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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

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No 4, 16 FEBRUARY 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal RED FLAG of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

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OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION IS CONDUCTIVE TO IMPLEMENTING THE 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' POLICY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has been put forth for more than 30 years. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who first made a systematic and brilliant exposition of this policy. He affirmed that it "is a policy for promoting progress in the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our country." He also set some political criteria for judging right and wrong of words and deeds in implementing this policy, and of these criteria, "the most important points are the socialist road and the party's leadership." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party central leadership has scientifically summed up the positive and negative historical experience and has repeatedly reiterated the necessity of carrying out the "double hundred" policy, which should better serve the party's general task in the new period and play a positive role in the socialist modernization cause. Over the past more than 30 years, although the implementation of the "double hundred" policy was disrupted by both "leftist" and rightist mistakes and underwent many twists and turns, its correctness has still been fully proved by practice.

The "double hundred" policy, like other policies of our party, serves the interests of the people and the development of the socialist cause. Adherence to the four cardinal principles is the foundation for building and governing our country, because the four cardinal principles represent the fundamental interests of our people and provide the fundamental guarantee for the development of the socialist cause. Therefore, all of our party's policies must be based on the four cardinal principles, and the "double hundred" policy is no exception. However, the trend of bourgeois liberalization negates and opposes the four cardinal principles and holds that China should take the capitalist road. In the past, many comrades might not have realized this problem. Now, from the exposed speeches of Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and Liu Binyan, we can clearly see that their real purpose was not to implement the "double hundred" policy and develop socialist science and art, but was to distort and change the "double hundred" policy into a policy serving bourgeois liberalization and their purpose of turning China into a capitalist country.

The only purpose of opposing bourgeois liberalization is to implement the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in an all-round way and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This struggle must be strictly limited to inside the party and should be focused on the political and ideological field to resolve the issues concerning the fundamental political principle and political orientation. The spearhead of the struggle should be directed at the erroneous trend of thought that tried to shake off the Communist Party's leadership and negate the socialist road. The struggle should not be linked to scientific and technological research and to explorations of the style and techniques of literature and art. It is expected that through opposing bourgeois liberalization in a clear-cut attitude and resolve the issues concerning the fundamental political principle and political orientation, we will certainly create a stable and united environment and a democratic and harmonious atmosphere which are more favorable to the development of science and culture and will better implement the "double hundred" policy. We will continue to encourage all theoretical and academic workers who are determined to dedicate themselves to the socialist cause to use the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism to boldly study the new situations, new experiences, and new issues in socialist modernization construction, reform, and opening up and to put forth their new ideas and opinions by proceeding from China's concrete conditions. We will make our literature and art flourish, encourage free development of various forms and styles in literary and art creation, and encourage free discussions on different viewpoints in art theory between different schools. When making decisions on relevant policies and plans, we will abide by the principle of democratic centralism. According to the principle specified by the Constitution, we will handle different opinions on academic issues and art through normal discussions, criticisms, and counter criticisms. We should clearly explain to the masses why we must adhere to the four cardinal principles in China if we want to successfully carry out reform, open up to the outside world, and realize the four modernizations and should patiently answer the questions raised by the masses. We should always take positive education as the main means and unite the majority of cadres and the masses, especially the intellectuals. At the same time, we should guard against some people who try to create a tense atmosphere in an attempt to stir up trouble and confuse things.

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SPEECH AT THE ENLARGED CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE (6 FEBRUARY 1962)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 pp 3-12

[Speech by Deng Xiaoping]

[Text] Note by the Document Research Office of the CPC Central Committee:

The enlarged work conference (also known as the "7,000-People Conference") held in Beijing by the CPC Central Committee from 11 January to 7 February 1962 was an important meeting in the history of the CPC after the founding of the PRC. The conference preliminarily summed up the experiences in and lessons on socialist construction since the founding of the PRC, especially since 1958, and carried out criticism and self-criticism. In his speech at the conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping focused on questions of party building, expounded on the great importance of upholding the party's fine traditions, incisively elaborated on the principle of democratic centralism, and pointed out that democratic centralism is the fundamental system of the party and state and is an affair related to the destiny of the party and state, and that it is essential to revive and adhere to democratic centralism throughout the entire party. [note ends]

Comrades:

This conference is a conference of great significance. In his speech, Comrade Liu Shaoqi summed up the experience in the past 12 years since the founding of the PRC, in particular the past 4 years, and put forth the guidelines for future work and the goal of struggle in the coming decade. Comrade Mao Zedong's speech, especially what he said about democratic centralism, is of far-reaching significance for our party and for strengthening the party's leadership and accomplishing our tasks in various fields. I completely agree with Comrade Liu Shaoqi's report and Comrade Mao Zedong's speech.

Now, I want to talk about the question of the party.

In one of the three parts of his report, Comrade Liu Shaoqi discussed the question of the party. I want to pursue this point further.

Our party won the victory of the revolution and is the party leading the government of the whole country. Our party, as we have always said, is a glorious, great, and correct party and is worthy of the name of a Marxist-Leninist party. Our party must hold high the anti-imperialist banner, the banner of revolution, and the banner of proletarian internationalism in the international sphere. At the same time, we have always held high the banner of safeguarding world peace. Whether our party can perform its duties in the international sphere is, in the final analysis, determined first of all by whether we can do our work well in our country. On the other hand, doing a good job of domestic construction and doing well the work in various fields in our country is first of all preconditioned by our party's leadership.

Is our party capable of shouldering its unshirkable international duties?  
Is our party capable of leading the work in various fields in our country?  
I think the overwhelming majority of the comrades in our party will say yes.

In my opinion, our party has five superiorities, or five good points.

First, it has a good guiding ideology. That is, it has the guiding ideology represented by Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the thinking that integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. This thinking has been proved good by history. The Chinese revolution has been led to victory by Mao Zedong Thought, and not by any other thinking. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, it is precisely under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought that our socialist construction has won such great achievements and is continuing to advance in triumph.

Second, it has a good Central Committee, which is headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. History in the past 27 years since the Zunyi Conference in January 1935 has shown that our party's Central Committee is a good Central Committee. Some comrades may ask: Doesn't the party Central Committee also have shortcomings and make mistakes? Didn't Comrade Liu Shaoqi say in his report that the party Central Committee is chiefly responsible for the shortcomings and mistakes in our work over the past few years? How should this point be explained? In my opinion, no Central Committee is free from shortcomings and mistakes. The question is whether we solemnly and seriously look at the questions and handle them in the manner of seeking truth from facts. That our Central Committee is good, as I have said, can be seen from this conference. In this conference, our Central Committee has adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism in seriously summing up experiences, carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and carrying forward the achievements, and correcting the mistakes. Acting in this way, as Lenin said, is an indication of a prudent party. Our party is up to this standard. In his report, Comrade Liu Shaoqi concentrated on discussing the questions in our work over the past few years, especially the numerous shortcomings and mistakes, making criticism and self-criticism, and summing up experiences. It is not easy to act in this way. It is precisely because we dare to look at the questions solemnly and seriously, to handle the questions in a manner of seeking truth from facts, and to point out the rights and wrongs that



I say our party is up to the standard specified by Lenin and our Central Committee is a good one.

Third, it has a large number of good backbone elements, including a large group of new activists. At present, about 70 to 80 percent of our party members are persons who joined the party after the nationwide liberation. However, these party members distinguished themselves in practical struggle. The overwhelming majority of our party members are good.

It should be specially pointed out that the overwhelming majority of our cadres are good and that we have good backbone elements. At present, the majority of the principal backbone elements at and above the county level, as well as at and above the regimental level in the Army, have been tempered in prolonged revolutionary struggle. Most of the cadres at the prefectural level joined the party during the initial period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more than 50 percent of the county party committee secretaries joined the party in the middle period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, and of course there is also a group of new cadres. These backbone elements have braved the storm and are very valuable. Now, our cadres have had another 12 years' experience in socialist revolution and construction, including positive and negative experiences. The positive experiences are very important; so are the negative experiences. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said in his report that we are better "immunized" once we have acquired negative experiences. Our cadres have been tempered in the past revolutionary struggles and have gained 12 years' experience in construction. They are our party's good backbone elements.

Fourth, it has fine traditions and fine work style. The fine traditions and work style of our party are, as epitomized by Comrade Mao Zedong, the work style of integrating theory with practice, the work style of maintaining links with the masses, and the work style of making self-criticism (and making criticism, of course). They can boil down to the work style of seeking truth from facts, as mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Our party has another tradition. That is, it has ideals and aspirations and shows no fear of "devils." Of course, we should say this tradition dates back to the time of Marx. Our party always has ideals and aspirations and shows no fear of "devils." Some of our ideas and methods over the past few years have not been practical, but we should not lose our ideals and aspirations and fear the "devils" only because these ideas and methods have been criticized. For example, we nervously regard ropes as snakes only because we have some shortcomings and make some mistakes in our work. There are now various kinds of "devils," one of which may be the "devil" of diffidence. The whole party should guard against this "devil." We must still have ideals and aspirations and do our work well. We believe that we can overcome our shortcomings, correct our mistakes, and do our work well.

We have still another tradition, that is, a perfect system of party life. Under Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership, especially since the Zunyi Conference, our party has set up a perfect system of party life. For instance, democratic centralism; the method of unity-criticism-unity; the policies of blaming not

the speaker but being warned by his words and of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient; the method of stern criticism but lenient punishment, and refraining from overheated struggle and merciless attack; the style of hard work, plain living, humility, and prudence; and so forth. These are our party's rules and regulations as consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. We should say that we have been trying hard to act this way over the past years, except during the period when we made mistakes, as I said before. Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades of the party Central Committee have always emphasized the style of humility and prudence. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed this point in his speech at the eighth national congress of the party.

Of course, our party's fine traditions include more than these. I just cite them as examples.

With these fine traditions, our party has always been consolidated and united and has combat strength.

Fifth, there are good people whose greatest trust is in our party. Our party is a party capable of maintaining close ties with the masses. This is also a fine tradition of our party. The people of our country have high political consciousness. Comrade Mao Zedong cited this example many times: When the Red Army crossed the grassland, the first thing the cook comrade did in the morning was to ask whether we would go north or south, rather than ask for rice for cooking. Whether we would go north or south was the most important question of our strategy at that time. This showed that the fighters of our Army were concerned about the strategy.

Our people understand the meaning of taking the interests of the whole into consideration. They have ideals and they do not lose confidence. They know that during the war of the agrarian revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japan, and the Liberation War, the people gave everything they had in support of the Army. Over the past year, as long as we really relied on the people and clearly explained the reasons to them, the people, whether they were workers, peasants, intellectuals, or even patriotic democrats, would have the cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account and believe that it is right to follow the party.

Of course, it must be pointed out that over the past few years some of our comrades have abused the people's trust in the party and the party's prestige, thereby arousing the discontent of the masses. However, when we have made mistakes of one sort or another, the masses may think this way: The Communist Party has gone. When we have corrected our mistakes, the masses will say: The Communist Party has come back. These are very good people. There is absolutely no reason why we should not rely on the people and follow the line of the masses.

My remarks above are a general assessment of our party. To repeat, our party has five good points: good guiding ideology, a good center, a large number of good backbone elements, good traditions, and good people who trust the party. Since a party of this kind is able to lead the people to win victory

in revolution, it will certainly also be able to lead them to victory in socialist construction; and since it can make a success of domestic work, it will also be able to shoulder its rightful burden in the international communist movement.

It should be pointed out that there have been serious shortcomings in party leadership and party work in recent years. What is particularly important is that the party's fine traditions have been weakened; in other places the situation is a bit better. As far as the party as a whole is concerned, there is a considerable degree of weakening. We would prefer to stress the seriousness of this problem in assessing it, to arouse the vigilance of the whole party. It is essential to emphatically point this out because in recent years many comrades have been busy in specific work and have not discussed party issues much or paid much attention to party building.

Why have our party's fine traditions been weakened? There are many reasons. I hold that the primary reason is that many comrades have not done enough study or acquired enough knowledge of Mao Zedong Thought. In recent years, we have not paid much attention to investigation and study, and as a result certain tasks that are proposed often fail to seek truth from facts, while many slogans raised are unrealistic. Excessive targets and impatient demands are set, and there is also a number of inappropriate "big efforts." These things have hit at many of our fine traditions. The weakening of many fine traditions in turn makes the shortcomings and mistakes in work more serious.

Second, a number of deviations have occurred in the inner-party struggle in recent years. Such a situation has occurred both in opposing "leftism" and in opposing rightism. The comrades have also raised this issue in the discussions at this conference. It is a fact that certain deviations have occurred during several campaigns, which have harmed large numbers of cadres inside and outside the party. Of course, it is necessary to struggle against and punish degenerate elements. What we are speaking of is the harm done to a number of cadres who should not have been harmed. Due to the effect of these deviations, many of our party's fine traditions have been weakened. For instance, seeking truth from facts and speaking honestly was originally a fine tradition of the party; however, due to various reasons, such as failure to implement democratic centralism and excessive fierceness in waging struggle in the campaigns, a bad atmosphere has developed in the party in recent years in which people do not report conditions as they are and are scared to speak honestly. It is bad to deliberately send in false reports. It is also bad to be scared of speaking honestly, even though there are many reasons for it, but it is not the same as sending in false reports.

In recent years, many comrades have not done enough in persevering in the party's fine traditions. In particular, neglect of and damage to the three fine traditions of seeking truth from facts, following the mass line, and practicing democratic centralism has done very great harm to our work. The whole party must pay serious attention to this.

We must now revive, strengthen, and carry forward the party's fine traditions. The problem today is by no means one of establishing a new Constitution. We had the Constitution long ago. As I said above, since the Zunyi Conference we have set up a set of systems for party life and established a set of fine traditions and work styles. We must seriously revive and carry forward these fine systems, traditions, and work styles. We should say it is not too difficult to achieve this. The great majority of the comrades present are familiar with these fine systems and traditions. Everyone should review and examine things and revive and carry forward those fine systems, traditions, and work styles. It is particularly important that the comrades present at this meeting succeed in this. This is because nearly all of them are "squad leaders" or "deputy squad leaders" from various places and departments throughout the country, and they have a major impact on the work of the entire party.

Persevering in the party's fine traditions and work styles is of extremely important significance, because ours is a ruling party. The special features of a ruling party were clearly explained in the report to the eighth national party congress. It is a matter for rejoicing that our party has become the ruling party. However, it is not easy to function as a ruling party. Having taken power, the party's tasks become heavier, the responsibilities of party members become heavier, and the responsibilities of our leading cadres become heavier. What responsibilities should we shoulder? In the past, we were doing nothing other than making revolution. After winning victory in the revolution, our party assumed rule and power, and then had to shoulder the arduous responsibility of guiding the country onto the socialist road and carrying out construction.

We are now building socialism. The comrades should not think that there is no problem in building socialism. Comrade Liu Shaoqi mentioned that in his report, and Comrade Mao Zedong said in his speech that if things are not done well, and, in particular, if democratic centralism is not practiced well, the party might change its nature, and so might the state and socialism. Cadres and individuals may change their nature.

We need to be all the more careful now that we have taken power. First, we want power, the proletariat also want power, and we cannot allow the power to be taken by the bourgeoisie; Marxist-Leninists want power, and they cannot allow the power to be taken by opportunists. Second, after taking this power, we have to be careful. We should not think that things are easy to do now that we have power, or that we can do what we like. That would inevitably result in doing something bad.

After entering the cities, taking power, and becoming officials, do we still need to act as the people's servants? Comrade Mao Zedong has spoken on this issue many times in the past. We can have two attitudes: 1) acting as officials; and 2) acting as the people's servants. If we are to be the people's servants, and not officials, we should appear as ordinary laborers, treat people as equals, and serve the people wholeheartedly. However, having entered the cities and taken power, the conditions are ripe for becoming officials, and we are most prone to be contaminated by official airs. In

fact, many of our comrades are already contaminated with many such airs. We must therefore pay attention to the special feature of the ruling party every hour of every day. Having understood this special feature, we will be able to pay still more attention to persevering in the party's fine traditions. In this way we can avoid being contaminated by official airs and being divorced from the masses and from reality, ensure that our country upholds the socialist system and in future develops on the communist path, and ensure that our party upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In persevering in the party's fine traditions, apart from investigation and study, seeking truth from facts, keeping in touch with the masses, promptly correcting errors, and so on, we must pay attention to putting party life on a sound basis. This is a most important aspect of persevering in the party's fine traditions. I want to discuss four issues regarding this aspect: 1) The issue of democratic centralism; 2) the issue of establishing regular work; 3) the issue of training and selecting cadres; and 4) the issue of study.

The first issue is democratic centralism. Comrade Mao Zedong has already spoken on this very clearly in his speech. Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of democratic centralism in terms of very high principle, in terms of whether we want socialism or capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is indeed the case that if there is no democracy, there is no centralism; and this centralism must always be on the basis of democracy in order to be truly realized. Without proletarian democracy and centralism, there will be no socialism, and capitalism will be restored. As far as leadership methods are concerned, we can only go to the masses by coming from the masses. If we have centralism without a basis of democracy, we cannot truly come from the masses or go to the masses. If we fail to practice democratic centralism, we will not only be divorced from the masses and from the party-member masses; the upper levels will also be divorced from the lower, and even at the same level there is bound to be a situation in which a few people or an individual are divorced from the majority and act in an arbitrary fashion.

At present there are serious deficiencies in our party life. Of course, there are many reasons for this. The setting of excessive targets and impatient demands in recent years has encouraged decentralization and also commandism. The party's democratic centralism has also been weakened to a great extent. Many things appear in form to be more centralized than in the past, but in fact, the phenomena of decentralization are very serious. In addition, there are many things that appear in form to be more democratic than in the past, but in fact, the phenomena of commandism and of a few people or an individual acting in an arbitrary and despotic fashion are very serious. This conference has proposed that it is necessary to strengthen democratic centralism, bring democracy into play, strengthen centralization and unity, and oppose decentralization. This is very essential and very timely.

Decentralization in work has been rather severe in recent years. The comrades should think about this carefully--what is the real state of unifying the five things--understanding, policies, plans, commands, and actions--on the

basis of concentrating correct opinions? Was there more centralism during the past years of revolutionary war and during the few years after victory, or has there been more centralism in recent years? It should be pointed out that in form there has been much more centralism, in recent years than in the past, but unifying the five things has certainly not been done as well as in the past! That is to say, decentralization has developed.

In coexistence with decentralization, commandism has developed and inner-party democracy has been weakened. Without democracy, there can be no centralism, and hence there can be no unification of understanding and actions. In stressing the strengthening of centralization and unity and opposition to decentralization, we should uphold all the more the principle of democratic centralism. People should not mistakenly think that stressing centralization and unity means that the democracy in democratic centralism can be discarded. We must all the more uphold the democratic aspect of democratic centralism in order to strengthen centralization and unity. With this aspect, centralism has a basis, and true centralization and unity can be achieved. Comrade Mao Zedong has already spoken very clearly on this question in his speech in full session.

In formulating plans in the future, we must be realistic and also leave a margin. In setting tasks in the future, we must not impose too heavy or too rigid tasks. In their discussions the comrades have expressed worry that the tasks set by the central authorities in the future might be too heavy. We vow here that the central authorities will work to ensure that tasks are not too heavy or too rigid. The shortcomings of the central authorities in recent years have mainly been expressed in setting excessively high targets. If plan targets are realistic, and a margin is incorporated, the problem of tasks being too heavy or too rigid will not occur. In formulating plans in the future, we must on the one hand have unified plans, and on the other those plans should include a provision whereby the lower levels can make arrangements in line with specific local realities. In particular, we must do still better in acting in light of local conditions and in bringing the initiative of the localities into play.

In formulating specific policies and resolving problems in the future, while stressing centralization and unity, we should apply still more the method of "from the masses, to the masses" advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Through carrying out investigation and study, we should concentrate the views of the lower levels, formulate a realistic policy and plan, and then go back to the masses to have them implemented. This policy and plan should also be tested in practice. We should also act in this way in resolving specific problems.

In short, in our party and state, we must act in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal and create a political situation in which there is centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unified will and free airing of individual views, with liveliness and vigor. Such a situation must first be created within the party. (Liu Shaoqi: What is meant by aiming high? First, it means aiming high in creating this kind of situation. With such a situation, production and construction can be done a bit more and a bit better.) Our state must also create this kind of situation. However, if it

is not created within the party, it cannot be created within the state. Our party must create this kind of lively and vigorous political situation, and it must have full democracy.

Ours is a united and unified party with combat strength. Without democracy, there can be no centralization and unity; and without centralization and unity, the party has no combat strength. Our party must always maintain centralization and unity. Such a party truly possesses combat strength. However, such a party with unity, discipline, and combat strength can only be built on the basis of democracy and of bringing democracy into full play.

Of course, there have been some losses in these respects in recent years. Now we are again proposing that if mistakes are made they should be corrected, and if good traditions have been upheld they should be revived and carried forward. These traditions are by no means unfamiliar to us. During their discussions, many comrades have called to mind our party life of the past. Since they have called it to mind, this shows that everyone still remembers it; then they should revive it.

In the future, we must revive and carry forward our party's fine traditions. We must establish a correct relationship between party members and the party in accordance with party traditions and the provisions of its Constitution. Party members have the right to raise, within the party and in accordance with organizational principles, criticisms and views regarding the party, work, problems, and the leaders. They also have the right to reserve their opinions. The party Constitution stipulates that before a decision is made on an issue, party members may freely express their views on it at party meetings or in the party press. There are just two things that are forbidden: 1) They are forbidden to fail to carry out party resolutions. If party members have some disagreements with party resolutions, they can put forward their views; and they can demand amendments if they feel there is something incorrect in a resolution. However, the party Constitution stipulates that party members must carry out party resolutions, even though they have the right to reserve their views while carrying them out. They are violating party discipline if they refuse to carry out the resolutions. 2) Factional activities are forbidden. (Mao Zedong: People are not allowed to indulge in factional activities in secret. Are some people allowed to make their disagreements public?) This is permitted by the party Constitution. Everyone can make their views public before a decision is made on an issue; but after a decision is made, it must be resolutely carried out. However, it is also permitted to raise views in the course of carrying out a resolution. Theoretical and academic questions are a different matter, and free discussion is allowed on such issues at all times. Many things have violated the party's democratic principles in recent years, and these should be corrected.

Some comrades are worried that now that Comrade Mao Zedong has spoken and Comrade Liu Shaoqi has delivered a report, who knows if there will be a change after a few years regarding the "three no's" of not grabbing people by their pigtails, not sticking labels on them, and not beating them with clubs? Such a way of thinking is a reflection of the actual conditions of

the past few years, and is understandable. However, although it is understandable, it is still an erroneous way of thinking. We should trust our party's traditions. Of course, some comrades want to look around, and it is all right for them to do so. Did we not say that people are permitted to reserve their opinions? At present certain comrades go no further than writing anonymous letters. Such an action can be called "semiboldness." We recently received some anonymous letters, all of them giving very good views. Why should people write anonymous letters? If one is a party member, why cannot one publicly and solemnly express one's views and change from semibold to being completely bold? All of us should take the lead. So long as we take the lead, this kind of mood can be turned around and our party's fine traditions can be revived and carried forward. If we are now still afraid of this and that and scared of speaking out, it will be impossible to revive our party's old traditions. In particular, the "squad leaders" and "deputy squad leaders" present here should all the more take the lead in reviving the party's old traditions. The central authorities and Comrade Mao Zedong advocate these old traditions, and our party has always had its Constitution; it is just that some damage has been done to them in recent years, and they should and can be rapidly revived. Abnormal phenomena should and can be rapidly put right. Of course, it is necessary to explain things clearly; and for this, it is essential to have democracy in the party.

The attitude of the leading comrades in our party at all levels is very important in truly reviving and carrying forward our party's old traditions. The leading comrades at all levels must do well in listening to opposite and differing opinions; they should listen to the words of honest people and to honest words. This too is our tradition. Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Liu Shaoqi have always advocated this. The central authorities have advocated this for many years now. In their discussions at this meeting, many comrades have said that in the past people could be more casual in putting forward their views, and it was easy to have heart-to-heart talks between comrades. Then that should be revived accordingly. However, this requires that the principal leading comrades at all levels in our party pay attention to this question. The principal party leaders at all levels, especially the "squad leaders" and "deputy squad leaders," should subordinate themselves to and unite with the majority and respect the minority. Comrade Mao Zedong has spoken on innumerable occasions about this in the past, and he has again spoken about it at this meeting. Those who are leaders must always gain the agreement of the majority. Things can then be accomplished easily. We certainly cannot have a situation where one person alone has the say. It is necessary to respect the minority; the opinions of the minority are not necessarily wrong. Even if they are wrong, their opinions will not be isolated. Only by attaching importance to these opinions can we do very well in correcting them and help the comrades to correct their mistakes.

The leaders should also be a bit more broad-minded in their attitude. They must tolerate others, be able to listen to opposing views, treat others as equals, be modest and prudent, and so on.



On what is the prestige of the leading party comrades at all levels, especially the principal leaders, built? It is built on the correctness of their thinking, work, and speech, on their democratic work style, and on the work style of criticism and self-criticism. Leaders cannot do everything 100 percent correctly without the slightest shortcoming or error. The question lies in whether they have the spirit of self-criticism regarding their own shortcomings and errors, whether they allow others to criticize them, and whether they can accept correct criticisms and act on them. If one has made a mistake and speaks up sufficiently about it, and is also able to listen to the critical opinions of others, one will have the initiative and put everyone at ease. Doing this will certainly not damage one's prestige, but can only improve it.

There should be supervision of party leaders at all levels (including all members of party committees). Such supervision comes from several angles, from above, from below (the lower levels), from the masses, and also from party group life. I want to raise this question, everyone should judge whether it is proper not. I feel that the most important supervision of a leader comes from the party committee itself, or from the Secretariat itself, or from the Standing Committee itself. These are small collectives. Certain leading comrades mix themselves in a party group with comrades who are stokers, odd-job men, and so on. Such actions cannot play a proper supervisory role. Of course, in accordance with the provisions of the party Constitution, everyone has to live in a party branch. I think we could place the main group life of the leaders within the orbit of the party committee, of the Secretariat, or of the Standing Committee. Within the party committee, there should be time for heart-to-heart talks, and a good atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism should be truly created there. If comrades of the same level and engaged in the same work hold heart-to-heart talks with each other, this supervisory role may be a bit better. (Liu Shaoqi: We could make a suggestion that the members of the party committees at all levels should have a party life meeting once a month. When the committee meets, criticism and self-criticism should be conducted.) Not necessarily once a month, once in 3 months would also be very good. (Liu Shaoqi: Once a quarter or four times a year would also be good for holding party life meetings. Is such a suggestion feasible? Every party committee, the provincial, prefectural, and the county party committees should hold a quarterly meeting for criticism, self-criticism, for party life.) (Mao Zedong: For checking on work, summing up experiences, and exchanging views.) They should hold heart-to-heart talks, criticize each other, and make their views known. We should attach importance to the question of the role of mutual supervision within the party committees. Things that the upper and lower levels cannot see every day are most familiar to leading members of the same level. This is also very important for discussing problems, gaining identity of views, and making decisions within the same level.

In party life within the party committee, attention should be paid to collective leadership and division of duties. Here, the "squad leader" plays a very important role. For a period of time in the past, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put special emphasis on setting up the core. Later, when the core had basically been set up, they put special

emphasis on how to play the role of the "squad leader." That is to say, it is imperative to set up the core. Without setting up the core, work will be lax and the party committee will be unable to perform its duties well. In this conference, most of the "squad leaders" are to be "checkmated."

This does not mean that the "squad leaders" are not taken seriously. On the contrary, they are taken seriously. That is, the "squad leaders" must do their jobs well. In cases where there is no appropriate "squad leader," effort should be made to train one or someone at the higher level should choose a relatively good one. Once there is a "squad leader," everyone else should help him do his job well. It is not so easy to serve as a "squad leader." He may often meet very difficult problems. No one should think the work of a "squad leader" is very easy. As far as I know, many "squad leaders" are complaining of hardships. A "squad leader" has many things to do, and he should not be expected to handle everything satisfactorily. It seems that he must be pardoned in some cases. Knowing that his work is not easy, a "squad leader" should learn to "play the piano," as Comrade Mao Zedong said at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee. Learning to "play the piano" is no easy job. I am afraid we have to continuously learn. Every day, we must say "we must learn," and we should not say "we have learned it." (Mao Zedong: We have learned it, but we may not know how to do it.) Maybe we do not know how to do it when we meet new conditions, new problems, or new targets and when we come to a new place. It is not so easy to learn to do our jobs. Every day, we must learn to "play the piano" and to conduct a band. A "squad leader" must perform his duties bravely. In some cases, it is necessary for the "squad leader" to assume responsibility and personally handle the problems. How should a matter be settled if you do not come forward to handle it?

Here, it is possible to mainly classify the problems according to different natures: One kind is the routine problems, and the other kind is the major problems or problems of policy and of an important nature. The routine problems have to be handled by a division of duties. It won't do if the first secretary does not give the go-ahead. If every problem has to be discussed in a meeting of the committee or secretariat, then there will be countless meetings. Generally speaking, the first secretary, the second secretary, and other secretaries should divide the work among themselves and give the go-ahead where necessary. However, major problems should be considered according to the situation and brought up to the committee, standing committee, or secretariat for discussion, so that the participants will arrive at common understanding and jointly make a decision. (Mao Zedong: If opinions diverge, the majority rules.)

In short, democratic centralism is the fundamental system of the party and state and is also our traditional system. Upholding and perfecting this traditional system is a very important matter concerning the destinies of our party and state. Anything violating this system must be corrected.

Let me say this once again. At this meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically raised this question. This is of vital significance. Over the past few years, the higher levels did not keep in touch with the lower levels because

we did not uphold democratic centralism well. This is a universal phenomenon of a serious nature. This question has been raised by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his report and by Comrade Mao Zedong in his speech in this conference. We have begun to let the higher and lower levels keep in touch with each other at least in this conference. This is quite good. Of course, many comrades will not be able to get to sleep. Some of them may not get to sleep for at least a couple of days and nights. This is a good phenomenon. They may try to keep in touch with others. The purpose of this conference is to take the lead in keeping in touch with each other and to restore and uphold democratic centralism. We make criticisms and suggestions to the party Central Committee and the provincial committees and express our views for the purpose of letting the higher and lower levels keep in touch with each other and restoring and upholding democratic centralization.

Here, I want to make a general review. In this conference, various groups have criticized the provincial committees or the prefectural and county committees, and the Central Committee should be responsible for many of the problems. Comrade Liu Shaoqi had mentioned this point in his report. The Central Committee has its accounts to keep, and it should hold itself responsible for the problems for which it is chiefly responsible.

Of course, the provincial committee and the prefectural and county committees also have their own accounts to keep and they should keep accounts of the problems for which they are responsible. However, the Central Committee should be responsible for many of these problems. For example, the Central Committee should be responsible for the chain reaction caused by the high quotas (Mao Zedong: The several major campaigns), and for the problems cropping up during the several "big efforts" and big campaigns. Of course, this does not mean that the provincial, prefectural, and county committees are not responsible for the problems arising in the course of carrying out their duties.

What should be done after this conference? The Central Committee has also talked about this question. It holds that, after this conference, "air venting" meetings should not be held everywhere in the country, nor in every province, prefecture, and county. Is it necessary to hold these meetings in some particular localities? Yes, it is likely. (Mao Zedong: In some places and some departments.) These meetings may be necessary in some counties, prefectures, provinces, departments, and units. This question should be handled by the higher level and not by every one. (Mao Zedong: It should be handled in a positive way.) In ordinary areas, democratic centralism should be advocated in a positive way. Of course, in the conference, it is necessary for the leading comrades, who have not carried out their work well over the past few years, to make self-criticism. We had better act on the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's speech. That is to say, the problems can be reviewed several times if once is not enough, and we may drop the topic if the listener does not want to hear any more. We must take the initiative. This is also a positive way of doing things. In short, not every one should hold a meeting "to clear the air." However, such a meeting should be held within the provincial committee, standing committee or secretariat, and among committee members at the prefectural and county levels or of

departments and units, so as to air their views and examine themselves. (Mao Zedong: Let them air their views.) They may air their views as much as they want to. (Mao Zedong: Do not blame those who have aired their views wrongly. You should accept other people's correct criticisms. It is no good either to blame others if their criticisms are wrong.) Not everyone airs his views correctly. It does not matter if he airs his views wrongly. On the one hand, we should not ask others to agree with us when we have aired our views wrongly. On the other hand, we must not ask others to air their views correctly each time. Apart from this, the leading comrades at various levels may hold chats with a few people who hold differing opinions or may be critical about them personally or about their work, so as to examine the party life and leading method of the party committee. Similar positive methods should be adopted to revive our old regulations and traditions.

That is all I want to say about democratic centralism.

The second issue is the establishment of regular work. All work achievements are the results of every little bit of painstaking work that adds up. In his report, Comrade Liu Shaoqi touched on this matter. The mass movement is a way of carrying out the mass line. Whether the mass movement is launched well depends on whether we have laid a proper basis for our regular work. Nothing was published in the press about our involvement with the movement to ban opium and the land reform movement, both on such a large scale. They were taken care of properly on the basis of thoroughgoing and painstaking work. Without thoroughgoing and painstaking work, we could not have performed so well. In the past few years, we have launched many major movements. In almost all cases, the major movement has been taken as the only way of carrying out the mass line. Daily involvement with movements is not good. This results in lots of regular work, and of regular work of various departments, systems and units being squeezed out by endless movements and the practice of "dividing up the work and assigning a part to each individual or group." This work method of "dividing up the work and assigning a part to each individual group" has to do with getting involved with movements, and is not good.

For that matter, we should draw a lesson as learned in the past few years.

For example, neighborhood work in our cities in the past was done quite well. True, in uniting with good people, reforming bad ones and establishing healthy social practices, neighborhood work played a very good role. Work involving women, young people and trade unions and party committee work was all done in a very meticulous manner. But in the past few years, such work has shown great weakness. This is just an example. The same is true of work in various fields. There is no need to go into further details.

In sum, we must establish regular work. Party and mass organizations, the Army, enterprises and organs must establish regular work, as well as regular organizational work and regular propaganda and educational work. Given regular painstaking work, we will have a better idea of problems. This will also help in making investigations and studies.

The party committee must strengthen the regular work of the party branch and the party group. Now party branch activities are quite imperfect. I have stressed the importance of this problem many times. But it should arouse serious attention. Party committee organizations and departments at various levels must pay serious attention to this problem. Party members must go through regular party branch activities and regular party group activities, and inspect work and make criticisms and self-criticisms in the process. This is what is stipulated by the party and must be seriously carried out.

The third issue is a matter of training and selecting cadres, especially the core of leadership at various levels. This is a very important problem. Training and selecting cadres should also be treated as the regular work of party committees at various levels. We must establish regular cadre work. In the past few years, the important lesson for us is that given the unstable state of cadres with changes involving one group after another, it is not a good phenomenon. In light of such a phenomenon, we must be on our guard. We must pay constant attention to the state of cadres. A cadre's good and bad points, strengths and weaknesses, should be judged by his long period of work and not by just his performance in a single movement, or in a short period of time.

In the past, we always paid prudent attention to the handling of the cadre problem. Our party was well united with people at higher and lower levels keeping in touch and with the whole party acting as one. But in the past few years, it has really been a case of losing touch. Especially in a few major movements, quite a large number of cadres have not been taken care of properly. Due to lack of prudence in approach, a number of cadres have been hurt. Those cadres who have been criticized and punished in the past few years should be handled in line with the principles set forth in central instructions on discussing and experimenting with the revised draft of the Regulations Governing the Work of the Rural People's Commune (Article 60). In doing so, three different situations should be distinguished. One is that where things have been properly handled no correction should be made. Another is that where some of the accusations have been wrongly made, only those so involved should call for a correction, or for a reversal of judgment. This means that excess charges should be dropped. Still another is that where the accusations have been completely wrong, a total reversal of judgment is required. In sum, we must realistically approach different cases. In screening cases and seeking reversals, we must not have recourse to movements. We must devote designated organs and specified people to do the job. For example, we can let a supervision committee take charge. Given too many problems involved and a staff shortage, we can add to the staff. The party committee must appoint appropriate leadership comrades to take charge of the matter. Now given a heavy work schedule or the pressure of work, and especially in a difficult time, we cannot devote all the energy to screening reversal work. This business calls for very painstaking work and a long period of time. Therefore, we must appoint specified people to do it. The best way is for anyone who has made a mistake to reverse the case attributed to his mistake. This is relatively conducive to unity.

The fourth issue is that we must study Marxist-Leninist theories and Comrade Mao Zedong's works. There is no need to go further into the reasons why we should do so. The lesson over the past few years is that we have not had an adequate understanding of fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and Mao Zedong Thought. This explains many of the mistakes made by us. We have been busy with our work and inattentive to study. We are liable to get mired in vulgar routinism. Inattentive to study and busy with work, we are likely to become debased in our thinking. In terms of a change in quality, debased thinking is a dangerous starting point. There is still need for us to create an atmosphere for study and for the study of theory. (Mao Zedong: Paying no attention to the study of theory and getting involved with routine business every day, we are likely to go astray.) The atmosphere for learning what is practical is also a party work style of ours and is a relatively good traditional style of our party.

About the perfection of regular inner-party activities, these four problems have been put forth. Of course, there are many other problems. Here only these four have been set forth.

Now, we have still many difficulties to overcome. It is a tremendous task that we have shouldered. The targets now set are low. But their fulfillment is also very difficult and is no simple matter. Especially this year, Comrade Mao Zedong has called for achieving something in the seven fields of industry, agriculture, trade, education, military affairs, administration, and party matters. Our work is very heavy and very complicated. Party leadership is of great importance. Leadership from party committees at all levels also carries great importance.

The current conference has called for the strengthening of party leadership and for the strengthening of democratic centralism and unity. Unity calls for ideological unity, most important of all. Only with ideological unity can there be unified action. Our entire party must have a unified understanding of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's report and of Comrade Mao Zedong's important speech. Our whole party must unify awareness. Only then can we be unified in our work and in our actions.

In sum, with our guideline defined, we must share the same will, look far ahead, and continue summing up the experiences of various areas, departments and units. Concerning the policies and tasks of the party and the state, we must try by every means to overcome difficulties and put them into practice. Where a decision has been made, we must act on it and do so unanimously. This is a rule of discipline and also our party's tradition.

This generation of ours, especially those comrades present, is almost all made up of chief responsible comrades at various levels. They have heavy responsibilities on their shoulders. This generation of ours must uphold our party's good traditions, set good examples, be the servants of the people, and do our part in our socialist cause and in the cause of liberation being undertaken by the people of the world.

As Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed aiming high, we must aim high.

We must aim high in upholding the party's fine traditions and styles!

We must aim high in strengthening and correctly carrying out democratic centralism!

We must aim high in learning how to be a proper "squad leader," learning to be a bandmaster, and learning to "play the piano"!

We must aim high in setting good examples by this generation to the next!

I have come to the end of my speech.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING ARMY POLITICAL WORK IN THE NEW PERIOD

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[Article by Yu Qiuli [0151 4428 6849]--compiled from several questions discussed in a speech entitled "Explanation to 'The Resolution of the Central Military Commission on the Political Work in the Army of the New Period'"--delivered by Comrade Yu Qiuli at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission on 11 December 1986; first paragraph is RED FLAG introduction]

[Text] Although this article deals with the political work in the army, the questions discussed in it are of a universal nature. It will help and enlighten us in improving the political work on all fronts. We specially recommend it to our readers.

### I. Correctly Understand the Situation in Army Work

Only when we have a correct analysis and understanding of the situation can we formulate correct policies and define clear work guidelines and tasks.

In the last few years, all military units have done a lot of work in army building and reform. In terms of the entire army, army streamlining and reorganization, readjustment of leading bodies, and party rectification are of overall and far-reaching significance. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Military Commission, there have been remarkable achievements in these major fields.

1. The current army streamlining and reorganization and structural reform, raised by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, are a strategic policy decision taken by the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission in light of the situation at home and abroad. Not only are they conducive to the state's economic construction but they are also very important in strengthening the modernization of the army. Through reform and streamlining, the combination of armed units has been strengthened and their capability to fight modern war increased; the ratio between officers and men has gradually been rationalized and the top-heavy staff situation considerably changed; the administrative structure has been streamlined, administrative layers cut down, and command works more easily than before. This is a major reform in our army building. The reduction of 1 million in army personnel is a great change in the history



of our army. It deals with a wide range of endeavors and therefore, the situation is very complicated. However, all military units have managed to submit themselves to the interests of the whole and to disband or to merge when ordered to do so and the vast numbers of officers and men obeyed orders and managed either to leave or to stay in the army as required. Many veteran comrades have displayed an especially high level of consciousness and a fine style. In carrying out such a great change, our work has progressed smoothly and the whole army has been in a calm, unruffled mood. This can be considered something extraordinary. It shows that the army has a sound foundation and its cadres and soldiers are politically awakened and that at a critical moment, they are capable of toughness in withstanding any tests.

The plans for the current army streamlining and reorganization are being worked out after making thorough investigations and study and extensively heeding the opinions of all sides and quarters concerned. They are in line with the principle of efficient and simple administration and an embodiment of the spirit of reform. Of course, there are inadequacies in any new structure and some new contradictions and problems may crop up in the course of carrying out our work. The structural reform does not stop at what we have made so far. However, it must be affirmed that the current streamlining and reorganization is an important step taken in the army reform and its significance and influence should not be underestimated.

2. Reducing the average age of members of a leading body while stressing both political integrity and ability is an important strategic policy decision of the party Central Committee. As early as 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed lowering the average age of army cadres. From then on, he stressed the question on many occasions. He pointed out that the problems of training successors vital to army building and the overall situation of the future war of antiaggression have to be solved. The crucial question in creating a new situation in army building is to ensure that the average age of members of a leading body is reduced. For historical reasons, the problem of senility among army leading cadres in the last few years has been fairly serious. Although some readjustments have been made, the recurring aging problem has not been thoroughly solved. This phenomenon is quite noticeable among the leading bodies at or above the army level. There is a strong demand in the army for a change in this state of affairs. In accordance with the instructions of the party Central Committee, in 1983 and 1985 the Military Commission made readjustments in the leading bodies at all levels with great determination in line with the principle of ensuring the ranks of the cadres becoming more revolutionary, younger in average age, and more knowledgeable and specialized and in conjunction with the structural reform and streamlining and reorganization. Thanks to the readjustments, 1) leading bodies at various levels have become smaller and highly competent; 2) a large batch of young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leadership positions at all levels and the average age of members of leading bodies has, on the whole, been reduced; and 3) the educational level and professional competence of the members of leading bodies have improved to a great extent. These changes in leading bodies at various levels are of great, far-reaching significance in promoting the cooperation between the new and old cadres and

succession of the latter by the former, ensuring the continuity and stability of leadership work, better implementing the party line, principles, and policies, and in strengthening the modernization of the army.

In readjusting leading bodies, we should always attach primary importance to revolutionization, uphold the policy of "giving first consideration to young and middle-aged cadres in cadre selection," and implement the principle of combining the old and new cadres in formation of echelons. In cadre selection, all units observed and judged cadres to be selected in a relatively thorough way and repeatedly studied their cadre readjustment and appointment plans. Judging from the current state of our leading bodies, most of the selected young and middle-aged cadres are good and relatively good. Full of vitality, they are knowledgeable, daring and resolute, and energetic. Being in the prime of life, they have infused fresh vigor and vitality into the whole army. Of course, since the cadre selection in the last few years involved a wide range of areas and quite a large number of cadres were selected, there were some shortcomings and inadequacies in the work of specific fields, and a handful of the selected cadres were not very satisfactory. However, ensuring that the average age of cadres is lowered is correct in orientation and it has great significance.

3. Beginning in 1984, the entire army took 3 years to conduct party rectification from top to bottom. Generally speaking, the party rectification progressed soundly and showed tangible results and the tasks of achieving ideological unity, rectifying the party's work style, strengthening discipline, and purifying the party organization were quite satisfactorily completed. This has played a great role in stimulating and accelerating party building and the modernization of the army. During the party rectification, the army, from beginning to end, adhered to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, carried forward the party's fine traditions, and stressed conducting criticism and self-criticism, opposing spiritual pollution, and correcting erroneous ideas while guarding against the "leftist" practices and making a thorough investigation of problems while refraining from magnifying them. When carrying out the party rectification, the army created and accumulated new experiences in correctly handling inner-party contradictions. All these are the concrete expression of the guiding ideology of bringing order out of chaos in party building and party life. Through the party rectification and the work in other fields, unhealthy tendencies have been effectively checked and there has been a marked improvement in the army's party work style.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a series of reforms have been introduced in military work, logistics, and national defense scientific research and marked achievements have been made in the reforms. Military training in the army has been further strengthened and the military competence of the cadres and soldiers remarkably improved. Comrades of logistics departments have tried every possible means to broaden sources of income and reduce expenditures, thus satisfactorily completing the tasks of logistic supplies. Defense scientific research personnel have immersed themselves in hard work and tackled technical key problems in unity, thus making numerous major discoveries in their scientific research.

Generally speaking, the current situation in the army is very good. Of course, there are also many contradictions and problems, and weak points in army building. Many relations have not yet been completely straightened out. However, we must notice that the problems in army building are problems in the way forward and they can be solved by exerting some effort, and some are being actively solved. We must also notice that since some problems have been accumulated for quite a while, it will take some time to solve them. We must look at the situation dialectically with an eye on the course of its development and note the elements that function in the long term and the trend of their development. This will help us reach a unified understanding, enhance our morale, and strengthen our confidence in forging ahead.

## II. Attain a Further Understanding of the Status and Guiding Ideology of Political Work

Our army has traversed a course of struggle lasting almost 6 decades. In the past, the fundamental reason for our being able to unite as one, fight heroically, overcome difficulties, and vanquish a big and powerful enemy was that we relied on the party's leadership and vigorous political work. Political work is the lifeline of our army and the important source of the army's combat effectiveness. This is a truth already repeatedly proved by practice. In the new historical period, the situation and tasks lying ahead are vastly different from those of the past but we must not waver at any time over the notion of taking the strengthening of political work as a fundamental principle for the building of the people's army.

Our army's central task at present is to modernize itself. Work in every field of the army must accord with this central task. However, revolutionization and political work are indispensable to building a modern and regular army. The modernization we are striving for is the modernization of the people's army, a modernization with Chinese characteristics. What are the characteristics of our army? In addition to the fact that our arms equipment, establishment structure, military thinking, strategy, and tactics should tally with our country's national condition and the realities in our army, most importantly, the army is characterized by its adherence to the four cardinal principles, political work, and by a socialist spiritual civilization. This is the fundamental indicator distinguishing our army from the armies of the exploiting classes. The four cardinal principles are basic to the foundation of the state and the building of the army. If we deviate from the four cardinal principles and neglect political work, our army building will stray away from the correct orientation and the building of a modern, regular, revolutionary army will be out of the question. Revolutionization, modernization, and regularization form an integral whole and no single element can be dispensed with. It is also wrong to set revolutionization against modernization and regularization, to separate them from each other, or to one-sidedly stress one to the neglect of the other.

Political work can not only ensure the development orientation of the army's modernization program but also provide the modernization program with a spiritual motive force. The enthusiasm of the vast numbers of officers and

men is necessary for the modernization program. It is necessary to arouse this enthusiasm, to take care of the material benefits of the cadres and soldiers, to formulate rational policies and rules and regulations, and to strengthen discipline and management. However, what is of basic importance is reliance on the party line, principles, and policies, enhancement of the ideological consciousness of the broad ranks of officers and men, and displaying of a revolutionary spirit. Experience has proved that under about the same material and other conditions, there is a vast difference in the results of the work of people with different levels of ideological consciousness and different mental outlooks. This holds true in peacetime and even more so on the battlefield. The aim of political work is to mobilize, to organize, and to unite the masses. Through ideological and political work, lofty ideals and beliefs, a correct line, principles, and policies, a strong devotion to revolutionary work, a strong sense of political responsibility, and the spirit of heroically sacrificing oneself for the interests of the motherland and the people can be instilled into people's minds and the latent strength of the broad ranks of officers and men can be kindled and turned into a strong motive force propelling the modernization program and into combat effectiveness to vanquish the enemy. With this being the case, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed that political work has been and always will be our real superiority and it can only be strengthened and not weakened.

Stressing political work on no account means repeating the "leftist" practices of the past. From the late 1950's to the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and his likes preached and pursued the fallacies of "giving prominence to politics," "everything giving way to politics," and putting political work "in a position of being bigger and higher than everything," thus causing grave consequences. Not only did they damage unity, hinder army building, and weaken military work and logistics work but they also impaired and weakened political work itself. We must always bear this historical lesson in mind. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, all military units have exerted great efforts to eradicate the "leftist" influence, to correct the guiding thinking in political work, to bring into play the role of political work as a means to serve and guarantee, and to put political organs in a correct relationship to military and logistics organizations, enabling political work to move onto the track of a sound development. This is the greatest result of bringing order out of chaos in political work and an important reason and outstanding indicator of the new advances scored in the work.

Political work is the lifeline of our army. This is our consistent thinking. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee clearly affirmed this judgment. Recently, in a memorial article for Comrade Liu Bochong, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again said that political work is the lifeline of our army. Long years of practice and experiences both positive and negative have proved that this argument is scientific. The real meaning of "lifeline," as we see it, is "serving" and "guaranteeing" and in the new period, political work should serve the state's socialist modernization program and the building of a modern, regular

revolutionary army. It should guarantee the absolute leadership of the party over the army and the nature of the army as a people's army, the building of socialist spiritual civilization in the army, the unity within the army and unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people, and the improvement of the army's combat effectiveness and fulfillment of tasks in various fields. By "serving," we do not refer to "serving" in general terms and this holds true for "guaranteeing." The two are of vital importance to the army's nature as a people's army, the orientation of army work, and to the development of its modernization program. Therefore, stressing the role of political work as a means to "serve" and "guarantee" is, in effect, also stressing the role of the "lifeline." It does not mean in the least degrading the status of political work and easing the tasks of the work. On the contrary, it means setting higher demands on the work.

Many articles on the role of political work during revolutionary war years dealt with the words "guarantee" and "safeguard." The 8th Route Army's regulations on political work in 1938 stipulated that one of the tasks of political work is to consolidate and enhance the combat effectiveness of the troops and to guarantee victories in battles. The report to a meeting of senior cadres of the Northwest Bureau in 1944 pointed out that political work means educating the troops with a revolutionary spirit to guarantee the fulfillment of tasks ideologically, politically, and organizationally. After the founding of the PRC, the role of political work was mostly related to "serving" and "guaranteeing." In 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Ideological and political work are the guarantee of accomplishing economic and technical work and they serve the economic base. On the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution," at a meeting on industrial and communications work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Politics should be implemented in vocational work and political work should guarantee that all vocational work goes forward along the road of socialism. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has very clearly stated the guiding ideology for political work. The central decision on reform of the economic structure stressed that in ideological and organizational work in the new historical period, we must firmly carry out the party's guiding principle that such work should help fulfill the general tasks and reach the general goal set by the party. The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee once again pointed out: "Ideological and political work is a guarantee of success in our economic and other undertakings." It can thus be seen that our current thinking on the role of political work as a means to "serve" and "guarantee" is not a matter just put forth recently and it is in complete agreement with the fine tradition of upholding the party's political work and with the gist of the party Central Committee's directives.

The argument of bringing into play the role of political work as a means to serve and guarantee is also theoretically correct. First, from a Marxist viewpoint, when it comes to the relationship between the economic base and the superstructure, the former decides the latter while the latter serves the former. Political work falls into the category of superstructure. Stressing that political work should serve the socialist modernization program is a reflection of the objective needs of the development of the socialist economic base and in conformity with the principles of dialectic

materialism and historical materialism. Although not entirely the same as economic construction, this principle is equally applicable to army building. Second, politics and political work are concepts that are both related and different. Politics refers to the fundamental systems, basic tasks, and major policies of the party and the state and, being vital to the overall situation, it decides the orientation and contents of political work. Political work is an important guarantee of success in realizing political objectives and tasks. The two should not be mixed up. Third, the army's political work is the ideological and organizational work carried out by the party in the army. Political organs are the party's working organs in terms of the nature and tasks of political work. We should not equate the roles of political work and political organs with the party's leadership. Political work must guarantee the party's leadership over the army but it does not and cannot replace the party's leadership. Political, military, and logistics organs are working organs under the unified leadership of the party committee. The relationship between them is that of sharing out the work and cooperating with one another. Political organs must willingly accept the leadership of the party committee at the same level, vindicate the authority of senior army and government leaders, and coordinate their work with that of military and logistics departments. This is a principle which all political organs must follow and an approach indispensable to all political cadres. Here we want to state that the role of political work in guaranteeing the building of the army and the tasks in various fields mainly refers to guaranteeing matters political, ideological, and organizational. To do a good job in army building and to fulfill the various tasks successfully, apart from strengthening political work, it is also necessary to bring the initiative and creativity of all organs and departments as well as cadres of various types into play and to do the work in all fields well.

### III. Reform Should Be Introduced and New Trails Blazed in Political Work While the Fine Traditions Are Carried Forward

Under new historical conditions, restoring and carrying forward the fine traditions in political work and enhancing the combat effectiveness of our troops is an important principle that must be followed in the political work of the new period.

Through the practice of a prolonged revolutionary struggle, our army has accumulated rich experience in doing political work and formed a set of relatively complete theories, policies, principles, and rules and regulations. We should always uphold the basic principles and fine traditions of political work. Throwing away these things of basic importance will mean dumping our army's strong points and characteristics. In which case, a correct orientation cannot be maintained in political work and blazing new trails in the work will be undermined. Meanwhile, it is to be noted that army building is now in a stage of historical change and the ranks of cadres in the stage of cooperation between the new and old cadres and a succession of the old by the new. There are fewer veteran comrades who have had experience in the war years now holding leadership positions and most cadres grew up in peacetime. In particular, our grass-roots cadres and soldiers are all very young and have a limited understanding of the fine traditions

of our army's political work. Therefore, carrying forward the fine tradition of political work properly is a realistic need and our historical responsibility as well.

Like work in other fields and other things, political work keeps moving ahead. Compared with what was in the past, there are significant changes in the situation we are facing, the tasks we are shouldering, and the people among whom our work is conducted. In particular, the prolonged relatively peaceful environment, the implementation of the policy of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigoration, and the development of the modernization of the army have set new and higher demands on political work. If we fail to conduct reforms and to blaze new trails, political work can hardly develop and forge ahead and the fine traditions can hardly be genuinely carried forward. We must combine assuming legacies with creative work from a historical point of view rather than consider things apart from their historical context and refuse to make any progress.

In conducting reforms and doing creative work while assuming legacies, we must adhere to the good principles and fine traditions of the past and add new contents to them in the light of the new practice on the one hand, and discard the things which have become outmoded due to the changed historical conditions, and explore a new path to sum up new experience and to create new methods on the other. In terms of the requirements of the reforms of the state and the army and the realities among the troops, in conducting reforms and blazing new trails in political work, the greatest efforts should be made in the following areas:

First, improve the contents and methods of political education and strive to attain greater effect in ideological education. In the last few years, all military units have made herculean efforts to improve political education, achieving new results but at the same time, there are still some shortcomings in this area. One is that theory and practice are inadequately combined. In other words, there are both a tendency to neglect theoretical study and an error of theory straying away from practice. In doing ideological work, we must talk about the basic tenets of Marxism but in doing so, we must deal with them in the light of the actual conditions of our cadres and soldiers and supply solutions to their real ideological problems. The other is that the forms we adopted are monotonous and the methods relatively rigid. To teach political lessons well is very important. However, ideological and political work is not confined exclusively to giving political lessons. There are many channels, factors, and methods to raise the ideological consciousness of our cadres and soldiers and moreover, political work deals with a wide range of endeavors. Therefore, we must make every effort in various ways to open up wider avenues in conducting education with more flexible methods.

Second, develop the democratic life within the army while maintaining high centralism. The army must have high centralism and strict discipline but this centralism and discipline must be based on democracy and consciousness. Fully practicing democracy is an essential characteristic of the people's army. Only when democracy is developed can discipline be consolidated,

unity strengthened, and can there be a close relationship between officers and men; can the initiative and creativity of the masses be mobilized, their wisdom pooled, and the various policy decisions become more scientific; and can supervision over leading cadres be strengthened and unhealthy tendencies be prevented or overcome. Democracy in the three main fields is our army's fine tradition. Its contents should be enriched and developed in line with the army building in the new period, the democratic system perfected, and the democratic life within the army be enlivened. Of course, our democracy is a guided one and its concrete contents, forms, and methods must accord with the requirements of the four cardinal principles and help safeguard the political situation characterized by stability and unity. We must always pay attention to guarding against the tendency of ultra-democracy.

Third, pay attention to studying and formulating rules and regulations as well as policies concerning political work. Inadequacies in our policies and systems have direct connections with many ideological problems currently existing in our army, in particular, problems of a universal nature. The experience in army building has proved that a sound policy or system can more often than not solve problems in terms of the overall situation and extensively arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres and soldiers. Political organs at all levels, in particular, the high-level political organs at and above the military regional level, must exert herculean efforts to investigate and study matters concerning policies and systems, perfect what is not perfect within their limits of authority, and gradually establish, if they have not started before, a set of rules and regulations consonant with the requirements of the new period.

Fourth, overcome bureaucracy and raise work efficiency. At present over-staffing and buck-passing exist in some political organs. Some are too superficial to do solid work; others "concentrate on one thing only" to the neglect of the army's overall construction while going to the grass-roots units; others are irresponsible about their work and used to the practice of copying and relaying indiscriminately any instructions from the higher-ups to their subordinates; and still others, fond of engaging in flourishes, report only the good news and not the bad and even practice fraud. To solve these problems, while continuing to study the reform of the political organ structure, we should earnestly improve our work style and methods so that political organs at various levels will genuinely become working organs which are small but highly efficient and have a solid work style.

In introducing reforms and blazing new trails in political work, we should adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts. With regard to the questions of what to reform and how to go about it all units must proceed from their own actual conditions and be bold and serious in making explorations. While learning from and using local reform experience as reference, we must always pay attention to the army's own characteristics. The army can undertake what the locality can but it cannot follow all that the locality can undertake, and it should not indiscriminately copy and follow the locality's experience even if it can. In learning from and using the experiences of foreign countries as reference, more attention should be paid



to our army's actual conditions. As the reform develops, with their thinking becoming very lively, people have views and comments of one kind or another. Therefore, we must be good at analyzing and accepting new and correct things, resist any erroneous views in violation of the four cardinal principles, and oppose bourgeois liberalization. The aim of conducting reforms in political work is to better carry our fine traditions forward and to strengthen and improve the work itself to promote the modernization of the army and the improvement of its combat effectiveness. Therefore, we must work in a down-to-earth manner and stress practical results rather than concentrate our efforts on or revolve around terms, concepts, and formulations and engage in flourishes at the mention of conducting reforms or blazing new trails. In the latter case, not only will we not attain our desired results but we may also stray away from the correct orientation if things go wrong.

#### IV. Train Revolutionary Soldiers With Lofty Ideals, Morality, Better Education, and a Sense of Discipline

Ideological and political work is the work conducted among people. To meet the needs of army modernization and future wars against aggression, it is the fundamental task of the army's spiritual civilization building and ideological and political work to train our officers and men into soldiers who possess the "four haves" [having lofty ideals, morality, better education, and a sense of discipline] and to raise the ideological, moral, scientific, and educational quality of the whole army.

While talking about the experience in winning the victory of revolution in the past, Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently said that we did not have airplanes, artillery, and ordnance factories at that time. We relied on the people. They were not ordinary people but people with staunch beliefs. Today it can still serve as the principle for our army building. The situation now differs greatly from the past. With the rapid development of science and technology, weaponry is playing an increasingly important role in modern warfare. Nevertheless, no matter how conditions change, the decisive role of man in wars will remain unchanged. Conversely, the development of weaponry will require a higher quality of man. Weaponry, sophisticated as it is, will be useless without high-quality men.

The quality of man covers much ground including ideological and moral quality and scientific and educational quality. They are interrelated factors which help each other forward. Ideological and moral quality, which indicates a person's ideological consciousness and spiritual outlook, determines his political orientation. Scientific and educational quality is necessary for mastering modern military techniques as well as for doing professional work well. It is also an important condition for fostering revolutionary ideals, lofty moral character, and strict discipline. To train soldiers with the "four haves," it is necessary to make efforts in these two aspects.

To improve ideological and moral quality in light of the army's characteristics, it is necessary to enhance faith in socialism and communism, strengthen a sense of national dignity and pride, foster an unselfish and sacrificial

spirit, carry forward the style of plain living and hard struggle, establish relations of friendship and unity among comrades and between the army and people, and enhance a sense of abiding by discipline and laws. These constitute the basic contents of education in ideals, morality, and discipline; of the requirements for party members and cadres; and of the efforts to be made in ideology and morality to train soldiers with the "four haves." Here I would like to emphatically talk about the question of unselfishness, plain living, and hard struggle.

To be unselfish means to wholeheartedly serve the people, put the interests of the party and people first, and not to hesitate to sacrifice one's personal interests and life for the sake of the revolutionary interests as a whole. This is the concentrated expression of communist ideology, the lofty character each party member should have, and the requirement for every revolutionary soldier. The nature and purpose of our party and army determine that we advocate unselfishness. This is the genuine revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and its party, which is required for the building of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. Some people have gone so far as to criticize the unselfish spirit. This is intolerable. By advocating unselfishness, we dedicate ourselves and contribute to society, the state, and the people. It is established on the basis of consciousness. During the period of democratic revolution, our party used such spirit to educate its members and the people. With the large numbers of heroes and exemplary figures who emerged under this spirit, we won the victory of revolution. In the new historical period, it is also necessary to energetically advocate this spirit. If our army had not advocated the unselfish spirit of sacrificing one's personal interests at ordinary times and sacrificing one's life in war, it would have been impossible to push army building forward and to maintain the high morale and combat effectiveness of our troops.

Plain living and hard struggle are the fine style and revolutionary principle shaped and developed by our party in the long course of revolution and construction. They constitute the intrinsic enterprising, indomitable spirit of our party's army. Such spirit was necessary in the revolutionary struggles in the past. It is also required for carrying out the current modernization program. The spirit should be stressed under both low and high living standards. As the army is entrusted with the task of defending the motherland and maintaining peace, it is particularly necessary for officers and men to shed blood and make sacrifices in war as well as overcome difficulties and maintain the spirit of plain living, hard struggle, and making sacrifices in peacetime while carrying out duties, undertaking training, supporting state construction, and helping people of afflicted areas tide over difficulties. Naturally, the specific contents and requirements of plain living and hard struggle may vary under different periods and historical conditions. But the spirit will never be outdated due to social progress. To advocate plain living and hard struggle, we do not rule out improving the material life of the army. It is a fine tradition of our army to be concerned with the well-being of the masses. Nevertheless, the better our standard of living, the more we should avoid the mood of fearing hardships and seeking the easy life and the more we should carry forward the style and spirit of plain living

and hard struggle. If we abandon the tradition of plain living and hard struggle with the improvement of material life, our army will be deprived of its essential spiritual activity.

The spirit of plain living, hard struggle, and unselfishness derives from lofty ideals and unswerving belief. Lofty ideals and belief constitute man's spiritual mainstay. With this spiritual mainstay, a man can overcome all difficulties and setbacks and resist corruption and all lures with amazing willpower and courage and withstand the tests of gains or losses, honor or disgrace, and life or death. For this reason, we should conduct education in communist ideals and common ideals of the people of all nationalities and carry out education in patriotism and revolutionary heroism among the troops so that the "five types or revolutionary spirit" advocated by Deng Xiaoping will be carried forward within our army.

To train revolutionary soldiers with lofty ideals, morality, better educations, and a sense of discipline, we should conduct positive education on one hand, and resist the influence of all erroneous ideas on the other. Viewed from the current situation of the army, we should avoid the mood of slackening vigilance and also overcome and oppose out-and-out egoism.

Laxity constitutes the greatest harm to army building in peacetime. Now laxity in thinking, work style, and discipline has become a common practice. The main reason lies in our failure to strictly administer the army. If we cannot put an end to this tendency, it will inevitably sap the army's morale, damage its image, and weaken its combat effectiveness. Historical experience shows that laxity in fighting will be more fearful to the army than difficulties and enemies. An army tough in ideology and style should stand the test of both war and peace environments. It is true that the environment of war is stern. In a sense, however, the test of a peace environment is much more complicated than that of war. And the longer the period of peace, the more difficult such a test. We should strictly administer the army and focus our attention on overcoming laxity and enhancing discipline so that the army can stand the test of different environments.

Obviously, it is wrong to say that capitalist and feudal ideas have derived from reform and opening up. However, negative things may arise under the conditions of reform, opening up, and invigoration, and find expression within the army. Now a handful of comrades have indulged in individualism. Some pursued personal fame and even asked for official posts; some abused their power and tried every means to seek personal gains; some are afraid of suffering losses and are preoccupied with personal gains; some seek pleasure and have gone in for ostentation and extravagance; some are morally degenerated and their will has been waning; and some, unable to withstand the lure of money and material benefits, sought private gains at public expense, practiced graft and embezzlement, and embarked on the road of crime. These people have abandoned all the fine spirit of serving the people, fostering communist ideals and morality, and playing the exemplary role of party members. To train soldiers with "four hases," we must educate the army with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, resolutely resist the corruption of decadent bourgeois and feudal ideas, and oppose out-and-out egoism with a clear-cut stand.

It is advocated by our party and determined by the characteristics of our army to foster communist ideals and morality, carry forward the spirit of plain living, hard struggle, and making sacrifices, and oppose out-and-out egoism. The resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "Imbued with a pioneering spirit, the advanced members of our society are ready to blaze new trails and devote themselves entirely to the interests and happiness of the people and to the communist ideal. We should encourage such a high standard of communist ethics throughout our society." Carefully picked from among outstanding youths, there are many party members and cadres in our army. Army members constitute an advanced sector in society as a whole. For this reason, they should set higher standards for themselves in the building of spiritual civilization. Only thus can the army accomplish the tasks entrusted to it by the party and people and have a great impact on the whole nation. Due to the different level of ideological basis, acceptability, and consciousness of each officer and man, we should set different standards in light of specific persons rather than impose uniformity. In other words, we should take note of both the advanced and mass nature. Instead of demanding that everyone become a communist, we should use communist ideals to educate officers and men and heighten their ideological awareness step by step.

#### V. Try To Improve the Political Quality of the Ranks of Cadres

Ideological and political work is mass work which should be conducted by the vast numbers of cadres and party members under the leadership of party committees. As specific organizers and executives of political work, the cadres in charge of political work shoulder direct responsibility for its results. As the new situation and task have set new requirements for political work, the requirements for the quality of cadres in charge of political work will be much higher. At present the cadres of the whole army face the task of improving their quality. The task of improving the quality of cadres in charge of political work, particularly those at the basic levels, is all the more urgent.

In my opinion, the cadres in charge of political work should have the following qualities:

First, they should love political work. Now some comrades are not willing to do this work because they feel it is "difficult to be political cadres and to conduct political work." They should understand that ideological work is work among people which is both arduous and glorious. Political cadres should realize the great responsibility and honor of their posts. For a cadre in charge of political work, loving the army and being dedicated to the cause of national defense, loving his job, and giving himself to the army's political work are the specific manifestations of his lofty ideals. So long as he loves his work and has a sense of political responsibility and dedication to his job, he will study assiduously and really do political work well.

Second, they should increase their ability to work. At present great changes have taken place among people in need of political work. The

officers and men now have extensive knowledge and a relatively high educational level. Therefore, the cadres in charge of political work should have a certain level of Marxist theory as well as a wide range of knowledge. In recent years, we have scored remarkable successes in improving the scientific and education level of cadres. We should continue our efforts in this field in the years to come. A high level of education can help increase a person's ability to work. To increase the ability to work, it is also very important to learn and temper through practice. All cadres in charge of political work should study hard, integrate theory with practice, and learn to conduct thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological and political work. They should also study military affairs, increase their ability to organize and command troops, and learn how to handle various contradictions and exercise management.

Third, they should play an exemplary role in all respects. All party cadres, particularly those in charge of political work, should set an example for the masses. A competent cadre in charge of political work should at least possess the following: First, he should be able to explain the principles and convince others; and second, he should set an example. Although both are important, the latter is of greater importance viewed from practical results. Only when cadres in charge of political work have set a fine example in all respects can they enjoy the trust of the masses and convincingly conduct ideological work. During the years of war, the broad ranks of cadres in charge of political work were upright in thinking and work style. They feared neither hardships nor death. As a result, they enjoyed high prestige among the masses. Their words were convincing and their requirements could be promptly implemented. We should inherit and carry forward this fine tradition and work style.

Fourth, they should have the courage to stick to principles. Some cadres are strict with others but not themselves. Some have set an example but dare not point out the problems of the army. A cadre in charge of political work, a leading cadre in particular, should set an example as well as stick to principles. In ideological and political work, a great many problems involving ideological understanding remain unsolved among the officers and men. For this reason, it is necessary to adopt the method of persuasion. While settling problems by the method of persuasion, however, we should never give up principles. Without criticism and self-criticism, ideological work will not be effective. There is now a lack of principles and ideological and political work in a number of units. We should put an end to such a state of affairs as quickly as possible. The cadres in charge of political work should overcome the mood of worrying about their personal gains and losses and never spare sensibilities on questions of principle. With the spirit of holding themselves responsible to the party's cause and army building, they should carry out correct, positive criticism and self-criticism, resist the evil trends, and foster uprightness. Naturally, the cadres in charge of political work as well as all other cadres should follow this example. Party committees and political organs at all levels should concern themselves with the building of the ranks of cadres in charge of political work and strive to markedly improve their quality within a short period.

Under the leadership of the party and through the arduous struggles over the decades, our army has developed from small to large, from weak to strong, and become a powerful people's army. This army is trusted by the party and loved by the people. We should do a better job of all work related to defending and building the motherland and under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Central Military Commission, unite as one and work hard for the prosperity of the motherland, happiness of the people, and for building a modern, regular revolutionary army.

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## KEEP TO THE SOCIALIST ROAD

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] It is the general developmental trend of Chinese history and in the common fundamental interests of the people in the entire country to keep to the socialist road, build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and ultimately realize communism. The CPC has made socialism and communism the long-term goal of its struggle and its lofty ideal since launching the democratic revolution. Our party has for decades led the people in the struggle to attain this goal and ideal. It built a new China with socialism after undergoing many hardships and overcoming numerous difficulties. After the founding of new China, there occurred a socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production, which resulted in an entirely new socialist system being established in the urban and rural areas. The fact that China, the most populous country in the world, has taken the socialist road is one of the major events in 20th-century world history. This event has not only altered China's fate but also had a strong impact on the development of world history. China, while large and populous, was a weak and poor country that had long been plagued by colonialist and imperialist invasion and bullying. The fact that China became independent and found a relatively quick way to shake off poverty and backwardness and become prosperous and strong is a major encouragement for those nations and peoples that have similar experiences and fates as that of the Chinese people. Socialism has revitalized the Chinese nation and enabled China to become unified and strong as never before. It has enabled China to enjoy a high prestige in the world, to play an increasingly decisive role in international affairs, and to become a major force in safeguarding world peace. Compared with the international status of old China, there is a world of difference.

Disregarding this great change in Chinese history, Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang, and Liu Binyan willfully attacked and smeared the socialist system; they extolled and beautified the capitalist system. Their intention was obviously to negate the socialist system and lead our country onto the capitalist road.

Fang Lizhi said that he "hates very much this kind of stuff in the 30 years 'since the liberation.'" Not many good things have been done in these 30 years." He also said that "nothing in China now is not backward," and that

"from the orthodox socialism of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong to the present, the result is a failure." Fang Lizhi disregarded even the most fundamental facts in order to launch his inflammatory efforts. China's achievements in more than 30 years of socialist construction, particularly the development of the whole country in the 8 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, are obvious to all. We started from the ruins of long-term imperialist and feudalistic plundering, oppression, and exploitation and from the ravages of decades of war. Although the situation abroad has created considerable difficulty for our economic construction and we have made some mistakes, we have managed to make great progress in more than 30 years. Compared with some large developing countries that began in similar conditions, our achievements have been great and our economic development has been rapid. Even when compared with developed capitalist countries, our rate of development has not been slow.

We have built an independent, properly categorized industrial and national economic system (in a large country, the degree of economic autonomy is a very important factor because economic independence is the basis of national independence). Compared with 1949, all major industrial products have grown by many times. In 1985 as compared with 1949, our steel output increased to 46.79 million metric tons from 158,000 metric tons and ranked fourth in the world; coal output increased to 872 million metric tons from 32 million metric tons and ranked second in the world; electricity generation increased to 410.7 billion kWh from 4.3 billion kWh and ranked fifth in the world; crude oil output increased to 124.9 million metric tons from 120,000 metric tons and ranked sixth in the world; and cement output increased to 145.9 million metric tons from 660,000 metric tons and ranked first in the world. Of course, our per capita outputs of those products are still very low because our country has such a large population. However, we have made unprecedented progress in 3 decades or so by relying on the people throughout our country to work hard in self-reliance. Can this progress be denied?

Since the founding of the People's Republic, our agricultural growth rate has also been higher than other developing countries. Particularly since 1979, the success of rural economic reform has brought about a rapid and overall development of rural economy and attracted worldwide attention. The average per capita amount of grain in China grew from 418 jin in 1949 to 791 jin in 1984. The 1984 figure was not large, but it showed a tremendous achievement because China has nearly one-fourth of the world's total population while it has only 7.2 percent of the world's total cultivated land. (Moreover, China's cultivated area also includes vast tracts of poor and low-yield land in the northwestern region.) Although the average per capita amount of grain in China is not large, it has met the basic needs of the people throughout the country, thanks to a policy of rational distribution and stable grain prices pursued by the people's government. Previous governments of China in modern times had never solved the problem of feeding the several hundred million Chinese people. The problem has been solved under socialism. The foreign press has pointed out: "The Chinese Government has basically solved the problem of 1 billion people's livelihood. This is a most unusual and most amazing achievement." This is one of the convincing proofs for the superiority of socialism.



Generally speaking, the people's living standards in our country at present are still comparatively low because of our low productivity, large population, and excessive population increase for a considerably long time. However, if someone uses this fact to prove the inferiority of socialism, he is entirely wrong. It is precisely because the socialist system has wiped out exploiting classes and led to a fair and reasonable distribution of social wealth that we have been able to meet the people's basic livelihood needs in spite of low per capita income, and gradually improve their living standards with the development of the economy. In 1986, the people's level of consumption, if calculated in terms of comparable prices, was 2.3 times higher than in 1952. Now, China is higher than all low-income countries and most medium-income countries in such indexes as the people's daily nutrition intake, adult literacy, medical care, and average life span. If our social wealth is distributed according to capitalist practice, a considerable portion of it will fall into the hands of a few people and a serious polarization will surely result, just as has happened in all capitalist countries; and while our population is large and the level of our economic development is low, most people's lives will surely be worse than at present. In that case, even if our per capita income reaches \$800, only a few people will become better off while most people will remain poor. Our people will generally become well-to-do if our per capita income reaches \$800 and the social wealth is distributed according to socialist principles. If our per capita reaches \$4,000 after several decades of hard work, our people's livelihood will become much better and the superiority of the socialist system will be even more evident.

Some people always use the comparison between China and developed capitalist countries as evidence that capitalism is superior to socialism. Such a viewpoint does not hold water. We do not oppose horizontal comparison between nations, nor do we object to comparing China with developed capitalist countries. Whether we make horizontal or vertical comparisons, however, we must have a correct objective and method. In fact, it was none other than the party Central Committee which first made such a comparison following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and pointed out the disparities existing between China and developed capitalist countries in the fields of economy, technology, culture, and others. And again it was the party Central Committee which, on the basis of these disparities, laid down the policy of reform and opening up and established goals to be achieved in stages and step by step in order to reduce these disparities as quickly as possible and eventually eliminate them. We made this comparison in order to arouse the national confidence and the sense of responsibility of our people so that they would catch up by working harder and bringing into better play the superiority of the socialist system. People like Fang Lizhi used this type of comparison, however, to vilify the CPC leadership and oppose the socialist system. Making such comparisons will only sap the people's morale and forfeit our national confidence. Their method of comparison is also unscientific. A scientific comparison not only makes us recognize the disparities between China and developed socialist countries, it also analyzes how they evolved and offers steps to reduce them as quickly as possible and eventually eliminate them. Capitalism has been in existence in Western Europe and North America for hundreds of years and it has been practiced in

Japan for over 100 years. Their developed economies and material wealth today are built upon centuries of exploitation of their own working people and the exploitation of and pillage against the people in the vast colonies and semicolonies including China. There is, generally, an inglorious history behind their wealth and prosperity. From the very start, their accumulation of capital is inseparable from invasion, plunder, and slaughter. Due to historical reasons, inequalities still exist today in international economic relations between developed capitalist countries and developing countries including China. This is one of the major reasons for the vast disparities between the majority, the poor developing countries, and the handful of rich developed countries. It is a fact that we lag behind the developed capitalist countries in the areas of economy, technology, culture, and others; however, this is not caused by the socialist system. Fundamentally speaking, our backwardness is the result of a history of imperialism and feudalism prior to our liberation. Thanks to construction in the 30 years since liberation, the disparities between China and developed capitalist countries in economic development have been greatly reduced. We cannot expect, however, to wipe out the tremendous disparities formed over centuries in a matter of a few decades. It is absolutely unscientific to use these disparities as evidence of the superiority of capitalism over socialism.

It should also be pointed out that in making comparisons we must not confuse the fundamental differences between the two social systems. The capitalist system is, in any case, unable to rid itself of exploitation, plundering, and polarization between rich and poor. It is unable to break away from the various injustices and other ugly phenomena inherent in the system of exploitation. Scores of economic crises have broken out in the capitalist world since 1825. In this century it twice plunged mankind into world wars, killing millions upon millions of people and bringing untold miseries to mankind. In developed capitalist countries, a high degree of material wealth is followed by all kinds of extremely grave crimes: drug abuse, prostitution, degeneration, and other ugly social phenomena. Although our socialist system is still imperfect, it is still far better than the capitalist system characterized by everyone trying to cheat one another, the law of the jungle, benefiting oneself at the expense of others, and polarization between rich and poor. Moreover, our system is being perfected daily and we will use as a point of reference and absorb the progressive factors of foreign nations to make it the best system in the world. This is something capitalism will never be able to do.

Some people still argue that socialism is inferior to capitalism by citing the mistakes we have made and the setbacks we have suffered in building socialism as well as the fact that we are still exploring our way forward. This is also wrong. The socialist system is not equivalent to the specific measures used to build socialism. We cannot draw the conclusion that socialism is not superior because of the mistakes and detours we have made in building socialism due to a lack of experience.

We must understand the socialist system in the context of the history of development. In the history of mankind, the replacement of one system by a new one invariably involves a long, complicated struggle. Numerous detours,

major setbacks, and all kinds of mistakes are inevitable because of the resistance of the old social forces, complicated situations, internal struggles, lack of experience in government, and so forth. Take the capitalist system for example. From the bourgeois revolution in 1789 to the founding of the Third Republic in 1875, France had 86 years of turmoil during which it experienced progress and retrogression, republic and monarchy, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary terrors, wars at home and abroad, conquering and surrendering to foreign nations. Eventually, the situation was consolidated. Other capitalist countries including Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan also experienced major detours and setbacks (Britain witnessed a counterrevolutionary restoration while Germany, Italy, and Japan underwent fascist rule). It should be noted that the establishment and development of the socialist system is more complicated and difficult than any other new social system in history. This is due to the fact that the transformation of the private ownership, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, the establishment of a socialist economy based on public ownership, introducing distribution according to work, and developing a planned commodity economy, and so forth are all unprecedented in history. Owing to a lack of experience, the poorly educated workers and peasants--who had long suffered from repression and exploitation in the old society now became for the first time the masters of their state and owners of public property and began to administer the country and manage the mammoth socialist economy--inevitably made mistakes (certainly, some of the mistakes we made in the past could have been avoided or alleviated). Anyway, all these mistakes can be corrected within the framework of the socialist system. Here lies the fundamental difference in the nature of mistakes of the exploiting class. The socialist system, blessed with strong vitality, is able to develop and improve itself. It is absolutely possible that, through reform, both the system and the quality of people will be upgraded and improved in the course of development.

We must also note that the special conditions of China have made the building of socialism more complicated and difficult. China did not experience the social phase of developed capitalism. Instead, after undergoing the new democratic revolution, we embarked on the road of building socialism while our society was still semicolonial and semifeudal. The "legacy" we inherited from old China had neither developed productive forces, nor advanced science and technology, nor developed education and culture. Instead, we inherited an extremely weak industrial base, a backward agriculture, a large degree of illiteracy, a few intellectuals, terribly poor educational facilities, and terribly backward science and technology. To build socialism on such a base, we certainly had far more problems to solve and far more work to do than any other people or nation. And the problems were more complicated and the work was more arduous. To accomplish this task, we had to make tremendous efforts and even paid a heavy price.

Some people argue that since China is backward, why does it not go through the stage of capitalist society first and then return to socialism? We tried the capitalist road before and this experience shows that this road will take China to nowhere. This is a conclusion of history. When the Chinese working class and its political party--the CPC--emerged in the political arena, the

Chinese bourgeoisie was in a hopeless situation. The aggression against China by the imperialist powers had shattered any hope of founding a bourgeois republic and making China an independent capitalist country. The domestic social and historical conditions and the international situation were such that China could not but found a republic based on a democratic dictatorship of the people and then embark on the socialist road by undertaking the thoroughly anti-imperialist and antifeudal new democratic revolution. This was the only way out for China. History shows China did the right thing in taking this road. Needless to say, taking the capitalist road would lead us nowhere. Even if we had taken that road, it would have been proven to be a long and painful one for the broad masses of working people. All the problems and difficulties we have encountered in building socialism--namely, a huge population, very low productivity, extremely undeveloped science and technology, and seriously backward education and culture--would be present even if we had taken the capitalist road. The only difference is that the measures adopted to build socialism conform to the interests and wishes of the overwhelming majority while those of capitalism only benefit the minority. The domestic and international conditions today still rule out the possibility of founding an independent bourgeois nation in China. If we adopted the capitalist road, the only result would be falling back to the semicolonial, semifeudal society. There would be no hope for achieving modernization.

Fang Lizhi and others negated China's socialism, while endorsing the socialism advocated by some Western nations. This shows their innate character in willfully confusing right and wrong. Since socialism became a target which the working class and laboring people have yearned for since the last century, several types of "socialism" have appeared in the world. In the 1840's, Marx and Engels had already criticized this category of socialism in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." We uphold socialism. It is scientific socialism which we uphold. During the period of socialism which is the lower stage of communism, the Communist Party leads the working class and the laboring people to carry out construction under the guidance of Marxist theories. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, it would be impossible to build scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism demands that as an integral part of our economic system, we must uphold the socialist system of public ownership and generally develop planned economy and implement basic principles such as the principle "to each according to his work." We cannot do all this under the capitalist system. These basic principles are precluded in the bourgeois system of ownership and the capitalist principle of distribution. There also exists a public sector of the economy under the capitalist system. Since the administrative power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, however, the public sector of the economy under the capitalist system is not the joint property of the working class and the laboring people. It essentially adopts the bourgeois system of ownership as Engels pointed out over 100 years ago. Well developed capitalist countries also foster social welfare. The social welfare systems of some well developed countries are fairly good. This is the result of the development of the productive forces in the capitalist society. It is also the result of the protracted struggle waged by the working class.

By no means, however, will this change the basic fact that the working class in the capitalist society is still not the master of the means of production and that they are still subjected to exploitation. Nor will this change the basic fact that the capitalist principle of distribution still prevails there and that polarization will invariably exist there. Scientific socialism demands that as an integral part of our political system, we must persistently exercise the people's democratic dictatorship. The people's democratic dictatorship is a dictatorship exercised by the majority of people over the minority. This is the important hallmark in distinguishing socialism from capitalism. Despite the fact that we committed many errors in the past in promoting democracy and establishing our legal system, that there are still many drawbacks in our political system and many shortcomings in the governmental organs at various levels, and that an unhealthy trend prevails among some cadres--(we must solve these problems, and we are also trying hard to solve such problems)--all this will, by no means, change the most important fact that our administration and laws represent the interests of the people and that all the activities of our government service the interests of the people. Under no circumstances should we deny that basic fact simply because our democratic system is still imperfect--the fact that under the socialist system, people are the masters of the nation and that they enjoy democratic rights which they had never enjoyed in the past. Under no circumstances should we use some forms of democracy under the capitalist system to cover up or deny the essential aspect that basically speaking, bourgeois democracy is a kind of democracy enjoyed by a few exploiters. Still less should we blur the delineation between the two totally different types of democracy; or even praise and promote bourgeois democracy. In developing spiritual civilization, a socialist nation has attained a common ideal, a common goal and a common moral standard on the basis of the same fundamental interests. In a socialist nation, there exists a new type of socialist relations among men and the role of Marxist scientific world outlook in guiding socialist ideologies. All this does not exist in a capitalist society. We must learn advanced science and technology and other useful forms of culture from the well developed capitalist countries, but we will never learn or import the decadent ideologies and the ugly and evil things from the bourgeoisie. Under no circumstances should we "learn everything from the West" as recommended by Fang Lizhi. We must continue to eliminate the remaining influence of feudalism. Under no circumstances, however, should we use this as an excuse to totally deny China's traditional culture or seize this opportunity to popularize capitalist ideas.

To follow the socialist road, we must persistently carry out reforms and open to the outside world. Carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world is the correct measure we found after exploring our way for 30 years in improving and developing the socialist system and promoting the rapid development of the productive forces. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China has scored tremendous achievements in socialist construction and become the focus of world attention. One of the major reasons is that we have implemented the policy of carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world. In order to fulfill our target for the end of this century and achieve our goal of struggle set for the next century, we must continue to implement the policy of carrying out reforms and opening to

the outside world. Therefore, our existing policies, particularly the policy of carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world, will never change. They will only become even better and more well defined. With regard to the open-door policy, we have not done enough to open ourselves to the outside world right now. From now on, we will only open even wider to the outside world. With regard to the policy of reform, we must unswervingly carry on this policy. Especially in reforming the urban economic system, we have only started. We are investigating and studying the reform of our political system. We must also unswervingly carry out this reform in the same way. To oppose bourgeois liberalization is precisely aimed at removing the obstacles in carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world and at doing a still better job in carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world. If we deny the four cardinal principles and promote bourgeois liberalization, China will become a chaotic society, and our political situation of stability and unity will be undermined. Without our political situation of stability and unity, we will not be able to carry out construction. Still less can we carry out reform and opening to the outside world. As long as we correctly wage the struggle against bourgeois liberalization in accordance with the plan and policy formulated by the party Central Committee, we will be able to further consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity, and implement even more smoothly the policy of carrying out reforms and opening to the outside world.

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A MAGNIFICENT MONUMENT--READING 'A CHRONICLE OF ZHU DE'S LIFE'

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[Article by Qi Guang [0796 0342]]

[Text] "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life," compiled by the CPC Central Committee's Party Literature Research Center, is finally off the press. This is the first chronicle we have read on the life of a leader, and because of this, it is particularly exhilarating.

Comrade Zhu De was a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, statesman and strategist. The outstanding contributions he made to the Chinese revolution during his lifetime are well known to us, and also famous around the world. To compile the chronicle of such a great person, to recount the brilliant achievements of his life, to reflect his noble character and fine ideological styles--these not only conform with the need for the building of the two civilizations at present, but are also required in the education and training of the future generations of the revolution. It can be foreseen that the publication of "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" will not only be warmly received by the readers, but will also produce excellent political influence and social impact.

The compilation of a chronicle, notably that of a leader--how should this be done? Views vary from person to person and there is no single definite set of rules to follow. However, the chronicle of a leader should be established on a factual basis, and should faithfully record the unique path of life that Zhu De traversed. It should clearly depict the pattern of the development of his thinking during each historical period, as well as accurately sketch the great image of Zhu De. It should expound the major roles he played in the development of history, so that the readers could vividly see his kindly reflection through the chronicle as well as touch the pulse of his thoughts. I believe that all these features were accomplished in "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life." It should be affirmed that this was a successful attempt.

An important feature of "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" was the use of a huge amount of full and accurate materials (including many valuable documents that have never been published before) that truthfully recounted the great exploits and contributions of Comrade Zhu De during each revolutionary historical stage. It not only emphasizes the image of the individual, but also carries the distinct color of the period.

From his birth on 1 December 1886 to his death on 6 July 1976, Comrade Zhu De's life spanned 90 years. During these 90 years, he traversed an arduous and winding road. He went through the old democratic revolution, and took part in the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution as well as the socialist construction. In particular, in the latter stage, as a major leader of the party, the state and the military, his many activities were linked with those of the entire party, the state, and the military. With such a vast span of time and so many events experienced, what should be and should not be included in "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" (it is different from compiling the party history, military history and war history)? This is a very tricky question, yet "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" settled the question very nicely. First, it started out from the need to emphasize the depiction of Zhu De's picture, and liberally used materials directly related to Zhu De and possessing great convincing power. It fully reflected the historic trails and outstanding contributions of Zhu De from various angles and aspects; at the same time, it demonstrated the noble character and mental outlook of Comrade Zhu De in various difficult and complicated struggles. The chronicle not only recapitulated his many speeches, instructions and wire messages, but also narrated his earthshaking battle maneuvers and strategies. One was able not only to observe his profound knowledge and penetrating insights in directing battles and in his political life, but could also see him as he relished the simple pleasures of daily life (such as composing poetry and growing flowers). Hence, the image of Comrade Zhu De consistently stood out in the chronicle and possessed character as well as vivid individuality. Second, in order to clearly illustrate the pattern of the development of Zhu De's thinking and its historical basis, the chronicle adequately used some major historical events which, while having no direct relation to Zhu De, did reflect the significance of the times, as background material, so that the reader could clearly understand why Comrade Zhu De stressed one issue during a particular time, and another issue at another time.

The distinctive theme and the right touch with background information complemented one another suitably. To accomplish all these was not an easy matter. The editors needed to explore and read a massive amount of archival material and to visit many knowledgeable people. They also had to widely collect materials and compile, verify, categorize, study, polish, simplify as well as compose these materials which make for very tedious and detailed work. It was learned that the compilation of this chronicle took 6 years and needed seven revisions to arrive at the present form. It could be seen that the editors put in a gigantic amount of labor in order to compile a chronicle of such high quality.

Another main feature of "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" was its lucid form, concise and succinct words which makes it very readable.

A chronicle is a book of data, and this kind of book usually focuses on the totality and accuracy of contents, while narration is often dull, stiff, and even boring. As a reference book, "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" also attempts to achieve a wholeness of contents as well as richness and accuracy of material. However, it is not monotonous reading. Comrades specializing



in research work or ordinary readers would find the writing smooth and flowing, as if one were walking through winding but flat trails in the woods. This chronicle is basically compiled in chronological order which enables the reader to follow the march of time and see clearly each giant footprint of Zhu De. At times, the chronicle uses an accounting style to record the ins and outs of events so that the reader can have a concentrated and complete idea of Zhu De during a certain major incident. The flexible application of these two styles achieved the same goal: That is, to make Zhu De's image more outstanding and vivid, as well as to make the reader feel more intimate and have a sense of realism. Moreover, as one of the important party and state leaders, Comrade Zhu De attended numerous diplomatic functions. If his meetings with foreign guests, attendances at receptions and visits and tours were all to be written down, readers would obviously find them too redundant. To make the chronicle simpler and more polished, the editors drastically trimmed off the ordinary protocol activities and saved only the truly important materials. This not only demonstrated the paramount contributions of Comrade Zhu De in diplomatic activities, it prevented trivial matters submerging his ideological brilliance. According to the requirements for sketching personalities, the writer must be both precise and simple as the occasion demands. Sometimes he will have to elaborate on a point, at other times he must touch on the subject lightly. Practice shows that this kind of flexible editing and writing has effectively emphasized the image of Zhu De and has important reference value.

Summing up, whether for purposes of studying the party history, the military history, or to absorb rich spiritual nourishment from the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries in order to propel the development of socialist modernization, "A Chronicle of Zhu De's Life" is worth reading.

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## COMMENTS ON THE FREUDIAN VIEW OF LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Dong Xuewen [5516 1331 2429] and Zhang Shouying [1728 7445 2503]]

[Text] Freudism and its effects are very complicated. Great uproars have been started time and again in the cultural and art circles under the lash of Freudism over the more than half century in the past, whether in the West or the East, in the past or the present. In recent years, a considerable "craze for Freudism" has also emerged in China's literary world. Therefore it is very necessary and significant to brief on, and to evaluate the Freudian psychoanalytical system and view on literature and art with Marxist stand, viewpoints, and approaches, in a truth-seeking way with analysis.

### I

Freud's view of literature and art is a component part of his entire system of psychoanalysis. To have an accurate mastery of the Freudian view of literature and art, it is primarily necessary to grasp the basic concepts of his doctrine of psychoanalysis. Generally speaking, the ideas of Freudian psychoanalysis mainly embody in the following two aspects:

First, the human mind is conspicuously divided into "the conscious," the "preconscious," and the "unconscious." In his opinion, "the conscious" is the supreme form of human psychological state, which, under normal condition, controls and conducts human spiritual life, making it work effectively. The "preconscious" is an intermediate mechanism to readjust the conscious and the unconscious, and it links with the conscious as well as the unconscious, making it possible for the unconscious to convert into the conscious, or vice versa. While the so-called "unconscious" is the psychology of a deeper structure, under psychological repression and suppression behind the conscious and the preconscious, and the most original and basic factor of human psychology. The preconscious will convert into the conscious only through external help, inducement, and enlightenment, with the lightening up of certain analysis, and the removal of some spiritual pressure. Of these three aspects, Freud devoted most of his efforts on "the unconscious," and claimed that his psychology was "the psychology of the unconscious." He said: "The unconscious is a peculiar spiritual realm; it has its own wishful impulse, ways of expression, and a spiritual mechanism of its own."

("A General Introduction to Psychology," 1920 English edition, p 178) The particular expression of the unconscious lies in "its work of making decision, preparations, and reflection, then building up a dream through its activities." (Ibid., p 189) In other words, the unconscious is a psychological state of a still deeper structure than the conscious and the preconscious. In the sense of instinct, the unconscious determines human conscious behavior, makes preparations for human conscious and preconscious expression, reflects human instincts, and conducts man's activities with the help of his own dreams. In Freud's opinion, the unconscious not only possesses all kinds of human instincts, but also conceals many "surprising and bewildering" spiritual activities; many problems beyond solution with the theory of the conscious can be resolved by the theory of the unconscious. For example, dreams, sexuality, and all kinds of life instincts can be revealed through the explanation of the theory of the unconscious. At the same time, the unconscious does not exist in isolation, and has inherent links with the preconscious and the conscious. Human spiritual development is a process of the movement from the unconscious to the conscious through the preconscious. In connection with "the unconscious," and "the preconscious," Freud also put forth his theory on "the subconscious." But "the subconscious" is again different from "the unconscious" and "the preconscious." The "subconscious" is something long submerged in the deepest realm of the human spirit, and is not allowed to intrude into "the conscious"; while "the unconscious" and "the preconscious" keep in close connection with "the conscious," and "the unconscious" may be converted into "the conscious" through "the preconscious."

Second, Freud explicitly proposed, on the basis of the theory of the unconscious with some breakthrough, the theory of the id, the ego, and the super-ego, the fundamentals of the personality structure, a theory corresponding to "the conscious," "the unconscious," and "the subconscious," and formed his peculiar doctrine of personality. According to Freud's view, the id is precisely human instincts, including all kinds of desire, such as the passion of love and sexuality governed by the "principle of pleasure," the pursuit of pleasant sensation, and the thirst for expression. The id transcends all external interference. It possesses the qualities of originality, spontaneity, and chaotic disorder. The id is the personification of the unconscious, the motivation for human instinctive impulse, as well as the hidden force to bring destruction to the personal existence. The center of the id is sexuality or "libido." Here, "libido" is something similar to hunger, and a kind of momentum, through which sexual instinct will be given expression. To Freud, "libido" is the basis of vitality, and a potential power belonging to man, which is boundless, and free of the norms of ethics, logic, time and space, lying in the deepest structure of man's psychology. All human behavior depends on it, and all exaltation and compensation come under its restriction.

The ego is developed from the id; it controls the latter, and protects the entire biological body, and is human spirit with a higher function. The ego is precisely the conscious or the self-conscious, the main body of all senses, feelings, and rational thinking, and the stimulator of all conscious activities. The ego is governed by the "reality principle" corresponding to

the external world, and possesses the qualities of organization, idealization, and imagination. It is the "servant" of the id, the superego, and the external world, as well as the intermediate mechanism regulating the relations between the three. The ego "is stipulated by 'the id,' surrounded by 'the superego,' and impeded by realities. 'The ego' is striving, and working hard to implement its task of protection, and to readjust the harmony between all kinds of external and internal forces attacking on it and their effects." ("New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis," 1936 English edition, p 104)

As to the superego, otherwise called the transcending of the self, it refers to the psychological structure transcending, and higher than, but inseparable from the ego. The superego mainly consists of the conscience and the ideal of the self, governed by "ethical principles." It keeps close ties with the external world, adapts itself to the environment, deals with things around it, pursues perfection, and has a strong social nature and cultural coloring. Superficially, the superego seems to be sanctimonious, actually it suppresses instincts, causing the loss of the ego. It does not belong to rational consciousness, but is a soaring and sublimation of the subconscious.

Freud pointed out, the relations between the three are very close, and it is very difficult to judge when and where it is the id, the ego, or the superego that is functioning. Freud's starting point was that people must preserve the coordination of the three, repress instinctive impulse, and maintain the balance and harmony between them, for the perfection of their personality, their long-term harmony, and the peaceful, friendly, and free development they yearn for. Otherwise, people will do something irrational or beyond rationality. In fact, the global effects of Freudism often run counter to his theoretical wish and starting point.

The Freudian ideological system is rather expansive and complicated, far from being included by the two aspects mentioned above; moreover, it has in itself an explicit and clear aspect, as well as a confused and contradictory aspect. It is sometimes logical, but sometimes entirely illogical. The above is just a rough generalization. But if we have a clear idea of these two aspects, we may have the condition to further analyze his view of literature and art.

## II

The major characteristic in Freud's research in literature and art as a scholar of psychoanalysis is his linking literature and art with psychoanalysis all through; to be exact, linking the literature and art of romanticism and the expressionist school with the personality theory of the three tiers to make psychoanalysis of phenomena in literature and art.

Freud lived in an age when Western literature and art were in transition from the 19th to the 20th century, with various schools emerging one after another, and varied theories in coexistence. Freud studied the works of Da Vinci, Michelangelo's "Moses," and Dostoevski's novels, but the greater part of his efforts was devoted to the literature and art of romanticism and the expressionist school.

Freud believed that literature and art not only possess factors of the conscious but more factors of the unconscious. The basis of the creation of literature and art was not the conscious, but the unconscious. Neither is the motivation for the development of literature and art found in the conscious, but in the unconscious. Without the unconscious, the creation of literature and art is impossible, neither is it possible for their progress. He said: "The creation of the artist is the satisfaction of his unconscious desire as in the satisfaction of his dreams." ("A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis," 1933 English edition, p 314) Art, to him, whether of the romantic or the expressionist type, had fully described the unconscious of man. Such art goes on at length to sing the praises of the id, is filled with mythical fantasies, opposes the suppression of the rational society on human nature, expresses human intuition, longing and irrationality, and upholds creation on the strength of inspiration and imagination. All this is based on the unconscious, whereupon, the beautiful, rich and colorful human existence is unfolded, and the unconscious as human nature is embodied. Therefore, the expression of the unconscious is precisely where the life of art lies.

This concept of Freud has produced tremendous effects in Western modern literature and art, and for a time, became the theoretical basis of the ideological trends in Western modern literature and art. In the exploration of the irrational human factors, the modernist school of literature and art mostly depends on the Freudian theory of the unconscious regarding literature and art. The censures of modernist art on the traditional expression of human loftiness, its reversion on rationalness, and its lashing at orderly structure are all related to the Freudian view of literature and art. Especially the so-called stream of consciousness of the West mainly refers to the three tiers of the id, the ego, and the super-ego in the flow of the human mind. Therefore, Freudism has played a more direct role in the formation of the approach of the stream of consciousness than James (who initiated the concept and viewpoint of the stream of consciousness) and Bergson. Western scholars also admitted: "Artists of the modernist school always keep their vision in an unorganized way to a certain degree; therefore, their works are capable of reflecting indirectly the severed and scattered scenes in the imagination of the unconscious. Such scenes are far from what they see in their sober consciousness. In dream-land, when we are dreaming, we find them extraordinarily accurate, clear and rational, but...things that seem to be confused and disorderly in dreams have become means to acquire the greatest accuracy in the hands of the artist...Only in the minds of those people lacking creativity, such unconscious images without a fixed center will disappear." (Statement by Antu Yilunciweige [1344 0956 0122 0243 4850 2706], quoted from Lipman: "Contemporary Aesthetics," 1973 English edition, p 397)

Freud's ideology has changed the concept of man in Western literature of the modernist school. To Freud, man is neither filled with noble rationalness nor lofty feelings; he is neither an extraordinary saint or a hero, nor an absolute despicable rogue. On the contrary, he is a creature full of self-contradictions. In his nature, he demands acknowledgement of his passion characterized by human beings, but in his heart is hidden a hell, filled

with darkness, blindness and unconscious impulses; the power of his life can create wonder on earth, while his lust for death will cause the destruction of himself as well as the world, and end in his tragic fate. Therefore, not only man is to a large degree secular, prosaic, and non-heroic, but is characterized by many morbid states, erraticism, absurdities, confusion, and abnormal mental states. His personality is severed up, the integrity of his individuality is lost, and he alienates the society as well as he himself. Generally speaking, some of the images of men in Western literature of the modernist school are just like that. Regarding the ideological fountainhead, the emergence of these images owed to a large degree to the Freudian view of the unconscious in literature and art.

What is the most influential and widespread application of Freudian psychology to literature and art is his "theory of sexuality." In the Freudian view, literature and art are regarded as the transfer, and exaltation of, and compensation for sexual desire and "libido." He held the view that the main task for the creation of literature and art is to express sexual desire, and to describe how man becomes aware of his sexuality, fulfills his sexual desire, then overcomes his lust, and eventually becomes noble-minded, thus exalting to the rational height of social ethics. However, he believed that in a civilized society, lust is inevitably restricted by such social factors as ethics and the law, and will not be fully satisfied, thus lust is repressed into some "love knot" in the subconscious; and it is only with the outlet and conversion of such repressed lust that such pain will be relieved. In Freud's own words, "a way to prevent pain is to adopt the 'libido transfer,' which is the way permitted by our spiritual mechanism." (Quoted from "Civilization and Its Discontents," as carried in "Issues on Aesthetics," edited by Morris Weiss, 1970 English edition, p 761) As in dreams, literature and art are precisely the best way for such "libido transfer." By means of describing sex drive, the writer enables himself to get some compensation for some of his unsatisfied lust in realities, while the readers of such works may likewise get their compensation, a sense of physiological and psychological satisfaction. For example, when Freud made an analysis of Shakespeare's "Hamlet," he regarded it as the result of Shakespeare's transfer of, and compensation for his own desire. The fact that Hamlet delays his killing Claudius in revenge is precisely the Oedipus complex (the libidinous feelings a boy developed toward his mother; this is called the "Electra complex" when referring to a daughter's feelings for her father) burning in his heart. When people read this play, they may also see the Oedipus complex inborn in themselves. In other words, the process of the writer creating, and the readers appreciating this play is one of understanding their own "love knot," and satisfying their own desire, whereupon become aware of the fact that such a love knot has artificial advantages and disadvantages, and their sense of moral will be purified.

The effects of the Freudian "theory of sexuality," and his doctrine of "the exaltation of sex instinct" brought about the formation of many marked characteristics of the literature and art of the modernist school. In the advocacy of the literature and art of the modernist school, the moral rationalness initiated and upheld by Plato, the noble character in Longinus' discussions, the theological principle stressed by Saint Thomas

Aquinas, and the spirit of humanism [renwen zhui 0086 2429 0031 5030] promoted by Shakespeare and Da Vinci, the rational essentials upheld by Boileau-Despreaux, as well as the determinism expounded by Taine are all lost. Taking their place are the magnifying of human original vitality, passion, sex drive, life instinct, and the depression of being repressed, as well as the naked description and extreme exaggeration of human animality, and the review of the so-called man "is half an angel, and half a beast," with focus on the latter. Corresponding theoretical grounds for all these may be found in Freudian theories. "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" by James Joyce dealing with man's feelings, moods, sexual drive, religious mania, as well as rational consciousness, the works by Thomas Mann dealing with man's self-indulgence, Kafka's works dealing with the distortion of human nature, Stevenson's description of the Oedipus complex and ties between the two sexes, and Otto Rank's narrations on anxieties and the labor of giving birth, all these are noted examples of the effects of Freudism. These writers openly admitted that their writings were conducted under the enlightenment of Freudism.

However, we find that when Western writers applied the Freudian theory of sexuality in their exploration in writing, some of them attached attention to linking the description of sex with the law of beauty, and transferring certain original desires onto a realistic, cultural, and aesthetic track, so that instincts might exalt to the ethical principle in realities. Not all of them attempted to blindly illustrate Freudism with art, but absorbed useful things in it to enrich their writings. Therefore, it will not be difficult to understand their certain accomplishments.

There are quintessences as well as dross in the Freudian view on literature and art. Only when we adhere to the attitude of historical materialism and dialectical materialism will it be possible for us to make a correct evaluation of the Freudian view on literature and art.

### III

We believe that the greatest contribution of the Freudian view on literature and art is to have helped artists widen the psychological world in their artistic descriptions, and upgraded the level of theorists in their understanding of works of literature and art with the psychoanalytical approach. As we know, a polemic took place between Balzac and Hugo in France during the 19th century. Balzac attached importance to the sophisticate portrayal of the objective environment, while Hugo paid greater attention to the free expounding of psychological consciousness. At that time, people were rather doubtful about those two theories, Hugo's advocacy of romanticism in particular, and failed to make a resolute conclusion about the polemic. But with the emergence of the Freudian theory of the unconscious in literature and art, people no longer doubted about the free expounding of psychological consciousness, and were longing to see works of literature and art strengthen the tapping of psychological consciousness, and expressing human psychological images at deeper layers. This has been helpful to promoting writing in depth.

The spread of Freudism to China has played a certain helpful role in the development of modern Chinese literature. In "Mending the Sky," Lu Xun adopted the Freudian approach of observing the world, and wrote in his "Preface to Old Stories Retold": "I have only adopted Freudism to explain the motivation of creation--of man and literature." Guo Moruo admitted that the Freudian theory on dreams had played a certain role in his writing of the novel "Late Spring": "The starting point of my 'Late Spring' was not attaching importance to the progress of facts, but psychological description. The psychology in my description was a flow of the subconscious... Regarding those who have some knowledge about psychoanalysis and the psychology of dreams, they will certainly detect my motivation, and may hold different views." ("Criticism and Dreams") As to the novels of the neo-sensualism school in modern Chinese literature, Freudism was applied to all the more consciously. For example, when Shi Zhecun wrote "Shi Xiu," he transformed the plot of Shi Xiu to kill Pan Qiaoyun in the novel "The Water Margin" with the psychoanalytical approach; in his "Jiumoluoshi," he described the conflict between sexual drive and ascetic practices. All these have proved that the Freudian view on literature and art is worthy of reference, and we should not give it a total repudiation.

However, grave shortcomings and mistakes exist in the Freudian view on literature and art; speaking as a whole, it has a conspicuous trend of counter history and very strong subjective arbitrariness. Freud was a serious and ambitious scholar at heart, and it is inappropriate to regard him as ideologically reactionary and morally corrupted. However, he started from biological instincts to explain all human spiritual activities and social phenomena as well as all problems of literature and art by means of the unconscious and the theory of sexuality, and turned the science of literature and art into something biological and vulgar. In the end, most of his followers, such as Jung and Adler turned against and criticized him. Even his daughter Anna Freud broke away from the grip of the id and the theory of sexuality, which were his greatest concern, and highlighted "the ego." Listowel, the English scholar, put it well: "After our efforts to make a clear explanation of Freud's scholastic analysis of myths, poems, stories, novels and paintings, we raised our heads from our long diligent hard work, and immediately found that we were very tired, and that all Freud's analyses based on some prefabricated theory, and a complete distortion of the facts." ("A Criticism on the Modern History of Aesthetics," Shanghai Yiwu Publishing House, 1980 edition, p 140) We share the same feeling deeply in the course of studying the Freudian view of literature and art.

Aside from the absurdity of placing the unconscious to an inappropriate height, the greatest mistake in the Freudian view of literature and art is the exaggeration of the role of sexual drive in the creation and criticism of literature and art. He regarded sexual drive as the motivation for the creation of literature and art, the sex instinct as everlasting theme of works of literature and art, and the analysis of sexual drive as the primary task for literature and art criticism; and held the view that "artists are people urged by excessive demand of sexual desire," "the concept of beauty strikes root in the earth of sexual stimulation." ("Three Essays on the



Theory of Sexuality," English edition, p 21) Thus, he pushed things to extremity, making them absurd.

The creation of culture by mankind is mainly based on the people's needs of material and spiritual lives. We do not deny the existence of sex culture in them, but if the basic cause for the creation of literature and art is attributed to the emancipation and exaltation of human sex instinct, that will be a grave distortion of history and science. Freud held the view that "sex drive has made the greatest contribution to the highest cultural, artistic, and social accomplishments of the human minds." ("A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis," The Commercial Press, 1984 edition, p 9) However, when we leaf through all the histories of art, Chinese and foreign, we find that none of the excellent works in existence was the outcome of the transfer, and exaltation of, and the compensation for the sex instinct of artists. None of the masterpieces can provide illustrations for his theory of sexuality, whether those in Freud's analysis or those beyond his study. Even those works purposely devoted to the description of sex were done so by the authors based on the logical emotional development of the characters. The characters in works of literature are not identical to the writers themselves. Freud confused the two with arbitrary expansion, and regarded the works of literature and art as the writer's autobiography on his own sexual behavior; and his theory of sexuality served as a wild horse arbitrarily trampling the garden of literature and art. This entirely runs counter to the law of art and the objective facts in artistic creation.

Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the mistake of the Freudian view of literature and art lies in his regarding the satisfaction of sex drive as a sense of beauty rather than his upholding literature and art as a means to satisfy such a drive. Freud loved to use the terminology "the pleasure principle." Literature and art are thus practically included in hedonism characterized by sexual desire. Although the essences of literature and art may involve sexuality, we are not necessarily driven by sexual impulse in our creation or appreciation. The quality of the works of literature and art is not determined by whether they have purposely given expression to sexuality. Those things which most easily rouse pleasure are not necessarily beautiful. Many works of literature and art describing sex in full lengths are not always good; while those works refraining from sexual descriptions in great lengths are not always bad. Take "The Golden Lotus" and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" for example, is it not obvious which of the two has higher artistic quality, greater aesthetic value, and better social benefit! Would anyone regard the stimulation of pornographic descriptions in one's reading as a sense of beauty? The pleasure aroused by the sense of beauty and hedonism characterized by sexuality are two kettles of soup, and they should never be confused. If vulgar pleasure is regarded as a sense of beauty, that will be a distortion of the essence of artistic appreciation. It is groundless and a pseudo-science for Freud to regard the description of sex instinct as a criterion for the level of artistic work, and the satisfaction of sexuality as a sense of beauty.

The Freudian view of literature and art has not only negated objective facts, but rejected the social nature of literature and art. He denied the social

restrictions on human psychology and consciousness (including the consciousness of sex) as well as the historical essences of human nature. He stressed the severance of human psychology from social environment and their conflicts, and placed the role of sex instinct above all else, thus reverted the relations between psychological as well as physiological phenomena and social realities. As a follower of Kantian philosophy, and the philosophies of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Eduard von Hartmann, Freud made his view on literature and art with the psychoanalytical approach characterized all the more by subjective assertion, one-sidedness, and imagination; at the same time, pushed to extremities the irrational factors which his predecessors had not fully grasped and did not have time enough to prove in psychology.

In recent years, some comrades in our literature and art circles have lacked due analysis of the Freudian theory of sexuality, which has been applied to literary and art creation and criticism. Others hold the view that the Freudian psychology characterized by revealing the fact that the deeper structure of human psychology lies in sex; therefore, if literature and art is to deal with the deeper structure of human psychology, sex must be given expression; while in-depth portrayal is out of the question if the unconscious and sex are evaded. Still others even based their creative writing on such theories, exhibited the naked sex consciousness, sex behavior, and sex entanglement, and spared no efforts to seize the varied scenes of abnormal sex relations, while regarding this as "profundity," "transcendence," and "a breakthrough." This is an ideological trend worthy of note.

Of course, it is indisputable to conduct exploration in the description of sex activities based on the law of beauty in the creation of literature and art. Marxism has always supported such practice. In praise of Georg Weerth, the first important poet of the German proletariat, Engels said: Weerth's "strong points surpassed those of Heine (because Weerth was healthier and more sincere) and what Heine surpassed him in German literature was the expression of natural and healthy sexuality and sex drive." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 9) In its view on literature and art, Marxism is by no means one that practices asceticism, turning fragile at the mention of sex. However, the aim of such exploration should be the upgrading of the standards of creative writing, and to strengthen the ability of appreciation, but not the pursuit of novelty, or any other motives. Moreover, such exploration should be based on a sense of responsibility, a good taste, consideration for social benefit, and stimulating people to make progress. It should not lead the readers astray in the indulgence and pursuit of sexual stimulation by means of vulgar descriptions. In another article praising Georg Weerth, Engels mentioned, in view of the prejudice and hypocritical shyness of the German citizens at that time, the German workers were still not "using to talking with ease about what they are doing in the daytime or at night, those things natural, necessary, and very pleasant," and he suggested that the party organ paper THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS refrain from carrying the poet's works of this category. Engels' practice is worthy of our contemplation.

Historical materialism points out, in human society, all human conscious behavior is stamped with social nature, even sexual consciousness and

behavior are of no exception. "Needless to say, the beauty of human figures, intimate ties, and harmonious interest have roused the desire for sexual intercourse between the sexes; therefore, the question with whom such a most intimate relation takes place is not one of no consequences to either sex." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 72) Marx explicitly pointed out: "Human nature is not something abstract that is inherent in some individual, but the sum total of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) The basic difference between man and animal lies in man's social practice. If the deeper layer of human nature is defined as sexual instinct, it will be making void of the essences of man's social practice, then man and animals will be no different. The Freudian view of literature and art based on the theory of sexuality has precisely committed the following mistake: Changing human nature into animality, while regarding animality as human nature; in his sole pursuit of human biological nature, Freud entirely neglected the nature of social practice of the object of expression in literature and art, namely man. The mistakes of some followers of Freudism lies exactly here; they have neglected the close relation between literature and art and social life, underestimated the social quality of human sexual consciousness, made the writing of the stream of consciousness and psychological description an equal to the writing of sex, and man an equal to animal. As a result, it is impossible for people to penetrate this particular realm, to select or to refract the social psychological ferment as well as the sediment of historical consciousness. This is a wrong approach in creative writing, and out of place with the needs of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Our writers and critics should exert greater efforts to show concern for our times and society, even when sex is dealt with in their writing or in a commenting description, it should be linked with social existence, social consciousness, and the spirit of the times. Only then will it be possible for them to take up the historical mission in their writing and criticism, to heighten their sense of social responsibility, and to push forward the progress of history together with the people by means of their writing. Like commenting on all other ideological trends of Western literature and art, the commenting on the Freudian view of literature and art is for the sake of making literature and art better play their role in socialist modernization. This is none other than our purpose.

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## A TALK ON THE RURAL COURTYARD ECONOMY

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[Article by Wang Yuzhao [3769 6735 2507], governor of Anhui Province; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The courtyard economy refers to the economic activities which farmers engage in around the courtyards of their homes. The major components are planting, animal-raising, and processing industries. Since Anhui implemented the output-linked household contract responsibility system the courtyard economy has seen vigorous development and this has played a big role in enlivening the rural commodity economy. In light of my province's situation, below I will discuss the characteristics of the courtyard economy, the inevitability of its rise, and its position and role in the rural economy.

### The Characteristics of a Courtyard Economy

In the practice of reform over the last few years, the rural areas of Anhui Province have produced various types of courtyard economies. Some are based on a single industry and have engaged in specialized production; some have engaged in planting, animal-raising, and processing and have developed comprehensive operations; some within restricted spaces have developed dual planting and animal-raising, combined tall-stalked and short-stalked crops, broad-leaved and narrow-leaved crops, early-maturing and late-maturing crops, surface crops and root crops, and have combined the raising of animals which live on land, in the water, or in the air. Seen from our situation, the rural courtyard economy has the following characteristics:

**WIDE SUITABILITY:** There are many conditions conducive to the development of the courtyard economy. First, the ecological environment and soil fertility of courtyards is generally better than that of the fields and therefore courtyards are suited to developing projects which cannot easily be developed in the fields or in the mountains. Second, all areas have their own special superior resources and traditional technologies and there are some projects which all families can develop. Third, there is no need for complex factories and equipment, and thus only a small investment is needed. Thousands of families in Xuancheng Prefecture have developed their courtyards and have started planting date orchards and bases for Chinese chestnuts, walnuts, tung trees, dried bamboo shoots, wingceltis and wet-area pine paper-making

materials. The state has not invested any money in this at all. The specialized economic areas formed by Chuxian County and other areas likewise have not involved one cent of state funds. Finally, it can effectively utilize surplus labor and surplus time from agriculture. It can also be engaged in by men and women, young and old and even the weak, sick and disabled.

**DIVERSITY OF PROJECTS:** Different areas have different conditions in terms of weather, natural resources, and economic and technological conditions. There are also differences in the superiorities of resources, economic situations, technological levels, and operational quality of individual rural households. This has led to vast diversity and variety in production and operation projects in the courtyard economy.

**INTENSIVE NATURE OF PRODUCTION:** Courtyards are small, which makes them suited to intensive cultivation. This can both fully utilize their traditional technological superiorities and also their advanced scientific technology. Thereby, with the implementation of intensive operations, quite good economic benefits can be obtained.

**THE COMMODITY NATURE OF PRODUCTS:** In the last few years following the readjustment of the rural industrial structure farmers' commodity consciousness has grown and the former self-sufficiency oriented courtyard economy has gradually developed toward a more specialized and commodity-oriented economy. The commodity rate has yearly increased and is in general always over 80 percent. Sometimes it even reaches 100 percent.

**THE FLEXIBILITY OF OPERATIONS:** The scale of the courtyard economy is not large and few fixed assets are involved. "A small boat can change direction quickly." It can thus accord with the constantly changing market and readjust its operational direction and production projects in a timely way. Changing production, changing specialities or even closing down do not produce excessive economic losses.

#### The Objective Inevitability of the Rise of the Courtyard Economy

The gradual growth of the courtyard economy throughout the province is due to the following reasons and conditions.

1. The courtyard economy has a long historical tradition. In feudal society villages had natural self-sufficient economies. Apart from engaging in work in their fields, farmers used the empty areas around their houses to engage in planting and animal-raising sideline industries. This was to supplement what came from the fields. This practice went on generation after generation and became a traditional practice for our nation's vast number of farmers.

2. The family contract responsibility systems have provided a policy guarantee for the rise of the courtyard economy. After cooperativization and the establishment of communes, because of the influence of "leftist" guiding ideology, the farmers' family economy was subject to restrictions.

During the "Cultural Revolution" it was even chopped off as the "tail of capitalism." This resulted in the courtyard economy being seriously damaged. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, policies have been relaxed, in the villages output-related contract responsibility systems have been implemented, and farmers have had decisionmaking powers. While continuing to plant their fields, it was inevitable that they would transfer their surplus labor and surplus time to the courtyard economy.

3. Market guidance. In the old courtyard economy production was of a self-supporting or semi-self-supporting nature. In the last few years the commodity economy has greatly developed, the social division of labor and commodity exchanges have continually expanded, and the amount of goods needed by markets has continually increased. The products of the courtyard economy are usually native products or traditional handicraft products which are particularly suited to the markets. Today's courtyard economy has already become a component part of the socialist planned economy.

Apart from these, other conditions for developing the courtyard economy are becoming gradually more complete. For example, there has been a big improvement in the quality of the farmers. Throughout the province there are several million lower- or senior-middle school graduates who have returned to their villages. They are educated, understand new science and technology, and are good at seeking new avenues to become prosperous. Furthermore, following the development of the rural economy the farmers' economic strength has grown and there are more funds for developing production than there were in the past. There are thus conditions for opening up other production areas.

How we understand the courtyard economy relates to how we understand the productive forces and relations of production in the rural areas at the present stage and also relates to some theoretical sociological questions. In the past, under "leftist" ideological influence we lacked a complete understanding of the functions of the family as a social cell and felt that the functions of the family had already died out. This led to some mistaken policies and mistaken practices. Seen from the present, in the rural areas the production function of the family social cells will exist for a long time to come. Even highly-developed capitalist countries with specialized and socialized production still have many family factories and family farms. Our nation's level of the social productive forces is still quite low and development is very uneven. Many villages are still very backward. In this situation, fully utilizing and bringing into play the many functions of the family as social cells accords with the objective demands of developing the productive forces at the present stage.

#### The Position and Role of the Courtyard Economy in the Rural Economy

Developing and using the resources of courtyard land and developing the production of commodities has great importance for the villages in our province. On the one hand, our province has many people and little land, and there is a per capita average of only 1.5 mu of cultivated land. On the other hand, because the population is large, there is an increasing

area of land being used for residences and other construction. As 85 percent of the population lives in villages or small towns, the large and small courtyards of the various families and households can be used. According to an aerial survey by a relevant department, throughout the nation villages and townships occupy 10 percent of total land area and of this, 5 percent of total land area is usable. The statistics of investigations in some counties show that there is much land around houses which can be used. For example, in Fengyang County the area of usable land around houses is equivalent to about 9.3 percent of the county's cultivated land area, totaling about 100,000 mu. The figures for Shouxian County are 9 percent and about 200,000 mu. According to the statistics for Chuxian Prefecture, the empty land around houses which can be used totals 700,000 mu. From these examples, we can see that there is great potential for developing the courtyard economy.

The present rural economy can broadly be divided into three parts: 1) the large field economy; 2) the township and town enterprises; and 3) the courtyard economy. Since villages have implemented the output-related contract responsibility systems there have been new breakthroughs in large field production and township and town enterprises. Farmers' incomes have continually grown and their lives have been improved. However, compared to national figures our province's per capita income is still quite low. If we want to change this situation we not only must continue to tap the potential of large field production and strongly develop township and town enterprises, but also do well in the courtyard economy.

THE COURTYARD ECONOMY IS A NEW AVENUE BY WHICH FARMERS CAN BECOME PROSPEROUS. Our province is one of the economically underdeveloped provinces; the urban industrial base and radiating power are weak. The villages have large populations and little cultivated land. There is much surplus labor, the educational level of the farmers is low, and there is a lack of funds. Thus, the operational scale of the rural economy has been restricted. However, the courtyard economy requires little investment, sees results quite quickly, is flexible in operation, convenient to manage, and all families can engage in it. In Huangnipu township and Jingshan township in Fengyang County, there are six families of farmers who have planted grapes, persimmons, peaches, pears, etc. Each family has thus obtained 1,000 to 2,000 yuan in income. In Xianxia township in Ninguo County there is an area inhabited by She nationality people. In the past it was extremely poor but in recent years they have used their courtyards and the hill slopes beside their homes to plant bamboo and produce dried bamboo shoots which they process with brine. At the same time, they have developed aquatic breeding. In 1985 their per capita income was 634 yuan.

COURTYARDS ARE IMPORTANT BASES FOR DEVELOPING RURAL COMMODITY PRODUCTION. Courtyards are places where people live and carry out their daily activities. There is plenty of manure, the microclimate is good, and operations management is convenient. By utilizing these superiorities it is possible to supply a large quantity of products to society. For example, in Dangshan County many farmer families use their courtyards to erect large plastic-sheet awnings under which to grow green vegetables. Output volume has reached over 35 million kilograms, over one-half of the country's total

green vegetable production. Quite a proportion is transported outside the area and supplied to urban residents in Xuzhou and the Huaibei mining area.

THE COURTYARD ECONOMY IS AN IMPORTANT AREA FOR UTILIZING SURPLUS LABOR IN RURAL AREAS. A great amount of surplus labor is an outstanding problem in our province's agriculture. In the past, in making arrangements for surplus labor, ideas mainly centered on developing small towns, developing township and town enterprises, exporting labor, and developing scientific, technological and cultural undertakings. In these respects, all areas have done much work and realized great results. Now it seems that strongly developing the courtyard economy is also an effective avenue for utilizing surplus labor and is a more direct and convenient avenue. Yuan Xuyou, a farmer of Wanggang village in Shuangqiao township, Shouxian County has six people in his family, of whom four are laborers. He has contracted 10 mu of land which does not even need 1 and 1/2 people to manage. In the few years after the implementation of the contract system all the members of his family had a lot of spare time with nothing to do. They wanted to engage in industry but lacked both technical knowledge and funds. Since 1983 he has used his courtyard to raise chickens, raising up to 1,380 a year. Not only has everyone had something to do and been busy all seasons, but their income has greatly increased. The farmer Zhang Jun of Baishui village, Baishui township in Qianshan County has a family of nine, with four laborers. He has only a small area of contracted land. There was thus not enough agricultural work to do and he was not skilled in other work. For a time, his income was very low and life was difficult. In the last few years, he has utilized his family's surplus labor and surplus time to grow fruit trees and economic crops in his courtyard. Last year his per capita growth in income was 255 yuan.

DEVELOPING THE COURTYARD ECONOMY IS BENEFICIAL TO PROMOTING THE GRASPING OF PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGY BY THE FARMERS AND THE RAISING OF THEIR OPERATIONAL ABILITIES. The courtyard economy is a type of special economy that involves planting, animal-raising, processing, and sales. Its development has resulted in the gradual raising of the technological levels and operational abilities of farmers. Especially among the young farmers there has appeared a group of capable people who are hard workers, understand technology, are good at operations, and capable of planning. Some have even become farming entrepreneurs. For example, Jing Ying, a young farmer from Yanglin township in Xuancheng County is mainly engaged in growing flowers in his courtyard. Now he has over 240 types of potted flowers, mainly seasonal varieties and at the same time, he is also cultivating 400 potted shrubs and pots of ornamental plants. His expertise in flower growing has spread far and wide and people come from all over to study his techniques.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COURTYARD ECONOMY CAN BEAUTIFY THE ENVIRONMENT, REGULATE THE CLIMATE, EXERT A FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S SENTIMENTS, AND PROMOTE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH. Xiting village in Yangliu township, Xuancheng Prefecture was formerly waste and barren hills and all around were scenes of decline. After courtyard planting industries were developed there were greenery and shade everywhere. There were melons and fruits all around and the village was full of life. In Zhangming village in Lucun



township, Guangde County, the courtyard planting situation is even more splendid. Every family has an orchard and house after house and garden after garden is lush and full of fruits. It is said that "in the spring the flowers bloom all around the houses and in the summer and autumn the smell of fresh fruit extends for miles."

In brief, the courtyard economy has broad prospects. It has an extremely important position in the invigoration of the rural economy and it should not be considered unimportant.

#### Strongly Developing the Courtyard Economy in Future Reforms

Developing the courtyard economy is a major aspect of perfecting and deepening the family contract responsibility system and we should grasp this as a major matter in invigorating the rural economy. The overall policy ideas are: active support; painstaking leadership; the safeguarding of rights and interests; and the encouragement of competition. We should continue to propagate the continuity and stability of the party's policies, encourage some of the farmers to become prosperous first, and eliminate farmers' worries and concerns. At the same time, we should in accordance with the actual conditions of the area motivate the masses to discuss matters and consult with relevant departments to formulate some concrete stipulations, delineate policy boundaries, and use these policies to motivate farmers' enthusiasm for developing the courtyard economy. For example, we should allow the employment of helpers and the taking on of apprentices in accordance with regulations. We should allow the free processing and sale of courtyard economy products. We should strengthen services in terms of technology, information, credit, etc. We should, in accordance with policies, provide reductions or exemptions for agricultural and sideline product production and developmental operations. We should protect the lawful rights of independent operations, etc. We should first set down several broad outlines and then after summarizing experiences we should improve and perfect these. In brief, we need to create a better external environment for rural economic work and work in other fields.

All levels of party committees and government should put the courtyard economy on the agenda and study it seriously several times a year. The party members and cadres in the villages should take the lead and become models in developing the courtyard economy and working hard to become prosperous. Through various forms we must organize the farmers and in accordance with the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit have them engage in self-management and self-service.

In developing the courtyard economy we must pay attention to actual results. We must avoid stirring up campaigns and "cutting with one knife." We must also avoid engaging in formalism and posturing. We must continue to adhere to the policy of "certainly not relaxing in terms of grain production and actively developing diversified operations." We should not underrate the importance of the courtyard economy but should also not overstress it. We certainly cannot just grasp the courtyards and let the large fields go to weeds.

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## DEVELOP AGRICULTURE INTENSIVELY BY DEPENDING ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 pp 38-40

[Article by Tian Yu [3944 5148]]

[Text]

I

Our country's agricultural development has been restricted by insufficient per capita resources. Our per capita share of cultivated land and fresh water is only one-fourth of the world's average. The shortage of such resources as chemical fertilizer, fuel oil, electric power for agricultural use, and funds will all last for a long time. Hence, dependence on science and technology and taking a road to agricultural development which emphasizes economy in resources should be the strategy we adopt.

The high and rapid growth rate in agricultural production between 1979 and 1984 was principally due to the government's policy of arousing the peasants' enthusiasm and to large increases in the input of materials and energy. However, the average utilization rate of nitrogenous fertilizer has been only around 30 percent and the ratio of grain output and chemical fertilizer consumption has been generally maintained at the 2.5 to 1 level. If this ratio is maintained, and if in the last 4 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, an annual progressive increase of 15 billion kilograms in grain production is to be achieved, then the supply of chemical fertilizer should be increasing annually at a progressive rate of 6 million tons and in 4 years the increase will be 24 million tons. If there is the phenomenon of a progressive decrease in return, the quantity will have to be further increased. This is uneconomical and is also unrealistic. Water resources for agricultural use are also in extremely short supply. While in the case of fertilizer a little may be imported from abroad, water cannot be imported. According to existing technological conditions to increase agricultural output it will be necessary to increase the water for agricultural use, but following the development of the various departments of the national economy the proportion of fresh water that agriculture can obtain will be increasingly smaller. As a result, the fixed amount of available water for per mu irrigation of farmland and water consumption per kilogram of grain output will likewise become increasingly smaller. The oil and electric power resources are facing the same difficulties as those of fertilizer and water. To achieve a growth rate in agriculture, the various kinds of consumption

must be cut down and the only way out is to depend on science and technology to increase the utilization rate of the input of materials. If the utilization rate of nitrogenous fertilizer can be increased to 40 percent, which is currently the world's advanced level, then it will mean an increase of 33.3 percent in nitrogenous fertilizer, or the equivalent of an increased supply of 20 million tons of chemical fertilizer a year. The use of pipes in water transport and of such economic water irrigation techniques as spray irrigation, drip irrigation, and mist irrigation and the employment of dry farming and plantation techniques which do not depend on irrigation may possibly reduce the average water consumption level by 50 percent. This will be extremely important to the development of our country's agriculture. Aside from bulk agricultural products such as grain, oil, sugar, and so forth, the prices of the majority of agricultural products, particularly the prices of those agricultural products for export, ceaselessly fluctuate as a result of market competition. Behind market competition is the competition in science and technology. Only through the utilization of advanced technology is it possible to occupy a dominant position in the variety, quantity, and quality of goods in market competition and attain good economic benefits.

## II

Strengthening and improving education in agriculture and in the system of scientific research and the extension of technology and formulating and enforcing a plan for accelerating technological progress in agriculture also require the input of a definite amount of resources. The benefits of such a kind of input are rather high. According to specialists' estimates, during the Sixth 5-Year Plan, 30 to 40 percent of agriculture's increased output may be attributed to the adoption of advanced technology. Of this, the use of superior seeds accounted for an increased output of about 10 percent. On the basis of this ratio, agricultural technology has enabled the whole country to earn an average annual increase of 30 billion yuan of agricultural output value whereas each year direct investments in agricultural science and technology had been around only 600 million yuan, or the equivalent of only 1/50th of the increased output value. Although this estimate may not be exactly precise or correct, it can generally reflect the conditions of the benefits of investments in science and technology. It can thus be seen that it is entirely appropriate to take investments in agricultural science and technology as one of the major directions in the state's disbursement of agricultural support funds.

Modern agricultural science and technology have accumulated a large amount of relatively matured technology in various sectors. When used, certain unitary and simplified techniques can enable agricultural production to experience breakthrough changes and reforms. For example, the semi-transparent character of thin plastic films in agricultural use can absorb and retain a much larger amount of solar energy on farmland. This can cut down the soil's water consumption, restrict the growth of weeds and grass, and reduce insect pests, and thereby change and improve the growth environment of farm crops in the area concerned. This plays an extremely helpful role in regions of insufficient water and heat resources and to seasonal farm

production. Many regions, after starting to use agricultural-film technology have doubled the growth rate of their farm output. Certain other unitary techniques may not have displayed such obvious breakthrough functions as in the case of the agricultural use of thin plastic films, but if we can assemble and together organize a number of relevant techniques and offer them in packages to the peasants, agriculture's technological level can thereby be improved. For example, while growing animals and plants absorb different proportions of nutritious materials but the majority of the peasants have no knowledge of biology, botany, or nutriology or the relevant techniques. In the course of production they make use of what they currently have without regard to proportions. As a result, it frequently happens that while the input is large, the output is small and the results are low grade. The common folks have a saying "1 dou (decaliter) of grain for 1 catty of chicken," meaning that feeding a chicken with 1 full dou (decaliter) of grain can increase its weight by only 1 catty." This illustrates the enormous waste of chicken feed. Fertilizer application according to superior prescription methods and feeding according to superior prescriptions belong to the realm of proportionate input. Strict adherence to superior prescriptions made by agricultural technicians according to conditions not only can make the input of nutrients and energy proportionate but can also produce other compound effects through combination with other relevant techniques. For example, a fertilizer prescription may include a small proportion of other elements such as weed killer or pesticide to obtain compound effects. In feed prescriptions, veterinary medicine and growth promoters may be included to produce compound effects. If such a superior prescription technology is adopted, the utilization rate of fertilizer and feeding materials may be increased by one-third. To our country which is sadly deficient in fertilizer and grain resources, this carries an especially important significance. Take for example the superior feed prescription method; in the next 10 to 20 years, following the people's livelihood attaining a well-off level, the per capita consumption of meat, eggs and milk will necessarily increase each year. But according to an analysis from various sides, in our country the per capita grain consumption level of 400 grams will be maintained for a long time and will be difficult to break through. Hence, the quantity of grain available for use as feed cannot be increased too rapidly. To raise the per capita consumption level of animal products, we can place our hope only on the establishment of an animal husbandry production structure of the feed-savings type and at the same time on universally pushing the adoption of the technique of superior prescription feeding.

Organic technology has also increasingly attracted people's attention. Use of good seeds of a resistant nature is at present the most economical and effective measure in fighting and eliminating natural pests. Good seeds produced from organic technology can also improve the conversion efficiency of the input materials to the extent that even without increasing the input the output can be increased, or can effect an increase in the value of products. For example, the cross-breeding or superior planting technique has made invaluable contributions to agriculture. The use of organic technology can produce superior new varieties of products never seen before in the realm of nature. For example, we may cite such cases as seedless watermelons,

seedless tomatoes, seedless cucumbers, etc. This helps in meeting society's ever heightening demands on a product's quality, nutritional value, flavor, and appearance and can help peasants increase their income.

Strengthening operational technology or intensifying operational technology is the basic road to breaking through the restrictions in natural resources suffered by agriculture in our country. For a long time, due to the adoption in our structure of loose and crude operational technology, our country's forestry work has found it difficult to fulfill the dual targets of meeting the state's needs for timber and maintaining forestry resources. On the other hand, these two targets can be realized through the adoption in certain selected and suitable areas of the rapid-and-abundant growth technology to build artificial forests. As for fruit trees and other economic forests, adoption of the rapid-and-abundant growth technology can noticeably shorten the production period, improve the products' quality, and follow the rhythms of market needs and changes. Strengthened management and control of cultivated land and water resources can make 1 mu of land perform the functions of several mu of land and 1 ton of water serve the purposes of several tons of water, thus easing the problem of shortages in cultivated land and water resources. Using the concentrated breeding and intensive breeding technologies in tank-reared fish and other aquatic products can increase the annual yield of aquatic products per mu of surface water. This carries an important significance in improving the food composition of our people.

At present, we should stress the selection of a number of research results which are basically matured in technology and which require little input but produce large results and have them universally promoted in a planned manner throughout the country. Not long ago the Agricultural Policy Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat and the State's Rural Development Research Center, based on the recommended views of some 100 agricultural specialists and following discussions with relevant departments, recommended the promotion of 10 major agricultural techniques for a recent period. (RENMIN RIBAO, 7 November 1986) These 10 projects can raise on a large scale the conversion rate of materials and energy and can perform the functions of using technological input to replace the input of a portion of the materials and energy. They should attract the attention of various quarters.

### III

Following the attainment of decisionmaking powers in their operations, the peasants are anxiously hoping for more technical guidance. They treat agricultural technicians as "gods of wealth." In many places, there has been jovial news of peasants "fighting for these gods of wealth." Under such conditions, the tasks of the state's system for promotion of agricultural technology are becoming increasingly burdensome. Failure to strengthen them cannot meet the requirements of the new situation. In addition, the state of the agricultural technological enterprise merely depending on the state's ordinary expenditures for maintenance must also be reformed. Failing to do this will not suit the new situation.

Between the nation's vast network and stations of agricultural technological guidance and the 200 million peasant households there must be suitable intermediate technological organizations. Only by doing so is it possible to promptly and effectively spread to the rural areas the technologies needed by the peasants. In recent years, various localities have on their own formed a number of civilian technical groups which have plantation and animal husbandry experts as nuclei. Among them may be mentioned such groups as the cotton research institute, the edible bacteria research institute, the egg research institute, scientific and technological specialized household, the civilian research institute, etc. These groups are the peasants' own technological groups. They have played a bridging role between the state's technological groups and the peasant households. Some of them have developed into self-servicing groups handling the coordinated supply of technology, seeds, chemical fertilizer, and farm medicine while some have grown into new types of economic entities. These groups have performed a good role in promoting agricultural progress and increasing peasants' income. They have been well received by the populace and enjoyed the warm support and protection of various departments.

The number of our country's agricultural technological results is indeed not small. In the Sixth 5-Year Plan alone, over 1,000 different agricultural scientific and technological research results received various grades of awards and commendations. Some of them were fairly well promoted and achieved certain important and big economic effects. However, due to dislocations in research and promotions and the influences of the concept of stressing research and slighting promotion, the condition of promotions and applications of the great majority in technological fields is not an ideal one. One of the important tasks in agricultural technological reform is to form, in a planned manner and in the rural areas, demonstration and promotion stations of various kinds of agricultural technologies to integrate scientific research and promote technology and agricultural production.

In spreading agricultural technology from the holder or owner to the user it is also necessary to follow the principle of the integration of a plan and market. A small number of the most important technological promotional projects should be embodied in the state plan and necessary conditions must be provided to ensure their adoption. As for the large number of other technologies, their promotion and application should be facilitated by means of perfecting the technology market mechanism. Without fixing prices for scientific and technological results and giving no compensation to scientific and technological services are the important causes impeding the circulation and spread of scientific and technological accomplishments. But in view of the low investment capability of our rural areas and the commercialization of technology still belong to the budding stage, the agriculture technological market should principally not adopt the forms of the peasants purchasing outright the technology. Rather, we should encourage the method of the technology holder (unit or person) using his technology to become a shareholder and entering into joint operation with the peasant, sharing the risks and the benefits. Alternately, the method of the technology holder going to the village to contract for operation rights may also be adopted.

It is necessary to rectify the concept of stressing only research and slighting or neglecting promotions and applications. Technology promotional work should be an important content in checking and evaluating technology promotional work and the performances of the technological personnel. We should enable technology promotional personnel when they accomplish results in their promotional work to receive commendation and awards just like those technical personnel who have done the research work. By doing so, we shall be creating an atmosphere in society of paying due respect to technology promotional work. As for the measures of rewarding technology promotion, we should link the level of award with the breadth of the application of the technology in production, the length of its sustenance, and the social and economic effects attained, to encourage scientific research personnel to be more concerned with the promotion and application of the fruits of their work and to continue to create something new in the course of its application.

In a speech delivered in November 1986 at the national conference on rural work Comrade Tian Jiyun pointed out: "Our country's agriculture has fallen behind principally because of the backwardness of our science and technology. The realization of agriculture's greater development will require a gradual switch to dependence on science and technology. At present, special attention should be paid to performing well the promotional work of science and technology." These words precisely convey the principal ideas of this article; hence they are quoted in lieu of concluding remarks.

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## WE MUST PAY SERIOUS ATTENTION TO STUDYING MARXIST BASIC THEORIES

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["Short commentary"]

[Text] Our party always attaches importance to Marxist theoretical education among party members and cadres. The party organized a number of study movements during the years of the revolutionary wars and in the first few years after the liberation of the whole country, and these study movements played an important role in unifying the thought of the whole party and in promoting the development of revolution and construction. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the party central leadership and Comrade Deng Xiaoping have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of theoretical study in view of some comrades' tendency to neglect this study. At the National Conference of Party Delegates in September 1985, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again pointed out on behalf of the party Central Standing Committee that both new and old cadres should study Marxist theory. He said: "Only through theoretical study can we raise our ability to apply the basic principles and basic methods of Marxism to actively study and solve the new political, economic, social, and cultural issues. This will advance our cause and develop the Marxist theory itself, and will prevent some comrades, especially some newly promoted young and middle-aged comrades, from losing their bearings in the increasingly complicated struggle." We should now more deeply understand the great significance of the central leadership's repeated instructions on strengthening the study of basic Marxist theory in light of the needs of our present socialist modernization construction, in connection with our party's historical experience, especially in connection with the lesson we should draw from the spreading trend of bourgeois liberalization in the previous period.

One important point of the remarks made by Fang Lizhi and other people who advocated bourgeois liberalization and opposed the four cardinal principles is that Marxist theory has become out of date and has lost its guiding role. They not only refused to study Marxism and to deeply understand its basic principles and basic methods, but also went everywhere to spread their arguments against Marxism among young students. At the same time, a small number of our comrades also cherished some confused ideas about the necessity and significance of studying Marxist theory. For this reason, in a previous period, some localities and departments neglected the study of basic Marxist theory to different degrees.



In recent years, some comrades repeatedly spread the viewpoint that the works of Marx and Lenin cannot provide solutions for China's present problems, so it is not necessary to study basic Marxist theory. This viewpoint is in fact untenable in theory, and is very harmful in practice. It is certainly impossible to find ready answers in the works of Marx and Lenin for solving the issues in our present socialist modernization, and such a requirement itself has violated Marxism. Our party always holds that Marxism is a scientific world outlook and methodology, and its stand, viewpoint, and method have a strong vitality. Marxism guided us to win victories in revolution and construction in the past, it is now still a guide to our action. Now if we read once again the relevant Marxist works in comparison with the erroneous arguments of Fang Lizhi and his like on the issue of democracy and freedom, we will find that many brilliant expositions by Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the essence of democracy and freedom are now still shining with the splendor of truth. Although social conditions have changed greatly, their penetrating analysis and scientific method today still compel admiration. In the previous period, when the trend of bourgeois liberalization appeared, some of our comrades showed an indifferent attitude. One of the reasons for this was that they did not seriously study the basic works of Marxism, did not really master the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism, and did not apply them to make deepgoing and correct analysis and study of China's actual situation. So they lacked the ability to distinguish, identify, and resist some outworn viewpoints that Marxists had criticized for many years and some erroneous viewpoints in philosophy and other social sciences that were copied from the Western bourgeoisie. Some of them even gave up principles and followed the erroneous trend.

Some comrades also acknowledged the necessity of studying Marxism, but they set the study of basic Marxist works against the study of the party's principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and hold that the basic Marxist works are too far divorced from our reality and are of no substantial significance in solving China's present issues. In their eyes, it is quite enough to study the party's principles and policies since the third plenary session.

We should notice that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many important documents of our party have not only put forth a series of important principles and policies, but also included full theoretical explanation of these principles and policies. They are the products of the combination of the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete realities, and they have enriched and developed the basic theory of Marxism. Studying the important documents since the third plenary session is part of our theoretical study, and is of direct and immediate significance in guiding our socialist modernization. This is beyond any doubt. However, we should also notice that the series of major principles and policies since the third plenary session were all worked out under the guidance of the basic Marxist theory and Marxist methodology. Without a solid theoretical foundation and a correct thinking method, it would not be possible to correctly analyze and solve China's concrete issues and to deeply understand the party's line, principles, and policies. For example, many principles and policies for the economic structural reform are closely related

to theoretical reasoning and theoretical development. It is hard to believe that a person who is ignorant of theory could be sober-minded in carrying out the principles and policies. Some comrades are always hesitant in implementing the party's principles and policies and are apt to become diffident, overcautious, and even wavering once they encounter difficulties and new problems. This is also because they fail to deeply understand the party's principles and policies from the plane of theory. Therefore, we must combine the study of the important documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee with the study of basic Marxist theory. This is a correct principle that cadres' theoretical study should follow.

Marxism is not rigid dogmas, instead it is a science that will continue to be enriched and developed along with the advances of history and science. On the one hand, we should firmly take Marxism as a guide to our work, apply the basic principles and basic methods of Marxism to deeply study the reality of our modernization and reform and to solve new problems in a creative way; on the other hand, we proceed from the reality, take practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, and bravely change the concepts and conclusions which have been proved incorrect or unsuited to the new conditions by practice so as to enrich and develop Marxism in practice. However, as the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee pointed out, "without serious study, it is impossible to adhere to and develop Marxism." Some people had no interest in studying the basic theory of Marxism. They said that Marxist theory had already become "out of date" before they deeply understood the world outlook and methodology of Marxism. They even spread the erroneous viewpoints which had been criticized and discarded by people as some "new creations." All this shows that without serious study, the so-called "developments" and "innovations" would unavoidably deviate from the correct orientation.

Adherence to Marxism as a guide to our work is the foundation for our socialist modernization cause. In the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we should clearly realize the mistake of Fang Lizhi and his like in completely negating the guiding role of Marxism, and should thoroughly clarify the confused ideas about the study of basic Marxist theory. We must better organize and guide the cadres' theoretical study, and deepen the study in a planned, orderly, and systematic way.

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## A NEW ATTEMPT AT RAISING THE THEORETICAL QUALITY OF CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 pp 43-45

[Article by Guo Zengpei [6753 1073 1014], deputy secretary of the Handan Prefectural CPC Committee]

[Text] Over the past few years, the Handan Prefectural CPC Committee has organized professional theoretical workers, practical workers, and leading cadres at prefectural and county levels to participate in the "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums in a planned way to study and discuss the theoretical and practical questions which are of direct concern to the cadres and masses in the reform practice so as to enable the broad masses of the cadres to theoretically deepen their understanding of the party's general and specific policies and greatly push forward with the further development of the present reform. The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have become an effective way to raise the theoretical quality of cadres.

### I

The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums emerged amidst the move of adhering to theoretical study and studying ways to serve reform. On the one hand, the cadres hope to receive theoretical guidance in the reform practice and also to gain enlightenment from the fresh experiences of the reform practice; on the other hand, the theoretical workers are greatly inspired by the numerous new experiences and new things which have been emerging in reform, so they will turn their eyes from the books to reality and develop a strong desire to study the realistic questions. In order to meet the needs of these two aspects, we have decided to reform the theoretical symposiums by changing the past symposiums which were only attended by theoretical workers into a front on which the theoretical workers and practical workers jointly explore the theories of the reform. And the present symposiums are mainly aimed at studying the realistic questions, and will usually concentrate on one or two major questions during a certain period. In the first half of 1984, the state-owned medium-sized and small enterprises began to implement the contract or leasing responsibility system. Therefore, many comrades feared that the implementation of the contract or leasing responsibility system will change the nature of the system of ownership by the whole people. We chose the special topic of the right of use, the right of operation, and ownership of the enterprises which are under the system of ownership by the

whole people and asked the theoretical workers and the comrades of the economic departments and enterprise departments to prepare on the topic. At the end of July, we held a symposium on the special topic to theoretically discuss the relations between the "three rights" and the necessity and advantage of properly separating the "three rights." The symposium also summed up the experiences of the two small enterprises in Chengan County of our prefecture which had implemented the contract responsibility system so as to prove by applying the theories to the reality that a proper separation of the "three rights" would not change the nature of the system of ownership by the whole people. The roundup prepared, printed, and distributed by the symposium aroused the interest of many leading cadres who later also applied to attend the symposium.

It is not only necessary but also feasible to let the leading cadres at the county and prefectural levels attend the theoretical symposiums. This is because on the one hand, they are the instructors and practitioners in implementing the party's general and specific policies, so their attendance at the theoretical symposiums will not only be capable of promoting further discussions but also be capable of pushing forward with the transformation from theories into practice; on the other hand, after the organizational reform, 36 percent of the leading cadres at the county and prefectural levels of our prefecture have attained the university or college educational standard, so they hope to restudy the Marxist theories and now have better conditions to carry out the studies and discussions on realistic questions. For this reason, the theoretical symposium on rural economic reform held in December 1984 was attended by a number of county-level cadres. The prefectural symposium on reform methodology held in May 1985 was therefore attended by more leading cadres at prefectural and county levels. The cadres who attended the symposium also wrote many theses. As a result, our prefecture's "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have been gradually perfected. Over the past 2 years, altogether 14 such theoretical symposiums have been held, 314 theses have been received, and attendances to these symposiums have totaled over 700.

## II

The key to holding the "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums lies in applying theories to reality and applying theories to studying and answering realistic questions. Marxist theory is a developing theory, so the new questions that emerge in our practice should be explained by new theories. If we apply the unalterable theoretical viewpoints to the fast-changing and colorful reality, we will either be incompetent in solving the realistic questions or simply put the realistic questions into the frame of the existing theories. Such type of discussions only provide notes and commentaries as well as deductions but nothing explorative and developmental. Therefore, such type of discussions will not help to enlighten the people, but on the contrary, will bind up people's ideology. So, when organizing the "three-in-one" theoretical symposium, we must not only stress applying the basic principles of Marxism to explaining and solving the realistic questions but also pay attention to guiding people to conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," "The Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of China on the Reform of the Economic Structure," and some other documents in order to find out the basic guiding clues to solving the present theoretical questions and realistic questions.

In order to apply theory to reality, it is necessary to understand reality and correctly grasp the basic contents of reality. Therefore, to accurately choose the topic for discussion is the prerequisite for successfully holding the theoretical symposiums. The topics for discussion should be closely linked with the present reform, namely, should be the hotpoints with which people are most concerned and must be the problems which have emerged in the process of the reform. For example, in the new situation of opening up to the world and invigorating the domestic economy, a lot of new situations and new problems have emerged in our building of the spiritual civilization, which are of direct concern to the people. After carrying out extensive investigation and soliciting a large number of views, we decided that the question regarding the influence of opening up to the world and developing the socialist commodity economy on the building of the socialist spiritual civilization and some other questions are the main contents. So, we held a theoretical symposium on the question of building the socialist spiritual civilization in April 1986, which drew wide attention from all walks of life.

In order to study and answer the new questions that have emerged in the process of the reform, the theses delivered at the symposium should have a new style. The past method of only looking for arguments from the classical works and then deducting and reasoning those arguments should no longer be used. Once the topics for discussion are decided on, the relevant prefectures and counties should organize the theoretical and practical workers to go deep to the forefront to investigate and sum up the typical experiences that have emerged in the process of the reform, and then write a number of theses generalizing the fresh experiences based on the typical experiences that have been gathered. For example, the second theoretical symposium on the readjustment of the production structure of our prefecture was mainly aimed at dissecting the typical experiences of Jize County's hot pepper production which realized three transformations. Jize County's hot pepper production has had a long history. In 1983, the whole county grew 0.1 million mu of hot pepper, but failed to find a good market; in 1984, the whole county grew 30,000 mu of hot pepper, but the demand for hot pepper exceeded the supply. Such ups and downs inflicted heavy economic losses upon the peasants. In 1985, the county CPC committee and people's government conscientiously summed up the lesson, estimated the market, decided to grow 70,000 mu of hot pepper, and realized three transformations in the hot pepper production: First, the transformation from a variety of hot pepper into a few types of selected and better hot pepper so as to ensure product competitiveness on the market; second, the transformation from selling the primary products into the multi-leveled product processing, especially the storing of fresh hot pepper, so as to not only reduce the fund circulation pressure during the peak time of hot pepper sale but also increase the value of products; third, the transformation from waiting for business to come in to going out to sell products so as to have established a relatively stable market for hot pepper sale. Concentrating on the experiences of Jize County's hot pepper production, the symposium brought to light from various

angles the necessity and the methods of applying the law of value and strengthening the planning management at the county level in readjusting the rural production structure, and proved that in order to change the leaders' concepts, we must proceed from the big prerequisite of the development of a planned commodity economy in the rural areas.

That the theoretical workers, practical workers, and leading cadres explore, expound, prove, and complement each other's views in regard to certain theoretical questions and practical questions that merge in the process of the reform will help to deepen and perfect the theoretical studies and show the advantage of the "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums. For example, the symposium on methodology held in May 1985 specially discussed Wuan County's work method of "big-scale chain-like coordination." Wuan County's CPC Committee and People's Government had carried out comprehensive investigations on the economic, social, and technological development of the whole county for 6 months, organized the people concerned to expound and prove the feasibility of their work method, and then decided that the iron and steel industry, the coal industry, the building and building material industries, forest and fruit productions were the four mainstays in the overall economic development of the county. And, efforts were also made to grasp the key link of each of the four mainstays so as to bring along other links. They vividly called such method as a "big-scale chain-like coordination." The method of "big-scale chain-like coordination" was actually a vivid and common expression of a systematic method so that it was conducive to overcoming the defect of concentrating on one thing only. The discussions carried out at the symposium, to a large extent, urged the leading cadres at the prefectural and county levels to improve their work methods and raise their work efficiency.

### III

The holding of the "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums is one of the effective forms of our prefecture's theoretical work with regard to serving the reform and the building of the two civilizations. The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums are also the front on which the theoretical education of cadres is carried out, and therefore, they have been playing an active role in raising the theoretical quality of cadres, pushing forward with the reform of the economic structure, and invigorating our prefecture's theoretical work. Specifically speaking, the "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have had "three beneficiaries," namely, the professional theoretical workers, the practical workers, and the leading cadres at the prefectural and county levels who have attended the symposiums. The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have enabled us to apply theory to reality, link books--investigations and studies--theoretical explorations--guidance work together. Each time, the answers provided by a theoretical symposium to the realistic questions are bound to arouse the people's strong interest in studying Marxist works and exploring new questions, thus forming a benign cycle. The leading cadres can theoretically sum up their rich work experiences so as to reach a regular understanding which can guide their work. In this way, the theoretical symposiums have greatly strengthened the leading cadres' courage to carry out the reform. By attending the theoretical symposiums,

the comrades doing practical work will therefore be able to raise their theoretical standard, overcome their routinism, and raise their work efficiency. By attending the theoretical symposium and carrying out social investigations, the professional theoretical workers will be able to combine theories with the rich practical experiences of the masses so as to raise their own theoretical quality, promote the reform of teaching, and create conditions to enable the theories to serve the practice.

The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have organized and trained a batch of theoretical contingents composed of the professional theoretical workers, the amateur theoretical backbone of the professional departments, and the activists of the theoretical work among the leading cadres at the county level. Now, some departments directly under the jurisdiction of various counties and the prefecture have several or even dozens of key members of the theoretical work. These key members of the theoretical work have a higher theoretical standard and are capable of applying theories to reality, raising questions and studying questions and problems, thus demonstrating the strong vitality of the theoretical work. The "three-in-one" theoretical symposiums have united the people concerned together so as to have widened the scope of their research work and provided more conditions and conveniences to their research work. Over the past 2 years, nearly 80 theses delivered at the theoretical symposiums at provincial and prefectural levels have been published or broadcast by the newspapers or radio stations at and above the provincial level, some of which have aroused the attention of the authorities in and outside our province.

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## HOW IS OUR NATION'S RETAIL PRICE INDEX COMPILED?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 pp 45-46

[Article by Shao Zongming [6730 1350 2494]]

[Text] The current method used to compile our nation's retail price index is based on scientific principles and was formulated through joint research by relevant departments. In judging whether the overall retail price index is scientific and whether it reflects reality we should analyze it from the following angles: Whether or not the regions and the selected commodities used in calculating the price index are representative; whether or not the average prices and the indexes at the report period and the base period reflect reality; and whether or not the comprehensive averaging method is scientific.

The work procedure used to compile our nation's overall retail price index follows. The first step is to select, by the sample method, cities, counties and various types of retail stores and agricultural trade markets for calculating the price index. At present, the State Statistical Bureau directly samples 183 cities and counties in all provinces and autonomous regions to ensure that the local price index calculations are representative. It then samples a supplementary number of 215 cities and counties. In this way a total of 398 cities and counties throughout the nation compile price indexes. At the same time we require cities and counties to select, in accordance with the commodity list and categories used in compiling the price index and on the basis of combining the large, medium and small, representative comprehensive stores, specialized stores, and agricultural trade markets of the various departments and industries as investigation points. At present, throughout the nation there are 12,386 investigation stores and markets.

The second step is to set down the commodity groups and representative standard products. The State Statistical Bureau has stipulated that for the compilation of the retail price index it is necessary to report on 337 commodity groups and each area is permitted to increase this number by 50. In compiling workers' livelihood expenditure price indexes another 29 service items are included. The total products (items) are, in accordance with their use as food, clothing, utensils or fuel, divided into 2 large items, 7 major categories, 11 medium categories, and 40 minor categories.



At the same time, in each commodity group three to four standard products must be investigated and gathered together. Thus, a city must select over 1,000 standard products for investigation, which means that throughout the nation there are several thousand products comprehensively investigated. Therefore this is quite fully representative.

The third step is to send investigators to stores and markets to directly record the actual transaction prices for commodities. After this, the weighted average method is used to calculate a comprehensive average price for major representative standard products, including fixed prices, negotiated prices, and market prices. In order to do well in price investigations, in each province, autonomous region, and directly-administered city and each investigation city and county, an urban sampling investigation team has been established under the direct leadership of the State Statistical Bureau. Throughout the nation there are over 1,300 full-time price investigators within in the urban sampling investigation system. Each month at a set time and set place they check prices at vegetable, meat, aquatic products, sideline food and industrial product stores and markets. For commodities which see rapid price changes, six to eight price checks are carried out each month. There are 12,000 auxiliary investigators in stores and markets who assist in the recording of prices. By taking monthly averages, national average prices, which include fixed prices, negotiated prices, and market prices are calculated. Then on the basis of weighted figures (which indicate the quantities of a certain commodity purchased through various price forms) supplied through investigation of resident's family income and expenditures, the average price of this commodity throughout the whole society is calculated. The average price in society across the nation or in a province for a particular month (or year) should be calculated on a weighted basis in accordance with the volume of retail sales conducted at marked prices, negotiated prices, and market prices in the investigation cities and counties. In collecting price materials it is not only necessary to obtain price materials for that month (the report period), but also price materials for the same type of representative standard products for the base period.

Finally, on the basis of calculating the individual price indexes for the various commodities (the representative standard products), classified national retail commodity price indexes and an overall index are calculated on a weighted basis by using the consumption structure determined by an investigation of the incomes and expenditures of urban and rural residents throughout the nation.

What needs to be explained is that the price indexes compiled by the overall urban sampling investigation team of the State Statistical Bureau also includes a residents' livelihood expenditure price index (which separately compiles a livelihood expenditure price index for workers and for farmers), an agricultural and sideline product purchasing price index, a market trade price index, a comprehensive comparative price index for agricultural products and industrial products, etc. The one most directly related to the people's lives is the residents' livelihood expenditure price index. The difference between the retail price index and the residents' livelihood

expenditure price index lies in that the former looks at changes in price levels and actual economic benefits from the commodity sellers' side--the commodities sale angle. The latter looks at the influence of price changes on residents' lives from the commodity purchasers' side--the angle of the commodity consumer. The two also differ greatly in their range. The former includes consumer products sold to organs and groups and agricultural production materials sold to farmers, while the latter does not include these. The livelihood consumption price index includes housing rents, water and electricity, and livelihood services while the retail price index does not include these. Thus, when looking at changes in the overall level of market prices, we use the overall retail price index. When looking at the degree of influence changes in prices have on residents' lives we use the residents' livelihood consumption overall price index.

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## HOW TO UNDERSTAND AN 'UNDERSTANDING'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 p 47

[Article by Wu Hao [0702 8504]]

[Text] On 5 November last year, RENMIN RIBAO published an article on "correspondence between two regions" depicting a great deal of correspondence between commanders and soldiers at the Laoshan battlefront and comrades of organs of the Military Commission. This enabled comrades in the hinterland to understand better why soldiers at the battlefront have boundless love for the motherland, why they are very much concerned about construction and reforms, and why they are so brave and fearless of sacrifice under very difficult circumstances. The article also enabled commanders and soldiers at the battlefront to know about the deep feelings the party and the people have for them. As a result, their morale and fighting will were greatly aroused.

We all need understanding, as much as people in various trades and this holds true to the commanders and soldiers at the battlefront, and the people in the rear, including youth and students.

However, understanding is not abstract but concrete. What aspects of the soldiers at the battlefront should the people in the rear understand? The people in the rear should understand their spirit and deeds of defending the motherland and the four modernizations drive as well as of daring to sacrifice themselves. Some of them gave up the opportunity of schooling, going abroad, and becoming "10,000-yuan individual traders." Some of them showed no consideration for the advice of their families and fiancées and went to the battlefront, where only cave dwellings with hails of bullets above are available. What the people understand is precisely this noble character of theirs. This understanding stems from a common ideal, without which there could not have been such an understanding. Some young people in real life complain that they are not understood by others. This is because they are divorced from the common ideal of the entire people. For example, democracy and freedom can be realized only under the leadership of the party; China must hold firm to the socialist orientation; China's reform can only be the self-perfecting of the socialist system; and it is impermissible to take the capitalist road. All this is quite obvious. If one does what he likes in disregard of the people's interests, reforms, and the country's future, it is

natural that the majority of the people will not sympathize with him. Criticism is good to others because it helps them distinguish right from wrong.

Moreover, understanding is mutual. For example, people of the older and younger generations should understand each other; society and people of the younger generation should understand each other; and the party and people of the younger generation should understand each other. "Requiring others to understand oneself and not oneself to understand others" is a mistake in ideology and will even cause a bias in action. Take university students in the present era as an example. They are very much concerned about the progress of the country and the prosperity of the nation, are eager to see faster development in reforms, hate corrupt phenomena in life, and have strong enterprising spirit. These are their main aspects. But many of them are lacking experience in life and need practical training. The party and the state should understand their situation, guide them in their action, and help them overcome their shortcomings. On the other hand, university students should also have a correct understanding of the party, the state, and society. For example, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great changes have taken place in our country, production has developed, and the people's life has improved. This is obvious to all. Reforms are beneficial to the rejuvenation of the nation. The great cause we are now undertaking has just started, and various problems are sure to arise. But we believe they can be overcome. Let us give another example. After enduring trials and hardships for many years, the people now hope for long-term peace and stability. They do not want to see any turmoil. To realize long-term peace and stability, unity is quite necessary, and it is impermissible to undermine the situation of stability and unity. All people, including youth, should understand these basic issues.

Not only are commanders and soldiers at the Laoshan battlefield understood by others, they also have a profound understanding of the party, the state, and society. It is precisely this mutual understanding that has produced a great force. Some young students complain that the party, the state, and society do not understand them. This exactly indicates that they do not understand the party, the state, and society. If they do not have this concept of understanding, how can they obtain positive strength?

To be understood by others, it is important for one to "understand" himself first. The selfless spirit of the soldiers at the Laoshan battlefield that makes them fight so bravely and tenaciously in battles is based on their profound, rational understanding. This rational understanding rests upon their sincere love and firm trust for the party and upon their correct understanding of the relationship between their posts and the country's destiny. This is called correctly "understanding" oneself. Without correctly understanding the historical mission one undertakes, how can he talk about understanding other things?

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HERE THERE ARE TWO POOR 'RICH MEN'--READING 'ZHAOJIATUN HAS A WEDDING TODAY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 p 48

[Article by Sun Wuchen [1327 2976 5256]; "Zhaojiatun Has a Wedding Today" was carried in XIANDAI ZHUOJIA [MODERN WRITER], No 8, 1986, and was reprinted in XIAOSHUO YUEBAO [NOVELS MONTHLY], No 11, 1986]

[Text] In recent years a number of novels have appeared which have depicted, in a deeper way, life in the villages. They are not satisfied with the usual warm eulogizing of the enrichment of the villagers' material lives, and think more deeply about the changes occurring in actual life. "Zhaojiatun Has a Wedding Today" by Ma Qide [7456 0366 1795] is one such work. The writer looks at the reality of the acute conflicts between the prosperity of the villagers' material lives today and the deficiency of their spiritual lives. He expresses indignant sentiments about those people and things which are contrary to traditional virtues and socialist morality and, through his puzzlement, thoughts about these contradictory clashes are drawn.

Zhao Chengxiang, who is the head of a 10,000-yuan household, was 20 years ago a kitchen worker in the county party committee canteen. He once stole some bread to give to his starving cousin Zhang Yipin to enable him to get through a difficult period and enter the agricultural school. Zhao was dismissed from his duties and sent back to his village to engage in production. Through his kindness to his cousin Zhao Chengxiang was in a situation in which if he were in trouble all he would have to do is open his mouth and he would not be refused. He now required "help" from his cousin Zhang Yipin who had already become deputy head of the provincial agricultural science institute and had flown back and forth to Canada and the United States. He did not care that when his cousin came to his son's wedding he only gave a pitiful quilt. (It should be noted that other people brought color televisions and tape recorders as wedding gifts!) He was concerned with being able to sell off his fine-strain grain seeds which had gone bad. He wanted his cousin to issue him an up-to-standard certificate so that he could sell his 2,500 jin of mildewed "820" high-yield wheat seeds to someone unsuspecting in another province and thereby make a lot of money. The work describes this great covert plan of Zhao Chengxiang's in a clear and dynamic way. He said of the matter: "Only heaven and earth need to know, only you and I need know." It is perfectly safe and it would bring in

5,000 yuan. In order to lure Zhang Yipin into collusion he stuffed a small red bag containing 500 yuan into his cousin's pocket. He was frank about his idea: "Yipin, in the past you were all upright and unstained. Now, hell! Who believes in such things these days? It is no use! If one can earn money and spend money, that is what is called ability!" But these devices were all ineffective. He was shamed into anger and took the advantage of some wine to fly into a frenzy. He pretended to be abusing himself by winking at something and involving high contacts but was in reality abusing Zhang Yipin's ungratefulness. Finally, he puts him on the spot. At this point the novel pushes to a climax.

What is notable is that at the same time as the work completes its depiction of this person who is bent on the pursuit of money as cold and indifferent, and mean and petty, it also portrays this figure of the state cadre Zhang Yipin who is honest in his duties and is not lured by promises of gains. Through the contrast and comparison of the two, as the depiction of Zhao Chengxiang increases in its depth, we gain an increasing insight into the heart of Zhang Yipin. The image of this outstanding intellectual Zhang Yipin is very familiar to people. Through many years of training by the party and the people he has quite good ideological qualities. In facing unhealthy tendencies Zhang Yipin remains cool and he stands firm. The circumstances in which his cousin lost his job for him and pushed him to the university in a cart are extremely moving. However, his conscience and sense of responsibility as a scientist result in Zhang Yipin refusing to act wrongly in order to repay past kindness. His cousin Zhao Chengxiang is a poor rich man and what he lacks is good spiritual character. Zhang Yipin is also a poor rich man and what he lacks is the remuneration of his good livelihood which he should be provided. This type of outstanding intellectual and national hero creates material wealth calculated in the millions or tens of millions. But their income compared to their contributions is really too meager. He does not have abundant material conditions to flaunt but he is a serious scientist. He has absolutely no time to think about or even concern himself with other people's wealth. Thus at the wedding feast he is in a difficult position. His hard-pressed situation causes us to feel ashamed for him. But his golden heart is even more virtuous. In "White Allure" by Jin He [6855 3109] a woman in a chicken-raising family was quite well off and this caused her husband, who was a teacher, to be in an awkward position. The description of the situation is hard to forget. Of course, following the development of the economy and the deepening of the reforms these inequalities will be rationally readjusted.

Lu Xun, when discussing the artistic genre of the short story and its artistic characteristics, said: "In a short time the reader can grasp the whole picture and swiftly comprehend the entire episode. In a few short moments, the reader can learn about the style, the type of author, the people and things he has written about and the situations. Much is thus obtained." After reading Ma Qide's "Zhaojiatun Has a Wedding Today" it is not difficult to feel the artistic succinctness and cohesiveness which Lu Xun noted a short story should have. This work gives people deep enlightenment by flashes of "instant" scenes and by the thoughts induced by the puzzlement. This causes a big ideological shake-up in people, whereby they are made alert and become aware of the importance of building socialist spiritual civilization.

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RECOMMENDING 'AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA'S SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 87 inside back cover

[Book review by Liu Chunjian [0491 2504 1696] and Lin Jiangong [2651 1696 0361]]

[Text] In order to raise national self-respect, self-confidence and sense of pride of the vast number of cadres and young people, stimulate patriotic sentiments and speed socialist modernization, it is important to stress research on the history of China's science and technology, and educate people and propagate this. On the basis of many years of teaching and research on the history of China's science and technology, and appropriately drawing on the strengths of many experts, Comrade Bi Jianheng [3968 0494 2897] has compiled a scholarly but easily readable work "An Outline History of China's Science and Technology." (This book has been published by the Social Sciences Publishing House of Sichuan Province.) This book has fused ideology, science knowledge, and vitality together and it can provide readers with much inspiration.

First, the sequence of ideas is very clear. The author uses Marxist scientific theory as guidance and with his quite deep mastery of literature and culture, sketches an outline history of China's science and technology over different periods. He succinctly describes the great number of outstanding scientists and technological experts who have appeared throughout history and the major scientific and technical works which have had great influence. He paints a magnificent scroll showing the beginnings of science and technology in the Stone Age, their emergence and development in the Bronze and Iron Ages right up to the appearance and distillation of modern theoretical science.

Second, the major points stand out. The contents of the history of our nation's science and technology are very rich and diverse. The author has painstakingly selected materials from the voluminous historical records and has taken the outstanding achievements in the two major sectors of smelting and weaving, the four great scientific systems of agriculture, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, and the four great inventions as key points. He has then tried to reveal in a concise way the patterns and characteristics of their development. Thereby the readers are able to appreciate the overall features of the history of our nation's science and technology and at the

same time, gain a quite detailed understanding of the most outstanding and representative brilliant achievements.

Third, history and theory are combined. For example, why has our nation's science and technology changed from advanced to backward since the Song Dynasty and especially since the Ming and Qing Dynasties? Regarding this question which people are quite concerned about, Chapter 5 of this book inquires into the external factors by summarizing our nation's specific economic, political, ideological, and cultural conditions since the 16th century. These are "the decadent relations of production which seriously fettered the development of the productive forces," "the system of feudal autocracy with highly centralized state power and a series of mistaken basic national policies," and "the ruthless ideological rule and cultural autocracy." At the same time, through a historical examination of several important characteristics of our nation's ancient scientific and technological systems and their restrictions he explains the internal factors for the backwardness of modern science and technology: "The cultural characteristics of stressing society and looking lightly on nature," "the ideological practice of stressing synthesis and looking lightly on analysis," "the academic traditions of stressing application and looking lightly on theory," and "the research practice of stressing speculation and looking lightly on experimentation." The combination of overall historical narration and profound theoretical elucidation is very convincing and encourages one to ponder and reflect.

Finally, the historical materials are quite rich and accurate. This book not only introduces the scientific and technological historical materials of the Han nationality, but also pays attention to uncovering and utilizing documents from minority nationalities and archaeological materials and this accords with our nation's situation of being a country of many nationalities. Apart from this, the author uses comparative methods to examine similarities and differences in the emergence and development of science and technology both in China and abroad and expounds on the characteristics and contributions of the history of our nation's science and technology and its outstanding position in the history of world civilization.

Of course the book is not without its faults. For example, some chapters and sections are too sketchy in their introductions to the development of our nation's ancient science and technology. Also, in some places the language is a little sluggish. However, as an elementary introduction to the study of China's science and technology this book is valuable indeed.

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