

Chou En-lai

**REPORT ON
THE QUESTION OF
INTELLECTUALS**



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*Delivered on January 14, 1956,
at a meeting held under the auspices of the
Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
to discuss the question of intellectuals*

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1956

Comrades!

To strengthen the Party's leadership of intellectuals, and of scientific and cultural work as a whole, the Central Committee decided to hold this meeting to discuss the question of intellectuals.

This decision is part of the efforts of the Central Committee to lead the whole Party in combating conservative ideas so as to carry out the fundamental tasks of the transition period.

In 1955, as everyone knows, acting upon the proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Central Committee waged a series of battles against rightist conservative ideas within the Party. The most important results of these battles are as follows: A planned, thorough-going movement was set afoot to weed out counter-revolutionaries both in government organizations and society as a whole, and this, it is estimated, will be in the main completed throughout China within the next two years; the agricultural cooperative movement based on the rapidly increasing political consciousness of the masses has advanced swiftly: this year we shall virtually complete semi-socialist co-operation in agriculture throughout the country, while advancing towards completely socialist co-operation; entire trades of capitalist industry and commerce have been speedily brought under state and private joint operation — another transformation which may very well be in the main completed throughout the country this year; our First Five-Year Plan for developing the national economy is to be completed ahead of schedule and overfulfilled: it is estimated that certain productive departments will com-

plete their plans for 1957 during 1956, while it is possible for all others to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of time or to overfulfil it.

These great and inspiring achievements were inconceivable a year ago. Indeed, had we not combated rightist conservative thinking, they would be beyond our grasp even now. From this we can see what a grave danger this rightist conservative thinking is to our Party.

The fundamental tasks of our struggle against rightist conservative ideas are to further strengthen and expand the people's democratic dictatorship in our country, hasten the completion of socialist transformation, overfulfil the state plan for the development of industry, and accelerate the technical transformation of our national economy. This struggle is of tremendous international significance. For if our vast country with its population of six hundred million can forge swiftly ahead and complete these tasks ahead of time, doing so on the largest possible scale — quickly, effectively and economically, the entire socialist camp will be more speedily and substantially strengthened, and this will help to prevent the outbreak of another war; or even if any aggressor is rash enough to unleash a new war, we shall be in a more powerful position to meet such an eventuality. Hence the Central Committee resolved to make the combating of rightist conservative thinking the central question of the Eighth National Party Congress, calling upon the whole Party to wage this struggle in all departments of work.

It is on this basis that the question of intellectuals has been raised.

What, in actual fact, is the connection between the question of intellectuals and our present task of hastening the building of socialism?

Our basic reason for building up a socialist economy is to provide the greatest possible satisfaction for the constantly increasing material and cultural demands of society as a whole. To reach this goal, we must never cease to develop the productive forces of society, raise the productivity of labour, and expand and improve socialist production on the basis of advanced technique. Hence the age of socialism, more than any previous age, requires a comprehensive raising of productive technique, as well as a comprehensive development of science and utilization of scientific knowledge. It follows from this that if we want to go ahead with our socialist construction on the largest possible scale, quickly, effectively and economically, we must rely on the energetic labour not only of the working class and the broad masses of the peasants, but also of the intellectuals. In other words, we must rely on close co-operation between manual work and brain work, on the fraternal alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals. The different construction projects on which we are now engaged require the participation of intellectuals in ever growing numbers. For example, to find mines we need geologists who will take large groups of university and secondary school graduates to all the wild and mountainous regions of our country to survey, make general and detailed investigations, and drill. To set up mines, erect factories, railways and water conservancy projects, we need a number of engineers and an army of technicians to make surveys and designs, build, and install equipment. For a factory to produce, every process in production from the initial design to the inspection of the finished products requires a considerable number of technical personnel of a certain standard. To manage industry and commerce we need specialists of every type in ever increasing

numbers. To build up a modernized national defence, we need scientific experts in many different fields. Without teachers and doctors, we could have no schools and hospitals. Without workers in literature and art, we could have no cultural life. In the countryside, after agriculture has been mechanized and electrified, we shall certainly need a great number of engineers to make agricultural machinery and build electric power plants, as well as agronomists, accountants and so forth. Indeed, even today, to carry out many of the tasks which have to be undertaken immediately in the draft National Programme for Agricultural Development for 1956-1967, we require the active participation of scientists, technicians, botanists, medical workers and veterinary surgeons to produce improved farm implements drawn by animals, chemical fertilizers and pumps, to eradicate the chief plant diseases and insect pests, and to put an end to the most serious diseases which affect men and livestock. Thus intellectuals have become an important factor in every aspect of our national life. To find a correct solution for the question of intellectuals, to mobilize them more effectively and make fuller use of their abilities in our gigantic work of building socialism, has therefore become essential if we are to fulfil the fundamental tasks of the transition period. Every department of our Party and Party organizations at all levels should pay serious attention to this question.

What is the question of intellectuals at present? The fundamental question at present is that the forces of our intelligentsia are insufficient in number, professional skill and political consciousness, to meet the requirements of our ever expanding socialist construction. Certain irrational features in our present employment and treatment of intellectuals and, in par-

ticular, certain sectarian attitudes on the part of some of our comrades towards intellectuals outside the Party, have to some extent handicapped us in bringing the existing strength of the intelligentsia into full play. It is imperative that we give firmer leadership, overcome our shortcomings and take a series of effective measures to mobilize the intellectuals to the fullest possible extent and bring into full play their strength by ceaselessly raising their political consciousness, training new recruits on a large scale to add to their ranks, and raising their professional skill as far as possible to meet the ever growing demands made on them by the state. This is now the fundamental task for our Party on the question of intellectuals.

I

Before discussing our Party's task in relation to intellectuals, let us first examine the situation as regards the intellectuals today.

Our Party has always attached great importance to the question of intellectuals. As early as 1939, the decision drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on drawing in large numbers of intellectuals was passed by our Central Committee and effectively carried out in all the anti-Japanese bases. Since the liberation of the mainland, the Party has applied on a nationwide scale the policy of uniting, educating and remoulding intellectuals. Our Central Committee considered that if during the revolution we needed intellectuals, for the work of construction we needed them even more. Indeed, owing to the fact that before the liberation our country was culturally and scientifically backward, it was all the more important for us to make the best use of the intellectuals carried over

from the old society in order that the intelligentsia might serve the socialist construction of our country. Moreover, the Central Committee affirmed that although the intellectuals from the old society had been influenced in a number of ways by imperialism and the reactionary classes, the great majority of them had also been oppressed by the imperialists and the Kuomintang; thus some of them had joined the revolution, others sympathized with it, and the majority adopted a neutral, wait-and-see attitude towards it, while the number of counter-revolutionaries among them was extremely small. Events are daily proving to Chinese intellectuals that unless they range themselves on the side of the working class and the Communist Party, there is no other way open to them. Hence it is essential, as well as entirely possible, to rally the intellectuals. With this understanding, the Central Committee of our Party adopted a policy of "the wholesale taking over" of intellectuals from the old society at the time of the liberation. The vast majority of them were kept on in suitable posts, some even being given responsible positions. As for those who had been unemployed, efforts were made to find them work, or other suitable provision was made for them.

Politically, the Party gave many representative intellectuals appropriate positions. The Central Committee believes that it is essential to help intellectuals from the old society to remould themselves, so that they can repudiate the ideas of the landlord class and bourgeoisie, and accept the ideology of the working class. To this end, the Party has taken a series of measures. Intellectuals were given the opportunity of joining in land reform, the movement for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the campaign to resist American aggression and aid

Korea, the *san fan* ("against three evils"¹) and *wu fan* ("against five evils"²) movements. We have also made it possible for them to inspect factories and villages, visit the Soviet Union, and take part in international meetings and other activities. The Party has furthermore guided them in their study of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, helped them to criticize the idealist outlook of the bourgeoisie, to carry through the struggle against Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique³ as well as other counter-revolutionaries, and on the basis of study to practise criticism and self-criticism.

As regards their professional life, the Party has taken many steps to help them to grasp the principle of integrating theory with practice, learn from advanced Soviet experience, improve their working methods, and raise their vocational levels. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become government workers in the service of socialism and are already part of the working class. While uniting, educating and remoulding the intellectuals from the old society, the Party has made a great effort to foster the growth of large numbers of new intellectuals, of whom a considerable proportion already are of labouring class origin. Because of this, a fundamental

¹The three evils were corruption, waste and bureaucratism among personnel in government institutions and state enterprises.—Translator.

²The five evils were bribery of government employees, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation.—Translator.

³Hu Feng was a counter-revolutionary who for more than twenty years disguising himself as a Marxist-Leninist writer carried on subversive activities in the realm of progressive literature in China. In 1955, the criminal activities of Hu Feng and his clique were exposed.—Translator.

change has taken place among Chinese intellectuals in the past six years.

Many organizations have compiled figures on the present political stand of the intellectuals working there. These statistics reveal that about 40 per cent of the higher intellectuals are progressives who actively support the Communist Party, the People's Government and socialism, and are working wholeheartedly for the people. Another 40 per cent or so form an intermediate section who support the Communist Party and the People's Government and generally complete the tasks assigned to them, but are not sufficiently active politically. These two sections combined make up about 80 per cent of the intelligentsia. Of the rest, over 10 per cent are backward intellectuals who lack political consciousness or ideologically oppose socialism, while less than 10 per cent are counter-revolutionaries or other bad elements.

If we compare this with the situation in the early days of the liberation, we can see that the change has been very rapid indeed. For instance, according to a survey of 141 teachers of four higher educational institutions in Peking, Tientsin and Tsingtao, during the last six years the progressives have increased from 18 per cent to 41 per cent, while the backward have decreased from 28 per cent to 15 per cent. It is only natural that a large proportion of the intellectuals are daily being more strongly influenced by the great socialist transformation and construction taking place in our country, and from the resurgence of China are seeing that their destinies are bound up with those of the nation as a whole.

Here it should be noted that the changes in the intellectuals' ways of thinking are not entirely in step with those in their political and social status. A great many progressive intellectuals still display a

greater or lesser degree of bourgeois idealism and individualism in their outlook and behaviour. This is even more true, of course, of the middle group. And the progress of intellectuals—in particular of the relatively backward among them—in quite a few organizations is slow, a fact which shows that we have done very little to help them.

The past six years have seen a very rapid growth in the number of intellectuals. According to estimates, there are roughly 100,000 higher intellectuals in China engaged in scientific research, education, engineering and technology, public health, cultural work, the arts and other occupations. Of these, according to partial data, about one third have been recruited since the liberation. The number of intellectuals in some fields has increased particularly rapidly. Geologists, for example, numbered fewer than 200 in the early days of the liberation; but in 1955, according to figures compiled by the ministries of geology, heavy industry, petroleum industry, and coal industry, the number of geological engineers alone had increased to 497, while there were 3,440 technicians who had graduated from institutes of higher learning.

During the six years since the liberation, 217,900 students already have graduated from universities and colleges. Although not all of these qualify as higher intellectuals, they constitute a rising force among the intelligentsia, and are a reserve of experts and specialists. It should also be pointed out that, while many of these young people have not yet been accorded the status of experts, they are in fact doing the jobs of experts, and in most cases doing them not badly at all. Of the 42,000 teaching in our institutes of higher education, only 17.8 per cent are professors or associate professors; 24 per cent are lecturers and 58.2

per cent assistants; but some of these assistants are already teaching certain courses. The same applies to engineers. Though there are little more than 31,000 engineers of different grades in China, many of the 63,600 technicians who have graduated from the universities and colleges are now doing the work of engineers, and some of them should have been promoted to the position of engineer long ago. In addition to this, as an auxiliary force for higher intellectuals, we have the great army of the rank and file of the intelligentsia, who are ceaselessly improving their knowledge in actual work and in spare-time study.

There is no strict dividing line between what we call higher intellectuals and ordinary intellectuals. According to available statistics, there are now, in all, 3,840,000 intellectuals engaged in scientific research, education, engineering, public health, cultural work and the arts. They represent a great force in our socialist construction. It is extremely important for our Party and the state to appraise and employ them correctly, and to give them systematic help to enable them to go ahead steadily, both politically and professionally. In this report, although emphasis is laid on higher intellectuals, most of the principles discussed here can be equally well applied to intellectuals in general.

From what has been said above, we can see that the intellectuals of our country already constitute a great force. However, in view of the size of our country, the rapid pace of our construction, and the fact that the pace is becoming still faster, we must extend the ranks of our intellectuals more rapidly, in particular the ranks of the higher intellectuals, so as to meet the urgent needs of socialist construction. And we should admit that there have been many defects in our training and promotion of new recruits, defects

which are holding up the more rapid expansion of the ranks of the intelligentsia.

During the past six years there has also been a marked rise in the professional skill of Chinese intellectuals. Reforms have been carried out in the curricula of all our universities and colleges, many new departments and specialized courses have been set up, a great number of text-books have been newly compiled or translated, and the quality of teaching has been raised. Scientists and technicians engaged in geological survey work, in designing and building for capital construction, in designing and making new products, have done much work and achieved notable results. As a result of an intensive study of Soviet methods, our engineers have now learned how to design and build many types of modern factories, mines, bridges and water conservancy projects, and have greatly improved their skills in designing large machinery, railway locomotives and steamships. About 3,500 new items of products of engineering industry were successfully manufactured between 1952 and 1955, a few of which have reached international standards. In the field of metallurgy, we can manufacture more than 240 types of high quality steel and steel alloys, while the coefficient of utilization of useful capacity of our blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces has reached the 1952 level of the Soviet Union. In theoretical science, the achievements made in certain fields of mathematics, physics, organic chemistry and biology in our country have also attracted attention from scientists abroad, and some of them have already made a practical contribution to production.

Taken as a whole, however, the state of China's science and technology is still very backward. Not only are we still unable to acquire and utilize many of the latest achievements of world science, we cannot

as yet solve many of the complex technical problems arising in our work of construction without the assistance of Soviet experts. Till very recently, we failed to draw up comprehensive plans for raising our scientific and technical levels. We even failed to make the fullest and most effective use of our existing forces. Our backwardness in technical sciences is inseparable from our weak foundations in theoretical sciences; yet it is precisely to scientific research that we devoted least efforts.

From this brief account we can see that while our achievements are considerable, we have still many shortcomings.

What policy, then, should we adopt on the question of intellectuals? What tendencies must we forestall and correct?

The chief tendency at present is sectarianism in the treatment of intellectuals; but at the same time there is also a tendency to undue compromise without due regard to principle. The first tendency means underestimating the great progress intellectuals have made politically and professionally, underestimating their outstanding contribution to our socialist cause, failing to recognize them as a part of the working class, and imagining that in production we can rely on the workers, while where technique is concerned we can rely on the Soviet experts. Thus the Party's policy towards intellectuals has not been properly carried out, nor has a serious study of the problems of intellectuals been made in order to solve them. Little attention has been paid to such pressing questions as how to mobilize the intellectuals to the fullest possible extent and bring their strength into full play, how to remould them further, how to expand their ranks and raise their professional levels. The second tendency means seeing only the intellectuals' progress but not

their shortcomings, hence overestimating them, trusting them indiscriminately, and even lowering our vigilance where bad elements are concerned. The result is that nothing has been done to educate and remould them; or, though their shortcomings have been noted, little has been done to educate and remould them on account of various unnecessary scruples. Though these two tendencies appear the reverse of each other, they both result in a type of rightist conservative thinking. In both cases we abandon our leadership, and display no fighting spirit. Thus both deviations prevent us from arriving at a correct solution of the question of intellectuals and the problems relating to science and culture. Both impede us in our advance towards socialism.

We must oppose both these deviations. We should neither ignore the existing strength of our intelligentsia, nor remain satisfied with it. We can neither rely indefinitely on Soviet experts, nor slacken our efforts to make a more effective study of the advanced science and techniques of the Soviet Union and other countries. The only correct policy for us to pursue is to do everything possible to mobilize the intellectuals and bring into full play their existing strength, and at the same time to spare no effort to help them remould themselves still further, expand their ranks and raise their level as rapidly as possible. This must be done if we are to carry out our socialist construction on a large scale, quickly, effectively and economically; hence the speed and scope of our work among intellectuals must keep pace with the giant strides of development in all fields of our country's life.

II

To mobilize our intellectuals to the fullest possible extent and bring into full play their existing strength is imperative for China's rapid construction at present, and is also the prerequisite for the further remoulding of intellectuals, as well as for expanding their ranks and raising their level.

Generally speaking, our intellectuals have been mobilized on a great scale under the leadership of our Party. If this were not the case, it would be impossible to explain the notable progress made by intellectuals and their tremendous contributions to the state referred to earlier. We must first affirm this point. This is the main aspect of the question.

But in our work there certainly exist many shortcomings, including some serious ones. In the present high tide of socialist construction and transformation we must strengthen our leadership and rapidly overcome these defects; for only so can we better mobilize our intellectuals and bring their strength into full play.

For this purpose, the first thing to do is to improve the manner of employing and placing them, so that they can make full use of their specialized skills for the benefit of the state.

In most cases, we have not employed and placed intellectuals badly. Many intellectuals are shouldering important tasks in national construction, and are continuously improving their ability through practice.

Still, we cannot claim that all intellectuals are suitably employed and placed, and that we have not left any strength unused. For instance, in many organizations, because the work is not suitably assigned or well organized, there are still cases of a few intellectuals who feel very uneasy because they have nothing to do, although often they were assigned to

these organizations because of their specialized knowledge. Such waste of the country's most precious possession must be eliminated. Again, in some universities and colleges throughout the country there are still a few teachers who conduct no courses. Some of them are not totally unsuited to teaching, or could teach if we gave them an opportunity to study first. In such cases, we should let them teach. If there are others who really cannot teach, they should be given other jobs for which they are better qualified, such as editing or translating, or work in a publishing house or library. They should not be left idle. There are also still a very few unemployed intellectuals of a certain ability, who should be assigned appropriate work by the local or central authorities according to their specific cases.

In some places, intellectuals are not employed or placed in accordance with their special knowledge and ability. There are scientists who want to do scientific research work, and who could thereby make their most useful contribution to the country, yet they are assigned to administrative posts in offices or schools. There are some experts who, because assigned to the wrong posts, are most unreasonably told to undertake tasks they have never studied. In some cases they are asked to do one thing one day, and something quite different the next, but are not allowed to go back to their own fields. According to statistics compiled by the Fourth Office of the State Council from five units under the Ministry of Light Industry, about 10 per cent of our higher intellectuals are in posts for which they are unsuited. What a serious loss this is! We must take firm measures to correct this bureaucratism, sectarianism and departmentalism in the treatment of intellectuals, so that specialists can be of service in the places where they are most needed.

Secondly, in order to mobilize the intellectuals to the fullest possible extent and bring their strength into full play, we must have a thorough understanding of the intellectuals employed, show appropriate confidence in them and give them adequate support, so that they can work with real initiative.

In general, intellectuals are satisfied with the confidence shown in them and the support given them; but we should not lose sight of the shortcomings in our work. As pointed out earlier, in the matter of trusting intellectuals, one tendency is to trust them indiscriminately and excessively in political affairs and professional work, to the extent of disclosing state secrets to people who need have nothing to do with them or to unreliable characters, or appointing totally incompetent people to important posts, with the result that the work suffers. Such situations do exist, and they must be remedied. Another tendency is to withhold the appropriate trust they deserve by refusing to let them go to some factory which they might well visit, or to look at some material which they are entitled to see. Such situations also exist, and must also be remedied. Without question, state secrets must be kept unconditionally, and no relaxation of alertness can be tolerated. The question is to define correctly what is meant by state secrets and not to extend the limit arbitrarily, thereby causing damage to the work and difficulties to the workers. At the same time, we must reach a correct estimate and understanding of the past histories of intellectuals, in order that they may not suffer for a long period from unwarranted suspicion because their histories are complex. Many of our highly skilled intellectuals today have a comparatively complicated past: this is not to be wondered at. But only a small number of them are politically questionable because of their past

activities, and only a very few are politically questionable because of their present activities. The reason why many intellectuals' histories have not been cleared is because leading comrades have not taken their responsibilities seriously and dealt with these cases realistically, but left such questions unsettled for a long time. We should concentrate a rather strong force to clear up these unsettled cases as quickly as possible, in order of importance, to facilitate the employment of these intellectuals in future.

In addition to showing appropriate confidence in non-Party intellectuals, we must also give them adequate support. That is to say, we must enable them to exercise authority in their posts, respect their opinions, value the results of their researches and work, promote and encourage free, scientific discussions during our socialist construction, and provide opportunities for their inventions and discoveries to be tested and put into general use. A few Party and Youth League members do not respect the leadership of non-Party intellectuals who rank above them. We must be responsible for rectifying this situation.

The chief manifestation of certain comrades' sectarianism on the question of intellectuals is that they have not given enough trust and support to some intellectuals. Many Party members are not accustomed to discussing work with their non-Party colleagues, or to giving them timely guidance and help, before embarking on new tasks. Some comrades even keep non-Party intellectuals at a respectful distance. In this way, since mutual understanding is lacking, a certain remoteness easily arises between us. But these intellectuals are important workers in our state, and the quality of their work has a direct effect on national construction. It is therefore our duty to learn to approach them in a comradely way,

and correctly understand them. In doing so we can give them guidance and help them to make a greater contribution in their work.

Thirdly, in order to mobilize the intelligentsia to the fullest possible extent and bring their strength into full play, it is essential to provide them with the necessary working conditions and appropriate treatment.

The working conditions and treatment of intellectuals today are very much better than before the liberation. But, as we have already mentioned, there are also some problems in this connection which need to be settled at once.

One important problem at the moment in connection with intellectuals' working conditions is that many of them cannot arrange their time in the most effective way. Many intellectuals feel very strongly that they spend too much time on meetings which have little connection with their work or on administrative matters. There is actually no need for them to participate in such meetings and attend to many of such matters. Apparently, the more famous the scientist, writer and artist, the greater the claim on his or her time for various meetings, administrative affairs and social activities. This is a serious phenomenon on our cultural front. The Central Committee considers it essential to ensure that intellectuals have at least five sixths of the working day (or 40 hours a week) available for their work. The rest of their time can be spent on political study, taking part in necessary meetings or social activities. We must insist that this demand be carried through. It is of course useful for intellectuals to join in social activities, but the trouble at present is that invitations to such functions tend to come to a small number of people. There ought to be some adjustment, to enable as many as

possible to participate, so that this may cease to be a burden. Quite a number of experts hold too many posts — this situation also calls for quick readjustment.

Some intellectuals feel that they lack the necessary reference books, material, equipment, or suitable assistants, with the result that their efficiency is very low. Such situations do indeed exist. For instance, many organizations which possess large collections of books and other reference material have not fully appreciated their value or assigned suitable staff members to arrange them in order; hence some of the experts cannot utilize these materials for their research. The main reason for this is that we are not familiar with the needs of these experts; or, though the question has been raised many times, we have not dealt with it seriously. Some functionaries do not want to trouble themselves with such "trifles," but this is wrong. These are not "trifles." We should tackle these problems quickly and in a responsible manner.

The living conditions of intellectuals, generally speaking, are already much better than before the liberation; but in order that higher intellectuals may be able to devote more energy to their work, their living conditions should be suitably improved. Some higher intellectuals have to spend an undue amount of time on domestic chores, and this should be considered as a loss of work for the state. The housing conditions of some higher intellectuals leave much to be desired. In Peking and other cities where there has been a rapid increase in population, there are cases of a family of several members living in one small room. Their rest and recreation are not well provided for either. All such problems should be seriously dealt with by the organizations responsible.

In order to solve these problems in a more satisfactory manner, we should approach them mainly in the following three ways: First, we should teach the administrative staff of each organization concerned to take this matter seriously, and regard the living conditions of the intellectuals as a matter of importance. They must, in particular, rid themselves of the mistaken idea that they need concern themselves only with the living conditions of administrative chiefs, and stop thinking: "Why should intellectuals be well looked after? Why should we wait on them?" Once this is done, half the problem will have been solved. Secondly, we should teach the trade unions and consumer co-operatives in each organization concerned to improve their services for intellectuals. A large proportion of trade union membership fees should be spent on the cultural activities and material welfare of that unit. Trade union officers should go out among their members and strive indefatigably to solve all difficulties connected with their living conditions. This should be one of the chief duties of the trade unions to which intellectuals belong. Thirdly, we should make suitable adjustments in the salaries of intellectuals on the principle of remuneration according to work, so that their earnings are commensurate with their contribution to the state. The tendency towards equalitarianism and other irrational features in the salary system should be eliminated. There are, moreover, some intellectuals who are not government workers, such as a number of actors and other artists, painters of the traditional school and practitioners in traditional Chinese medicine, whose income at present is rather low. This problem should also be dealt with by those in charge.

Another important problem concerning the living conditions of intellectuals is the system of promotion.

There is much in the present system which is not reasonable. There are too many grades but with too little difference between them; the status of university and college graduates is too low; there is no definite system of promotion and no definite standard; and many organizations will not consider promotion for several years, so that some people have never been promoted. This irrational system has done a great deal to hinder intellectuals from doing better in their work; in particular, it hampers the training of new recruits and the promotion of ordinary intellectuals. This system must be speedily revised. In addition, degrees, academic titles and honorary titles for the intelligentsia, rewards for inventions, discoveries, good writings and so on also constitute an important incentive for intellectuals to advance and stimulate the progress of science and art. New systems are now being drafted by the departments concerned, and they should be approved and announced in the nearest future.

Regarding the political treatment of intellectuals, there is also room for improvement. Here the chief problem is to overcome the lack of interest on the part of many organizations in the political life of intellectuals. Some intellectuals complain that they have to listen several times to the same one long report, but more complain that they do not have a chance to hear a single report the whole year round. Again, some feel that they participate in too many social activities, but even more feel that if they were invited to just one such function it would be a great encouragement to them. We must all take care to make suitable readjustments in this respect. More than this, we should educate our personnel, and train them to treat intellectuals correctly, and not to hurt unconsciously the

legitimate self-respect which every true worker should have.

What has been said indicates some of the necessary conditions which must be fulfilled in order to mobilize the intelligentsia to the fullest possible extent and bring their strength into full play. Of course, to achieve this we must also educate and remould them, and give them political and vocational leadership. We shall come back to these points later. But the conditions just mentioned are indispensable. Only under these conditions can we better mobilize the intellectuals to devote their full energies to the great task of construction in our country, and accelerate their progress politically and professionally.

III

To give intellectuals continuous help in remoulding themselves is one of the important political tasks of the Party during the transition to socialism.

In this period of transition our country is undergoing most profound social changes. The private ownership of the means of production which has lasted for thousands of years is changing into socialist public ownership; the exploitation which has endured for centuries is to disappear for ever; all people will become workers of different types. Such tremendous upheavals and changes cannot fail to arouse strong repercussions in every field of our life and thought. Hence all the social problems of this period, including the question of intellectuals, cannot be considered in isolation from the class struggle. Politically, the various groupings and changes among intellectuals are simply the reflection of the development of the class struggle in their ranks. As we have seen, the intelli-

gentsia of today still includes a very small percentage of counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements such as impostors and scoundrels, who should be expelled from its ranks. Apart from them, there are a few who are ideologically opposed to socialism or have failed completely to understand it. In such cases, we should criticize their mistaken views and make every effort to win them over to socialism.

Great results have been achieved during the past year in weeding out the counter-revolutionaries hidden among the intelligentsia. We should continue our efforts in this direction, in order that in the coming two years we may succeed in weeding out virtually all counter-revolutionaries.

In struggling with the counter-revolutionaries we must draw a distinction between real counter-revolutionaries and those who have only had ordinary social contact with them. This point is extremely important, for there are many people of the latter category among intellectuals. If in the past we wrongly jumbled them together with counter-revolutionaries, we should clear this up with them. As for those who merely had connections with counter-revolutionary organizations in the past but have really changed their stand since the liberation, once they have given an adequate account of themselves they should receive the same treatment as ordinary people.

We have already pointed out that there is still a certain distance between some intellectuals and our Party. We must take the initiative to remove this. For this distance, both sides usually bear responsibility. On the one hand, our comrades do not approach or try to understand the intellectuals; on the other, certain intellectuals still have reservations regarding socialism or even oppose it. There are such intellectuals in our enterprises, schools, government

offices and society as a whole. Failing to differentiate between friend and foe, between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the Chinese people and imperialism, they are dissatisfied with the policies and measures of the Party and the People's Government and hanker after capitalism or even feudalism. They are hostile to the Soviet Union and unwilling to learn from her. They refuse to study Marxism-Leninism, and sneer at it. Despising labour, the labouring people and government workers who come from families of working people, they refuse to mix with workers and peasants or government cadres of worker or peasant origin. Unwilling to see the growth of new forces, they consider progressives as opportunists, and often stir up trouble and hostility between intellectuals and the Party as well as among intellectuals themselves. They have enormous conceit, thinking themselves Number One in the world, and refusing to accept anyone's leadership or criticism. Denying the interests of the people or of society as a whole, they view everything only from their personal interests. What is to their personal advantage they accept, what is not to their personal advantage they oppose. Of course, there are very few intellectuals today who have all these faults; but not a small number have one fault or another. Even some of the middle group often hold some of the wrong views mentioned above, let alone the backward intellectuals. And not a few progressives are still guilty of such faults as narrow-mindedness, arrogance, and the tendency to view everything from their personal interests. Unless such intellectuals change their stand, however hard we may try to approach them, there will still be a distance between us and them.

We should therefore not only remould the backward intellectuals, but do our best to help even those of the middle group to get out of their intermediate position and become progressives. As for the progressives, we should also help them to continue to advance, to study Marxism-Leninism harder, to remove all vestiges of capitalism, individualism and idealism in their way of thinking. We should train large numbers of the higher intellectuals to become "Red Experts" who are devoted to the cause of socialism. Some of our higher intellectuals have already become such experts, and there are many more who wish to do so. We should encourage them whole-heartedly to remould themselves in order to realize their wish. It would be wrong to cold-shoulder them or discriminate against them.

In short, our programme of action in continuing to remould intellectuals at the present stage is as follows: To weed out completely the counter-revolutionaries still hidden among the intelligentsia, to reduce the number of backward intellectuals to the minimum, to help as many as possible of the middle group to become progressives, and to change the progressives into completely socialist intellectuals.

Since we already have rich experience in remoulding intellectuals, and a great deal has been achieved in this respect, there is no need to discuss in detail whether they can or cannot be remoulded. Our present task is to summarize experience and overcome certain defects in our work so that we can go forward with this task in a more systematic way. There are various political groupings among intellectuals. Such being the case, we should in general, as the circumstances of each require, make different plans for educating the progressive, the middle and the back-

ward groups, and carry them out by such means as have been proved effective.

Generally speaking, there are three ways in which intellectuals are remoulded. One is through seeing life at close quarters and participation in social life; the second is through practical work in their own fields; and the third is through general political and theoretical study. All three are inter-related, and changes in thinking usually occur through the interaction of all three. But usually it is social life that gives an intellectual his most far-reaching and most direct education. As we all know, many intellectuals started changing their ways of thinking when they took part in land reform or in the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. During the last few years, visits to factories and the countryside have also done much to help the intellectuals gain confidence in socialism. But we have not yet organized this work systematically, and in particular many intellectuals belonging to the intermediate and backward groups are often left out of our plans. From now on, to arrange for intellectuals to observe socialist construction on the spot should be considered one of our major tasks. For this purpose, a comprehensive plan should be worked out, so that all those who have had no such opportunities will have them within the next few years.

Work in their own professions has also proved very effective in helping intellectuals to remould their ideology. In the past few years, reforms in teaching methods and the adoption of Soviet teaching materials have made many teachers who did not have confidence in the Soviet Union or Marxism-Leninism change their attitude. Similarly, the technical inventions of our workers and peasants, the spread of Soviet science and technology in our country, and the actual examples

set by Soviet experts, have convinced many scientists and technical personnel of the superiority of the socialist system. In future we should continue to extend such experiences. In learning from the Soviet Union, however, in the past we sometimes blundered through undue impatience or a crude and mechanical approach, while some comrades even arbitrarily denied the scientific and technical achievements of capitalist countries. Such shortcomings should be avoided in future.

The study of Marxism-Leninism is of decisive significance for intellectuals in forming a revolutionary philosophy of life and a scientific world outlook. In some places, though, such studies are not well guided: either the instructors' level is too low, or the plans and methods of study are not suited to highly skilled intellectuals. We must overcome such defects and, in accordance with the principles that study should be voluntary and connected with work, assign certain necessary fundamental courses on Marxism-Leninism, stressing self-study, evening universities, correspondence courses, scientific discussions and other methods which will facilitate the intellectuals' political and theoretical study.

Since the remoulding of intellectuals is a reflection of the class struggle, the process itself cannot possibly be free from a certain amount of conflict. First and foremost, we must require that all intellectuals love their country, adhere to the Constitution and draw a clear distinction between friend and foe. If a man shows no love for his country, violates the Constitution, and in both words and deeds confuses friend and foe, it is inconceivable that people will not join issue with him. Next, there is bound to be a sharp struggle between socialist and capitalist ideas, between materialist and idealist ideas. Intellectuals cannot be transformed ideologically without

a battle of ideas among themselves. Since the liberation, the movement for ideological remoulding and the criticisms of idealist views led by the Party have contributed very greatly to the progress of intellectuals. In ideological struggle, we must remember, a man will only change his ideas when he himself is convinced that he is in the wrong. Crude methods will solve no ideological problems. Till quite recently, however, there have still been cases of very crude treatment of scientists and scientific problems; therefore attention must be paid everywhere to correcting this. There are intellectuals who persist in their wrong ideas. But provided in words and actions they do not oppose the people and, even more, are willing to devote their knowledge and energies to the service of the people, while criticizing their mistaken ideas we should wait patiently for them and help them gradually to become politically conscious.

In order to assist intellectuals to advance, it is important that leading comrades in the Party organizations should have direct contact with them. Ideologically and politically, many intellectuals look to us for more help and criticism and feel that they have received far too little such assistance from us. Many intellectuals not only find it very difficult to establish contact with the leading comrades of local Party committees, but even when living next to the Party committee members of their own organization find very little opportunity for discussion. They criticize us for "making great use" of them but giving them "very little help," or say "we are merely utilized, not helped." Others complain that we approach them for three purposes only: (1) to transfer them to other work, (2) to ask them to clear up points in their past history, or (3) because they have committed some mistake. These are sharp criticisms, and we should pay

attention to them. We should include the discussion of ideas and political problems, as well as comradely criticism, in our plan for remoulding intellectuals. Intellectuals are in favour of meetings for exchanges of views, and in future we should have regular discussions of this nature. In addition, wherever possible and necessary, we should invite certain non-Party intellectuals to attend some Party group and branch meetings, to help them to understand the Party policy better and be more receptive to Party education.

In addition to relying on Party members, we should also draw into our work the progressives who already constitute some 40 per cent of the intelligentsia so as to help other intellectuals to advance. In the past few years the Youth League, the trade unions and the various democratic parties and groups have done much in this respect; and in future we should make a more systematic use of these forces.

Since we are now more experienced in the remoulding of intellectuals, and have the support of progressive forces, and since most intellectuals themselves are receiving a more and more profound socialist education during the rapid construction of our country, we can confidently expect them to make still more rapid progress than during the past few years. Provided that every unit in the country draws up plans for the remoulding of intellectuals, including the seven-year plan for 1956 to 1962 as well as annual plans, and persists in carrying them into effect, then by the end of our Second Five-Year Plan we shall certainly have increased to more than 75 per cent of the total the number of progressives among higher intellectuals who actively strive for socialism and accept the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and reduce the number of backward intellectuals among them to about 5 per cent.

We should also draw up plans for admitting intellectuals to the Party. Already many progressive intellectuals have applied to join the Party. For example, of the 1,920 engineers and other technical personnel in the Non-ferrous Metallurgical Planning Institute of the Ministry of Heavy Industry, 605, or 31.5 per cent, have submitted applications. Of the 291 professors, associate professors and lecturers in six Tientsin colleges, 106, or 36.4 per cent, have applied to join the Party. Of the 131 research workers in the North China Institute of Agricultural Research, 53, or 40 per cent, have applied. During the past few years, however, we have admitted very few intellectuals to the Party. This tendency to close the door on them must be corrected. Of course, we must take great care to accept only those who come up to the requirements of Party members; but we believe that many of those who have sent in applications come up to these requirements. In view of the increase of progressives among highly skilled intellectuals and the fact that new recruits are continuously joining their ranks, we feel justified in estimating that by 1962 one-third of the total number of higher intellectuals will be Party members.

When the above-mentioned plan is realized, there will be a further fundamental change in the ideology and political stand of our intelligentsia. We shall then have in the main achieved in the transition period the specific historic task of remoulding the intellectuals of our country. After this, the intellectuals, like all other people, will still have to continue remoulding themselves through study and work, in order to advance from new levels to yet higher standards of progress. That, however, is a constant duty.

IV

To meet the requirements of the rapid development of national construction, the ranks of our intellectuals must be expanded and their professional skill raised.

China's present scientific and cultural workers are far fewer than those of the Soviet Union and other major powers of the world, and their standard is much lower. This is entirely out of keeping with the needs of our great socialist state with its population of 600 million. We must put on a spurt, and make every effort to expand and improve our scientific and cultural strength as quickly as possible, in order to catch up before too long with the most advanced international levels. This is the great objective before our Party, the intellectuals, and the people of the whole country.

We are constantly saying that our science and culture are backward, but we seldom stop to consider just where our backwardness lies. Comrades! I want to speak more particularly here about science, not only because science is a decisive factor in our national defence, economy and culture, but also because during the last twenty or thirty years world science has made particularly great and rapid progress, leaving us far behind in scientific development.

Modern science and technology are advancing by leaps and bounds. The gradual mechanization and automatization of the whole process of production, and the use of long distance control, have raised the productivity of labour to unprecedented heights. Different types of high-temperature, high-pressure and high-speed, as well as super-high-temperature, super-high-pressure and super-high-speed machines are being designed and manufactured. The mileage and

speed of different forms of transport by land, water and air are increasing daily, and the swiftest planes already travel faster than sound. These improvements in technique create a demand for materials with new properties; hence many new metals, alloys, and synthetic compounds are constantly being produced. The productive technique and technological processes in each branch of industry are being revolutionized from day to day; and this ensures the further acceleration and improvement of the productive process, the fullest utilization of resources, the greatest economy of raw materials, and the constant improvement of the quality of the products.

The peak of the latest developments in science and technology is the application of atomic energy. Atomic energy has provided mankind with an incomparably powerful new source of energy and opened up great prospects for all departments of science. At the same time, with the progress in electronics and other branches of science, automatic machines with electronic controls have been produced which are beginning to replace certain specific brain work just as other machines have replaced physical labour. This has greatly raised the level of automaton technique. All these new achievements have brought mankind to the eve of a new revolution in science, technology and industry. And the significance of this revolution, as Comrade Bulganin has pointed out, "far surpasses that of the industrial revolution which resulted from the discovery of steam power and electricity."

We must catch up with this advanced level of world science. And, bearing in mind that while we are forging ahead others are also advancing rapidly, we must give our best to this task. Only by mastering the most advanced sciences can we ensure ourselves

of an impregnable national defence, a powerful and up-to-date economy, and adequate means to join the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies in defeating the imperialist powers, either in peaceful competition or in any aggressive war which the enemy may unleash.

It is very hard at present to estimate accurately how long will be needed for our science to catch up with the most advanced world levels. But we must define our task now — and that is by the end of our third Five-Year Plan to have raised those branches of science most urgently needed by our country to approximately the most advanced international standard, so that by our own efforts we may speedily equal the newest achievements of other countries. Having laid such a foundation, we should be able to go a step further in solving the problem of catching up with world levels.

To carry out this great task, we must first overcome the tendency to depend on others and to lack confidence in ourselves. People say: "China's backwardness in science is one thing that cannot be changed immediately. In science, at all events, we need help from the Soviet Union." It is true that we must rely on Soviet help to overcome our backwardness. But the question is, how are we utilizing this help? One way is to have no over-all plan, to deal with each problem as it crops up, to turn to the Soviet Union whenever we are in difficulties and to send secondary school graduates, rather than mature scientists, to the Soviet Union to study. This would result in our remaining for ever dependent upon others with no inventions of our own, indefinitely increasing the burden on Soviet scientists, holding up the planned, swift development of our own science, and delaying the strengthening of the scientific, eco-

conomic and defence forces of the entire socialist camp. Another way is to make an over-all plan, concentrating first on what is most important and vital, and systematically utilizing the latest achievements of Soviet science to bring ourselves abreast of Soviet levels as quickly as possible. This means that Soviet help should be sought only on pressing tasks, and we should study the technique of the Soviet experts who assist us. At the same time, all scientific departments that need to learn from the Soviet Union, should systematically send more mature scientists to study there or invite Soviet experts to this country to help us set up bases for scientific research, so as to be able, from the levels already reached by the Soviet Union, to embark on further studies and train personnel in China within the shortest possible time. We can thus make the most effective and rational use of Soviet assistance and accelerate the planned development of our own science so that it will soon be possible to establish relations of mutual co-operation between the scientists of our two countries. This will accelerate the strengthening of the scientific, economic and defence forces of the entire socialist camp. This latter way has been repeatedly suggested by Chinese and Soviet scientists and is the only correct method for us to follow.

In order to raise the scientific level of our country in a systematic way, it is also necessary to eliminate the tendency to shortsightedness. Appropriate ratios in the distribution of personnel should be maintained and a correct division of labour and co-operation established between theoretical and technical work, and between long-term and immediate requirements, so that none of these aspects are ignored. In the past few years, since we were confronted with many different tasks at once, it was inevitable and quite under-

standable that we should devote more energy to projects immediately required and to technical matters, while paying comparatively less attention to long-term needs and theoretical work. But now if we continue to pay less attention to long-term needs and theoretical work, we shall be making a very grave mistake. Without a foundation of theoretical research in science, there can be no basic improvements or reforms in technique. However, the growth of theoretical strength is always a little slower than that of technical strength and the effects of theoretical work are usually indirect and not immediately apparent. Because of this, a tendency to shortsightedness still exists among many comrades who are not willing to supply the necessary conditions for scientific research and constantly ask scientists to solve comparatively simple questions for them regarding technical application and production procedures. Of course, theory must not be divorced from practice and we must oppose the carrying on of theoretical research in isolation from practice. But the main tendency at present is the neglect of theoretical study. Such a situation prevails not only in natural science but in social sciences as well. At present, the forces allocated to the social sciences appear even weaker and less adequate to meet the need of the state than those allocated to natural science. For instance, there are 172 members of various departments dealing with natural science in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, over half of whom can now actually spend the greater part of their time on scientific work; but of the 51 members in the field of social sciences a few only are able to devote the greater part of their time to research work!

The two tendencies just mentioned are related to each other, and each aggravates the other. We must thoroughly correct these wrong tendencies, and change

this state of affairs which is so detrimental to the development of science.

The State Council has entrusted the State Planning Commission with the task of mapping out, in the course of three months and in conjunction with all departments concerned, a long-term plan for the development of science from 1956 to 1967. In drawing up this plan we must take into consideration what is possible and what is necessary in order to introduce the most advanced scientific achievements in the world as quickly as possible to our own scientific organizations and to those concerned with national defence, production and education, to make good as rapidly as we can what is most lacking in our own science and most urgently needed for national construction, so that in twelve years' time our scientific and technical level in these fields will approach those of the Soviet Union and other great powers.

What is the quickest and most effective way of reaching this goal?

The way is as follows: Firstly, in those fields where the need is greatest, we must lose no time in sending groups of experts, outstanding scientific workers and the best university graduates to the Soviet Union and other countries to gain practical experience or study as research students for one to two years; then, as soon as they have returned to China, establish and develop bases for these sciences and techniques in the Academy of Sciences and different ministries, and train a large number of new workers. At the same time, in accordance with our needs, we must every year send more people abroad to gain practical experience and carry out research.

Secondly, in the case of certain subjects, we should invite groups of experts from the Soviet Union and other countries to help us set up research in-

stitutes in the Academy of Sciences and other organizations in the nearest future, to train skilled personnel, or to co-operate in the most comprehensive manner with our scientists.

Thirdly, we must systematically organize large numbers of scientific workers and technical personnel to learn from the Soviet experts now in China in order to utilize these experts as tutors and not as ordinary working personnel. During the construction of the 156 enterprises which the Soviet Union is helping us to build, and after these enterprises have started production, we should systematically organize large numbers of technical personnel to study and master the new technical principles involved, and quickly pass them on to others.

Fourthly, we should assemble our best scientists and university graduates to engage in scientific research, and use every means to strengthen the Chinese Academy of Sciences, so that it can lead the whole country in raising the level of our science and to train new skilled personnel.

Fifthly, since the scientists in our universities and colleges constitute by far the greatest part of our whole scientific force, they must, under the guidance of the over-all plan for the development of science, do their best to develop scientific research and embark on large-scale training of new scientists and technical personnel with modern qualifications.

Sixthly, different ministries, especially those of geology, industry, agriculture, water conservancy, transport, national defence, and public health, should immediately set up or strengthen all essential research institutes, and by means of an appropriate division of labour and co-operation with the Academy of Sciences, help to extend the ranks of scientists. They must also be responsible for the planned and systematic

introduction of the latest achievements in world science and see that these are put to practical use, in order that every field of activity in our country may be equipped with the latest techniques as fast as possible.

In order to advance seriously towards modern science and not simply indulge in empty talk, we must work fast. A year can easily pass in empty talk and indecision. The Central Committee therefore demands that before the end of April this year the long-term plan for the development of science, and specific plans for this year and next co-ordinated with it, be drawn up. We must also decide on the first group of scientists to be mustered immediately for the realization of this long-term plan and the plans for this year and next (including the names of those to be sent abroad, the number of Soviet experts to be engaged, the number of those who will have to be transferred to scientific research from other posts, and the names of the chief scientists among them). All possible efforts must be made to carry out the plan for sending scientists abroad and transferring others to research work by the end of June this year. As for the plan to expand scientific research work and train new scientists in the institutes of higher education throughout the country, this must be implemented after the summer holidays.

In order to realize our plan for promoting science, we must provide all the necessary conditions for its development. In this connection, it is of paramount importance for scientists to have the necessary books, reference materials, archives, technical data and other facilities for work. We must increase the funds for books and periodicals in all research institutes, universities and colleges, and full use must be made of it. We must strengthen the work of libraries, archives,

and museums, see to it that many more books and periodicals are imported from abroad, and make a rational distribution of those now in stock. We must also extend the teaching of foreign languages, and the translating of important foreign works.

The principles mentioned here are equally applicable to other branches of culture and education. All cultural and educational organizations should draw up long-term plans for 1956-1967, and take the most effective steps to realize them.

Our plan to develop scientific and cultural forces must be one that both increases quantity and raises quality; for ours is a large country, and we need a considerable number of scientists and cultural workers to meet the needs in all fields; moreover quality, in general, can only be attained on the basis of a considerable quantity.

In order to increase the scientific and cultural strength of our country we must first increase the number of students in universities and colleges according to our plan, and give further training to the rank and file intellectuals we already possess, in order to raise their professional level unceasingly. Not only are these the most important auxiliaries and associates of the highly skilled intellectuals; but, as already mentioned, they are much more numerous than the latter. Distributed in every locality and in every department of work, they shoulder important responsibilities in national construction. Every department on the national level and every province and municipality must draw up special plans to help these intellectuals carry out further study in order that their professional skills may be rapidly improved; and the best among them must be promoted to the ranks of higher intellectuals.

V

Now our Party is successfully tackling the problems of co-operation in agriculture and in handicraft industry, and of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The entire Party and working people throughout the country are striving to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule and overfulfil it. The people of the whole country have complete confidence in the ultimate triumph of our cause and are exerting their utmost efforts to bring it about. Following the high tide of socialist economic construction, there will be a vigorous flowering of culture. It is undoubtedly essential for our socialist transformation and socialist construction at this stage that we solve in a comprehensive way the many problems regarding intellectuals.

We shall inevitably encounter difficulties of one kind or another in our work relating to intellectuals. But whatever difficulties we may encounter cannot prove more formidable than those attending our transformation of some 500 million peasants and of the capitalist industrialists and merchants of the entire country; they cannot prove more formidable than the difficulties attending the execution of our First Five-Year Plan. In the last six years, our Party has won tremendous successes in leading the intellectuals and in guiding all scientific and cultural activities. We are now more experienced and resourceful than before, and, on the basis of past experience, our Party will undoubtedly be able to lead intellectuals to win new and greater victories in science and culture. The idea that our Party is incapable of leading intellectuals to develop scientific and cultural undertakings is utterly groundless.

The point is that we must prove ourselves apt students. Various departments and various local organizations must learn how to provide more effective leadership for intellectuals as well as for scientific and cultural undertakings. We must not imagine that just because we are Communists we have some heaven-sent ability to lead intellectuals in the work of cultural construction, and that it is impossible for us to make any mistakes. Such a view is extremely dangerous. And it is precisely such arrogance on the part of certain comrades in certain places that has damaged our Party's work. Whatever problem we tackle, we must be honest. "When you know a thing, say so; and when you don't, admit it." We must on no account pretend to understand something of which we know nothing at all; but it is essential that we transform our ignorance into understanding. Our Party must train a large number of cadres expert in the different branches of science and cultural affairs. This we can certainly do, if we make up our minds to study intensively.

Many of the tasks mentioned in this report will have to be solved in a centralized manner by the central authority. For this, we propose the following division of responsibility:

Insofar as they call for single management in line with specific regulations, all administrative matters affecting intellectuals will be handled by a Bureau for Chinese Experts to be set up under the State Council. Prior to the establishment of this bureau, however, the various departments concerned should immediately set about solving all the problems relating to intellectuals, in conformity with the directives of the central authority. And even after this body is formed, they should not ignore any problem which falls directly within their sphere of responsibility. This

is because the Bureau for Chinese Experts is, in general, to be responsible only for solving those problems which cannot well be tackled by any single organization. So far as administrative work affecting the higher intellectuals is concerned, the bureau is to be responsible for unified planning, readjustments, checking and supervision. It will have the right, in accordance with specified procedure, to rectify inappropriate decisions made by the various departments in matters concerning highly skilled intellectuals.

As for the different political problems involving intellectuals, their further ideological remoulding and the treatment of counter-revolutionaries found in their ranks, these matters should also be handled directly by the various departments concerned, under the unified supervision of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. It is the duty of the Propaganda Department to carry out constant checks into the manner in which the Central Committee's policy towards intellectuals is being implemented by the various departments and local bodies; to examine their plans and see how these are being put into practice; to help them overcome the shortcomings in their work; to popularize the advanced experience gained; and to raise questions or present proposals to the Central Committee in good time.

The Organization Department of the Central Committee will be responsible for matters with regard to recruiting intellectuals into the Party. The United Front Department of the Central Committee will be responsible for the work among intellectuals belonging to the various democratic parties. As to the trade union work affecting intellectuals who are trade union members, this will be left to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. When decisions are to be made on important matters falling within their respective prov-

inces, however, these organizations should keep in touch with the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

In order to strengthen our leadership, and to settle and check up on all matters relating to intellectuals, the Party committees at various levels and the many departments concerned should appoint appropriate bodies to shoulder the responsibility of constantly attending to this work; and they should at regular intervals call meetings devoted to specific subjects, so that experience may be exchanged between the various departments, and their work may be continuously improved.

Comrades! We are convinced that through our work intellectuals will rally still more closely around the Party and contribute more and more to our great cause of socialism. As our work proceeds, the alliance forged between the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the whole country in the course of socialist construction will become stronger and more powerful with each passing day. Relying on this alliance, we shall surely be able to build our country, before too long, into a great, industrialized, socialist country, entirely modern, prosperous and powerful. Before too long, we shall surely change into realities the stirring words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "We shall take our place in the world as a nation with an advanced civilization."