history from ever repeating itself again.

A Glittering Star—Praising the Peasant Performing Troupe of Jinzhou District in Dalian City
40050188l Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 88 p 47

[Article by Li Gang [2621 0474]]

[Text] “Dalian Summer,” a peasant performing troupe from Jinzhou District, Dalian City, was a radiant star in the first China arts festival and attracted the various circles of the capital by their brilliant performance. For many years, the stage has not seen such a touching spectacle of endless applause and cheering. No wonder that the media circles of the capital enthusiastically reviewed it as “a paean of the times” noting that it had “brought a fresh breeze from the countryside to the capital’s stage” and that it was “a challenge to professional artists.”

The performance began with a powerful dragon dance and remained exciting until the end. The swift and surging movement of the dragon dance, the clever use of the disco rhythm in the colored lantern dance, as well as the basic mood of jubilation and liveliness throughout, charmed the audience completely. The dance vocabulary was also rich, with the single drum dance both preserving the frugal style of the fifties and also creating a new dance vocabulary with a high degree of difficulty. In the stage design, there was just the right use of modern science and technology, while the dances we appreciated on the stage gave out the local flavor of the coastal area of Liaodong. Today’s peasant art troupe has, on the basis of the creations of the older generation and in accordance with the needs of peasants in the new age, reworked, improved and developed their art. This recreation allows the dance rhythm to better accord with the modern pulse of the eighties and better express the qualities of the peasants of the new age. This rich local charm and fresh color of the times is where the appeal of this performing arts troupe lies.

It was also the same in the musical aspect. Several female voices sang songs which were simple and natural and at the same time sweet and smooth, and which told of life in the villages. These were more touching and had more artistic appeal than those of some professional troupes. The simple and unadorned style of the instrumentalists and the enthusiastic passion of their performances also left the audience with a deep impression.

Proficiency and mastery of the art of performance was a prominent characteristic of the Jinzhou peasants’ performance. Regardless of whether we speak in terms of music or dance, their artistic performance was of a quite high level, and the artistry involved was not of a type which could be mastered in a short period. Let us take as an example the wind instrument ensemble which was the best received. They performed several foreign works such as the “Radetzky March” by Strauss, the overture to “Carmen” by Bizet and so on. These are all famous works by modern West European composers, and if the performers had not undergone serious orchestral training, they certainly would not have been able to perform these successfully. In particular, understanding the composition and mastering the style would have been very difficult for peasants who generally have little opportunity to come into contact with West European works. What is pleasing is that the peasants dared to transcend this wide chasm and leap to another musical kingdom with which they were completely unfamiliar, while on the technical level they effectively mastered the whole work. Thereby, they won the acclaim of the audience. The peasant orchestra was also quite proficient in its mastery of rhythm and the use of tone. It was only because the performers had such practiced playing skills that their performance was able to bewitch and absorb people.

Similarly, dragon dancing requires a high degree of skill. The dragon dance performed by the Jinzhou peasants was, in technical terms, certainly not inferior to those performed by professional troupes, and it can be considered an excellent artistic work. This was not only due to their use of modern scientific equipment, although the thunderclaps and lightning flashes under the coordinated lighting and music heightened the momentum of the flying dragon. More importantly, the technique of the dragon dance performers was superb. The agility, speed and strength necessary for dragon dancing all involve clever techniques, and if one does not undergo a long period of painstaking training in dragon dancing techniques, it is not possible to successfully express the extreme vigor and great momentum of the movement of the dragon.

When discussing the reasons for the success of the performance, I must point out an important condition and that is the role of the spiritual outlook of today’s peasants in their art. The happy frame of mind produced by the prosperity of their lives gave their performance a new, vital and confident force. Further, the warm assistance and guidance provided by professional art workers
helped to guarantee the technical level of the Jinzhou peasant performing troupe. Of course, when all is said and done, the appearance of the Jinzhou peasant performing troupe is due to the fact that Dalian's mass cultural work has been done well.

Healthy performances like that of the Jinzhou peasant performing troupe not only give people beautiful artistic enjoyment and entertain them, but also allows the artistic talent of the peasants to be given full play. The activities of peasant art groups play no small role in the correct guidance of the spiritual and cultural lives of the peasants, in the continual improvement of the social atmosphere of the rural areas and in helping people resist various unhealthy phenomena such as superstition and gambling.

We hope that the Jinzhou peasant performing troupe from the Bohai coast will maintain its amateur nature, continue to struggle forward, continue to develop and continue to improve and will long shine with dazzling brilliance.

Let Us All Pay Attention to Standardization in the Use of Chinese Characters

[Article by Dai Changsheng [0108 7022 0524]]

[Text] Standardization in the use of characters is an important condition for accurately expressing thoughts and relaying information and is also an indicator of the degree of civility of a country and a nation. This is an important matter and must not be overlooked.

In September 1986, the State Council issued a notice for correcting the phenomena whereby there was confusion in the use of characters in society. It stated that the “Second Simplification Program for Chinese Characters (Draft)” (referred to below as the “Second Program”) was abolished and that in the future, the use of simplified characters was, in all cases, to take the “General Table of Simplified Characters” (referred to below as the “General Table”) as the standard. However, while it has been over a year since the State Council’s notice and the re-issue of the “General Table,” there is still today throughout society the widespread use of the complex forms of characters and chaotic creation of simplified characters, and incorrect characters are found everywhere.

First, let us talk about newspapers and periodicals. On skimming through some newspapers and periodicals after the re-issue of the “General Table,” I discovered few cases of the confused use of characters in the printed character format. However, there were many examples of characters such as “tuan” [2306], “cun” [6722] and “cun” [2625], “zhong” [1046] and “zhong” [0385], “an” [7056] and “an” [2542], “diao” [7716] and “diao” [7717], “rong” [6954] and “rong” [3579], and other traditional characters which should have been simplified, or simplified characters that are no longer in use are still being used in script prints in newspaper names, magazine names, headlines, inscriptions and advertisements. Some newspapers still use the characters for meteorological units such as “qian” [3926], “jia/luo” [0178 10502], “cun” [8120], “chi” [1439 30656], “mu” [3965 3056], “li” [0769], and so on, which were declared to be obsolete in 1977 by the Committee for Reforming the Chinese Written Language and the State Bureau of Metrology, and offer these to readers as correct characters. In some periodicals which have language and writing as their research topics, there have even appeared nonstandard simplified characters such as “lu” [4983] for “lu” [1097], “bie” [7841] for “bie” [7667], “zi” [6171] for “zi” [0743], “re” [3616], for “re” [3616], “jian” [5324] for “jian” [5324], “jian” [7002] for “jian” [7003], “yun” [6663] for “yun” [6663], and “kuang” [7006] for “kuang” [4349]. If readers do not look at some materials, do not do a little analysis and deliberation and do not do a little pondering, it would be difficult for them to figure out from which traditional or simplified characters the above examples are derived.

The phenomenon of confusion in the use of characters in published books is also quite considerable. Just looking at the two radicals “yan” [6056] and “jin” [6855], I have found the following nonstandard characters: “hua” [6212] for “hua” [0873], “shi” [6221] which is printed with the traditional radical and “shi” [6221] [printed with the simplified radical], “yi” [6231] which is printed with the traditional radical and “yi” [6231] [printed with the simplified radical], “zan” [6247] for “zan” [6363], “zheng” [6154] which is printed with the traditional phonetic and “zheng” [6154] [in the simplified form], “xiu” [4937] for “xiu” [6907], “lu” [7010] for “lu” [3619], “lu” [6922] [printed in the traditional form] and “lu” [6922] [printed in the simplified form], “juan” [6990] [printed in the traditional form] and “juan” [6990] [printed in the simplified form]. Also, “zhong” [6495] was wrongly used as “zhong” [6988] in 17 books by 11 publishing houses and one printing house.

When schools use characters, their usage will be followed by students as well as society. At the beginning of the new school term began, I saw the opening notices issued by a primary school and a junior middle school. They used the traditional characters for “xue” [1331], “xian” [7309], “shi” [2514], and “fei” [6316], the characters “qing” [6153], “kuan” [2949], and “fei” [6316] from the “Second Program” and their own simplifications for the characters “zheng” [6086], and “han” [7281].

The instances of confused use of characters in door signs and advertisements of enterprises, shops and various organizations are too numerous to mention. Last November I saw, both inside and outside the out-patient and in-patient departments of a hospital attached to a certain PLA medical university, the characters “can”
The above examples show that the situation of the confused use of characters is widespread in society and must be addressed. Thus, it is extremely necessary that the whole society be advised of the need for everyone to concern themselves with the standard use of characters. First, we need to do good propaganda work, to let everyone know the importance of standardization in using characters and to let everyone know which are the standard characters and which are the nonstandard characters. Second, the news and publishing circles, the film and television circles and schools of all types should all become models in the use of standard characters. How they use characters plays a guiding role in society. It is hoped that these three areas will be able to carry out this important task and make beneficial contributions to the purity of our country’s written language.