PRINCIPLES FOR THE CHINA PROGRAM
(Tentative)

The five major but diverse interests of the RF have been carried on for the most part entirely separate from each other. It has long seemed to me desirable to break down the walls of the practically water-tight compartments in which these have been carried on, but thus far it has not been possible to do this in any of the various places in which the RF has been functioning. I believe, however, that it may be possible in the China program to demonstrate the practicability of coordinating these interests in a single objective to which each would make its distinctive contribution but in which there would be a certain uniformity of approach and method, which would increase the effectiveness and significance of the contribution of the RF to "human welfare".

A program which is to include and coordinate the diverse fields of interest of the RF must of necessity be social-economic in character - no other would be sufficiently inclusive. China seems a particularly suitable field for attempting such a program, first because it is one of the few countries in which the government is itself trying to institute marked social-economic changes, and second because there is a growing group of Chinese leaders in the field of reconstruction who might welcome assistance from the RF and to whose thinking in turn the RF might lend some helpful direction.
The first step in consideration of a China program based on a single social-economic objective is the definition of that objective. I suggest the following definition: the advancement of knowledge through research, education and demonstrated application, for the purpose of solving definite problems which may result in improvement in the conditions of life and of community welfare. Such an objective must resolve itself into specific programs in each social field designed to make available to individuals in the community the advances made in knowledge and to secure utilization of this knowledge for the general good. The attack, in whatever social field, should be the long range one of organization and method. This would of course include short range problems of specific interest and importance, but only insofar as the solution of these problems would contribute to the success of the more comprehensive long range problems. In medicine, for example, the problem of prime importance would be that of organization and methods of medical protection as a whole. It is believed that an attack in the medical field conceived on such lines would ultimately be more effective in dealing with such individual problems as hookworm and malaria and their control, than have been the specific efforts in the past for their solution. In other social fields the same principle would be applicable.

Experience has shown that, in general, the development and progress of any single social function is dependent on the extent to which other social functions are concurrently developed. The first point to keep in mind in a social-economic program is, therefore, the importance of the simultaneous development of its various constituent elements and of the integration in organization and methods of each major social field.
There are four fundamental factors involved in setting up and developing any social function: funds, personnel, organization and methods. The most important of these is organization, since methods and personnel are dependent on the type of organization. The problem of funds depends on the existing economic resources of the community in question, and, for that reason, is, to a large extent, determined by circumstances which, for the most part, are not controllable. Although the funds available may affect the quality or the extent of any particular project, the fundamental problem is that of organization. With a soundly conceived organization, methods and personnel may be used to the best advantage within the limits of the existing economic situation. It is, therefore, the question of organization which should receive the most attention.

Bearing in mind the importance of the simultaneous development of the various fields of social endeavor, it becomes necessary next to bring the unorganized fields in line with those principles which have proved to be fundamental in the fields already organized. This involves experimenting to find organization and methods which are practicable within existing economic limitations, until it can be shown that something has been worked out which can be reproduced elsewhere in the nation. To achieve success in this, it is essential that all available resources should be concentrated for the time being, since a scattering of these resources could only bring ineffectual and unimportant results.

Since it is the purpose of the projected social-economic program, while including a variety of elements, to demonstrate the strength of a unified front, it is important that the experiments
in organization and methods in the individual fields should be carried on in the same region, so that eventually there may be a demonstration in a single area of the essential interdependence of the various social functions and of their effective coordination for the good of the community. This would centralize also all the training of personnel for the various social fields.

The statement of these principles leads to the immediately practical question of how they are to be applied in considering requests for collaboration from the RF. It is suggested that any request be examined as follows:

1. Does the request contribute to demonstration of community organization that may have nationwide reduplication?

2. Does it contribute anything to the development of methods for bringing new knowledge to the community and providing for its utilization by individuals.

3. Does it contribute anything to the training of personnel in these methods and to placing them in strategic positions in the community and nation?

4. Is this activity coordinated with similar attacks in other social fields?

Ordinarily requests which do not meet at least one of these questions affirmatively should be refused. There should be a single exception - when the request has political implications of importance. Such exceptions should be made only after the most careful consideration, but since the general viewpoint being presented is a new one, and since its success depends upon educating national leaders to its acceptance and support, it may be necessary from time to time to support certain short range prob-
lems in which individual leaders are interested for the sake of possible future national support for the projected long range attack.

In general, support will be given chiefly to projects which have government connections. This is because any widespread extension of social-economic principles must be governmental even though principles and activities may often be initiated under private auspices. Support to a private organization would be given only if there was no corresponding government organization to undertake the same activity, or if the private organization was participating on behalf of the government.

Support to any project must further be largely determined by two factors, first the intrinsic soundness of the project itself, and second the availability of proper leadership. No matter how sound a project may be, it cannot go very far until it has suitable leadership, and in China unless that leadership is Chinese. In the long run, it will probably be wise to suspend a project until a leader is trained for it, rather than to attempt it with inadequate direction.

Universities are of importance in a social-economic program insofar as they are of assistance in developing methods of attack or in training personnel. Assistance to universities, therefore, should be limited to institutions which are doing one or the other of these things in a way which is putting at the disposal of the community the methods when developed and the personnel when trained.

The selection of a group of friendly and influential Chinese to serve as an informal advisory body without whose advice
no important action would be taken, is suggested as of great potential value in the choice of projects to support. Not only would their opinions be of real assistance, but they would provide a buffer of Chinese leadership which might prove most useful in case of ignorant adverse criticism. At the same time such a group of men whose own work is not actually in the social field would become educated in social problems. The composition of this group of advisers would vary from time to time.

Having laid down the principles on which the China program might be based, and having determined the way in which these principles would be applied to the practical problem of considering requests for collaboration, the next step should be a survey and analysis of each field to show how far these principles are already at work and what Chinese leaders are available. On the basis of such a survey definite projects could be initiated or supported.

Such a survey should result in the definition for each field of the fundamental governing principles, and in the recognition of those principles which are common to all social-economic fields. Acceptance of these common principles by leaders in the individual fields would inevitably lead to a coordination of leadership - the logical beginning for China of a planned society and the realization of the hope expressed by the Committee on Appraisal that the various activities of the RF might be coordinated.