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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 2/81)

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PARTY AND STATE

SLOGAN 'STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM' CALLED INCORRECT

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 10 Mar 81 pp 1-2

[Article by He Jin [0149 0284]: "On the So-Called 'Strive for Democracy and Strive for Freedom'"]

[Text] It is necessary to improve and develop the socialist democratic system. To this end, the broad masses of people under the CCP leadership are required to uphold the four basic principles, give full play to their creative spirit as masters of their own country, and work together to build a socialist democracy that meets the needs of our nation. This absolutely does not mean a "struggle for democracy and freedom" waged by someone against someone else. If we view ourselves as masters of our own country rather than as third observers and if we resolutely uphold party leadership and treasure the current political situation of stability and unity, we will neither approve nor appreciate the slogan: "Struggle for democracy and for freedom," which reflects the erroneous tendency of a small number of people attempting to abandon and weaken party leadership. This is something that deserves our attention.

Amid the clarion call for upholding the four basic principles, developing socialist democracy, strengthening the socialist legal system, and bringing about greater political stability, occasionally we have heard another slogan entitled "strive for democracy and strive for freedom." This slogan has become popular with a small number of people. But some youths without political experience have been bewildered by this slogan. Since a slogan represents an idea that can affect people's action, we cannot ignore it. Some necessary ideological work must be carried out to advise them of this matter.

How To Treat Freedom and Democracy

This is an old topic of discussion dating back over a century to the days of the famous polemics between Marx and Bakunin and between Lenin and Kautsky. But today it has asserted itself in a new way. Experience tells people that every declaration, program and slogan must be assessed in terms of their substance rather than in terms of their beautiful language. Historically, the bourgeoisie always called their democracy something for all people and interpreted their freedom in absolute

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terms. The proletariat, however, always evaluate historical facts as they existed and want to tell people the truth that democracy is for classes rather than for all people, and that freedom is relative rather than absolute. This shows that the slogans "democracy" and "freedom" used by the bourgeoisie differ in content and nature from the same slogans used by the proletariat.

It was these slogans, "democracy" and "freedom," that were used by the bourgeoisie to overthrow the feudal system, establish democratic countries and cause capital to dominate in these countries. It was through this historical process that the bourgeoisie won democracy and freedom. But "under the capitalist system, as a matter of rule, the laboring masses cannot truly enjoy democracy." (Lenin: "The Third International and Its Historical Status") The freedom won by the bourgeoisie was a freedom of capital or freedom for capital to exploit labor. The laborers can only enjoy freedom to sell their labor "until their labor power is exhausted." (Marx: "Das Kapital" Vol 1, p 159) Has this historical fact, which was proven true long ago by Marxism-Leninism, changed today? Some individuals have observed that today this situation has undergone radical changes as a result of the rapid development of capitalist material civilization and of the bourgeoisie implementing a policy of winning the members of the proletariat over to their side. Actually, this only touches the surface of the matter. The hypothetical nature of bourgeois democracy and freedom is underscored by the capitalist system of private ownership. "As long as private ownership of land and the means of production continues to exist, the terms 'freedom' and 'equality' in the bourgeois system and democracy will exist in form only. As a matter of fact, they are only tools in the implementation of a slave-hiring system imposed on workers (who are nominally free and equal), and tools for the capitalist dictatorship and for capital to exploit labor." (Lenin: Preface to the publication "On the Use of Freedom and Equality To Deceive People.") This situation essentially remains unchanged.

In the struggle for their own liberation, the proletariat have also used the slogans "democracy" and "freedom." Yet even when the proletariat had to go along with the bourgeoisie for a while in order to meet the requirements for struggle during the historical period of the democratic revolution, they never intended to mix their own slogans with the "democracy" and "freedom" slogans used by the bourgeoisie. The proletariat believe that "democracy" and "freedom" in a class society have a class nature; as a form of state and part of the superstructure, democracy must coexist with the socioeconomic base; democracy cannot exist in isolation, in a vacuum. For this reason, during the revolutionary struggle the proletariat have never used democracy and freedom as a general, common slogan but as a slogan bearing a specific historical mission to fulfill a specific objective under a specific historical condition.

During the democratic revolution, the Chinese proletariat and people enjoyed no democratic rights at all, because they were suppressed at the bottom of the three big mountains--feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat-capitalism. During this period, the struggle for democracy and freedom meant capturing political power, smashing the old state organs by means of violent revolution, nullifying the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation, and winning democratic rights for the people. Today we have established a socialist power in our country. Now the "struggle for democracy and struggle for freedom" slogan is in the air again. What form of democracy and freedom are the people struggling for? After singling out

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certain phenomena in capitalist countries and comparing them with their counterparts in our country, some individuals said: Our socialist country is trailing behind capitalist countries in developing democracy and therefore it must undergo a full-scale process of developing bourgeois democracy. Is this opinion correct? Obviously, it is extremely wrong.

In contrast to the most "democratic" capitalist countries, our socialist system is essentially the most extensive people's democracy. Of course, we still have a gap to be filled and reforms to be carried out in the direction of developing socialist democracy. Essentially, our socialist democracy is based on the socialist system of public ownership. This factor determines that our laboring people are masters of their own society and underscores the extensive nature of our socialist democracy. As a result of the implementation of the socialist system of public ownership, exploitation has been eliminated; people like Huang Shiren [7806 0013 0088] and Mu Renzhi [4476 0088 2535] have disappeared from the countryside, along with such characters as Yang Bailao [2799 4101 0525] and Xi Erh [0823 9756]; because millionaires no longer exist in the cities, human tragedies such as those that occurred in "Santiaoshi" in Tianyin have not been repeated elsewhere. The laboring people have won basic rights free from exploitation while enjoying the right to be masters of their country. Despite the constant improvements in the bourgeois democratic system over the past 2 centuries, in the final analysis, it remains a dictatorship imposed by a small number of bourgeois elements. Under such a dictatorship, laborers are nothing more than a tool for creating surplus value for capitalists. Although the bourgeoisie have a variety of systems, including elections, parliamentary and multiparty systems, they are at best nothing more than devices in the hands of the capitalist authority. The capitalist system of private ownership rules out the possibility that bourgeois democracy can become a perfect democracy for the majority of the people. When the power structure is dominated by capital and when human value is measured by money, so-called democracy, freedom and human rights are in the end nothing more than a scrap of paper in the eyes of the proletariat. If anyone forgets this point, he disqualifies himself as a student of the most elementary sociology and history. Those who envy bourgeois democracy have expressed the hope that it will be permitted to grow fully in our country. Does this thinking sound correct? Do we still have to roll back the clock and allow the bourgeoisie to enjoy full-scale democracy and place the proletariat and the laboring people in danger of being exploited and oppressed again as they suffered in the past?

What Should Be Relied Upon To Perfect and Develop Socialist Democracy?

Without people's democracy, there would be no socialism. Undoubtedly, how to strengthen socialist democracy remains an important question that needs to be answered on a continuing basis. Today our socialist democratic system is still not perfect and needs to be improved because it is full of loopholes. We must get rid of the heavy burdens left behind by the old system, improve and develop socialist democracy, and learn to correctly apply the democratic power to manage our country. But this is a process that takes time to complete. Because political forces of different persuasions place different demands on democracy, socialist democracy will certainly collide with various erroneous trends of thought. Because of this, in the course of its development, our socialist democracy has suffering setbacks. Tendencies of overconcentration of power and anarchism have

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appeared in our country. It is particularly noteworthy that when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were in the heyday of their power, our socialist democracy suffered serious setbacks. Today our democratic system remains ineffective in preventing the growth of bureaucracy, patriarchal workstyle, special privileges and other bad workstyles among the state organs and cadres in our country from the position of overseers. Nor can it play an effective role in protecting the broad masses of laboring people and in dealing blows to enemy elements. These are problems that deserve our attention and conscientious efforts to seek solution.

But today we face the challenge of how to play a leading role in perfecting and developing the socialist democratic system rather than how to "struggle for democracy and freedom."

First, we must realize that in our country the political power and the means of production are in the control of the laboring people, and the principle that all power must be vested in the laboring people has been firmly established; our constitution guarantees democratic rights for the people. Today, the problem that needs to be solved is how the people's democratic rights can be effectively protected, how the people can correctly exercise their democratic power and how can they make it function normally in society.

In order to solve this problem, the broad masses of people under the leadership of the CCP must uphold the four basic principles and display the creative spirit of masters of their own country in the common endeavor to build a socialist democracy that meets the needs of our nation. It is absolutely not a "struggle for democracy and freedom" waged by someone against someone else. We will neither endorse nor appreciate this slogan "struggle for democracy and freedom" if we join the laboring people in protecting and defending party leadership, in preserving the political situation of stability and unity, and if we regard ourselves as masters of our own country rather than outsiders or third observers.

Some people say that the "struggle for democracy and freedom" is necessary, because "a bureaucratic class" exists in our country. We must oppose bureaucracy as we consistently opposed it in the past. We must criticize, educate, and carry out the necessary struggle against those leaders strongly affected by the bureaucratic workstyle. But the allegation that "a bureaucratic class exists in our country" is inconsistent with the facts and is too sensational. The bureaucratic style must be analyzed from the proletarian point of view. The bureaucracy that has appeared in our socialist society is extremely different in nature from the bureaucratic system that exists in society under the rule of the exploiting classes, because it does not originate from the socialist political and economic systems. It dates back several thousand years. It appeared in feudal society and continues to grow in capitalist countries. Therefore, it cannot be completely eliminated from our socialist country in short order. It must be pointed out that bureaucracy and feudalism under the socialist system differ in nature from the bureaucratic system in capitalist countries, and therefore should be overcome with different methods. Bureaucracy essentially cannot be separated from the system of private ownership. In societies of private ownership, bureaucracy is bound to grow in the superstructure, and therefore the problem of bureaucracy cannot be overcome by implementing new regulations under the system of private ownership. Under the

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socialist system, bureaucracy is associated with the forces of old habits, old ideas and old workstyles. Basically, the socialist system of public ownership cannot coexist with bureaucracy. As long as we uphold the four basic principles, the "bureaucratic class" is unlikely to emerge. Under socialism, bureaucracy can be gradually eliminated and overcome through constant efforts to improve and perfect our systems and through criticism and self-criticism. This shows that under the capitalist system opposition to the bureaucratic rule refers to the necessity of overthrowing a political power in order to win democratic rights or political ruling power for the people and the necessity of changing the capitalist system completely, while under the socialist system opposition to bureaucracy refers to the necessity of eliminating the old ideas and influence, improving the leadership method, carrying forward socialist democracy, building up political power, and reforming and developing the socialist leadership system in a specific way. Since these two issues differ in nature, how can they be integrated into a single subject? True, bureaucracy, patriarchal workstyle, special privileges for cadres, and other bad lifestyles still exist in our country, and violation of the people's democratic rights by some units in specific debates over certain issues is still possible. Despite this, experience shows that they are essentially not tolerable in the socialist system. In the final analysis, they represent only a partial picture of our society. It is certain that our socialist system can play a decisive role in overcoming such ugly phenomena and in guiding our country to move in the direction of a broad-based democracy. Should we tear down a building in order to eradicate rats? It is certainly unnecessary. However, "struggle for democracy and freedom" is a slogan that does not inspire the people to think out problems in this way. This slogan has also inspired the people to ignore the basic differences between socialism and capitalism, and to advocate the adoption of an erroneous measure against the party and state. For this reason, we must rule out the possibility that the problems in developing socialist democracy and in overcoming bureaucracy can be correctly solved under this slogan, which may cause the situation to change from bad to worse.

An Erroneous Tendency To Get Rid of Party Leadership

The "struggle for democracy and freedom" reflects an erroneous tendency of a small number of people attempting to get rid of party leadership. This is something that deserves our attention.

The CCP represents the interests of the Chinese proletariat and is a leading body serving the cause of the Chinese revolution. Socialist modernization and socialist democratization cannot proceed without communist party leadership. Without party leadership, the four modernizations program might deviate from the socialist course; any democracy divorced from party leadership cannot possibly become a socialist democracy. True, the road that has been traversed by our party is not a straight one. It has scored successes and made mistakes. Such mistakes have resulted mainly from the implementation of the "leftist" guiding thought, which has caused our party's prestige to drop. But we must adopt a materialist attitude in this connection so that we can sum up experiences and lessons, eliminate the "leftist" ideological influence, and strengthen and improve party leadership. We should not adopt a negative attitude toward everything. We should not take a gloomy view of the achievements we have scored during the past 31 years since the founding of the PRC, or a skeptical attitude toward the ability of our

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party to lead. Moreover, we should never allow people to use the slogan of democracy and freedom as a device to weaken, abandon, abolish or oppose party leadership. Since the Third Plenum, our party has summed up both the positive and negative aspects of our experiences and lessons since the founding of the PRC and has adopted a policy of "carrying forward socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist system," thus pointing out the correct path for the institutionalization and legalization of socialist democracy, for building a socialist legal system on the basis of socialist democracy and for using the socialist legal system to protect socialist democracy. This policy is entirely correct. Through the implementation of this policy, our party and state have taken the initiative to reform the leadership system and have proposed a series of measures to change the system of substituting the party for the government, for abolishing the cadre life-tenure system, for appointing basic level leaders through election, for extending the direct election of deputies to the people's congresses to the county level, for expanding the power of self-determination delegated to enterprises and production teams, for restoring and improving the trade union congresses, and for expanding and upholding the autonomous power of minority nationalities.

This means that the democratic life in our country has been gradually restored and improved. Those who pay close attention to the objective facts will see that as long as we uphold party leadership and continue to enforce this policy, we can certainly improve our democratic system step by step and enhance the healthy development of political democracy as a strong guarantee for the realization of socialist modernization in our country. In contrast, if we were to abandon party leadership, if we were to permit other individuals and groups to lead us, and if we were to allow them to "fight for democracy and freedom" in this way, what outcome could we expect of such "a struggle"? In that case, could the current hard-won political situation of stability and unity continue to prevail? Could the democratic rights of the broad masses of people be preserved? In that case, in what direction would our society be led? We must guard against those elements who desire to see the world plunge into chaos and who deliberately attempt to take advantage of this erroneous slogan. Democracy and freedom have been viewed by some individuals as a promise of unrestricted and unrestrained movement. Do they want to "struggle" for such unrestricted democracy and freedom? Unrestricted and absolute democracy does not exist in the world. Democracy is a political system which always serves the economic base. Democratization of political life is designed to enhance socialist modernization. Today if we were to dissociate ourselves from the historical mission of socialist modernization, the existence of democracy would become meaningless, democracy itself would lose its purpose, conflict with the basic interests of the laboring people and become a force obstructing social progress. "Absolute freedom" for certain individuals means encroachment on the freedom of others. For this reason, the "absolute freedom" publicized by the bourgeoisie "serves only bilateral or multilateral interests." Since the socialist cause is a collective undertaking of the people in our country, it must embody democracy, centralism, freedom and discipline. Unrestricted freedom means anarchism and extreme individualism, which tend to undermine the political situation of stability and unity and dim the prospect for the smooth development of socialism.

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To realize socialist modernization, we must uphold the four basic principles under the party leadership as a prerequisite for improving the socialist democratic system, and develop a political situation characterized by centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of wills, happiness and liveliness. No one can disregard party leadership and the four basic principles in the "struggle for democracy and freedom." To do so would make it extremely difficult to carry out the further readjustment of the economy and to bring about greater political stability.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE AFFIRMS SOCIALISM IS 'ONLY CORRECT PATH'

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 10 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Zhiyin [6424 4249 7299]: "Where Are the Differences?"]

[Text] In recent days, we have frequently been perplexed by a number of seemingly shallow questions. For example:

Comparatively, which era is closer to the ideal socialist society: the era before liberation or the era after liberation?

Again comparatively, in which era would the people feel it to be more difficult to realize the ideal socialist society: the era before or the era after liberation?

It is certain that no 7- or 8-year-old pupil would turn in a blank paper in response to such questions. But what perplexes people is that these questions have become very complicated since they are linked with the reality of the day.

Why were millions upon millions of revolutionary forerunners of the democratic revolution period willing to shed their blood, lay down their lives, advance wave upon wave, and fight heroically in quest of beautiful socialist? (Although there were those who lagged behind, scums and hoodlums among them, countless indomitable heroes performed deeds that moved people to songs and tears!) At that time, socialism--not to mention communism--seemed a goal beyond reach. But in the minds and eyes of the people, it was not too far off. That is why they were willing, without the slightest hesitation, to sacrifice their lives!

Today as we are on the march toward the four modernizations, working out daily routine schedules for building and realizing socialism, why do some people, especially those who claim to know the full truth of human life through exploration--excuse me for pointing them out frankly--suddenly become dismayed and heave a loud sigh of grief to signal that the future is hopeless? (Of course, there are also forward-looking and talented people who constitute the cream of our nation.)

Is it true that life under socialism today is more difficult than when the three big mountains weighed down on the backs of the Chinese people? Through a long period of lingering at the crossroads and hard struggle, the Chinese people, suffering from internal strife and external aggression, have come to understand

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that the socialist road is the only correct path they can choose because all other roads lead to blind alleys; the CCP leadership is the only correct leadership because experimentation by all other political parties and groups failed. Rather than losing their confidence and venting a sigh of grief, the revolutionary people cleansed their wounds and continued to move forward again after suffering from the mass counterrevolutionary massacre of "12 April" 1927.

True, during the 10 years of catastrophe, under the camouflage of the most "revolutionary" slogans, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" peddled the most reactionary trash of feudal fascism, thus completely distorting the good name of socialism. But in cleaning up dirt today, we cannot throw away socialism simply because it was once tarnished by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The ultimate realization of the socialist ideal is a long and difficult process. As a result of experimentation by nearly 1 billion people in our vast country and through their continuing probing, socialism is moving forward step by step toward perfection. But some people feel that today socialism remains far from perfect and therefore is not a cause for which they must fight. This state of mind is a matter of concern to us.

There are also some people who feel that life today is more difficult than yesterday, and seemingly represents a retreat to the society of the 1920's or the 1930's. To them, I want to say that the crux of the problem that affects our stand lies in an answer to the following question: Should we look coldly from the sidelines at everything and point fingers of blame at this and that or should we valiantly join the ranks of people struggling tirelessly to change the features of our country?

"The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work." This remark made by Comrade Mao Zedong in the 1950's can help us analyze these questions. If we as masters of our own country do everything on a solid basis, socialism can become an object that can be reached in the not too distant future and without too much difficulty. Otherwise, if we look at everything coldly from the sidelines and if we hesitate to move forward, we must remember this popular saying: Tasty cookies will never fall into our mouths automatically.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGXI BORDER DEFENSE DIVISION BUILDS FRONTLINE WAR ROOM

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Li Sugui [2621 5685 6311] and Yi Xianli [2496 7359 4539]: "Frontline Companies of a Certain Guangxi Border Defense Division Builds Enemy Forces Study Room; Training and War Preparations Make New Progress; Combat Capabilities Clearly Increased"]

[Text] Delegates to the on-site conference that was recently convened by the Guangzhou Military Command visited the enemy forces study room built by frontline companies of a certain Guangxi border defense division. The room aroused deep interest. The delegates made queries on five topics including 38 cadres and soldiers in two companies, the pattern of activities of the enemy being faced, characteristic tactics, the table of organization and equipment and distinguishing characteristics of the terrain for friend and foe, and opportunities to shout propaganda on the battlefield. Replies to all queries were very good in a 100 percent success rate, and an 87.7 percent excellence rate. The delegates said, "If all the forces knew the enemy and knew themselves this well, they could fight a hundred battles without danger."

This border defense division's frontline company enemy forces study room was built from the lessons of experience gained in self-defense counterattack combat against Vietnam, and with the needs in mind of guarding the border and countering enemy attacks. The study room contains a large quantity of data about the enemy obtained and compiled by cadres and soldiers through various channels such as observation and investigation. There are maps showing enemy deployments that have been plotted with the help of professional units at the divisional and regimental level, maps of defense fortifications, and sand tables used for study of the enemy situation. Cadres and soldiers frequently analyze the enemy situation here and discuss tactics, for new advances in the training and war preparations of companies in the frontline of border defense. Combat capabilities have shown clear improvement, outstandingly fulfilling the combat mission of defending the border and resisting the enemy. Acting in coordination with the militia, since June last year they have smashed eight enemy harrasing attacks, infiltrations, and reconnaissance actions, forcefully striking the enemy.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEW APPLICATIONS OF TRADITIONAL MILITARY TACTICS URGED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Special Commentator: "Need To Develop Traditional Military Tactics. Talk Number 6 on the Triumph of Weakness Over Strength"]

[Text] During the long period of revolutionary struggle, our military forces have developed a set of traditional military tactics whereby the weakly armed can overwhelm a superior enemy. This is a crystallization of blood and fire. Under current historical conditions, these tactics doubtlessly complement the inferior equipment of our forces, and constitute a powerful weapon whereby our forces can triumph over strength from a position of weakness, which history will forever record as its contribution. Right up until the present day its basic principle is still applicable and has lost none of its brilliance.

However, the strengths of military forces change and the rules of war change too. Any military expert possessed of foresight and sagacity will not confine his thinking to the smoke of already expended gunpowder, and even if he looks back at the wars of yesterday, it will be for the purpose of exploring ways to deal with tomorrow's wars. He will aim toward developing and giving form to his tactical vision. Let us look at some generally acknowledged classical views:

"The guiding laws of all warfare develop out of the development of history, and develop out of the development of warfare; nothing is immutable."--Mao Zedong.

"The methods produced by certain situations (meaning warfare--the author) become easily outmoded because situations change unconsciously, but the methods themselves do not change. Theories must, through clear and rational criticism, guard against use of such outmoded methods."--German military theoretician, von Clausewitz.

In conventional warfare, "one must get rid of habitually used methods, and make a thorough study anew. ...if one continues to hold fast to conventions, this can be very dangerous."--French tactician, Andeli Luofeer [phonetic]

The above citations have been made for no purpose other than to explain a principle: As warfare develops, so must conventional tactics develop. This is a major condition in which inferiority can triumph over superiority.

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Take for example, "Concentrate superior manpower to annihilate the enemy one by one," which is a traditional combat principle of our forces. The fighting in which our forces engaged on many fronts north and south for several decades was also done in accordance with this principle. The nub of the 10 great military principles that Comrade Mao Zedong summarized followed this same principle. In future wars against aggression, this principal is likewise applicable. However, we must clearly realize that modern warfare is far different from the warfare of the past, and unless this combat principle is developed and unless new ways of doing things are adopted on the bases of changes that have already occurred in both the enemy and ourselves instead of mechanical application of a principle, victory in battle can by no means be assured. In the concentration of military forces, for example, the present is greatly different from the past. In a situation in which the enemy possesses tanks, armored vehicles, and modern weapons and equipment, superiority means more than a simple comparison of troop strength; it also means a comparison of firepower. In the employment of firepower, one must also give attention to enemy atomic weapon attacks, and achieve dispersal of weapons but a concentration of firepower. In the deployment of troops, in depth echelon dispositions have to be made in order to bolster both the tenacity and flexibility of defensive positions, and to buttress assault strength in an attack. All of this may be said to be a development of the original content of "concentrate superior military forces to wipe out the enemy one by one."

Other examples are close combat and night combat, which are strengths our forces possess for avoiding the enemy in the traditional combat tactics of using inferiority to overwhelm superiority. In future warfare, they will continue to be major techniques whereby we overwhelm the enemy to win victory, and they must be carried on. The problem is that the situation has greatly changed. Unless we keep development in mind and not become bogged down in the close combat of the past in which it was "don't shoot at less than 50 meters," or the night combat rule of "lift your feet high and put them down gently," to match the enemy's highly modernized weapons, great grief is bound to ensue for us. Currently the mobility of major combat protagonists is very great, so for close combat we must study the problem of how to approach the enemy. They have already heavily equipped their military units with night-sighting and illumination devices. In our night fighting, it is necessary, first of all, to have a set of methods for dealing with the enemy's night-sighting devices. Furthermore, our night fighting will henceforth positively not be the small group raids of the past, but rather fairly large tactical movements. Consequently, the problems of coordination of all branches of service for night fighting, and organizational command for continuous fighting both day and night require our conscientious exploration.

Mobile warfare is a traditional form of combat that has been with our forces for several decades. In the past we engaged in mobile warfare by advancing with great strides and by retreating with great strides to constantly change the military situation, to wear down the superior equipped enemy, and bring about numerous combat successes in which inferior strength triumphed over superior strength. In future wars, faced with adversaries whose air and land firepower and mobile capabilities greatly exceed our own, we must look squarely in the face the reality of "not being able to take great strides," and while deciding on the combat principle of mostly positional warfare, we must study some mobile combat methods that rely on positions or not being far from positions. This is an improvement and development of the traditional mobile warfare of the past.

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We have still numerous other traditional tactics, some as large as principles for combat and others as small as precise methods for a particular form of warfare, but none can be applied mechanically in disregard of specific conditions or applied without consideration of changing circumstances. They can only be flexibly employed with attention given to their development. In the words of the famous general Qi Jiguang [2058 4949 0342], who resisted the Japanese, "Study intentions rather than cover tracks."

Since the very first time our forces took up arms and began to fight, combat has been essentially the use of inferior strength against superior strength. This is to say that the enemy's superiority and our inferiority in arms and equipment has been a fact that has continued down to the present, and will continue for a considerable period of time. Moreover, on the warfare track, the disparity between enemy superiority and our own inferiority has not narrowed as history has progressed. For reasons known to all, we have fallen behind in several respects during the past several years, and the disparity between superiority and inferiority in arms and equipment has, to a certain extent, not narrowed but rather increased over the past. This only increases the urgency of our study of the problem of vanquishing superior strength with inferior strength. We do not deny that for a period of time others will own advanced arms and equipment that we do not own, but advanced tactical methods will never be a fixed asset owned by anyone. We are entirely capable of figuring out a series of comparatively advanced tactics to counter the already widened disparity in arms and equipment suited to the wars of the future.

In speaking of exploring tactics suited to wars of the future, we positively are not living in a dream world or conjuring out of thin air, but rather are continuing and developing traditional tactics. A look at continuation and development shows that if continuation is insufficient under present conditions, then development is even more insufficient. Because continuation requires rather less exertion, it contains an element of the ready made, while development, by contrast, requires expenditure of great effort and energy, and even taking certain "risks." Granted that the reasons for this state of affairs are numerous, but one very major one, it is feared, is still the effects of the "two whatevers." This effect permeates every field without regard for military forbidden zones. Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, even though we led discussion of the criteria for truth into the field of military training, this was only a first step after all, and further probing is required. Long habituation to the fetters of power, and the pernicious influence of more than 10 years of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has caused some of our comrades to form a kind of "congealing force" characterized by complacency and conservatism, which we should by no means underestimate. "Use the security of the past," to make traditional tactics into an immutable article is precisely a manifestation of this "congealing force." In the development of our traditional tactics, what we face first is precisely the obstacles of this state of mind. Unless the old navigation channels are dredged, the warships will be unable to brave the winds and waves. Unless the effects of the "two whatevers" are eradicated, there can be no smooth development of traditional tactics either.

Tactics, in more ordinary terms, means ways of coping with enemies. Study of the enemy is a fundamental requirement in our reform of tactics. Therefore, we must

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make every effort to understand better and plumb more deeply our main combat adversaries. We must understand not only their arms and equipment, their table of organization, their general tactical principles and combat methods, but to become even more familiar with their tactical programs and strategic thinking. It is not enough simply to understand their past combat history, but necessary as well to understand the various military exercises that embody their new strategic thinking, deriving therefrom some of the things they are in process of developing. It is not enough only to understand the general pattern with which they might launch a war; it is also necessary to study the methods and patterns of action they would take at different times, in different places, and in launching aggression against different countries. Only in this way can the reform of our tactics conform fairly well with reality and seek truth from facts fairly well. But one fault merits attention, and that is that in the content of study, there is much that is dead and little that is alive; much that is distant and little that is close; much that is general, and little that is specific. Naturally, dead data, the history of distant wars, and general principles and patterns must be understood and known well. This is not difficult. But the living, close, and specific things precisely reflect the new circumstances of our major combat adversaries, and approach the characteristics of modern warfare. These are precisely the things to which we must give concentrated study in our reform of tactics of using inferior strength to overcome superior strength.

When we speak of the need to reform military training, we are speaking in overall terms. Reform of tactics holds a decisive position in the reform of military training. It is the starting point for the reform of training. With the reform of tactics, some of the content, methods, and even requirements of military training will change commensurately in varying degrees, thereby giving impetus to innovation in military training. Thus, it may be said that if reform of tactics is taken in hand one has the important end of things in hand, and the game of training reform will easily come alive.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY CHARACTER, DISCIPLINE STRESSED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81, p 1

[Article by Lu Chengyi [0712 2110 5030] and Feng Langfeng [7458 2597 1496]: "Stress Party Character, Stress Discipline, Stress the Overall Situation, and Stress Zeal; Fine Atmosphere Emerges From Political Discipline Indoctrination of Party Cadres in a Certain Division"]

[Text] A fine atmosphere of stress party character, stress discipline, stress the overall situation, and stress zeal has appeared among party cadres in a certain division of the Beijing Command. This is a heartening outcome of their conduct of indoctrination in political discipline.

After the CCP Committee of this division examined the ideology of party members and cadres in two regiments and divisional units, in mid-December last year, political indoctrination time and party day were combined, and one indoctrination was given to party members and cadres. First of all, party members and cadres were organized for diligent study of "On Various Codes For Political Life in the Party," and regulations contained in the party constitution pertaining to organizing principles, as well as guidance materials written by the division's political department. Leading comrades in the division also personally lectured, illuminating how communist party members must be models in their observation of party discipline. As a result of study, party cadres further defined four points. The first is that communist party members should stress party character; in speech and in actions, they must take the party's position. Second is that communist party members should stress discipline and unswervingly carry out the organizational discipline of "individual subservience to the organization, minority subservience to the majority, lower echelon subservience to higher echelons, and party subservience to the Central Committee." Third is that communist party members should stress the overall situation with individual benefit being subservient to benefit to the party. Fourth is that communist party members should stress zeal, struggling to realize the party's line.

After the party cadres' understanding was heightened, all echelons of CCP committees aroused everybody to launched criticism and self-criticism integrated with practice. Some comrades had not vigorously examined the party's viewpoints, had not made strict political demands on themselves, and had classed themselves with ordinary members of the masses. Some comrades had been weak in their examination of political discipline, had discussed in an offhand manner the party's line, programs, policies and resolutions, or had even begun from the angle of individual advantage, grumbling at slight dissatisfactions and not showing

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understanding of the party's and the country's difficulties. Still other comrades had been negligent in the examination of their own principles, and when encountering words or actions inimical to the welfare of the party, had adopted an attitude of "seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle." Some had listened to and passed on hearsay, and had divulged party secrets. When comrades contrasted their actions with party character and party discipline, they realized that the aforesaid phenomena were not permitted by party discipline, and that they hurt party programs and had to be resolutely overcome.

While this was taking place, division and regimental CCP committees publicized 39 party cadres including the director of the political department of a certain regiment, Zhang Xiaozhong [1728 1321 1813], who had unswervingly carried out the instructions of higher echelons and the decisions of the CCP Committee, and deputy chief of staff of the division, Wang Zhanwen [3769 0594 2429], who had thrown himself wholeheartedly into party work. They also sternly criticized comrades who had violated party discipline, greatly uplifting a healthy atmosphere.

As a result of indoctrination in political discipline, party cadres throughout the division rather well defined the limits between right and wrong. Whenever party members hold dissenting views on party decisions, they may raise them in party meetings, but they may not discuss them in an offhand manner to commit the error of liberalism. Party members may have individual views of their own, and they have the right to state such views to CCP committees at higher echelons all the way up to the Central Committee, but they must strictly observe party discipline, and carry out the party's decisions. Party members may be concerned about their legitimate personal material welfare, but they positively shall not indulge in individualism. All echelons of the party organization and party cadres formulated, in conformity with requirements of political discipline, measures for strengthening party character and for the maintenance of political unanimity with the Central Committee. During the month of January, more than 320 party cadres wrote letters home extolling the party's program of readjustment and current policies. Thirty-two cadres who had earlier requested assignment transfers took the initiative in seeking out leaders to express willingness to submit to arrangements made by organizations. Filled with political enthusiasm, everyone strives to do a good job.

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AIR FORCE EMPHASIZES WRITING OF INVESTIGATION REPORTS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Hu Derong [5170 1795 2837] and Wu Lin [0702 2651]: "Air Force School Leadership Cadres Themselves Act To Write Investigation Reports; Situations, Analyses, and Ways of Solving Problems Give Impetus to Educational Training"]

[Text] The air force headquarters has received a stream of 84 investigative reports written by military and political members of aviation schools and ground schools. These investigative reports provided numerous good experiences and numerous active suggestions on how to further increase the training ability and training quality of air force schools, on how to do a good job of ideological and political work, and on the building of a corps of teachers, on cadre work, on flying safety, aircraft maintenance work, and administration and management.

During the past year, some air force school leadership cadres have probed realities and gone down to the grassroots, energetically encouraging the practice of conducting investigations and studies. Wang Zhongqi [3769 6988 3823], director of a certain flying school has gone down to three flying regiments, and six flying squadrons and theoretical training offices where he has used the methods of going along on flights to make inspections, symposiums to gain understanding, inspection of lesson plans, and inspection through attendance at classes. He conducted investigations of 176 flying instructors and cadres, and of 54 instructors in flying theory, one by one and item after item, and wrote, "Investigative Report on Enhanced Building of an Instructor Corps." The director of a certain flying school, Lei Yutian [7191 7183 3944] wrote, "Investigation of the Training Capacity of the Third Regiment of My School," and "Investigation of Reform of Machine Maintenance at My School." These provided positive ideas and suggestions for command methods to improve training organizations, to increase aircraft utilization rates, to tap potential for various kinds of safeguarding work, and for further improvements in the system of mechanical maintenance. The investigative report written by Teng Yuanxing [7506 0337 5281], director of a certain flying school, titled, "On How to Improve Quality of Fighter Aircraft Special Technical Training," and the investigative report written by Liu Shuzhi [0491 2885 1807], director of a certain flying school, titled, "In Carrying Out the 'Thousand Point System,' Quality Is the Key" provided concrete methods for improving quality of student training. The political commissar of a certain air force preparatory flying school, Hu Feng [5170 6912] conducted an investigation of

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the characteristics of student ideology being received by students today and wrote a report titled, "Study of Student Characteristics To Improve Political Education." Military and political participants personally studied and investigated real problems existing in the work of schools, and wrote investigative reports detailing situations, providing analyses, and containing means for solution, which provided very good impetus to educational training in the schools.

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TRAINING ON REDUCED BUDGET IN AIR FORCE REPORTED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81, p 2

[Article by Yu Kuan [1937 1401 2556 2651]: "When Training Funds Are Cut, How Can Troops Be Trained Well? Airmen of a Certain Division Find A Way Through Scientific Arrangements and Strict Organization"]

[Text] When training funds and material equipment are reduced, how can troops be trained well? The way it was done by airmen in a certain air force division was as follows. They sought a means in the scientific training of troops, organizing every flying day and making fullest use of every flying hour.

This division organized pilots for diligent study of theory, and launched technical study, while at the same time employing ground training devices and various substitute instruments to give simulation training, increased training time and frequency, gave repeated training on difficult points, emphasized frequent training, and solved some problems before taking to the air to lay a fine foundation for proficient flying in the air. The course in night flying at a certain regiment was fairly tough for new airmen. But because the number of times each pilot was trained in training devices on the ground was increased for proficient mastery of the essentials of various data and actions, which overcome technical difficulties, quality of flying in the air could be fully assured. In the past, excessive flying during training was fairly common, but no one in the regiment has done excessive flying since the beginning of training this year, yet tested achievements are excellent.

This division has also given attention to improving organizational planning for training, and has made rational arrangements in training courses, which have increased the utilization rate of every flying day. Formerly the regiment devoted 45 minutes to each of three courses in medium altitude special flight techniques, low altitude special flight techniques, and flights through clouds. Now they have combined the three courses into a single flight requiring only 45 minutes in total. Because actions required for all are related and easily mastered, achievements are rather good. For courses of fair difficulty that have not been fully mastered, they first organize comrades with good technique for make pilot flights to blaze the way, after which they begin general training in order to avoid detours. A certain regiment flew attacks at water level, and close formation flying through clouds during January. As originally planned, the entire regiment was to have done this same training at the same time. But they analyzed pilot technical

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skills and the difficulty of the courses, deciding that simultaneous conduct of the courses offered no real promise of success, and quality could not be assured. So they changed the plan. They first set up four-man test flights by four people to gain experience after which the whole regiment participated, and training was smoothly completed within the allotted time.

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PLA BUILDING OF GANSU MARGINAL LANDS DISCUSSED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 16 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Shi Hanyu [0670 3352 3768] and Guo Huailiang [6753 2037 0081]:
"Building Oases in the Desert; Developing Pastoral Area Production; A Certain
Division Helps Herdsmen of Various Nationalities in Area Where It Is Stationed
to Find Water, Build Forests, Exterminate Rats, and Protect Cattle"]

[Text] A certain division in the Lanzhou Command is helping herdsmen in the area
where it is stationed to build oases in the desert and to develop pastoral area
production.

In the area where this division is stationed sand dunes roll in all directions,
and the Gobi extends as far as the eye can see. The Mongolian, Manchu, Hui, and
Han masses who live here are mostly engaged in cattle herding. To build oases
in the desert, ample water resources are required. During recent years, the
division has invested, all in all, more than 90,000 man days of labor to help
find water and sink wells, build catchments, and construct ditches. They have
now helped the local herdsmen build six large reservoirs, have sunk 13 pump-
driven wells, and have constructed as much as 10,000 meters of aqueducts, so
that the seven livestock industry brigades around the area where the troops are
stationed have sufficient water for the development of forestry and for irrigating
the grasslands.

Encroachment of sand poses a great threat to grasslands. This division actively
organized its troops to plant trees and create forests. Both inside and outside
the barracks they built nurseries. Altogether, they helped communes and brigades
afforest more than 1500 mu, planting more than 1 million trees, and around all
the grasslands of livestock brigades near the places where the division is
stationed, a start has been made in construction of a green shelter forest belt.
Diseases and insect pests are also natural enemies of the grasslands, and in the
spring and autumn seasons, rat infestations are more severe. Annually the forces
organized large numbers of people to help the herdsmen of all nationalities to
spread poison to exterminate the rats. The unit's veterinary medicine office
also frequently sent out prevention and control teams to make a circuit of herd
teams to give treatments. Last year, Zongbielie Commune sustained a fairly
serious natural disaster, and signs of illness occurred in some herds. After
receiving the news, the unit sent out medical personnel to help them protect the
grasslands and to prevent and control illnesses, with the result that this commune
was able to win high livestock output in a disaster year, and the rate of live-
stock on hand increased 19 percent over the bumper year of 1979. The quantity of
livestock, sheep wool and cashmere sold to the state also substantially increased.

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