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# China Report

RED FLAG

No 6, 16 MARCH 1986

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## CHINA REPORT

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No 6, 16 MARCH 1986

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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LITERATURE AND ART SHOULD BETTER SERVE THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 p 2

["Forum"; article reprinted in the 15 March edition of GUANGMING RIBAO]

[Text] The general situation of China's literature and art circles is fine, with a number of good works and talented people emerging in recent years. The ideology and sentiments of the literature and art workers are sound on the whole. However, we must see that weakness and slackness in leadership and unclear guiding ideas still exist in this field, and that the influences of decadent schools of literature and art from capitalist countries and other erroneous things are not given due resistance or solutions. As a result, we have for some time witnessed such abnormal phenomena as blind worship of Western bourgeois literature and art and imitation of some vulgar styles in Hong Kong and Taiwan literature and art. The appearance of some literature and art works unhealthy in ideological essence and of low taste have affected some of our literature and art workers and produced some negative social effects. This is out of line with the building of socialist spiritual civilization and deserves the intense attention of the whole party.

In order to make literature and art better serve the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, the most important thing at present is the need to further clarify the guidelines of literature and art. The literature and art field has in recent years neglected propaganda and education about Marxist thought in literature and art. It has failed to analyze and criticize the bourgeois views belonging to various Western schools of literature and art which find their way into China.

Moreover, such bourgeois views have been adopted by some of our literature and art critics in their observation and discussion of Chinese literature and art. Such a practice has resulted in the corruption of some young people (including some promising young writers) by Western bourgeois decadent ideas, ideas of modern decadent schools in particular. Ours is a socialist country; we must adhere to Marxist ideological principles. Of course, Marxism should develop continuously with the march of the times, but the basic tenets and the many theses on literature and art and aesthetics in the Marxist ideological system are still of important guiding significance to our literature and art undertakings today. Therefore, in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, Marxist theory in literature and art and aesthetics must be

promoted and popularized in a big way; otherwise, literature and art work will go astray.

Strengthening propaganda and education about Marxist thought in literature and art must be linked with summing up and studying historical experiences. For decades, our revolutionary literature and art has played a tremendous role in invigorating a national militant spirit, resisting foreign invasion, dealing blows to aggressors, promoting the great unity of all nationalities, and building socialist new China vigorously in high spirits. It is entirely wrong to adopt a nihilist attitude toward the revolutionary traditions of literature and art. We should sum up our experiences in earnest, bring forward the fine traditions, and create more excellent works worthy of the expectations of our times and our people in the new historical stage of reform and construction.

Literature and art is an important component of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Party committees and departments responsible for culture at all levels must strengthen leadership over literature and art work. Cadres, writers, and people in the performing arts who are engaged in literature and art work must take social benefits as the highest criterion and render service in the greatest interest of our nation and people at present—realizing socialist modernization and upgrading the mental attitude of the people. We must be bold in criticizing some phenomena of partaking in spiritual pollution, and at exercising discipline. Of course, problems within the realms of politics and ideology should be solved with ideological education as the key and the correct unfolding of criticism and self-criticism. We must refrain from labelling others arbitrarily. It is necessary to further clarify that criticism, education, exercising discipline, solving existing problems in the contingent of literature and art, and overcoming some negative phenomena are precisely to make our contingent of literature and art workers still more purified and strong, and to make them still more reliable, cherishable, and respectable to the party and the people, and play a still greater role in socialist modernization.

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BE GOOD AT WIELDING THE WEAPON OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 March 86 pp 3-6

[Speech by Peng Zhen [1758 4176] on 28 January at Zhejiang University; corrections and additions made by Peng Zhen prior to RED FLAG publication]

[Text] I congratulate you comrades of the Zhejiang University on your gratifying successes in work, and I wish you greater achievements.

You want me to speak--on what? I hope you will be good at wielding the weapon of Marxist philosophy on transforming both the objective and subjective worlds, as this weapon enables us to have a correct stand, views and methods in observing and handling problems. We take it as a guide to observing and handling social problems as well as problems in the natural world. Whether or not we master and apply Marxist philosophy and whether or not we consciously do so, makes a world of difference in our actual work results. Therefore I would like to discuss this problem with you and hope that you will master and apply it more consciously.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, we criticized the mistaken viewpoint of the "two whatevers," which seriously hampered the work of bringing order out of chaos, and emphasized again and again that the only criterion for judging truth was practice. Marxist philosophy, which refers to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, has undergone the test of practice. It is the summation of the historical process of human understanding. As everyone is aware, materialism and dialectics had emerged long before Marxist philosophy came into being. Hegel was the master of dialectics. He was the first one to explain the general form of movement of dialectics. Hegel held firm to the viewpoint that matters move in the course of contradictions, that is, the viewpoint of development. However, his dialectic was idealism. The "absolute concept," he maintained, was the subject of the world and the source of all matters, and development started from the "absolute concept" and finally returned to the "absolute concept." Here he put dialectics upside down and made it mysterious. Feuerbach criticized Hegel's dialectics and at the same time abandoned it. As his dialectics could not go beyond the limits of metaphysics and continue through to the end, Hegel still remained an idealist on matters concerning understanding society and history. Marx and Engels critically inherited Hegel's and Feuerbach's philosophical achievements, brought them forward, and founded dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This was an epoch-making philosophical attainment in human history.

Since Marx and Engels founded dialectical materialism and historical materialism, they had all along used it to observe and handle problems. Also, they handed this great tool of understanding to the working class. This philosophy, Marx said in his early years, took the proletariat as its material weapon and, similarly, the proletariat looked upon this philosophy as its spiritual weapon. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the theoretical manifestations of the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. The interests of the proletariat correspond with the objective law governing social development, therefore it can boldly seek and uphold truth. The scientific truths of dialectical materialism and historical materialism are in complete unanimity with the stand of the proletariat. Therefore, the proletariat finds it easy to accept and thoroughly apply dialectical and historical materialism.

Social practice over the past century has proven that Marxist philosophy is correct. When capitalism was still in its prime Marx already foresaw that bourgeois dictatorship would inevitably lead to the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and pointed out that proletarian dictatorship would finally result in its self-negation, that is, the extinction of classes, the abolition of the state, and the dying out of the proletarian political party. At that time, mankind would enter an advanced society--communist society. Was this scientific prediction right or wrong? History proved that it was right. Although the Paris Commune existed for a short time and did not have much experience, it already proved the correctness of this prediction. Subsequently, the October Revolution broke out. In the October Revolution, Lenin used Marxist philosophy, viewpoints, and methods to analyze domestic and international situations. Then he mobilized and led the working class, the peasant class, and other laboring people in overthrowing the czar and the rule of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. The first socialist state under proletarian dictatorship was founded in a backward Russia. The October Revolution was a major test for Marxism, and the result proved that Marxism was correct.

After the October Revolution, many people said that Soviet Russia could not last long. However, not only did it smash foreign armed intervention and grow stronger, it also withstood the severe test of the cruel World War II. At that time, Hitler seemed terrifying. He occupied most of the countries in Europe and invaded the Soviet Union, first conquering Leningrad. Then fighting all the way to Stalingrad, and finally pressing on toward Moscow. Stalin said at that time that the motherland was enveloped by a crisis. But how did it turn out? Hitler was smashed in the Soviet war to defend the motherland and in the antifascist struggle of the people of the world. World War I led to the founding of the first socialist country under proletarian dictatorship--the Soviet Union. Revolution soon took place in countries such as Germany and Hungary, but they finally failed. After World War II, many countries were victorious in their revolutions. In particular, China, a country with the largest population in the world, achieved victory in the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution under the guidance of Marxism. These victories further suggested the correctness of Marxism and Marx' prediction. History develops on its own path regardless of whether or not people agree with Marxism. This proves that Marxist philosophical theory is correct and that Marxist economics and political science derived from this theory are correct.



Zhejiang University comrades have made great achievements in their work. You have boldly carried out explorations and resolutely gone in for reforms, and you are making constant progress and new achievements in various fields. For example, you have done well in ideological and political work. Why have you made such marked achievements in various fields? In my opinion, the most important reason is that your understanding is unified and correct, and you have held firm to the four basic principles. The four basic principles are included in the party and state Constitutions. Of the four principles, party leadership and socialism are the central issues without which the principles would have no backbone. The CPC is a proletarian political party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. One of the four basic principles is to persist in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We should never be capitalist-minded but should be socialist-minded. We are now carrying out material and spiritual civilizations, and these two civilizations must be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is only one "ism" in the two civilizations, that is, socialism. This is what the party adheres to.

One fundamental requirement of Marxist philosophy is to observe and handle problems in the light of their actual conditions. In understanding things, people must use their brains, through which actual conditions are reflected. The purpose of understanding actual conditions is to transform them. In short, we must proceed from actual conditions both in the study of social and natural sciences and in actual work. Actual conditions are very complicated, but most complicated are the realities of social life, as this sphere deals with relations between people. Although man is part of nature, not only is he different from natural things and animals, but he also has subjective activity. This subjective activity is intricate and volatile. However, no matter how complicated things are, we can acquire an understanding and comprehension of them, as there is always a law governing their movements. Understanding and transforming actual conditions is a manifestation of subjective activity. To bring into play the role of subjective activity, it is necessary to base it on objective realities. In other words, subjective thinking must correspond with objective realities. Man's brain sometimes goes astray. In such cases, he will tumble and be thrown into confusion. Therefore, we should proceed from actual conditions when observing and handling problems.

To proceed from actual conditions, first, it is necessary to be objective. We should not be subjective and should look at objective realities as they are. Second, it is necessary to take an all-round view and avoid being one-sided. We should take an all-round view of both the past and present with emphasis on the present.

In addition, we should take an all-round view of the development of things, that is, of their future. This is what we mean by taking an all-round view. The subjective will conform with the objective provided we observe problems objectively and in an all-round way. Furthermore, matters have their appearance and essence. In observing matters, we can only see their appearance, whereas their essence is concealed and invisible. Only through scientific analysis can it be revealed. The appearance reflects the essence and is different from the essence. The appearance may reflect truth or falsehood. It distorts facts when it reflects falsehood. When observing problems,

we touch on their appearance but must not stop at their appearance; we must be able to see through their appearance to their essence. This requires us to obtain the necessary material and analyze it. When analyzing it, we discard the dross and select the essential without making comparisons or eliminating the false and retaining the true. It is impossible to have a good knowledge of the relations between matters or to understand the essence of matters.

Marxist philosophy seems simple, but in fact it is not. Marxist philosophy is a branch of science. Since the beginning of recorded history, mankind has spent several thousand years gaining understanding in this branch of science. It was Marx and Engels who established this philosophy in line with the development of production and science and technology. In ancient times, long before Marx and Engels, there were already dialectical and materialist theories, but owing to limitations of historical conditions, it was impossible for them to reach such a high level as Marxist philosophy. Therefore we say that dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological weapons of the proletariat and of the era as well. Have some comrades not said that they want to engage in ideological modernization? They must have a good grasp of this weapon. So long as they have a good grasp of this weapon, they will find it easier to cope with the difficulties arising in socialist modernization and economic structural reform as well as in the work concerning construction and other reforms.

Now there is a view which regards the study of the fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism as being conservative or opposing reforms. This view is basically a misunderstanding. If we had not used Marxism-Leninism to analyze our problems, how would it have been possible for us to suggest the carrying out of economic structural reform? In which direction would our reforms have developed if we had deviated from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism? At the National Conference of Party Delegates last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that "reforms are the self-consummation of the socialist system." Reforms require the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and problems in reforms should be studied and solved according to the basic principles and method of Marxism-Leninism. How can we set reforms against Marxism-Leninism? As to interpreting the study of Marxism-Leninism as being conservative, this is, basically, also a misunderstanding. In terms of its essence Marxism is critical and revolutionary. Marxist materialist dialectic maintains that all matters in the universe are in contradiction and never stop moving, they would end if they stopped moving. People in ancient Greece said that the same person cannot jump into the same river twice, as the river water never stops flowing. The affirmative explanations of materialist dialectics on things simultaneously contain negative factors. Therefore, according to materialist dialectics, not only will the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie become extinct, but the proletarian state and the proletariat will also die out. Mankind will enter communist society through socialist society, and communist society will have to develop further. How can we say that Marxism is conservative and opposes reforms? Only communists with a good grasp of Marxism really understand that society needs to make constant changes and continuous progress and that the purpose of building the proletarian party and the proletarian state is to finally eliminate this party and this state so as to enter a classless communist society.

Marx held that man transformed his subjective world in the course of transforming the objective world and that only through transforming the objective world could he fundamentally transform his subjective world. In this respect, the founders of Marxism set us a good example. Following the development of social practice, they corrected their mistakes and made additions to their work. Take the famous "Communist Manifesto" as an example. There are many prefaces to this great work, several of which point out that some parts should be revised. For example, the German edition of the preface published in 1872 said that on the whole, the general basic principles explained by the manifesto were correct but that some detailed measures contained in the basic principles could vary according to historical conditions in a given period. This did not bear any special significance. If this passage were to be written now, the wording would be very different in many aspects. The most important point is the experience of the Paris Commune, that is, the working class should not simply take over the existing state machine and use it for its purpose. Therefore, it was inadequate for the manifesto just to mention the necessity for the seizure of political power by the proletariat; it should also point out that the proletariat must smash the old political power and establish proletarian political power. As Lenin said, this was a fundamental revision of the manifesto.

Lenin inherited and developed Marxist theory. Discovering that the role of the law of the disequilibrium of capitalist development had further strengthened in the period of imperialism. Lenin negated Marx' old conclusion that victories in the proletarian revolution could be simultaneously achieved merely in main capitalist countries, and replaced it by the new inference that victory could be achieved in one country, which guided the Russian proletariat in successfully staging the October Revolution and founding the first socialist country.

Comrade Mao Zedong established the theory of the new democratic revolution and led the Chinese people in overthrowing the reactionary rule of the three great enemies and in founding the PRC. The theory of the new democratic revolution was not copied from Marx' or Lenin's works but was a major development of Marxism-Leninism in line with China's conditions and revolutionary practice.

From the above facts we know that Marxism-Leninism is revolutionary and not conservative, and is developing and not rigid. Of course, if we take a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism-Leninism, divorce it from practice, do not study and solve problems according to actual conditions, and merely memorize conclusions and formulas, our minds will really become rigid and lag behind the development of the situation. Founders of Marxism opposed such an attitude toward their theories. In fact, mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie and their theories are conservative and rigid. The seemingly fresh and fashionable bourgeois ideological trend is protecting the current capitalist order. Even outstanding figures among early bourgeois thinkers, such as political economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, maintained that the capitalist system was eternal and unchangeable.

Marxism-Leninism should and will inevitably undergo constant development. Marxism-Leninism is revolutionary thought. It will continuously develop with the expansion of production, the progress of science and technology, and the development of revolutionary movements and socialist construction.

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REFLECTIONS ON CURRENT ISSUES IN LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 7-11

[Article by Hu Cai [5170 6846]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The principal aspect of our literature and art situation is fine. A great number of new faces and new works have emerged and fairly remarkable achievements have been scored in this regard. A lively atmosphere in thinking is prevailing in the academic community. If we keep on this road, our literature and art undertakings will thrive further. This is one side of the coin. Meanwhile, it must be noted that there are some worrying and perplexing developments in our life and literature and art work.

Most of the developments are connected with the unhealthy practices in society and some result from unhealthy elements existing in the literature and art circles. In the final analysis, these unhealthy tendencies and problems in the literature and art sector have a thousand and one links with the unhealthy practices in society.

Recently, with the CPC Central Committee taking up the matter directly, leaders at various levels have enforced specific measures. Consequently, the healthy ideological trends in society as a whole and the healthy forces in society's media have continued expanding and the unhealthy practices have considerably been curbed, and things are moving along the track of vigorous and healthy development. Of course, being curbed considerably does not necessarily mean that unhealthy practices have been corrected thoroughly. The struggle between healthy and unhealthy elements in the ideological and literature and art fields can hardly be solved thoroughly without making an effort. We must approach this issue from a long-term point of view.

The ideological situation in our academic circles is characterized by lively thinking. This is a good development. Nevertheless, is there occasionally some confusion in this enlivened situation? To open the country to the outside world, to make explorations, and to start new undertakings, we are unable to avoid suffering setbacks and delays. What is important is that we should constantly sum up our experience, do more research, conduct practical discussions, and clarify confused ideas through discussion. We must not make hasty decisions on academic and ideological matters. However, it is also undesirable to stay at the level of each of the two quarreling parties claiming to be right and to endlessly squabble over matters already clear to all.

Here I would like to discuss two questions of vital importance concerning the current issues in literature and art and I hope they will serve as a reference for our comrades.

THE FIRST IS THE QUESTION OF OUR BASIC UNDERSTANDING AND STARTING POINT IN CONSIDERING, DISCUSSING, AND STUDYING PROBLEMS.

People have different opinions on many issues. The reasons behind this state of affairs are no doubt very complicated. Therefore, we must not approach them summarily. However, the reasons for the different basic understanding and starting points from which we reflect on and study problems are more of significance. For example, if you criticize some bad tabloids and pornographic videotapes as disturbing elements with harmful social effects, those criticized will say they are thinking about the interests of the readers and working to meet the new demands of the masses of people and to make literature and art works easier to understand and more popular. Therefore, they criticize you in turn as sticking to "leftist" absurdities and assuming an aristocratic attitude toward the people's new demands and toward newly emerging things. From this we can see how vast the difference is in people's basic understanding in examining and discussing problems.

What I have mentioned above is just one example. People's opinions on a few academic and theoretical issues relating to literature and art as well as ideology are even more diverse and confused. It is not strange for people to have differences of opinion. First, we criticize the practice of both parties claiming to be right precisely for the sake of safeguarding the spirit of being serious in holding firm to the truth and distinguishing right from wrong and of opposing the subjective and one-sided work style in which both quarreling parties are engaged in endless wrangles and each sticks to his own argument, a style which often leaves problems unsolved for quite some time, rather than totally oppose the practice of airing views freely or still less demand that people rashly discard the above-mentioned spirit. Second, in criticizing the practice of both quarreling parties claiming to be right, we mean that we must consider, from an overall and cardinal point of view, the significance of the issues debated endlessly by both parties and the correctness of attitude, viewpoints, and methods adopted by them while discussing problems rather than indiscriminately dismiss both sides' arguments as something totally irrational.

Generally speaking, in real life, differences of opinion are unavoidable. The emergence of some differing opinions is of positive significance in developing people's ideology and understanding. What counts here is that we must strive to seek common ground and a basic consensus on the basic understanding and starting points in considering, studying, and discussing problems. This will help us more easily acquire a common language in discussing specific problems.

There are numerous diverse opinions and propositions or several schools of thought which have or have not yet taken shape in the current literature and art and ideological spheres. Faced with this reality, as Marxist-Leninists, first, we must recognize the existence of these new conditions and new

things and that every objective thing in our real life has the internal bases for its very existence and, second, we must use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method as well as the dialectical materialist and historical materialist stand, viewpoint, and method to correctly approach and conscientiously analyze and study these new conditions, new things, and new problems in the way of seeking truth from facts. The more complicated the situation is, the more determinedly we should uphold the banner of Marxist theory. For some time in the past, buffeted by some ideological trends, it seems, in the eyes of some people, that the banner of Marxism is out of fashion and drab, and hence, it should be furled. This view is quite wrong. Since Marxism-Leninism is the ideological and theoretical foundation with which our party, state, and revolutionary people carry out the revolution and construction, how can it be furled? It will not serve our purpose for us to furl the banner. It is better for us to let it itself prove its inexhaustible vitality and combat effectiveness in the trials of a new struggle. Of course, this means relying on the ideological, theoretical, and logical strength of Marxism-Leninism and on its scientific spirit of proceeding in everything from actual conditions and seeking truth from facts rather than resorting to the oversimplified and vulgar practice of sticking on labels. Only by studying, analyzing, and solving the new conditions, new things, and new problems facing us can Marxist-Leninist theory be appropriately developed. To the numerous sophisticated developments and problems facing us in the present stage, our answers have been unsatisfactory or unconvincing so far for the reasons have not been thoroughly stated. Who is to blame? We and we alone are to blame for our inadequate understanding of Marxist theory and our failure to grasp the living soul of Marxist-Leninist theory and to gain a thorough understanding of the existing developments and problems and we should refrain from blaming Marxist-Leninist theory, asserting that it does not work of itself. The development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism depend, first, on its combination with the rich and complex social and literature and art practices and, second, on its constantly absorbing scientific nourishment from the new achievements scored in the ideological and scientific and technological spheres. In the study of literature and aesthetics, in recent years people have attempted to derive nourishment from the study of "the three theories" (information theory, systems theory, and cybernetics) so as to supplement and improve or enhance their abilities. The research efforts by quite a few comrades which have already been crowned with achievements are of positive significance. Of course, this does not mean that everything is going flawlessly with them. As the advocates of "the three theories" pointed out, in introducing the theories into the study of literature or the aesthetic sphere, the study and analysis of specific problems and the assimilation of related theories are inadequate and some theories have been applied mechanically and uncritically. In my opinion, in studying this problem, we must correctly handle the status and relationship between Marxism-Leninism and related academic propositions and thought. First, we must definitely and willingly study matters relating to academic thought and schools of thought with Marxism-Leninism as our guiding ideology and, second, we must consciously observe and study the objects of our scientific research and the theoretical achievements in science and technology by taking the development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism into account so as to gain practical results in deriving nourishment from assimilating them.

The literature and art work in which we are engaged, including literature and all art forms, in the final analysis, is socialist in nature, no matter how the situation changes or develops. Our activities in literature and art creation are aimed at promoting the prosperity and development of socialist literature and art. Literature and art, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, naturally have their similarities. However, socialist literature and art still have something different from the literature and art of other classes and in other social formations. Socialist literature and art have their own qualitative regularities, as people usually say. They are of great importance. In dealing with economic reforms, Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun pointed out: The purpose of our reforms, no matter what forms are adopted, is to build socialism successfully. The essential point they discussed here is just the qualitative norm or the general orientation of our reform and construction. We cannot say that everybody already has a very clear picture of the general orientation. In a speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang used the word "confusion" to describe the mental outlook of some people. This merits our great attention. After watching our frivolous so-called literature and art performances, some foreign guests who were very friendly to us made sincere criticisms and said with emotion that things like that should have not been staged in great China. In capitalist countries, things like that are despised by honest, proper, and straightforward literature and art organizations. Some of our comrades regard the emergence of things like that as a punishment for the "leftist" policies pursued in the past. This view is not totally without reason. However, as Marxists who have lofty ideals and pursuits, we must refrain from going to extremes, running counter to the general orientation of socialism, undermining the basic quality of socialist literature and art, and from hindering the normal progress of the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

#### SECOND IS THE QUESTION OF AESTHETIC THOUGHT AND AESTHETIC TEMPERAMENT AND INTEREST AND OF THE REVELATION OF THEMES IN LITERATURE AND ART CREATION.

The life we face is complicated and this is true of the people we face. Therefore, it is permissible to reflect, in one's works, the complicated facets of life and to depict people of all types and with complicated personalities, the complicated relations between such people, and their complications. If we fail to depict these complications, it would be difficult to reflect the richness of life in our works. However, we must not seek complication for the sake of complication. We can still find the basic developmental orientation of life, no matter how complicated it is. A man or a thing, no matter how complicated his personality and conditions are or no matter how complicated it is, has his own or its own essential aspects. Depicting complicated matters is not our purpose. Our purpose is to seek and reflect the things in our life which are of a developmental nature and to seek and reflect the essential aspects of a man or a thing through diverse complicated phenomena.

In some fairly good television plays, I found, undue importance is attached to the complex nature of their plots; the relationships of their characters arbitrarily overlap; and interludes are stressed excessively. This affects the profoundness of their plots and even the soundness of the ideological

contents of the whole work. A complex plot in a television play is needed. However, it should be worked out in line with the need of the whole work and from a literature and art vantage-point. The plot of a literary work should be refined from literary raw materials gathered from life selectively.

In recent years, it seems that the representativeness of literature and art work has been stressed less. The great significance of the representativeness should not be overlooked. Of course, we must not approach this problem too simply and metaphysically. In particular, we must not pursue the pattern of creation which stresses one model for one class, because the practice is a distortion of Marxism-Leninism and Engels' expositions on models. At present, of our literature and art works, those which depict the peasants are not rare. There is no hiding the fact that the peasants have their own complications and backward features. How should these backward features be reflected in literature and art works? From what point of view and to what extent should they be depicted? It seems that this involves a problem of appropriateness and of attitude. The argument that all real things in life can be reflected in our literature and art works is oversimplified. What is reflected and depicted in our literature and art works must be real but not all real things in our life can be replanted into our works indiscriminately. It is undesirable and wrong to depict the people by means of exposing them. Of course, the people's shortcomings and weaknesses can be reflected and criticized in our works. The point of departure in doing so is to overcome them. Lu Xun depicted the shortcomings of people in old China (including Ah Q) from a point of view of "indignantly denouncing them for not trying to make a good showing." Sometimes, he did so satirically. However his satire was also full of passionate feelings. In some of our present-day outstanding works, in depicting the people's shortcomings or weaknesses and some negative aspects or elements in their life, with a view to urging people to draw lessons therefrom, our writers also depict the beautiful aspects deep in the people's hearts, which will help people become forward-looking in light of the realities in life and the actual needs of their works. Coming to this point, we have to note that in some works, in depicting the peasants' backward features and shortcomings, such things as primitive cruelty, beastly behavior intolerable to the eye, revengeful killings, and reprisals are excessively played up. The stimuli brought by this kind of work to the readers' senses and souls are extremely repulsive. It is really distressing to read such literary works. From here we can see how important a position the starting point and basic understanding of a socialist writer or artist occupy in their literature and art creation. What we are engaged in is socialist literature, which, in the final analysis, is a literature with lofty ideals, beliefs, and pursuits. They are contained in the complicated life and things and in people with complex personalities. What counts here is that our writers and artists must have the foresight, breadth of vision, and ability to know how to discern, through complicated lives and things, and people with complex personalities, the forces which can really be considered ideals, beliefs, and pursuits, and to know how to discern and reflect the beautiful aspects of the people (including those deep in their hearts). This is not only the glorious mission of our contemporary writers but also a fine accomplishment and quality indispensable to the people's writers.



Assuming legacies and creative work are an oft-discussed old issue. However, once it is combined with rich and complex practice, it will constantly be imbued with a new meaning. People can hardly avoid the problem of assuming legacies and creative work, be they writers and artists or theoreticians or be they ideologically clear about the problem or not. What counts here is that the relationship between the two must be handled satisfactorily.

The relationship between assuming legacies and creative work is dialectical. We must not pursue the practice of assuming legacies for the sake of assuming legacies. Assuming legacies is in itself not a purpose. The reason we attach importance to assuming legacies is that assuming legacies falls into the category of basic work and that only when the problem is settled properly can we suit the needs of the new situation and new conditions and can we create the works which genuinely embody the creative spirit for the new era and the new masses of people.

As far as Shaanxi is concerned, in discussing the problem of assuming legacies and creative work, apart from its general implications, we have another problem to face, that is, we must proceed from the province's actual conditions. In literature, the writers of the older generation represented by Liu Qing have done well in this regard. They have derived a lot of nourishment from famous works, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, inherited their fine traditions, and carried forward the revolutionary literature and art traditions since the May 4th Movement. Particularly under the guidance of the party principles and policies and of the spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's talk at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, they participated in the revolutionary war and the fiery struggles of the masses and have produced works that reflected life in the great era. Their works have had a tremendous impact on the readers. They have naturally constituted an organic component of the legacies which our contemporary young and middle-aged writers should assume. Some of them have done so in reality. Of course, history is always in a process of constant development and change. Under the then specific conditions, the writers of the older generation personally participated in the revolutionary war, land reform, and the fiery struggles of the masses and they depicted and reflected life during that period in their works. Compared with the life during that period, the life we are living today and the life reflected in our works, including our writers' lifestyles, are vaster in scope, more complicated in nature, and more diverse in form. In the face of the new situation, new conditions, and new problems, we must consider and try to find our strong points and inadequacies in the question of assuming legacies and creative work. The writers of our older generation are quite familiar with the realities of life, have extensive knowledge and a profound understanding of life, and share the comforts and hardships of the masses. They have a sound mastery of Marxism-Leninism and are highly accomplished artistically and, moreover, they have put in a lot of labor and made great achievements in portraying typical characters. All these strong points of theirs are well worth learning and inheriting. We must strive to overcome our weaknesses in plunging into the thick of life and reflecting on its meaning. Some works lack a sound reflection and artistic distillation of life; their themes and contents

are loosely linked with the pulse of the times; they are limited in artistic scope and plane; and they have an inadequate description of thoughts and feelings and an inadequate refinement in portraying the typical characters of the new era. In the future, only when the vision of the writers on matters relating to life, ideology, and art is vigorously developed both in breadth and depth can the problem of creative work in artistic creation be quite satisfactorily solved.

The works of quite a few writers are good, with their ideological and artistic quality relatively stable. They have been well received by the readers. However, there are also exceptions. Sometimes, a sudden slip in the thinking of the writer, buffeted by a certain trend of thought, may cause him to fall sharply from the ideological level which he has adhered to for years in his works and yield to the trend. The reasons behind the fall in the ideological and artistic levels are multifaceted. One of the important reasons is that the writer has not taken root firmly among the masses. If he immerses himself among the people in terms of life and ideology, has profound knowledge and penetrating insight about life, and if what he thinks out carries weight, he will not easily be affected by any "trends of thought" and not easily waver in the face of the wave of any sort of ideological trends.

Once I happened to have the opportunity to see the films "Tan Sitong" and "Biancheng" which were shown in succession in the same cinema. After the show, while walking out of the cinema, some people were commenting on the films, asserting that by comparison, people could easily see which was better. "Tan Sitong" was too stirring and too serious and though simple, the story of "Biancheng" was full of implications. Their talk gave me much food for thought. I think the people involved in the discussion just expressed their perceptions of the films without giving too much thought to them. However, we cannot say that their perceptions do not contain anything of their own aesthetic views and tastes. Moreover, they are also a reflection of the views of a section of people. As an amateur in cinema arts, I think the two films are well made and at least they can be considered A-minus and B-plus ones. The difference between them, if any, is manifested in the choice of themes and the unique artistic styles of their directors. In the question of theme and style, we must adhere to the principle of diversification. As far as flowers are concerned, a single bloom is hard to appreciate. The question of "being stirring and serious" or "being simple" involves a matter of theme and style. Then, can we deny the use of a vigorous style in producing works with earnest themes about life in the boundless universe just because some themes are good for a simple style?

In recent years, in the study of literature and art creation and the work of literature and art criticism and on matters relating to aesthetic appreciation, some people have advocated the principle of delicacy, simplicity, and classic elegance and others the principle of peacefulness, long-lasting interest, and delicacy. If the principle of delicacy, simplicity, and classic elegance refers mainly to artistic style, then how should we approach the artistic styles other than or contrary to it? Do we still need them? If the principle of peacefulness, long-lasting interest, and delicacy refers

to the question of both theme and style, this will involve more sophisticated problems. In our diverse, rich, and complicated real life, the course and rhythm of life are both peaceful, interesting, and delicate and vigorous, throbbing, and bustling. The vigorous, throbbing, and bustling life not only exists but it can also be found everywhere around us. In understanding life and literary creation, we must stress that whether in their thoughts and feelings or in choosing and handling the themes of their works as well as exploring new artistic styles, the writers must ensure that their works will not lead the readers to get away from reality, the pulse of the times, and from the life bubbling over with the drive for the four modernizations.

For some time in the past, in our literature and art creation, we have appreciated more works depicting the beauty of the landscape, such as the flowing of small rivers and the ringing of spring water. This is not bad at all, because they are part of the realities in life. Moreover the works have a special lasting appeal of beauty. The point at issue is that the vigorous social life and the contradictions or conflicts sparked in real life have thus been neglected and treated lightly and the mighty momentum and imposing beauty of the themes about the vigorous and fast-moving life which is like the waves of the Chang Jiang running high and vigorous artistic styles have also been doubted. This view is apparently wrong and one-sided. Real life is spectacular. Therefore, in our literature and art creation, our themes and styles should also be multifarious. All methods or means of literature and art creation, be they practical, historical, socialist, patriotic, forceful, gentle, realistic, or romantic, should be welcome and used and, moreover, they should be encouraged to flourish in our vast socialist fields of literature and art creation so long as they are conducive to enriching and developing our socialist literature and art and conducive to accelerating, developing, and strengthening our socialist four modernizations program.

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IN ARTISTIC CREATION IT IS NECESSARY TO GIVE PRIORITY TO SOCIAL BENEFIT

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[Text] Giving priority to social benefit in the correct understanding and solution of the relationship between social benefit and economic results in literature and art creation departments is important for the healthy development of socialist literature and art undertakings. It is a very conspicuous and serious topic facing literature and art circles, publication circles, and the entire ideological and cultural field. We should like to air some of our views here.

I

We believe that the so-called social benefit of literature and art is relative to the economic results for the creator of a literary or artistic work and all departments concerned, and the stress is on the social benefit, that is, the ideological and aesthetic value and role of the product to society—the readers or the audience. Should economic results in the production of literature and art also be taken into consideration? Generally speaking, the answer is yes, but in what realm and in what sense the economic results in the production of literature and art should be acknowledged is a topic worthy of study.

Marx said: "All products of art and science, including books, paintings, and sculpture, should be counted as material products since they take a material form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 165) When a literary or artistic work is produced, it needs to be "materialized" and "duplicated" in a certain material form if it is to be spread among the masses and directly possessed and appreciated by numerous readers, listeners, or a large audience. With the science and technology level upgraded and the number of people appreciating literary and artistic works ever growing, the majority of literature and art products as an ideological form can be duplicated in mass production, such as the production and duplication of books of literature and art, musical records and tapes, and film copies. As activities in material production, this process of "materialization" and mass duplication involves strengthening production management, conserving human, material, and financial resources, and raising labor productivity. When such literature

and art works enter into the circulation realm in the form of commodities, books and magazines of literature and art in the bookstores, musical tapes in music shops, and film copies in the movie companies, all acquire value and use value. Customers will buy them for a price. In this sense, they are commodities. The general requirements for commodity circulation (open channels, increased marketing, and economic income) are likewise suited to them. The materialization of literature and art as a specific type of commodity production undeniably involves "economic results," whether in the course of production or exchange.

However, when we are studying the characteristics of material production and its commodity aspect in the phase of "materialization" of literature and art products, we should not neglect the social ideological aspect of these works, which is more essential for spiritual production in creation. Concerning literature and art products, their prices as commodities are usually based on the consumption of materials and animate labor in the phase of "materialization"; however, such labor consumption is only a material vehicle, and cannot determine their essence as spiritual products and the social benefit generated after they are sold. For example, if the labor consumed in the printing of a good book and an inferior one of the same number of pages is about the same, their prices on the market are generally the same. However, there is a world of difference between them in their value as spiritual products, and the difference between them in social benefit is wide.

Literature and art works as spiritual products satisfy people's spiritual needs with their peculiar ideological content and aesthetic value and play their role in society. Therefore, what determines the true essential value of literature and art works and their social effect is not their material aspect, but their ideological connotation and aesthetic value.

How do ideological content and aesthetic value, which determine the true nature and social effects of literature and art, come about? They are determined by the unique creative labor of the writers and artists in the stage of creation. This is a kind of spiritual labor which is creative and not done in a set pattern. It embodies the life experience and artistic accomplishments of the writers and artists. It is the crystallization of thoughts, feelings, and artistic accomplishment. The value of such labor is very difficult to calculate in necessary social labor time, and the more so to demonstrate in terms of money. Therefore, regarding the spiritual labor which determines the value, nature, and social effects of literary and artistic works, the requirements for material production and the principles of commodity exchange are not suitable in this decisive stage of the whole of art production. Marx hit the nail on the head by pointing out that art production "conducted for sheer exchange is sheer commodity production," and "an expression of capitalism in the realm of nonmaterial production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Bk 1, p 442) To socialist writers and artists, literature and art work can only be conducted based on the requirements of socialist spiritual production and the laws governing literature and art. The pursuit of good social benefit, namely, elevating people's mentality and satisfying people's healthy aesthetic needs, should be regarded as the sole criterion. If literature and art creation is

conducted based on the patterns of material production and the principle of commodity exchange, it will not only lead to the basic loss of the nature of socialist literature and art, but will not be accepted by progressive writers.

At present it is extremely important that our writers, artists, editors of literature and art publications, and publication and distribution departments correctly differentiate between the characteristics of material production and commodity quality in the process of "materialization," and the essential characteristics of literature and art works as the ideological form and aesthetic mode of a certain society and times. On the one hand, once it is decided to produce a specific piece of literature or art, things must be run based on the requirements of the law governing material production (lowered costs, ensured quality, upgraded technology, and labor productivity). The law of commodity value must be taken into account in the process of the work's "materialization" as well as the process of its entering into the circulation realm as a commodity. On the other hand, the crux of the question lies in what ideological content and artistic value the work to be produced and "materialized" possesses. The formation and socialization of the ideological content and artistic value of literature and art products, or the creation and publication of literature and art works, entirely depend on the writers, artists, and editors of the publication departments. As we often say, it is imperative to be vigilant and to guard against the intrusion of the principle of commodity exchange into the realm of the party's political life under the new situation of reform of the economic structure and developing socialist commodity economy in a big way. Socialist literature and art workers should never let the principle of commodity exchange intrude into the solemn and sacred hall of creation. If our writers, artists, editors, and publishers should focus their eyes on the "commercial value" of literature and art products and fail to see the role of socialist literature and art in the ideological education and spiritual cultivation of the masses, it would lead to writers and artists becoming businessmen and the complete change of literature and art products into commodities. Haven't the negative phenomena emerging in the literature and art circles, the publication circles, and the cultural market provided enough evidence in this respect?

## II

In understanding and solving the relationship between the economic results and social effects of literature and art products, it is necessary to grasp the dialectical unity, or the "unity" and "disunity," between the two. Making social effects diametrically opposed to economic results or regarding the two as naturally and completely united under whatever circumstances and conditions are both one-sided and metaphysical views. Concerning the basic nature of all literature and art undertakings in China, our literature and art production is conducted under the guidance of the general principle of serving the people and socialism, which aims to meet the ever growing cultural and spiritual needs of the people. Generally, those literature and art products with ideological content and artistic value genuinely well combined will be welcomed and cherished by the people, showing the unity between social effects and economic result. For example, statistics show that the novelette "Wreath at the Foot of a High Mountain," displaying the

patriotism and heroism of contemporary soldiers, has a distribution of 1.47 million copies; and the novel "House No 5 on Garden Street," reflecting the four modernizations and urban reform, sales of more than 200,000 copies, and is now on the list of the 10 best-sellers of Xinhua Bookstore. Therefore, the view of making social effects diametrically opposed to economic results is one-sided. Moreover, we can predict that with the ever improving living standards, spiritual and cultural attainment, and aesthetic power of the masses, works of serious and healthy ideological content and high artistic value will inevitably continue to expand in effects and roles, and the volume of their distribution or box office will go up. This means that the social effects and economic results of literature and art products will inevitably take on the general trend of becoming more and more united. The view that the masses are entitled or only want to read vulgar or inferior works of literature is actually underestimating the artistic appreciation level of the masses, and shows a lack of confidence in the vitality of socialist literature and art.

However, we must also see that the concept of the masses is a very general one. Among the masses are the advanced, the middle-of-the-roaders, and the backward. Various differences exist in their degrees of civilization, cultural attainment, and appreciative level (such as being high or low, liberal or conservative, healthy or vulgar in these areas). These differences lead to diversified requirements in spiritual needs and different aesthetic tastes, thus resulting in a certain disunity between the social effects and economic results of literature and art products. For example, we have many excellent works such as the TV series "Four Generations Under One Roof," which is good in both ideological content and artistic value, suits both refined and popular tastes, and is loved by the masses. It is not uncommon for some works and art performances to attain both ideological content and artistic value or attempt some new and higher aims, but the circulation or box office has not been ideal. This is what people often describe as "being too highbrow to be popular." On the other hand, some works which are not very good in ideological content or artistic value may become best-sellers and popular for a time because of their being easily grasped, interesting, and amusing, or because they cater to the unhealthy interests of certain audiences. This reminds us that we must fully understand the complexity of the question when studying the relations between social effects and economic results of literature and art works. We must persist in the principle of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and refrain from taking a naive and one-sided view and thinking in terms of absolutes. At present attention should be attached to guarding against the erroneous trend of exaggerating the commodity quality of literature and art products and taking economic results as the major criterion for judging the quality of work and the accomplishments of literature and art and publication departments.

There is a view that large circulation or box office of a piece of literature or an art work proves that it is popular with the people. If it is popular, doesn't this prove that its social effects are great and its social benefit good? We believe that such a view has confused social effects with social benefit, which fall into two separate categories.

First, we must acknowledge that Marx' inference that "commodities will have use value only when they have realized their exchange value" ("A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economics," p 27) is also applicable to literature and art works in terms of their function in the form of commodities. This is because under the social conditions when the majority of spiritual products are circulated in the form of commodities, if a literature or art product is to have use value and to exert its ideological and aesthetic influences on the readers or audience, it must first realize its exchange value and there must be people who are willing to pay for it. If it should fail to realize its exchange value, not achieving a minimum circulation or box office, without much of an audience or appreciation, it would mean that its ideological content and artistic appeal will have no way to exert realistic influences on the readers or audience, not to mention any social benefit. Vice versa, if a work is becoming more and more popular, its ideological content and artistic appeal will play a greater and greater role in society and its realm of influence will become larger and larger. Thus we can see that under the premise of ensuring the correct direction of artistic creation, attaching attention to the realization of the exchange value of literature and art products, namely attaching attention to the economic results of literature and art products, will promote the realization of the ideological content and aesthetic value and enhance the positive social benefit of literature and art creation.

At the same time, we must also see that the box office value of literature and art products can only show the social effects of literature and art works, but cannot guarantee that such social effects are healthy and positive. Therefore, regarding the rather high box office value of literature and art products, or a large circulation and box office, it is necessary to make a concrete study of what nature of the needs of the readers or audience is satisfied, owing to what taste in which category of readers or audience it is made popular, and what nature of social effects it has exerted. Obviously, regarding literature and art creation or performances that are inferior or vulgar in ideological content and artistic value, the greater the circulation or higher the box office, the greater are its negative social effects. Of course, the crux of the question does not lie in economic results themselves, but in the prerequisites for realizing them. If the ideological content and artistic quality of literature or art product is good and the greater are its economic results, this is good. This is because it simultaneously shows that literature and art have played a great role in exerting positive social effects. But if the prerequisites are incorrect, the work will be no good, no matter how great its box office or its economic results. This is an important reason why we must persist in putting social benefit in the first place when a contradiction comes between social benefits and economic results of literature and art products.

### III

When we stress the social ideological nature and aesthetic quality of literature and art products, that social benefit must be put in the first place when a contradiction comes between social benefits and economic results does not mean that no consideration should be given to the role of economic factors



in literature and art activities or that the application of economic means can be neglected and rejected in literature and art undertaking. The development of literature and art creation is inseparable from certain economic conditions and means. As an aspect of management, economic means is not just economic investment and accounting, but includes how to deal with the material treatment and reward system for literature and art creators, as well as other aspects such as the policy of taxation on literature and art works and economic awards and penalties. In the leadership and administrative work of literature and art in particular, whether the economic means is correctly applied will inevitably play an important role in and exert good effects on the development of literature and art. Here the question does not lie in whether economic means should be adopted, but under what ideological guidance, and how economic means should be applied.

Social literature and art encourage variation in literature and art creation. The writers enjoy full freedom of creation in choosing their subject matter. However, socialist literature and art do have some requirements and advocations for subject matter and contents. According to Comrade Zhou Enlai: "A balance is generally required in the subject matter of literature and art." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 2, p 338) How are we to achieve this? Of course, we should first strengthen the sense of socialist responsibility and the sense of the mission of literature and art workers, so that they may consciously and willingly link their thoughts and feelings with rejuvenating the Chinese nation and the magnificent cause of the four modernizations, and so their literature and art creation may keep abreast with the times. But we should also see that the appropriate use of economic means may to some degree promote the correct direction of literature and art creation and the spirit of the times. In March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated: "Our comrades on the ideological and theoretical front must quickly organize their forces and draw up plans to fill the vacuum in the shortest possible time by publishing a series of articles and books, including readers and textbooks, new in content and ideas and presented in fresh language--in other words, works that will carry weight." He proposed: "I also suggest that the authors of really good books and articles be awarded monetary prizes by the party and government, so that the work in this sphere, which is seemingly routine but actually very demanding, is given due recognition." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 166) Although this is not a requirement specifically proposed for the literature and art field, it doubtlessly contains literature and art creation and criticism. In other words, so long as the guiding ideas are correct, the use of economic means will promote the emergence and increase of good works.

As we know, the process of formation and realization of literature and art is a complicated process requiring creation-editing-publishing-printing (or other forms of "materialization")-and distribution. When we use economic means to promote and to encourage fine works favorable to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, we should not only give necessary material encouragement to the creators of literature and art products, but also decide on awards through discussion or material encouragement in other forms for those collectives or individuals of the editing, publishing, printing, and distribution departments. Necessary subsidies and preferential treatment in

finance and taxation should be given to the publishing, printing, and distribution units involved in the production of good works of literature and art. At present, the tremendous difficulties in the publication of good books and journals of literature and art usually lie here. They should be solved as quickly as possible.

In the process of regulating literature and art production by using economic means, both awards should be given to good works and penalties given to inferior ones. In this respect, things that need be and can be done are many. Regarding individual literature and art products running counter to the four cardinal principles and propagating bourgeois liberalization, and those pernicious spiritual products stirring up base passions, they should, of course, be banned by adopting strict measures based on the stipulations of the law. As a whole, such works account for a very small percentage. What are now published and distributed in huge volume and causing problems in social effects are mostly some vulgar works of low taste, written in a rough and slipshod way. How can we change such a situation? Such works should be restricted by using economic means and education among relevant literature and art, publication, and distribution workers to raise their consciousness in building socialist spiritual civilization. For example, heavy tax should be levied on the economic income of the editing, publication, and distribution departments of such works (as different tax rates are applied to the income of material products of different nature, why shouldn't the same measure be applied to spiritual products of different categories) and necessary price rises be enforced on the expenditures of such works in printing, paper, and distribution. The spread of such vulgar literature and art works is still beyond control despite the fact that they are banned at present. An important reason is the lack of necessary economic restrictive measures. Departments and units publishing and operating in areas know very well the application of economic means; for example, the use of high rewards for writing and editing and high profits to stimulate the production, publication, printing, and distribution of works of this kind. Obviously, if we adopt effective economic means so that the creators and operators of such inferior literature and art works may gain very little economically, it will be possible to check the craze for vulgar literature and art to some degree.

#### IV

Based on the foregoing analysis, we find it is not difficult to see that the persistence in putting the social benefit of literature and art works in the first place is a rather complicated topic. It is the sacred duty of the literature and art field and a solemn requirement for the whole society. It requires us to study the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of literature and art products as an integral system, and the condition of every part of the mechanism which will exert effects not to be neglected on the movement of the entire system. This also means that it is a complicated, arduous, and systematic project requiring the cooperation of many areas to form a complete set for comprehensive correction. It is not difficult to imagine that so long as every department and every link involved in the production and circulation of literature and art production ensures a green light at every level for good works and a red light for inferior ones

in a down-to-earth way, many "long-standing, big, and difficult" problems will not be too difficult to solve, and the atmosphere of literature and art circles will turn for the better rather quickly.

Writers and artists are the direct producers of socialist literature and art products. It is of decisive significance whether or not they always regard social benefit as the sole criterion for their creative abilities. We know that even in feudal and capitalist societies, writers and artists who made accomplishments and had some goals always put the ideological content and aesthetic value of their works in the first place. Marx praised: "Milton wrote 'Paradise Lost' out of necessity, just like a silkworm has to spin its silk. That was an active expression of his nature." He compared the silkworm's case with "the 'production laborers' who were writing on the order of booksellers." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book 1, p 432) Here, the metaphor "a silkworm spinning silk" was appropriately used to imply the arduous and lofty artistic pursuit of the writers and artists.

If we say progressive writers and artists in the old society and old times were able to free themselves from the bondage of money to some degree and to take some lofty spiritual purpose as the starting point and end of their creative activities, then it should be all the more so for socialist writers and artists who take the creation of socialist spiritual civilization and becoming "architects of the human soul" as their own duty. We should say this is the duty of socialist writers and artists and their honor and happiness. With such an ideological height and mental state, our writers and artists will be able to resist the interference or temptation of money worship and unhealthy tendencies of whatever description. Thus, putting social benefit of literature and art products in first place will be basically ensured.

All departments and links involved in literature and art production have the important responsibility of persisting in putting the social benefit of literature and art products in the first place. As mentioned above, writers in our socialist country certainly enjoy full freedom of creation, and they can decide for themselves "what to write" and "how to write." However, the editorial departments of our media must have some choice in what and what not to publish, and make checks in earnest. Once the works of some writers or artists are decided to be published, they must be handled based on the law governing material production in the process of their "materialization" and circulation as commodities within a certain realm. For example, literature and art publishing houses, movie production houses, and printing houses are originally run according to enterprise management or are enterprises themselves. It is a matter of course that these units or departments should attach importance to economic results. However, the above-mentioned units or departments differ widely from ordinary industrial and commercial enterprises of material production. They are not pure industrial and commercial enterprises, and not even mainly economic departments, but important fields in the production and spread of spiritual products. They primarily face the question of what spiritual products are to be duplicated in production and to be spread, and the task of building socialist spiritual civilization falls on their shoulders. Therefore, these departments should resolutely act according

to the requirements proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of the Central Committee: "Ideological, cultural, and public health departments should take social benefit as the sole criterion for all activities, and the enterprises under their jurisdiction should do the same." An important reason for the continuous emergence of some unhealthy works at present, which even tends to swarm the book market, is that the production and spread of the above-mentioned spiritual products are regarded as pure material production and circulation, and economic indexes are taken as the chief criterion for judging the accomplishments of these departments and units. Because of "looking for money in everything" in their guiding idea, some editing departments, publishing houses, press units, and book and movie distribution departments have given a green light to vulgar literature and art while showing indifference to fine works expressing the four modernizations and even making things difficult for them.

The primary requirement of putting social benefit in the first place is irreplaceable for literature and art critics and research institutes among the contingent of literature and art workers. The unhealthy tendency of "looking to money in everything," which is eroding literature and art production, will be powerfully resisted if we persist in correct criticism, doing our best to be fair in telling what is good and what is not so that a healthy atmosphere in literature and art criticism may be formed. But if literature and art criticism should become vulgar flattery with no principle to speak of, it will only help spread those vulgar, filthy works of low taste, which only aim to make money.

Persistence in putting in the first place the social benefit of literature and art products is the responsibility not only of literature and art creation, publishing, and distribution departments, but also the whole society. It is the responsibility of all related departments of finance, planning, education, journalism, and propaganda, and primarily is the responsibility of party and government leadership at all levels. The Central Committee's proposal on the Seventh 5-Year Plan stated: "Party committees and governments at all levels should strengthen the leadership in science and technology, and educational and cultural work in a down-to-earth way, and seriously solve the difficulties and problems these undertakings have met with in their development." We believe that so long as the party and government leadership at all levels genuinely implement the resolution and requirements of the Central Committee mentioned above, putting into first place the social benefit of literature and art products will have the most powerful guarantee. We should do justice to the fact that some writers, artists, and some publication units are not unwilling to devote all their efforts to genuinely serious literature and art creation and publication undertakings, but they have a hard time making a living and are limited by their funds, so they have to engage themselves in writing and publishing things which will make money. Even so, their "inner world" is not pacified. Of course, the foregoing situation should not become a defense for "forgetting righteousness on the sight of profit" on the part of some literature and art publication and distribution departments, but it does remind us that persistence in putting in the first place the social benefit of literature and art products is the unshirkable obligation of literature and art circles and the

publication circles, and it must be placed at the top of the agenda for party and government leadership at all levels. At present it is urgent that some typical examples both positive and negative in literature and art creation and work be grasped, with in-depth investigations and meticulous analyses made, in order to make some breakthroughs by which the overall situation is guided, before something mandatory and complete is drawn up with some regulations and decrees to abide by. The day when the whole party and society attach great importance to and adopt down-to-earth measures (political, economic, spiritual, and material) for strengthening the place and role of the building of socialist spiritual civilization will be the day of realizing a still greater takeoff for socialist literature and art undertakings which are lofty, healthy, rich, and colorful.

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CSO: 4004/43

PAINFUL MOURNING FOR THE PASSING OF COMRADE DING LING--TO THE TUNE OF 'MAN  
JIANG HONG' (5 MARCH 1986)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 p 18

[Poem by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] The delightful spring scene darkens at this moment of parting.  
Sad are the memories of the faded dreams about the capital<sup>1</sup>  
And of the sobbing along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in Hunan.<sup>2</sup>  
The writing brush that stirred up storms will be long remembered,  
Unforgettable is the tip of the pen that swept away demons.  
All her life, she has taken pains to water the flowers of freedom!  
She has left behind a good example to the ranks of women  
And set the pace in the realm of culture.  
Her cultivation and nurturing have brought forth a host of talented writers.  
Who can disparage her aspirations?  
Her magnanimity illuminates the clouds and outshines the moon.  
She was a paragon who makes the great masters of history pale by comparison!

Postscript:

On the morning of 20 February 1986, I was shocked to learn that Comrade Ding Ling was critically ill. In the afternoon, I hurried to see her in the Xiehe Hospital. She was in a coma in the intensive care ward and was being given emergency treatment. I was tremendously startled. I also learned from Comrade Chen Ming that before she became critically ill, Comrade Ding Ling, being aware that she was unlikely to recover from her severe and lingering illness, was free from worry and tirelessly gave her last will orally. I was especially moved by her constant wish to work hard for the prosperity of socialist literature. In the evening of 4 March, Comrade Ding Ling's death was announced by the "News Hookup" program of the Central Television. Deeply grieved by the news, I sat in silence for a while, recalling her bearing and magnanimity. Feeling depressed, I wrote, as my thoughts dictated, a poem to the tune of "Man Jiang Hong" to express my grief over her death and my admiration for her. Alas, now that such a good person has passed away, what more can I say?

Xiong Fu  
8 March 1986, at the Wistaria Study

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The faded dreams about the capital": I became acquainted with Comrade Ding Ling in Beijing in 1952. She was then director of the literature and art office of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, secretary of the party group of the Chinese Writers Association, vice chairman of the Chinese Writers Association, and chief editor of WENYI BAO and RENMIN WENXUE.
2. "The sobbing along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in Hunan": Comrade Ding Ling was born into a feudal family in Linli County, Hunan, in 1904. While growing up, she ran away from home and went to Beijing and Shanghai where she participated in the revolution and started her 60-year-long career as a revolutionary and writer.

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## A NEW SITUATION IN CHINA'S DIPLOMACY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 19-24

[Article by Xue Mouhong [5641 6180 3163]]

[Text] China has displayed greater initiative, enjoyed more favorable conditions, and played a more active part in foreign affairs in the first half of the 1980's than in any other previous period since the founding of the PRC. It has presented a more outstanding image as an independent and peace-loving state on the international arena, both its reputation and standing have been enhanced, and its relations with more than 100 countries have been developed to varying degrees. This new situation in China's diplomacy can be attributed, on the one hand, to the great successes that the country has achieved in its socialist modernization process; and, on the other hand, to the changes in the world situation and the enhancement of its own understanding in the past few years which have pushed it to timely readjust and improve its foreign policy.

### I

As far as our policies toward the United States and the Soviet Union are concerned, we have made known to the world our firm stand--China will never enter into a strategic alliance with any great power. This is a new development of China's foreign policy of independence and peace.

The reason China refuses to enter into an alliance with any great power is not only that this may restrain it from acting freely and from maintaining its full independence in foreign affairs but also that China has realized that it would be unfavorable to the stability of the international situation if China, as a great power, entered into an alliance with either the United States or the Soviet Union. However, it will be favorable to world peace if China firmly adheres to the principle of nonalignment and takes a firm stand for safeguarding peace.

As a nonaligned country, China neither considers its policy toward the Soviet Union in the light of U.S. intentions nor considers its policy toward the United States in the light of the Soviet Union's intentions. At the same time, China does not adopt an unprincipled equidistant diplomacy between the United States and the Soviet Union. We make judgments and formulate policies



based on the facts of each international event and in the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the world people. In the course of the sharp and complicated international struggle, China's opinions may sometimes be similar to those of the United States on certain issues and to those of the Soviet Union on others, but above all its starting point is different from theirs.

China's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union have shown an obvious new feature in the past few years, that is, although China resolutely opposes the two powers' hegemonistic acts, this does not restrain it from developing or improving its relations with them in certain aspects; on the other hand, China had not given up its efforts to oppose hegemonism although it wishes to develop or improve its relations with them in certain aspects. We continue to struggle with the United States on the issue of Taiwan and criticize some wrong practices by the United States with regard to other important international issues, especially the issues of Korea, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Central America. We also resolutely demand that the Soviet Union take effective measures to eliminate its threat against China's security and remove the three obstacles from the path to the normalization of the Sino-Soviet relations, namely, the massive Soviet forces stationed along the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia, the Soviet Union's support for Vietnam in its invasion of Cambodia and anti-Chinese activities, and the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. All these have shown that China has been taking a firm stand against the two superpowers' attempts to seek hegemonism over China or other countries. On the other hand, however, China has also made great efforts to develop its relations with the United States and to improve its relations with the Soviet Union.

The past few years witnessed the exchange of visits between Chinese and U.S. leaders and a substantial increase in bilateral trade. The United States has relaxed the restrictions on technology transfers to China, and the accord on Sino-U.S. cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, which was the first of its kind signed between the United States and a socialist country, finally came into force in late 1985. China and the Soviet Union have also initiated contacts at higher levels between them. Through the exchange of visits at the vice premier level, the two sides have signed a number of accords on economic and technological cooperation and, in particular, the first long-term trade accord. Meanwhile, the volume of trade between the two countries has also increased rapidly.

While taking a firm principled stand against hegemonism, China has made efforts to improve or develop its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. This is in the interests of China's struggle to uphold justice and support the progressive cause of mankind, and in keeping with our needs for peace, friendship, and the four modernizations.

## II

Strengthening unity and cooperation with Third World countries has always been China's basic standpoint in foreign affairs. Some features of this policy displayed in the course of implementation merit attention.

During his visits to 11 African countries and 4 Latin American countries, Premier Zhao Ziyang emphasized that China and the vast number of Third World countries have a common ground on a series of questions. But we have also noticed that differences between Third World countries in certain aspects of their foreign policies can hardly be avoided due to their different social systems, development levels, and historical conditions. China fully respects other countries' independence. We are determined to pursue the five principles of peaceful coexistence and are ready to make every effort to establish and develop friendly and cooperative relations with all Third World countries. We will neither divide Third World countries into "progressive" and "reactionary" ones nor classify them by their attitude toward the Soviet Union or the United States. We have definitely declared: Third World countries have the full right to maintain close relations with and accept aid from one superpower or another in the light of their own situation. This is their right which does not affect their normal relations with China.

Relatively speaking, in the past China maintained closer relations with developing Asian and African countries but less frequent intercourse with developing countries in Latin America, the Caribbean region, and Oceania. In recent years, while continuing to promote its friendship with developing Asian and African countries (especially neighboring developing countries), China has also vigorously developed its relations with countries in other underdeveloped regions.

China's relations with the vast majority of Third World countries are excellent. However, due to various factors, China has yet to improve its relations with certain Third World countries. For a period, we have made efforts to maintain more intimate relations with good friends and to improve our relations with countries having grudges against us.

Many Third World countries and peoples are still faced with the essential task of struggling for or defending political independence and national rights. China will uphold justice and give due support for their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, South Africa's racism, and Israel's expansionism. The more arduous their struggle is, the more steadfastly China will stand by their side. In view of the new circumstances which they face in their struggle, we maintain that different countries can adopt different forms of struggle in different periods. China will support the struggle of all Third World countries and peoples as long as the form of struggle they have adopted can really help to fulfill their just goals.

With regard to economic affairs, in view of the difficult situation that many Third World countries are faced with, we hold that it is necessary to closely combine the long-term goal of establishing a new international economic order with the effort to solve, as soon as possible, some urgent economic problems that developing countries are currently faced with. We demand global negotiations aimed at the comprehensive relaxation of North-South contradictions as a whole. At the same time, we have voiced our views on some outstanding problems that the vast number of developing countries are seriously concerned about including trade protectionism practiced by developed countries and the debt crisis that the Third World is facing.

In view of the slow improvement in North-South relations, China has also made efforts to explore new approaches to South-South cooperation. As developing countries are basically poor countries which lack funds, South-South cooperation, if mainly limited to the provision of funds, will not have broad prospects. It is necessary to explore various forms of cooperation so as to open up broader and broader prospects. Starting from this basic idea, China has, on the one hand, continued to provide, within its power, aid to many developing countries (in particular some most underdeveloped ones) and, on the other hand, tried to gradually shift the focal point of its economic relations with Third World countries onto economic and technological cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis. In this connection, China has put forth the four principles of "equality and mutual benefit, emphasis on practical results, diversity in form, and common development."

Since China has given fuller play in the past few years to the principle of integration of patriotism and internationalism as well as the spirit of seeking truth from facts in formulating its policies on some political and economic issues that the Third World is most concerned about, it has laid down a more solid foundation for the further development of friendship and cooperation with Third World countries.

### III

Developing Sino-Japanese relations is one of the important aspects of China's diplomacy. In view of the historical characteristics and present potential of Sino-Japanese relations and in order to upgrade these relations to a new height in the 1980's after great progress in the 1970's, Chinese leaders have repeatedly stated: The two countries should strengthen mutual trust in political affairs, and constantly enhance economic cooperation, so as to carry forward Sino-Japanese friendship from generation to generation. In the past few years, through consultations at the highest level, China and Japan laid down four principles governing the development of Sino-Japanese relations, namely, "peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, interdependence, and long-term stability." A "Committee for Sino-Japanese Friendship in the 21st Century" composed of aged, middle-aged, and young representatives from various circles of China and Japan has been set up. Three thousand Japanese youths visited China and 500 Chinese youths visited Japan in return. Trade between the two countries has grown considerably. And Japan has granted China a second yen loan and a second loan for developing the energy industry.

Of course, there have been some problems in the development of Sino-Japanese relations. For example, China suffers huge trade deficits, Japan is not eager enough to transfer technology to China, and so on. All these are unfavorable to the long-term and stable development of economic cooperation between China and Japan. What China is particularly concerned about is the fact that militaristic tendencies show up in Japan from time to time. Certainly this will hinder the enhancement of political trust between the two countries. China strongly reacted to both the "incident of amending history textbooks" in 1982 and the "homage-paying ceremony at Yasukuni Shrine" in 1985.

When talking with Chinese and Japanese members of the "Committee for Sino-Japanese Friendship in the 21st Century" in October 1985, Comrade Hu Yaobang emphasized: Both the Chinese and Japanese Governments should continue to show higher initiative in cherishing Sino-Japanese friendship. The two governments should not let their historical confrontation affect their cooperation today; nor should they sympathize with those arch-criminals who were responsible for the Sino-Japanese confrontation; still less should they connive at the activities of a handful of people who have tried in vain to revive militarism. Since the two countries have a different history, status quo, interests, and viewpoints, both sides, when encountering difficulties in their intercourse, should give consideration to the whole situation, act with caution, earnestly consider each other's friendly proposals and reasonable requests, and try their best to refrain themselves from doing anything that might hurt their peoples' feelings. The highest goal of Sino-Japanese friendship is to carry forward the friendship between the two peoples from generation to generation. Therefore, the two sides should first of all make efforts to encourage all positive factors that may help to fulfill this goal, properly deal with any negative factors that may hamper the fulfillment of this goal, strive to guarantee the continuity of Sino-Japanese friendship in the 21st century, and thus lay down a solid foundation for the long-term friendship to be carried forward from generation to generation. Prime Minister Nakasone supported the above opinion of Comrade Hu Yaobang on the efforts to develop Sino-Japanese friendship. So long as both the Chinese and Japanese sides can take a far-sighted and profound point of view, there will be bright prospects for the long-term friendship between China and Japan.

#### IV

In the past few years, China and Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which border the Pacific Ocean, have made full use of their favorable conditions to expand friendly cooperation in various forms in various fields, and conspicuous progress has been made. At the same time, China has also paid great attention to further developing our relations with the Western European countries on the eastern shore of the Atlantic Ocean.

China realizes that Western European countries, like China itself, have fully suffered from the disasters of war. Although they practice different social systems, they have no fundamental conflicts of interest between them but many common or similar viewpoints with regard to the safeguarding of world peace and national security. As China and the Western European countries each have their own favorable economic conditions and needs, they can make up for each other's deficiencies and help supply each other's needs. Therefore, both sides can become good partners regarding two major issues--the efforts to strive for peace and development. In light of this basic estimate, China has made great efforts to strengthen its relations with the Western European countries in the first half of the 1980's.

In the past few years, China and many Western European countries have strengthened political consultations between them and reached unanimity on many international issues about which both sides are concerned. We also concluded an agreement with Britain on the Hong Kong issue which was left

over by history. This agreement is not only advantageous to the great cause of the unity of China and to world peace, but has also opened up more brilliant prospects for friendly cooperation between China and Britain. Also, China is going to open talks with Portugal on the Macao issue. So, no more important issues will remain pending between China and the Western European countries.

The good political relations between China and the Western European countries have provided favorable conditions for the development of mutually beneficial economic relations, and the constantly developing economic cooperation between the two sides will in its turn further consolidate and enrich the good political relations between them. Chinese leaders have pointed out: The United States and Japan have played a greater part in China's economic and technological cooperation with foreign countries due to various reasons; from now on China should try to make Western Europe play a greater and greater role. China hopes that Western European countries can offer more competitive prices on their products and more preferential terms of payment, take a freer attitude toward technology transfers, and allow more Chinese commodities to enter the Western European market. Governments and business circles of the Western European countries have shown their strong desire and interest in the enhancement of economic and technological cooperation with China. In 1985, the volume of trade between China and the Western European countries increased remarkably. China recently concluded agreements with France and Britain on cooperation in the Guangdong nuclear power plant project. All these indicate that there are indeed broad prospects for economic and technological cooperation between China and Western Europe.

## V

As for Eastern Europe, China has improved its relations with some Eastern European countries step by step while further developing its friendship and cooperation with Romania and Yugoslavia.

In June 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang publicly declared: The Chinese people cherish friendly feelings for the Polish, Czechoslovak, Democratic German, Hungarian, and Bulgarian peoples: We are concerned about their achievements and experience in socialist construction; and we believe that China's relations with these Eastern European countries can be further improved through common efforts.

Later on, there were more and more frequent contacts between high-ranking officials of China and the above Eastern European countries. We have repeatedly emphasized: As China's specific circumstances and actual situation are different from those in Eastern European socialist countries, China's policies regarding socialist construction and foreign relations are of special characteristics, different from those adopted by the latter. This is completely understandable. However, there is no conflict of fundamental interests between China and these Eastern European countries. China wishes to unremittingly develop its relations with all these countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect and in accordance with the principle of seeking common ground while reserving differences. China

especially hopes to vigorously strengthen economic and technological cooperation with these countries where the potential is tremendous. Apart from exchange of traditional products, it is necessary to combine trade with cooperation in development of productive technology.

In the past few years, great progress has been made in economic and technological cooperation between China and these countries. By 1985, China had concluded 100 or more economic cooperation projects with these five countries, signed "accords on economic and technological cooperation" with them, and set up bilateral committees for economic, trade, and scientific and technological cooperation. In 1985, China signed "5-year long-term trade accords" with these five countries separately, and its volume of trade with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary exceeded the highest records in history. The volume of trade between China and Democratic Germany has almost reached the highest level in history.

As for Albania, China has also clearly declared its wish to improve and develop relations with the country based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Trade between China and Albania has also grown in recent years.

Facts have shown that China and many Eastern European countries have more and more clearly seen one thing, that is, strengthening the relations between them is not only advantageous to both sides but will also have a positive influence on the development of the international situation as a whole. This common understanding has laid down anew a relatively solid foundation for further friendly cooperation between the two sides in all fields.

## VI

In the past few years, the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union has become the number one "hot spot" in the world. A heated struggle has been unfolded between the two countries on the issue of intermediate-range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and that of space weapons. To cope with this circumstance, China has reiterated: The two superpowers, which possess the largest nuclear and conventional arsenals, bear the principal responsibility for disarmament.

Of course, China is not urging others to disarm while refusing to disarm itself. In fact, China insists that the two superpowers should take the lead in disarmament. As far as nuclear disarmament is concerned, China put forth at the United Nations in 1983 a proposal according to which the two nuclear powers would first of all stop experimenting with, improving, and producing nuclear weapons and reach an agreement on the substantial reduction of the size of their nuclear arsenals; after that, an international conference where all interests are represented would be held to discuss the issue of joint efforts to cut nuclear arms; and that China is ready to perform its obligation regarding nuclear disarmament.

China demands that the United States and the Soviet Union take the lead in reducing the quantity of their nuclear weapons substantially so as to push all the nuclear countries to engage in nuclear disarmament. At the same

time, China also hopes that the goal of the destruction of all nuclear weapons will finally be fulfilled through such a continuous and uninterrupted process. China proposes that, before this goal is achieved, all nuclear countries should sign a convention banning the use of any nuclear weapons.

China still takes a critical attitude toward the discriminatory Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The Chinese Government has solemnly announced: China does not support nor encourage nuclear proliferation; China does not get involved in nuclear proliferation and will not assist any country in developing nuclear weapons. China's cooperation with other countries in the nuclear field is limited to peaceful uses. China has already joined the International Atomic Energy Agency and will submit, on a voluntary basis and through negotiations, some of its nuclear facilities for civil use to the agency to fulfill security procedures at an appropriate time.

Strongly opposing the superpowers' attempt to extend the arms race to outer space, China has repeatedly pointed out that this development, as a qualitative upgrading of the arms race, is fraught with serious dangers. In recent years, we proposed at UN General Assemblies again and again that the United States and the Soviet Union should immediately stop the arms race in space in all forms, all countries with space exploration capabilities should never develop, experiment with or deploy space weapons, and an international accord on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of space weapons should be concluded as soon as possible.

At international disarmament conferences at all levels, or when exchanging views with various countries on the disarmament issue, China has not only put forth new proposals from time to time according to the developing situation but has always supported all views that are really helpful to the achievement of disarmament. As for those proposals which are put forth out of good will but actually do not help to achieve real disarmament, China has also frankly and sincerely voiced its views in the hope of seeking common ground while reserving differences. Some time ago, an "antinuclear peace movement" became widespread in many countries. Although this movement has a different background in different countries, China has fully affirmed the main trend of this movement as it has reflected the peoples' strong appeal for disarmament. In order to invest more resources into national construction, the Chinese Government has taken the initiative in adopting a series of measures, including the important decision to cut its armed forces by 1 million men in 2 years. All these acts have displayed China's independent and peaceful foreign policy with regard to the important disarmament issue.

## VII

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, invigorating the economy at home and opening up to the outside world have become two basic policies which complement each other in guiding China's modernization. In the past few years, the policy of opening up to the outside world has been applied to more and more realms, more mature methods and various forms have been adopted, and greater and greater successes have been achieved.

We have reiterated that China is to open its door to both capitalist and socialist countries; and to both developed and developing countries. China wants to promote economic and technological cooperation with countries of different social systems and different developmental levels, as well as with large-, medium-, or small-sized foreign enterprises.

At the very beginning, China set up its special economic zones just in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen. Then, in 1985, China decided to apply certain special policies practiced by the special economic zones to 14 coastal cities and Hainan Island as well, and further opened up the Chang Jiang Delta, the Zhu Jiang Delta, and the southern Fujian triangular zone.

Foreign economic and technological cooperation has been extended from the trade sector to the production sector, and more forms of cooperation have been adopted--apart from such old forms as processing supplied materials, drawings, and samples, and assembling supplied parts, there are comanagement, joint exploration, joint ventures, and sole proprietorship by foreign investors. The focal point of introducing technology has also been shifted from importing complete sets of equipment to introducing special technological items, from hardware to software, from establishment of new enterprises to transformation of old enterprises, and from the pure introduction of technology to the integration of importing technology and introducing foreign capital. At the same time, economic and technological cooperation which used to involve only "imports" has now entered a new stage of "exports"--China now runs joint ventures and technological transfer projects abroad, and, in particular, contracts for engineering projects and provides labor services.

In the course of opening up to the outside world, China has also formulated a series of laws and regulations on economic and technological cooperation with foreign countries, and signed some accords with quite a few countries to protect foreign investments and avoid double taxation, thus providing a better guarantee of the legitimate rights of all the parties engaged in cooperation.

Although China has implemented the policy of opening up to the outside world for only a short time, encouraging progress has been made. For example, during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, China's foreign trade volume increased by about 10 percent a year on average. By the end of 1985, more than 2,300 joint ventures run with Chinese and foreign capital, more than 3,700 comanagement enterprises, and 120 enterprises solely run by foreign investors had been established; and in addition, 35 offshore oil prospecting and exploration projects had been approved. Facts have shown that the policy of opening up to the outside world has expedited China's industrial and agricultural development, speeded up the construction of key projects and the weak links of the national economy, enhanced the technological and management levels of the country, ensured an ampler supply to the domestic market, increased the state's financial revenues, provided more job opportunities, and consolidated and upgraded our friendly relations with foreign countries. Meanwhile, various problems emerging in the course of exploration are being solved.



Whereas the implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world is an objective need that has to be met to step up the process of the four modernizations and international economic and technological cooperation is an important approach to strengthening friendship between different people, Chinese leaders have already publicly declared: The door [men 7024] which is open will only be opened wider and wider and will never be shut again. If China's opening-up policy is to be changed, then it will only become maturer, more successful, and more compatible with the development of foreign economic relations in various forms.

In the past 36 years, China has taken a tortuous but breathtaking course in diplomacy. In the 1950's, we took part in an arduous and complicated struggle in order to safeguard our independence and to get a firm foothold for the newly born republic. In the 1960's, China was faced with new and severe tests in the field of foreign affairs, being exposed to pressure from the superpowers abroad and the interference of the ultraleft ideological trend at home. And we eventually survived the tests. From the 1970's onward, China's diplomacy has advanced in giant strides. The lateral expansion of foreign relations highlighted the great progress China made in the 1970's while upgrading and in-depth development were the main features of China's tremendous achievements in the 1980's. Having stood various tests in all previous periods, China is now implementing the most correct and powerful foreign policy that it has ever pursued since 1949. Following the development of the objective situation and the upgrading of subjective understanding, socialist China will continue to blaze new trails in its diplomatic work under the guideline of safeguarding peace and encouraging development, and thus further open up the new situation that has emerged in foreign affairs.

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THE EXPERIENCES OF GRASSROOTS-LEVEL WORK IN THE VILLAGES OF JIUQUAN  
PREFECTURE, GANSU PROVINCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 25-27

[Article by Li Ziqi [2621 1311 1142]; first paragraph is RED FLAG introduction]

[Text] Grassroots-level work is the basis of all our work. All of the party's principles and policies depend on the carrying out of grassroots-level work. After the family responsibility system was implemented in the rural areas, how to carry out grassroots-level work became a prominent question. If this link is carried out well, then rural ideological and political work, work in terms of political power, economic work, public security work, and the building of spiritual civilization will all achieve breakthroughs. The article published here was written by Comrade Li Ziqi, secretary of the Gansu provincial party committee, and it introduces the experiences of Jiuquan Prefecture.

Jiquan Prefecture lies near Jiayuguan and has under its direct jurisdiction 7 counties and cities, 72 townships, and a total of 760,000 people. It covers an area of 190,000 square kilometers, is rich in land, water resources, and mineral resources, and is a wealthy area waiting to be developed.

The villages here implemented the system of household contracted responsibility starting in the winter of 1982. In the beginning, in all the areas it was the same, with various people believing "once the contracted responsibility by household is implemented, there will be no need for team cadres." Actually, in facing the new situation, not only team cadres, but also many township (commune) and village (brigade) cadres, felt that the old methods were no longer possible and as they had not studied the new methods, although they had the zeal there was nothing for them to do. Some cadres returned to their families to plant the fields they were responsible for and to find the road to wealth. Thus, "for 10 days or even half a month, they did not appear, and if the masses had a matter to be handled, the cadres could not be found."

In facing these problems which appeared in the new situation, the prefectural committee investigated and dissected the situation in two townships and discovered that, with the encouragement of the correct principles and policies of the party, an upsurge of diligence and pioneering work had occurred in the

rural areas. However, because of the restrictions of the narrow vision of small producers, each family raised cows, pigs, and chickens. Every household was "small but complete," development was not swift, and efficiency was not high. A small number of specialized households and joint collective operations had established melon fields, animal-raising farms, and small factories and mines. However, they were restricted in that information was not easily obtained, funds were insufficient, technology was not refined, and circulation was not smooth. Thus, many of their products could not be sold and some of the melons and vegetables rotted in the fields. The masses urgently hoped that the cadres could help them resolve these development problems. In fact, what the masses did not want was "official masters," but they urgently needed cadres who could help them resolve their real problems and help them to become prosperous.

The prefectural and county cadres believed that if we were to strengthen grassroots-level work, then we had to have positive guidance in order to help the township and village cadres study well the party's principles and policies, so that they could truly recognize that the system of household contracts is not a return to what existed before the cooperatives, where there were "small and complete" self-sufficient economies. Rather, it is the readjustment of productive relationships which do not accord with the nature and level of the productive forces, the motivation of the hundreds of thousands of peasants, the development of the productive forces, the changing of a self-sufficient economy or semi-self-sufficient economy into large-scale commodity production, and the changing of traditional agriculture into modern agriculture. The leader's responsibility lies in ensuring that the development of the productive forces, following the changes in the relations of production, accords with the demand of the superstructure, and in firmly persisting in carrying out the reforms so that the direction and contents of grassroots-level work manifests the spirit of the general line and overall tasks. They also had to educate grassroots-level cadres to respond to the party's call, take the lead in eliminating poverty and bringing prosperity, and in adhering to discipline and the law. They must also teach them to even more firmly support the party's aim of serving the people with all one's heart, to understand the demands of the masses, and to help them to understand how to resolve the pressing problems facing all families and households, problems which individual families and households are unable to solve by themselves.

In the basic construction in the villages of Jiuquan Prefecture, grasping the work of switching "tracks" and changing "forms" has been stressed. First, this is so grassroots-level work can be switched from the old track of a self-sufficient or semi-self-sufficient economy which "takes grain as the key link," and which mainly uses administrative management and administrative methods, to a new track of a commodity economy which has joint agricultural, industrial, and commercial joint operations, which has economic construction as its base, and which mainly uses economic methods. Second, it is in order to readjust the grassroots-level cadre ranks and to educate the cadres so as to raise their ideological and policy levels, so that they can gain the skills for organizing commodity production and bring about great changes in their quality, work methods, and work styles. Through

shifting "tracks" and changing "forms," it has been possible to gradually enable grassroots-level organizations in the villages to proceed from reality, to creatively carry out the party's line and policies, and, in accordance with the local resources and market needs, to decide on production avenues, set development plans, collect funds, import technology, train skilled personnel, open up channels of circulation, and resolve well problems in production, supply, and sales. They will also be able to do well in political work, develop cultural, educational, and social undertakings, support the poor and help those in difficulty, and lead the masses in traveling the socialist road of common prosperity. Thus, the comrades in Jiuquan Prefecture have placed stress on work in the following aspects:

1. Improving the work style of organs and adhering to seeking truth from facts: The comrades in Jiuquan Prefecture feel that if grassroots-level work is to be carried out methodically and efficiently, there is a need to improve the work styles of the prefectural and county leaders and adjust the relationship between the departments and grassroots level so that the departments change from directing to serving, while reducing interference and increasing assistance. In the spring of 1985, the prefecture made a decision to improve the work style of the organs so that they would serve the grassroots level, and required that a leading cadre township and village contact point system be established, with the prefectural committee taking the lead. Under this system, every leading cadre has to go to his own contact point three times a year for 1 month each time to carry out investigations and research, resolve problems, sum up experiences, and understand the hardships and difficulties of grassroots-level work. This has played a good role in helping cadres understand the conditions at lower levels, in enabling the grassroots level to urge on the upper levels, and in improving organs' work styles. The prefectural cadres also especially stressed that cadres must establish a seek-truth-from-facts work style, proceed in everything from reality, speak and act truthfully, and realize real achievements. The prefectural committee also set down short-term strategic goals for the whole prefecture in accordance with the task of quadrupling total industrial and agricultural output by the end of the century, as set by the 12th National Party Congress, and also in accordance with the situation whereby the prefecture has many resources and vast untapped potential. In regard to the unfavorable conditions of being secluded, having backward technology, and transport difficulties, it proposed increased education, the importation of technology, and the enlivening of circulation by every possible means. It required the cadres to carry their work to all families and households and to link up the general task with the plans of every family and household to increase their income, so that the peasants obtain benefits they can see and feel.

2. Adjusting the cadre ranks and absorbing fresh blood: Over the last 3 years, in accordance with the demand for the four modernizations, through elections, inviting applications, and examinations, for the 72 townships and villages in Jiuquan Prefecture, 1,261 cadres have been selected from the ranks of intellectuals who have returned to the villages and from specialized households. Appropriate arrangements were made for some aged grassroots-level cadres and they were given honor certificates. Also, on

the economic level, they were given appropriate considerations and they were encouraged, after returning to their families, to become models in achieving prosperity through labor and in adhering to discipline and law. Through readjustment, the number of village and team cadres was reduced from over 11,000 to around 5,200, and the burden on the peasants has been reduced by 27.3 percent. At present, the average age of cadres in the townships of Jiuquan Prefecture is 28. This is a drop of 3.5 years from the situation before readjustment. Those people who have a middle-school or tertiary education constitute about one-half of the total, 30 percent up on the former figure. The average age of cadres in the villages is 37.5 years, 8.8 years below the figure prior to the readjustment. Those with a junior middle school education or above constitute 56 percent of the total, 19 percent up on the previous figure. There is now no illiteracy among grassroots-level cadres.

3. Vocational study and mastering technology: In order to renew the education of cadres and in order to train professional and technological staff for the development of the rural commodity economy, Jiuquan Prefecture has established four middle-level specialized technological colleges, one each for agriculture, industry, finance, and health. All counties have arranged various economic and technical training classes, including classes in agricultural technology, agricultural machinery, horticulture, and construction. There is also rotational training in economics and technology for township, village, and team cadres, enterprise managers, and middle-school students who return to the villages. Over 30,000 persons have been trained and 450 persons have been selected and sent to tertiary institutes to pursue advanced studies. In addition, the prefectures, counties, townships, and villages have also arranged, in accordance with the needs of economic development, to send some cadres to Beijing, Sichuan, Henan, the northeast, and areas along the coast which have fairly fast economic development, to observe and study, to publicize Jiuquan's resources, to attract skilled personnel and funds, and to discuss the signing of contracts for developing local industries and township enterprises as well as product sales contracts. Within the last year, the township enterprises alone have employed 153 specialized technicians and 696 technical workers from other provinces and cities and drawn in 54 items of technology. Over the last 3 years, the overall income of township enterprises has grown by close to 200 percent.

Fully motivating the enthusiasm and creativity of the grassroots-level cadres is the basis for carrying out grassroots-level construction well in the rural areas. Jiuquan Prefecture has reformed the "big pot" method of allocation for cadres and instituted the cadre responsibility system whereby in management there are annual targets and rewards are calculated in terms of accomplishments. The township and village cadres have implemented interlocking division of work between regions and departments and have contracted the tasks to complete. In this way, in all aspects of work there are persons who take responsibility and the members of all households have persons to contact if the need arises. In implementing the cadre responsibility system and in improving grassroots-level work, they pay attention to the following four matters:

1. The specific division of work and the unity of targets: The tasks in rural work are numerous. They range from the party's ideological and political work to production operations and service in terms of agriculture, forestry, animal-raising, sideline production, industry, commerce, transport, and construction, and the building of water conservancy projects, fields, roads, and towns. There is also public security, civil mediation, the schooling of children, adult education, family planning, the popularization of science, the spread of technology, running old people's homes, and building cultural centers. In total, there are 20 or 30 different things to be handled. In order to change the former situation of disorder, Jiuquan Prefecture has given the various tasks of grassroots-level work to separate cadres and divided the work between villages, teams, and households. They have required that, in regard to the rural households they are responsible for, the cadres take on the tasks of visiting them, publicizing party policies, helping them to set production and income-raising plans, spreading science and technology, and doing well in production, supply, and marketing service work. They are also to assist in the rural households in meeting family planning targets, in attaining the required rates of children entering school, in strengthening ideological and political work, and in striving to ensure that activities which transgress discipline or law do not occur. In the spring of 1985, the 700-plus cadres of Yumen city helped 13,600 of the city's rural households to formulate plans for developing commodity production. By the end of the year, 98 percent of the peasant households had achieved their plans and the average net income of the peasants increased by 104 yuan over the previous year.

2. Handing down four powers and seeking real results: In order to fully bring into play the motivation and creativity of the grassroots-level cadres and enliven the rural economy, the prefecture and counties have handed power down to the townships. With the precondition of completing the grain, cotton, oil, and pig purchase contracts, the townships have the power to proceed from the actual situation, open up new production avenues, and run various types of enterprises. They have the power to employ cadres; they have the power to guide the masses in adopting various economic and operational forms; and, on the basis of voluntary participation and mutual interests, they have the power to develop many types of cooperative and individual operations. They also have the power to manage the township's finances. At the same time, they require the township and village cadres to do several good deeds for the masses each year. The handing down of power has encouraged the cadres' spirit of initiative. All the townships and villages have placed stress on discovering "capable persons," supporting them in engaging in new undertakings, helping the tens of thousands of families and households to resolve the problems of service before, during, and after production, developing specialized teams and specialized villages, and establishing small-scale commodity production bases. The prefecture has already basically established 18 commodity production bases for grain, cotton, beets, watermelons, bailan [4101 5695], melons, vegetables, live-stock and poultry, and building materials. It has also started 495 mining enterprises and organized 272 specialized companies of various sorts. Over 10,000 persons are engaged in collective or individual commodity transport and sales. The Anxi County melon sales company and individual transport and

sales households sold over 30 million jin of bailan melons and watermelons to Hong Kong, Qinghai, Xizang, and other regions in 1985. In Shangba township of Jiuquan County, 8 transport and sales households arranged a joint operation with the sales and marketing cooperative and the vegetable company, and in 1 year, sold over 18,000 tons of onions to Heilongjiang, Shanghai, Tianjin, and other provinces and cities. Over the last 3 years, Xianxihao township under Yumen city has taken 900,000 yuan from its collective accumulation and built or arranged a vocational middle school, an old people's home, a youth house, a central nursery, a spare-time opera troupe, a young person's militia house, a cultural center, anti-illiteracy classes, and a science and technological cultural center. They are also in the process of building a cinema, have laid 11 kilometers of village asphalt roads, and have brought running water to the rural households in five villages.

3. The linking of ideological and political work with the principles of material benefits, so that the cadres and masses become prosperous together: The village and team cadres are themselves peasants, and the majority of the family members of the township cadres live in the rural areas. Proceeding from this, Jiuquan Prefecture has, in regard to grassroots-level cadres, carried out education in honesty in performing one's official duties, in serving the people, and in opposing unhealthy trends of using power for one's own benefit. At the same time, the socialist principle of distribution according to work has been adhered to, egalitarianism has been overcome, rewards for the industrious and penalties for the lazy have been implemented, and payment in accordance with results has been instituted. This has guaranteed that after real results are achieved through their hard work, cadres' income reaches the medium or upper level of the peasants in that place and they become prosperous together with the peasants. Since 1984, the prefecture has also selected 10 township cadres who achieved outstanding results and they have been appointed to leading work at the county level.

4. Strengthening party member education and bringing into play the stronghold role of grassroots-level organizations: The prefecture and county party schools have trained a backbone force in cadre education. Through the annual winter training of village party members, there is education, in terms of the situation and policies, for the whole body of party members. The main part of this education is linking with the actual situation and explaining and publicizing the Central Committee's No 1 Document each year. The party branches have implemented a system whereby party members contact households and require that each party member pay attention to keeping contact with one or two households in difficulty, explain the policies to them, help them find production avenues, plan ways to escape poverty, and pass on production and operational technology. Each year, on the eve of 1 July, there is an investigation of township and village party organizations' implementation of policy, and advanced party branches and outstanding party members are selected and cited. Last year, the per capita income of households in difficulty which constitute one-third of all those in the prefecture, exceed 300 yuan.

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## ON ARCHITECTURAL STYLES, FORMS, CONTENTS, AND OTHER ASPECTS

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[Article by Dai Nianci [2071 1819 1964]]

[Text] Over the past few years there has appeared, in architectural creation and in architectural forums, an unprecedented situation of 100 flowers blooming and 100 schools of thought contending. There have also appeared many questions worthy of exploration. I would like to express some of my opinions on these.

### Architecture Is Both Technology and Art

I believe that architecture is both a scientific technology and an art. Some people have doubts as to whether architecture is an art, and give the following reasons, all of which I feel are difficult to support.

1. Architecture at present is a question of necessity, not a question of whether it is an art or not. Only when we arrive at a period of prosperity in the future will it be possible to speak of architectural art. This idea takes architectural art as a luxury. I believe there can be cheap art for the poor and low-level architectural art for low-level architecture. The value of art is not directly proportional to the amount of money expended.
2. Architecture as an art is ancient. Modern architecture has become a science, and is no longer an art. I do not believe, however, that scientific technology and art are mutually exclusive. In fact, all the creators of ancient architecture, both in China and abroad, used contemporary scientific achievements. With a relatively low level of productive forces and poor scientific and technological conditions, they were still able to create very brilliant architectural art. Today, as architects are able to use material media and technological methods which are far superior to those of ancient times, they should be able to create richer, more varied and higher art.
3. Some people believe that art is a reproduction of life and that, as architecture cannot "reproduce life," architecture is not art. Actually, architecture is a little like music. There is no way it can directly or accurately describe an actual thing, but it can describe the feelings



elicited by various things. Beethoven said: "Descriptive writing is like painting. In this respect, when compared to poetry and music, it can be said that you are fortunate, as its realm is not as restricted as mine. But in another respect, my territory stretches further within the side boundaries and people cannot easily reach my kingdom." (Footnote 1) (Letter from Beethoven to William Mai-er-ha-de) Architecture is also like this, and can only abstractly express various feelings (such as solemnity, majesty, nobility, happiness, liveliness, elegance, grief, fear, constraint, and so on). The artistic power manifested by the Nanjing Massacre Commemorative Hall, which was designed by Comrade Qi Kang [2871 1660], demonstrates this point. When people say that architecture is "solidified music," there is some truth to it.

#### Style Is the Continuous Duplication of Common Characteristics in Expression

As for architectural style, I agree with Gropius. He said: "What Bauhaus must seek is a new avenue, not a new style. A style refers to things which are continually duplicated in expression. It is the 'common denominator' (that is, the common factor) which the overall period has already fixed. However, thinking about dividing living art and architecture, which is in its period of maturation, into fixed styles or 'isms' does not encourage, and virtually ossifies (architects') creative activities." (Footnote 2) (Paul Heyer "Architects on Architecture," New York, 1966 ed., p 203. Gropius was a Jew, originally of German nationality. He was one of the leaders in the modern architectural movement, and was an internationally famous architectural theorist, master architect, and architectural educationalist. At the time of Hitler, he fled to the United States and became the head of the Faculty of Architecture at Harvard University. Bauhaus is the name of the architectural college established by Gropius in Germany and people often take this as a representative name for Gropius' school.)

According to my understanding, these words have two levels of meaning:

First, we speak of various architecture being of the same style because, in their appearance, they repeatedly duplicate some common characteristics, which makes us feel that they are similar. If we take the formal example of Spanish-style villas, in general it refers to gently sloping roofs (similar to Chinese tubed tiles) made of red pottery tiles, fairly thick cream-colored, or almost white walls, windows which are not too large, richly decorated iron-work railings over the doors and windows, and so on. These characteristics cannot be arbitrarily changed. If the roof is changed to a steep hip roof of flag-tiles, it will become English-style and no longer be Spanish-style.

Because of the common historical and social conditions as well as the common level of the productive forces and technical conditions, architecture of a certain period will inevitably have repeated expressions of the common characteristics and skills of the period. This thereby forms the architectural style of the period. In the same way, the architecture of a locality, because of the characteristic conditions of the locality, may in different architectural works, repeatedly manifest the common characteristics

of this locality. This then becomes local architecture. The work experiences, education, life experiences, ideas of right and wrong, cultural attainments, likes, and individual strong points and weak points of an individual architect run through his different works, giving rise to his individual style. The past practice of criticizing individual style as individualism, and requiring a person to design something in a way he would not have otherwise designed it, is the same as requiring a person to write something he would not otherwise write. This is both unnecessary and wrong. However, today it is not necessary to deliberately seek an individual style or to copy a particular style. This is because, regardless of whether we speak of an individual style, a local style or even a period style, all are naturally formed and are not things which can be deliberately sought.

Second, when we speak of a certain style, it does not refer to something which is developing and changing. Rather, it is a conclusion of creative results and refers to something which has already been formed and is quite fixed. Thus, Gropius did not like his things to be popularized as a style. When he was the head of the Faculty of Architecture at Harvard University, he said: "My intention is not to import routine, uninteresting so-called 'modern styles' from Europe, but rather to import an avenue and method so that people will be able to deal with problems in accordance with the special conditions they (themselves) are faced with." (Footnote 3) (Ibid., p 208) Gropius stressed creation and the need to continually explore new realms. Thus, he did not want to see his achievements solidified as a style. He allowed his students to copy him and did not care whether it was called "international style" or "modern style." These words of his have a very deep meaning and can provide us with some inspiration in correctly understanding modern Western architecture. That is, we can draw in the scientific methods and avenues by which they explore problems and use these methods to handle the problems faced by Chinese architects. We should not painstakingly copy or imitate their "conclusions." Since the conditions in various countries differ, our "conclusions" should be different.

It often happens that people speak of national form as national style. This is not correct. Style has the meaning which Gropius spoke of. Form relates to content. The two have different meanings. If we advocate national form as national style, then it will result in a developing, national form being fixed. In our nation, because of our specific historical and social conditions, it is inevitable that an architectural style will be formed in our nation's socialist period. However, the "new socialist Chinese architectural style" will only be a conclusion of historical development. We should not and cannot set down in advance what the Chinese socialist architectural style will be, and then have everybody carrying out their creation in accordance with the established common characteristics.

#### Proceeding From an Outstanding Tradition, and Engaging in Innovation

In respect to tradition and innovation, some people like to absolutely and totally affirm or negate one or the other. This is a type of metaphysical, ideological method. The appearance of something new always requires a process of evolution. During the evolutionary process, it always inherits

some old things which still have vitality and which can still play a good role. At the same time, it also negates old things which have passed their time and which no longer play a good role. Completely affirming old things is of course no good and, likewise, there is no advantage in completely negating them. Not only did the "Cultural Revolution" completely negate outstanding ancient traditions, but also completely negated cultural achievements since the May 4th Movement and since the founding of the PRC. It can be said that they negated them very thoroughly, but what were the results? Everybody is aware of them.

Lu Xun struggled with the conservative die-hards all his life, but he did not set the old against the new, or completely negate old things. He said: It is like a young person being given a house. What should he do? I feel that he might say without caution, "take it!" If he does not like the old landlord of the house, fearing pollution from his things and thus hesitating to go in, he is a coward. But if he is greatly angered, sets the house on fire, and thinks this preserves his purity, then he is stupid. However if, because he originally admired the old landlord of this house, he accepts everything, joyfully jumps into the bedroom, and greatly indulges in the leftover opium, he is even more of a good-for-nothing. A "taker" is nothing like this. He occupies and selects. If he sees a shark-fin, he does not throw it out on the street to show his "affinity with the common man." Rather, with his friends, he will eat it all up as if it were radish or cabbage. If he sees opium, he will not publicly throw it into the cesspool to show his revolutionary nature. Rather, he will send it to the medicine shop so that it can be used to treat illnesses. If there are concubines, he will request them to go their own way. If not, I am afraid that this "take it" policy will not be able to avoid crises. (Footnote 4) ("Essays From Qiejie Pavilion") This is just as we always say: In respect to ancient and foreign things, we should use the essence and reject the dross. Some people say: "It is very dangerous for a nation to always have ardent feelings for its past." I only agree partly with this. That is, for a nation always to have ardent feelings for the dross of its past is clearly dangerous. However, I disagree in part with the statement. I believe that using the essence of the past is not only not dangerous, but is actually beneficial. If a nation uncritically negates all of its former traditions, then it is what Lu Xun referred to as a "coward." I believe this is actually dangerous. If, on the one hand, the nation's past essences are discarded and both foreign and one's own dross is greatly admired, then it becomes a double danger. As to what is dross and what is essence, how we should transform and how we should absorb, these questions require deliberation and painstaking consideration. Even so, it will be very difficult to avoid a winding path. Lu Xun said: "In the adoption of old forms, there are things which must be done away with and things which must be added, and this will result in the appearance of new forms. This is reform. However, this work is not nearly as easy as bystanders imagine." (Footnote 5) (Ibid.) Lu Xun was a conscientious and determined person in this respect, and was deeply aware of hardships and difficulties. If we adopt the simple method of complete negation or complete affirmation, and think that by this means we can take a short-cut and will not have to exert great efforts, we will find that this is impossible. Lenin said: "Even though beauty is

'old,' we should retain it, and take it as a model, as a starting point. Why, just because it is 'old,' must we discard real beauty, refuse to recognize it, and decline to take it as the starting point for further development? Why, just because they are 'new,' must we adore things as if they are spirits to be worshipped? This is absurd, absolutely absurd. Also, in this field, there are many hypocrites and, of course, when particular art is in vogue in the West, they unthinkingly respect it." (Footnote 6) ("Lenin on Literature and Art," RENMIN WENXUE CHUBANSHE, 1983, p 434) These words are worthy of great thought.

#### We Should Promote a National Form and Socialist Content

Content is the sum of all the internal factors which constitute anything. Form is the existing pattern and structural pattern of these factors. The structure of all things has specific content and form. As for architecture, architectural content is the sum of all internal factors, including material function, spiritual function, social function and so on, which constitute the architectural work.

Form and content have a contradictory unity, and thus we should use a dialectical viewpoint in looking at the relationship between them. In the last few years, some people have been skeptical about the idea of "national form and socialist content." This in fact is related to their metaphysical ideological methods.

Why should architecture have socialist content? It is because architecture has a material function, a spiritual function, and a social function, and these functions, especially the last two, are not only directly related to ideology, but also involve the social system. Our architecture is intended to serve the building of our nation's material and spiritual civilization. In its material function, spiritual function, and social function, it must accord with the needs of socialist construction, and must manifest the demeanor of socialist spiritual culture. Why should architecture have a national form? It is because it is built on China's soil, is serving China's four modernizations, and is serving the people. It should be established among the laboring masses and reflect their culture, lifestyles, customs, habits, aesthetic viewpoints, and ideological feelings which have been formed through history.

Some people do not support the idea of socialist content and their reasons for this stand are worthy of discussion.

1. Some people believe that promoting socialist content will restrict the creative freedom of architects. This apprehension has a historical basis. That is, the wrong impression given to people by the "10 years of turmoil." Through the bringing of order out of disorder, this problem is gradually being resolved. I believe that socialist content not only will not restrict architects, but will on the contrary be a source and motivation for architects to fully bring into play their own abilities and create freely. Socialist modernization provides rich and multifarious tasks for architects, requires them to use their own assiduous labor to creatively explore

solutions, and requires that their work is voluntarily subordinated to the demands of social construction. At the same time, it requires them to understand the objective patterns of socialist construction. If architects do not understand the objective patterns of socialist economics, and political and economic construction, it will be difficult for them to avoid snags in their work, and we will be unable to even talk about "creative freedom."

2. Some people restrict architectural content to material functions, and thus feel that we should negate socialist content. I believe that in respect of a material function, clearly we cannot talk about any "ism." However, the material function of architecture does not exist in isolation, and is often entangled with its social function. For example, in designing a hotel, it is necessary to consider the service staff's working conditions and health conditions. These are material functions, but different social systems consider such things from different angles. Thus, we cannot evade the question of socialist content.

3. Some people put the question: If we require architecture to have socialist content, what appearance does socialist architecture take? This equates content and form. We say that form must accord with content, but we cannot equate form and content. Socialist content has a specific meaning. For example, in designing we must consider the interests of the majority of the people; we must stress satisfying to the largest possible degree, the people's material and cultural demands, and consciously meet the demands of building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations; we must consciously meet the livelihood requirements, ideas, and hopes of the laboring people, realize a mutual relationship between architecture and overall social life, and consciously consider questions in terms of overall urban environment. There must also be a feeling that architecture, as artistic expression, should advance with a healthy orientation rather than proceed at a low, vulgar level. All of these things are parts of socialist content.

Some people do not endorse the idea of a national style. Their ideas, similarly, have little to support them.

Some people quote Lenin's words: "Within every nation there is bourgeois culture (the majority of nations also have reactionary gang and religious clique cultures); these are not only 'components,' but the cultures which occupy leading positions." (Footnote 7) ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20, p 6) By proceeding solely on the basis of these words, it could also be said that national form is harmful and without benefit. However, in the same article, Lenin says: "Within the culture of every nation, there are, no matter how undeveloped, democratic and socialist cultural components, because within every nation there are laboring masses and exploited masses." As capitalist culture occupies the ruling position in Western society, if this is totally rejected, does that not mean that modern Western architecture will have to be included in what is rejected? What we refer to as national form is linked together with socialist content. It is a form which, by suiting national conditions, is happily accepted by the people, and by better promoting the development of socialist content its core is better

combined with the demands of socialist construction and the demands of the masses. Some people believe that having architects "yield" to what the masses like, and that having a "high-level yield to a low-level" will inevitably impede the creativity of architects. This is incorrect. Actually, the more architects accord with the demands of the masses, the more the intelligence and wisdom of the architects can be fully brought into play.

Some people say that national form must exclude new science and technology. This is incorrect. National form requires that, on the old base, there is development and innovation. This requires new science and technology. There is an Indian architect who believes that the modern architectural movement has followed the development of the European historical and cultural traditions, and that if this movement had not occurred in Europe but in India, today's modern architecture would have a different appearance. However, today's developing nations experience the phenomena whereby, faced with the cultural superiorities and scientific and technical superiorities of the West, they lose confidence in their own nation's outstanding culture. This has become a major problem. I fully support his view. China's architects should create a modern architecture with Chinese characteristics to enrich the modern architecture of the world.

#### Seriously Studying Foreign Countries and the So-Called "Fashionable Architecture"

We are what Lu Xun called "takers," and advocate studying foreign countries. This can expand our vision, inspire our thinking, and enrich our technical and technological methods. In this process of study, it is alright to copy some man-made forms, as long as they reflect the essence and accord with China's needs. For example, since the May 4th Movement our literary circles have translated a great many foreign works of literature, and this has played a positive, stimulating role. This can be considered a type of copying. But translated novels are foreign literature, a point about which there is no dispute in literary circles. I have discovered a difference in architectural circles. Some comrades believe that there is no other avenue than for China's modern architecture to copy that of foreign countries. Their view of foreign countries corresponds to what Lenin said: "When particular art is in vogue in the West, they unthinkingly respect it." They do not question whether it is desirable or not, good or bad, only proceeding from new fashions, blindly following others. They are satisfied with superficial knowledge. I believe that if we do things in this way, we will not be able to realize a truly modern architecture. I have coined a term for this: "fashionable architecture."

In an article, someone claimed to be of the fashionable school and said that following fashion had various advantages. But what he said was nothing more than that modern architecture comes from following fashion, that fashionable architecture is a low-level stage when we are not imitating modern architecture well enough and that there are also the "high-level fashionable things" of Gropius and the other masters. Actually, Gropius once made an analysis of this question. He said: "The development of new architecture encountered

serious obstacles at a very early stage of its development. Conflicting theories and dogmas enunciated in the personal manifestos of architects all helped to confuse the main issue...Worst of all, 'modern' architecture became fashionable in several countries with the result that formalistic imitation and snobbery distorted the fundamental truth and simplicity on which this renaissance (referring to the modern architecture movement) was based." (Footnote 8) (Gropius, "The New Architecture and the Bauhaus," London, p 20) These words can be considered a reply to the "fashionable school."

In practice, there often occur the problems of making things absolute and of people following others like sheep. If dross is seen, even the essence is rejected. In studying foreign lands, without regard for whether things are good or bad, everything is copied. When problems are discovered, then they return to the old road of rejecting everything. If we are to escape from this pernicious cycle, I believe that the key lies in clearly demarcating the divisions between fashionable architecture and modern architecture. The divisions can be set as follows: 1) Their intentions are different. The former seeks only novelty, while the latter seeks to fully use modern scientific and technological results and advanced productive forces. 2) Their attitudes are different. The former is content with a superficial knowledge of foreign things. It does not differentiate between essence and dross, and lacks an attitude of serious study. The latter stresses taking the essence and rejecting the dross of foreign things. Even though at times differentiation might be unclear, or study may be carried out in a confused way, as there is a serious attitude, the mistakes can be corrected. Thus, it is possible to change from being unclear to being competent and even to excelling. 3) Their points of stress are different. The former puts stress on the outward form, while the latter puts stress on methods, avenues, and scientific spiritual essence. 4) Their methods and styles are different. In the relationship between design methods, forms, and functions, the former does not scruple to resort to trickery and tries to please the public with claptrap. The latter stresses seeking truth from facts. 5) Their results are different. While works of the former may be popular for a while, because they are divorced from reality and divorced from science, they will easily become outdated. The latter, because it has a scientific nature and a down-to-earth nature, will be able to pass the tests of history. The core of these five divisions lies in having a serious seek-truth-from-facts attitude.

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SOME PROBLEMS FACED BY TOWN AND TOWNSHIP ENTERPRISES IN THE COURSE OF THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 33-37

[Investigation report by Wang Jinggong [3769 1696 0501]]

[Text] Last year, I and several comrades took 20 days off to tour Yenbei, Jinzhou, and Datong of Shanxi Province to investigate and study the conditions of development of the town and township enterprises there. The investigation disclosed: Since 1984, town and township enterprises in our province have developed in an all-round manner and, judging from the momentum of their brisk development, a new high tide of development is in the making. The outstanding manifestations are a high speed of development, a wide range of operations, a high rate of employment, and large increases in earnings and income. According to statistics, at the year end of 1985, the total number of town and township enterprises in the province was over 349,000, an increase of 65 percent over 1984; over 2 million people were employed in the enterprises, accounting for some 28.5 percent of the total rural labor power; the annual gross output value and gross income were estimated to have surpassed 1984 by 53 percent; and the net increase in net profits was estimated at 37.8 percent.

Thus, with thousands upon thousands of households engaging in the enterprises, both the collectives and the individuals have been enriched. Town and township enterprises have occupied a dominant and vital position in the rural economy of our province and are playing an important role in such phases as augmenting the strength of the rural collective economy, finding employment for rural surplus labor power, increasing the peasants' income, compensating and subsidizing agriculture with industry, and building new towns and villages. At the same time, they also represent an important force in promoting the development of industry, communications, construction, the service trade, and commerce in our province and in transforming the distribution of industries between the urban and rural areas.

Strengthening Macroeconomic Guidance: Performing "Double Opening and Double Transforming" Well

Under the conditions of the rapid rise of town and township enterprises, many regions have come to realize that macroeconomic guidance is "grasping



the work of direction finding on the compass" and gradually augmenting it. But, seen as a whole, due to the poor quality of the cadres and their lack of sufficient experience, this kind of guidance has not been effective enough. In comparison, the districts and counties have paid close attention to the macroeconomic guidance of town and township enterprises, whereas the relevant departments at upper levels have made little study in this connection. As for the districts and counties, they have tended more toward grasping development of the productive forces and less to the study of the problem of production relations. For example, they have not paid sufficient attention to the reform of the management structure of the town-run and village-run enterprises or to promoting the simultaneous development of the cooperative economy and commodity economy. In regard to the development of the productive forces, they have stressed more the newly established enterprises and less the technical transformation of the existing enterprises, and more the development of production, less serving circulation. In general, they have an insufficient grasp of the whole situation. Conditions of this kind should be speedily rectified.

In strengthening the macroeconomic guidance of the town and township enterprises, the major projects tackled should be different at different times. For the recent period, we should grasp the "two openings" and "two transformings" well. The "two openings" refer to internally developing and externally opening up. The methods of "sparrow tactics" [ma que zhan 7802 7158 2069] and "snowballing" [lu da gun 7533 2092 3340] should be adopted. We should vigorously develop the underground black treasure caves (mining deposits, construction materials), build up the above-ground green treasure caves (agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries, and processing industries and trades), open up new markets, pay special attention to developing the poor mountainous regions, and help the local peasants to strive to convert the superiority in resources to superiority in products and commodities. At the same time, it is necessary to further open up to the outside world and introduce and absorb capital funds, technology, equipment, and talented people from outside the counties, outside the province, and even outside the country. Under the current condition of the merging of urban and rural reforms, it is all the more necessary to stress opening the "mountain gates," enter the "city gates," institute urban-rural jointly operated enterprises, sponsor industry-agriculture mutual aid, operate backbone enterprises, and turn out "fist products." By the "two transformings," we mean that we should reform the management structure of town-run and village-run collective enterprises, separate government from enterprise functions, allow the enterprises to operate autonomously, and enforce the responsibility system in production and operation. It is also necessary to carry out the technical transformation of the existing enterprises systematically, in separate periods, and in separate groups. Relatively advanced and appropriate technologies should be employed to gradually replace the clumsy and backward operation methods. Production capacity should be enhanced and economic results should be heightened.

The county is the meeting place of urban and rural economies, and is the frontline command post in developing town and township enterprises. Experience from certain rapidly developed town and township enterprises in

northern Shanxi have shown that within the scope of a county, the existing macroeconomic guidance of town and township enterprises should stress the following:

First, it is necessary to take stock of the whole situation and pay attention to coordinating the relationship between agriculture, industry, and commerce. In judging whether or not the developmental speed of town and township enterprises in a certain region is appropriate and whether or not there are problems of "blind development" or "loss of control," aside from studying and analyzing such factors as capital funds, raw materials, and markets, fundamentally we should find out if the relationship between agriculture, industry, and commerce is coordinated or not. Without agriculture, stability will be lacking; without industry, there will be no wealth; and without commerce, there will be no livelihood. The three coexist; none of them should be lacking. As the primary leadership of a county, we must start by developing the rural economy as a whole, attend concurrently to agriculture, industry, and commerce, tightly grasp town and township enterprises simultaneously with tightly grasping grain production, and, by developing town and township enterprises, render services to agricultural production. For example, in regard to capital funds, "industry should subsidize agriculture," and in regard to the projects to be undertaken, we should start processing industries for agricultural sideline products and promote the conversion and increment in value of grain and agricultural sideline products. Only by so doing can there be economic stability and coordinated development in the countryside.

Second, it is necessary to truly find out one's own superiorities. Speaking in terms of the province as a whole, we must firmly insist on the guiding thought of simultaneously grasping the two treasure caves, but, when concretely applied to each county and each town, the principle of suiting measures to local conditions should be especially emphasized. It is necessary to obtain a clear understanding of the natural resources of a locality and grasp social needs and market information. We must start from reality to determine a correct industrial policy and do a good job in arranging the geographical distribution of industry and formulate the regulations governing industry. Not only must we have a clear understanding of what mining deposits we have and which resources are suitable for forestry or for animal husbandry, but also must clearly understand what road to take in transforming the superiority in resources to a superiority in products and in commodities. We must prevent the trend of starting production blindly, competing with each other for speed, seeking high targets, and working simply and purely for output value.

Third, we should grasp the readjustment of production relations and structure and the improvement of management and operations as the main and important points of macroeconomic guidance. The experiences of many regions in our province have amply shown that the full use of the foundation of the original cooperative economy and the active development of new combinations constitute important measures for promoting the brisk development of town and township enterprises. The main portion of the town and township enterprises in our province is related to commodity economy and also to

cooperative economy. Here, in the development of the commodity economy and improvement of the cooperative system, the procedure is identical and the objective is the same, that is, development of the productive forces and realization of the co-prosperity of the broad masses of peasants are sought. Hence, an important problem in the current macroeconomic guidance is, through making an earnest investigation and research, how to settle the ownership structure of the town and township enterprises, improve operations and management, and perfect and develop the cooperative economy.

#### Advocating Urban and Rural Integration and Promoting Industrial and Agricultural Joint Operations

In the investigation, we notice the vivacious situation of the town and township enterprises stretching out their hands to all four directions and vigorously engaging in introducing from the outside and combining in the inside. A new situation of the integration of urban and rural areas and industry and agriculture entering into joint operations was developed in which the peasants "invaded" the cities to operate enterprises while city workers were "invited" into the countryside to serve as teachers. For example, since Ding Xiang County advocated the call of "joining a town with a city and combining a village with a plant," to this date, various forms of joint operations and cooperation have come into being, involving 21 cities and towns, 106 industrial and commercial enterprises, and 18 scientific research units and institutions of higher learning. The forms mainly consist of the following: 1) The spreading of industrial products of cities and towns to the countryside for processing; 2) joint production, with urban industry playing the "principal role" and town and township enterprises playing the "subsidiary role"; 3) the cities providing the countryside with technology and equipment to jointly run new plants; 4) cities and the countryside sharing in raising funds to jointly run enterprises; 5) the peasants displaying their own special skill or using their own capital to go to the cities to start and run enterprises; and 6) town and township enterprises sending personnel to large plants in the cities to seek contracts for work. Starting from the second half year of 1984, in a little over a year's time, 16.4 million yuan of capital, over 340 scientific and technical personnel, and 71 projects of advanced technology have been introduced, enabling the town and township enterprises to gain new development, like "equipping tigers with wings."

The development of joint operations and cooperation under the principle of volition and mutual benefit, which has many layers and is carried out through many channels and in many forms by towns and township enterprises with city plants, mines, enterprises, scientific and research units, and large specialized institutions of learning, breaks not only the demarcation line between cities and countryside and between regions, but also the limitations of the ownership system and the limitations of industries and trades. It converts the "closed-door" type of enterprises to the "open-door" type of enterprises, making the various important elements of the productive forces join together anew and in a larger scope, and furthering the liberation of the productive forces. It not only is an effective way to speedily develop and elevate the status of the town and township enterprises, but also

is an important measure to bring the superiority in resources into full play and to step up the economic development of the whole province. It is also an important ingredient in establishing a new type of urban and rural relationship and consolidating the industrial and agricultural alliance in the new period.

The union and cooperation of cities and countryside in recent years has developed under the guidance of the party's guidelines and policies. But at present the economic departments at various levels still lack the necessary leadership organization and have not yet promptly done the needed string-pulling and bridge-building work. Hence, there is still a certain degree of spontaneous and blind work. From now on we must strengthen the organization and coordination of this work, adroitly guide action according to circumstances, do the needling and introductory work, pave the road, and build the bridges, so as to integrate the cities and the countryside and push industrial and agricultural joint operations to a new stage of development. Organs and departments in charge of economic affairs at provincial and municipal levels should earnestly carry out investigation and research, find out clearly the conditions of the urban and rural areas, do a good job in formulating the regulations, and, in a planned manner and systematically, distribute and spread to the rural villages all the products (including spare parts for processing) which can be so distributed and spread out. The province should have plans to call urban and rural discussion meetings on economic technology at appropriate times, and the economic departments should act as the go-between to clear the channels for urban and rural integration and joint operations in industry and agriculture. Enterprises, scientific research units, and large specialized institutions of learning in the cities should be mobilized to provide the town and township enterprises with advanced technology and help them to train various kinds of talented personnel. They may proceed to the towns and townships to establish schools and start training courses, or the town and township enterprises may send people to the cities to study and to learn, or factories, mines, and scientific research units may take over the personnel training work. Furthermore, we should advocate and encourage retired scientific and technical personnel and technicians to go to the countryside to help the town and township enterprises to meet their insufficiency in technical strength.

#### Carrying Out Technological Transformation and Augmenting the Enterprises' Reserve Strength

The rise of the majority of town and township enterprises has been by means of native methods and in a native way. In general, they started at a rather low level of industrial technology. In order to increase their production, heighten their effectiveness, and strengthen their reserve strength, they need to continuously go through the process of technological transformation.

Judging from the results of the investigation, the mining industry, metallurgical industry, and the construction materials industry all urgently need technological transformation. The technological transformation of these industries should be taken up at separate periods and in different batches.

For the present, major efforts should be devoted to improving the production conditions and enhancing the production capacity. After the enterprises have increased their accumulation, they should gradually promote suitable applied technology and develop intensive processing. In this regard, a number of worthy examples have already emerged. For example, in developing township small coal pits, the Wu Jiayao township of Huan Ren County, through summing up past experiences and lessons and teaching the cadre masses to attend assiduously to their current jobs and make long-range plans, adopted the guideline of "maintaining coal with coal, making self-transformation, and speeding up arming the pits with equipment." In the past 6 years, they have invested over 6.1 million yuan in technological transformation, made profits amounting to 51.8 percent of the gross profits of the town and township coal pits, realized semimechanized production, steadily increased coal output, raised the township's per capita annual income to over 1,000 yuan, and become the "richest" township of the whole county. Experiences of this kind deserve to be earnestly summed up and propagated.

Simultaneously with firmly grasping technological transformation, it is necessary to gradually take into consideration the overall technological progress of the town and township enterprises. The food, seed, and timber processing industries should insist on the guideline of walking on two legs within a definite period of time. These industries should vigorously develop workshop-like enterprises which are mainly run by individual households or a group of households, bring traditional artcraft into full play, and devote efforts to products that are new, small in size, and concentrated. This is one of the legs. The other leg calls for the planned building of certain points for the establishment of a number of relatively larger factories which employ new technology and new artcraft. In city outskirts and towns and townships possessing the necessary conditions, attention should be paid to appropriately developing certain industries of the technologically-intensive type. At present, Jinzhou, Yuanling, Dingxiang, and the southern outskirts of Datong city and certain other counties and cities have already set up a number of technologically advanced and profit-making enterprises. Their experiences show that town and township enterprises have immense potential for technological progress and bright prospects ahead.

Taking as the starting point the making of everything conducive to technological transformation and technological progress, we should actively guide the town and township enterprises to correctly handle the relationship between consumption and accumulation. In regions where town and township enterprises have just made a start and in enterprises which must undergo technological transformation, at present the distribution of income to the individual (including the standard wages of staff members and workers) should not be too large and we should not one-sidedly emphasize making the individual affluent or inappropriately advocate a high rate of consumption. We should strongly rectify the tendency of "dividing all and consuming all" that has appeared in certain localities and enterprises. Depreciation funds should be duly set aside in accordance with a fixed standard. Similarly, joint accumulating funds should be set aside according to appropriate ratios so as to raise funds to equip the enterprises and thus to augment their reserve strength. In addition, for the purposes of the technological transformation of the

enterprises, other sources of raising funds should be opened up by resorting to such means as share subscriptions, profit-retention from joint operations, compensation trade, and so forth.

#### Opening Up Diversified Channels; Performing Circulation Service Well

Performing circulation services well is a necessary requirement and an important content of specialized, commercialized, and socialized production. To a large extent, whether or not a newly organized enterprise can be consolidated and developed is determined by whether or not the supply of raw materials can be ensured and the products can be promptly marketed. Commercial and service trade activities also offer a road to affluence and well-being.

Seen from the investigation, in improving circulation, the rural supply and marketing cooperatives have done much work and so have the transport and marketing companies of town and township enterprises and the urban-rural commodities exchange fairs universally held in various localities, performing a definite role in this respect. However, the whole circulation area has not yet formed a network and its degree of socialization has not been high enough. The channels are not smooth enough and information is not to the required standard, all of these being highly unsuited to the development of production. This is a problem urgently requiring solution. For the present, we may consider grasping the following lines of work:

First, the towns and villages should devote great efforts to tightly grasping preproduction and postproduction services. For example, they should develop, in a planned manner, specialized organs to render preproduction and postproduction services to the town and township enterprises. The organs may be new cooperative enterprises specially engaged in circulation and in rendering services, and may also be a relatively independent operations arm of the cooperative economic organs originally in existence. By so doing, development of the town and township enterprises will be benefited and so will the rural cooperative economy be benefited and improved.

Second, above the county level and in accordance with the condition of the development of the localities, a number of industry and trade federations and federations of specialized trades may be established to provide information, organize services, and strengthen coordination for the town and township enterprises to develop production and improve circulation.

Third, it is necessary to vigorously develop specialized households for commerce and the service trade, encourage the establishment of translocality, transindustry and transtrade, and transdepartmental circulating service organs which integrate agriculture and industry, agriculture and commerce, and agriculture and industry and commerce, strengthen the guidance over their operational activities, and fully display their active role in market regulation.

Fourth, in the reform of the supply and marketing cooperatives, it is important to clearly designate that rendering services to town and township

enterprises should be one of their important tasks. The spirit of services of the cooperativization high tide of the 1950's must be displayed and the urgencies and thoughts of the town and township enterprises must be shared. It is necessary to transform the current situation of the majority of the supply and marketing cooperatives confining their activities to selling industrial goods of daily use to the rural villages and doing a little purchasing of certain agricultural sideline products and native products, and to incorporate into their main scope of business the rendering of services to town and township enterprises by marketing their various products, purchasing for them raw materials and equipment and providing them with technological data, market information, and so forth.

#### Actively Supporting the New Combination Bodies Among the Town and Township Enterprises

The investigation has found that on the basis of the brisk development of household-run and households jointly-run enterprises, approximately 15 to 20 percent of them have developed into a new type of economic combination bodies. These new combination bodies have flexible and variegated operational forms. In general, these are: Equality in the share subscription of capital and strict adherence to the principle of distribution according to work; proportionate distribution according to labor and capital; capital and labor jointly making share subscriptions and distribution according to shares; labor with capital joining cooperative enterprises; and profit distribution on a 50-50 basis between labor and capital.

These new economic combination bodies are entirely the peasants' voluntary joint undertakings. The peasants are masters of their own houses. They run the organs independently, are responsible for their own profits and losses, and are free from the remnant effects of the feature of being large in size and collective in nature of the people's communes. Among them, many have already acquired a definite scale of production and operations, a comparatively normal, regular, and organized leadership structure, and a definite system of operations and management (including business accounting, auditing, distribution, and so forth). They also have fairly sizable fixed assets, common accumulations, definite types of products and marketing channels, rather extensive operational channels, and relatively good economic results. Through the renewed assembling of the various important elements of the productive forces, they have formed new production relations, further liberated and extended the productive forces, become beneficial to the common affluence of the broad masses of the cooperative members and to the simultaneous development of commodity economy and cooperative economy, and are an important factor in the rural cooperative economy. Organs at various levels should actively support their development and earnestly strengthen the leadership work over them.

The principle of volition and mutual aid should be closely adhered to and insisted on from beginning to end so that "joining is voluntary and withdrawing is at one's liberty" and so that they may develop of their own accord and avoid repeating the past measures of overall contracting and substituting, abject subservience to administrative orders, literally

pulling up the plant's roots to help its growth, and "blowing a gust of wind" or doing "once and for all." The new type of economic combination bodies may take the form of a closely knitted union or a rather loose combination; they may also be composite enterprises or perform purely specialized types of cooperation. It is necessary to suit measures to local conditions, suit measures to trades and industries, and be flexible and diversified and not confined to any one form but allow the masses to make voluntary selection.

The stress on volition and mutual aid is not equivalent to letting things drift but means using correct methods to guide and to help. Leadership at various levels and rural cooperative organs should principally grasp the following methods well: providing information and guidance and helping in the determination of joint projects; helping to solve problems of factory site and equipment; helping to establish a healthy operations and management system; helping to open up marketing channels for the products; providing certain types of support in the form of loans under the precondition of the organs raising some of the funds themselves; stepping up ideological and political work and establishing party and Youth League branch organs; and so on.

#### Earnestly Doing a Good Job in Handling Town-Run and Village-Run Collective Enterprises

The investigation has found that in the course of enforcing the rural production responsibility system, the great proportion of the original commune-run enterprises had been retained and that of the original brigade-run or team-run enterprises, a portion had been dissolved while a portion had been retained. In the reform, the retained enterprises had displayed new vitality. In recent years, in various regions, a number of town-run and village-run enterprises have come into existence. These enterprises are generally of a rather large scale. Their output value is generally rather large. They have provided employment to a large rural surplus labor power and played an important role in such phases of work as compensating agriculture with industry, reducing levies, promoting welfare enterprises, and guiding the development of household-run and jointly-run household enterprises. At present they still constitute the main portion of the town and township enterprises in our province.

Nevertheless, many problems still exist in town-run and village-run collective enterprises.

First, in many regions, the starting point of the county, town, and village cadres in running town and township enterprises is, to a large extent, solving the economic difficulties of the town governments or the CPC village committees and increasing the "mobile financial power."

Second, a state of government replacing the enterprise and the nonseparation of government from enterprise functions is relatively general.



Third, in income distribution, many towns (townships) do not allow any retention by the enterprises out of the after-tax profits; some even seldom, or not at all, provide any redistribution to the peasants, but let the town government dispose of the funds at will. Some projects in support of agriculture and public welfare projects are purely symbolic. The enterprises and the peasants have complained much about this.

Fourth, a rather large number of town and township enterprises still lack decisionmaking power, show generally poor operations and management performances, and are in a confused financial state.

These problems show that the remnant effects of the phenomenon of being large in size and collective in nature have not yet been fully banished. This not only impedes the continued progress and smooth development of rural collective enterprises, but also produces certain injurious influences on the development of household-run enterprises and jointly-run household enterprises. From now on, they must be satisfactorily solved in the reform. This is of key importance to the development of the town and township enterprises in our province at present. Seen from the experiences of certain regions, this work must be integrated with that of perfecting the cooperative economy. On the basis of the separation of government from enterprise functions and the establishment and improvement of regional cooperative-economic organs, it is necessary to clearly designate the regional cooperative-economic organs to have full power to handle all matters (operational guidelines, management systems, distribution, accumulation, profits and taxes, assets, and so forth) pertinent to the town-run and village run collective enterprises (including newly established enterprises). The urgent tasks before the economic combined societies and the village cooperatives after the separation of government from enterprise functions are to improve and perfect the contract responsibility system (in general contracting should preferably be done by the collective with the plant head taking up the responsibilities) of the town and village enterprises, to pursue accounting and auditing of assets and funds, to consolidate the enterprises' operations and management, particularly financial management, and to reform the distribution system. The principle of returning power and providing benefits to the people must be adhered to; measures must be suited to local conditions and guidance should be carried out separately; and taking the actual conditions of the towns and townships to start with, we must designate a fixed ratio of the after-tax profits for the enterprise to retain a portion, for distributing a portion to the cooperative members, and for delivering a portion to the finance department of the town. The finance department of the town should strengthen its supervision of the finances of the town and village enterprises.

The potential of this phase of work is enormous. If performed well, it can play a large promotional role in the development of town and township enterprises and the whole rural economy. Unfortunately, the tasks are rather difficult ones and certain ideological resistance may still be found among the two levels of cadres, namely, the town level and the village level. Judging from the phenomena of the current scene, some cadres are not willing to "let go" of their grasp of the town and township

enterprises while some other cadres "do not care to be bothered at all." The origin of these two types of ideology is a lack of the spirit of serving the people with whole heart and soul. To solve this problem, it is necessary to integrate the reform of the management system of the town and township enterprises with the current party reform, step up the education in party character for the broad masses of rural cadres who are party members, and pursue patient and meticulous ideological and political work. At the same time, persons who are at the required level, are capable, and truly have the intention to work for the populace, should supplement and fill the leadership ranks.

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A TENTATIVE DISCUSSION ON STRESSING THE SCIENTIFIC NATURE OF TARGET MANAGEMENT DURING A DIRECTOR'S OR MANAGER'S TERM OF OFFICE

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[Article by Jin Wen [7855 3080]]

[Text] If a director or manager were to have no targets at all and take things casually, it certainly would not work; and if the targets are not scientific in nature and not overall, many drawbacks will probably occur. Still, to talk about targets alone is not sufficient; it is necessary to start by talking about "responsibility."

Necessity of Having an Integrated Understanding of a Director's or Manager's "Responsibility"

The director or manager of an industrial or commercial enterprise is its principal responsible person. Of the triumvirate of responsibility, power and interest, "responsibility" is the precondition and the nucleus. "Power" is essential to being "responsible," while "interest" is the fruit of being "responsible." "Power" cannot stand without "responsibility," while "interest" cannot be generated without "responsibility." "Responsibility" is the basis on which the director or manager fixes the target for the term of office. If the concept of "responsibility" is not made clear, errors will creep in when fixing the target for the term of office.

In the minds of some comrades, it seems that the responsibilities of being a director or manager are equivalent to "treating the staff members and workers fairly." Hence, the target of a director's or manager's term of office has become the extent to which staff salary and wage levels can be raised, the amount of bonuses that can be granted to them, and the size and number of staff dormitories that can be built. Due to taking the raising of staff incomes and of their welfare level as the main responsibility of the director or manager, the phenomenon of the "3 tappings and 1 ensurance" has arisen. The first is tapping the state, principally shown in tax evasion of various sorts; second is tapping or cheating the consumers (including consumers of daily necessities and consumers of means of production) such as cheating in weight and measurement, offering substandard goods in lieu of standard goods, mingling goods of good and bad quality and offering imitation or fraudulent goods, and disguised price rises; and third, tapping the

enterprises, shown principally in "eating up capital," abusing the use of equipment, lavishly expending resources and pursuing plunder-like business tactics, so as to pay high salaries, wages and bonuses, or fraudulently reporting profits in lieu of losses and thus causing serious deficits inside a plant. "One ensurance" means that even under poor operation and management conditions and with a low level of economic results, relentlessly keeping the level of the staff's compensation and bonuses from falling or even raising it. By so doing, may the director or manager be presumed to have fulfilled his own responsibility? No!

Socialist enterprises have the obligation of paying taxes to the state, as this constitutes the main source of the state's fiscal receipts. In their capacity as representatives of the enterprises, directors and managers have the responsibility of paying the taxes according to the regulations. Socialist enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people are commodity producers and operators who are relatively independent, can operate autonomously and are responsible for their own profits and losses; the whole staff engages jointly in work and enforces the systems of distribution according to work and democratic management. The state endows the director or manager with power and authority, and the director or manager, representing the interests of the state and of the enterprises, must correctly carry out the guidelines and policies of the party and government, organize the broad masses of staff members and workers to devote utmost efforts to production, raise the economic results, continually make more contributions to the four modernizations, and, at the same time, enhance the income of the staff members and workers and the level of collective welfare. The socialist production objective is constantly meeting the daily increasing needs of the material and cultural lives of the broad masses of people. Each and every enterprise, in the course of production, circulation and exchange, not only provides other enterprises with the goods needed for production consumption and livelihood consumption but is also a consumer of the products of other enterprises. Each and every enterprise must watch out not only for its own economic benefits but also the benefits of society at large. Only by so doing can there be social development. Being since all are consumers, if any should endeavor to harm the interests of the consumers, then all would be harmed and everybody's living standard and quality of living could hardly be improved. Hence, from the standpoint of socialist production objective, each and every enterprise's director or manager has the responsibility of protecting the interests of the consumer but never the power to damage the consumers' interests. The assets of socialist enterprises are owned by the whole people or the collectives. They are the main constituent parts of society's material productive forces and also the material conditions which the broad masses of staff members and workers borrow in order to work, to survive, and to progress. Each and every director or manager has the responsibility to protect and enhance these properties but no right to use them lavishly or damage them.

A director or a manager, during his term of office, should be responsible not only for the enterprise's current operating conditions but also for adding reserve strength to help the enterprise's future development. Generally speaking, the course taken by an enterprise to grow from its

inception to maturity is a prolonged one whereas the term of office of each and every director or manager is but a portion of this prolonged course. The survival and development of an enterprise is also continuous. What kind of foundation an outgoing director or manager leaves to his successor is directly related to the enterprise's destiny and future. Therefore, the current director or manager has the responsibility of laying a firm foundation and paving a smooth road to the enterprise's future development. If we do not point out this problem, then it is tantamount to allowing certain directors or managers to pursue plunder-like operations vis-a-vis the enterprise, to build their "glorious results" on a foundation that gives the enterprise only a short life, and to set up "successful exploits" during their term of office but leaving the legacy of a heavy burden to their successors.

#### Setting Up a Perfect Target Structure

Since a director's responsibility is not unitary, the target is also not unitary but is a system of structure. The structure must be perfect and possess the character of being complete, advanced, and reliable.

The so-called completeness of a target structure means that the contents of a director's or manager's "responsibility" must be of a concrete nature and possess definite targets. The whole target structure should comprise: First, targets on the quantity, quality, variety, gross output value and economic effects of the products. Under the target of economic effects should be certain subdivisions such as those related to the taxes and profits delivered to the upper levels which indicate the contributions made to the state; and those related to the staff's income and welfare benefits which indicate the actual benefits brought to the staff members and workers and the solution for them of their urgent problems. Second, targets for increasing the enterprise's strength and "reserve strength," including targets related to renovation of equipment, adoption of new technology and new artcraft, personnel training, increase of enterprise's assets (including self-owned circulating funds), and so forth. Third, targets for benefits to consumers, that is, increase of social benefits, including targets related to improving and increasing the color, design, and variety of the products needed and liked by the consumers, guarantees and protection of quality and quantity, timely delivery of orders, exemplary adherence to commodity price policies, good performance of service before, during, and after sales, raising the enterprise's reputation and the good name of the products, and so on. In addition, improvement of the quality of the staff members and workers and training of the technical force should be included.

The advanced character of a target structure is manifested in the degree and level of the director or manager carrying out his "responsibilities." The existing problems are: In fixing the targets for his term of office, the director or manager often fixes a high output value, because this is flexible. The target for raising the staff's salaries, wages and bonuses, and collective welfare is usually fixed high while the target for delivery of taxes and profits is usually set relatively low. The economic benefit target usually lacks an advanced character. For example, when fixing the

target for realized profits (including per capita profit and tax rate, profit and tax rate on output value, and profit and tax rate on capital), preference is often given to vertical comparison, that is, comparing the present with the past, and often also to a roundabout comparison, that is, comparing the current year with the preceding year. In choosing targets in this manner, the director or manager concentrates only on his own enterprise and only on the past. His vision is thus very narrow and he can hardly perceive an advanced target. Of course it is not that a vertical comparison should not be made but rather care should be given to making a horizontal comparison. In vertical comparison, the comparison must be made with the enterprise's past highest level so that there can be no unwarranted satisfaction just because the preceding year was not up to expectations due to some unexpected events. A horizontal comparison is preferable because it can widen a person's vision. Not paying any attention to horizontal comparison may make an enterprise complacent about its current achievements and it could subsequently be drowned in an ocean of competition. In particular, in regard to the economic benefits of an enterprise, the level of consumption of materials and the quality and quantity of products of industrial enterprises and the level of expenditure and the service and attitude of labor provided by commercial enterprises, comparison should be made not only with enterprises in the same industry or trade within the same county, city, or province, or country but also with the international level of the same industry or trade. Also, comparison should be made with advanced enterprises whose internal and external objective conditions are in general similar to those of the enterprise under comparison but also with advanced enterprises whose internal and external objective conditions are superior to those of our enterprise. Only by so doing can we correctly determine the targets for the various stages of an enterprise and make the director's or manager's targets during his term of office become advanced and workable.

The reliability of a target structure manifests the degree of the realization of the director's or manager's responsibility. What is the criterion of reliability? First, it is determined by whether or not the target structure is workable; and second, the measures taken must be effective ones. If the measures are ineffective and not up to standard, grand-looking scales and pleasing targets can amount to nothing. At present, the targets of output value and profits formulated by some directors and managers are the outcome of "projection." Using a certain rate of progressive increase, the current year's actual results are projected to form the target for the next year while next year's actual results are projected to form the target for the next year while next year's target is in the same way projected to form the target for the year after next. The process is thus continued but no mention is made of what definite measures are to be taken for the realization of the targets. Or, although there is a plan, questions as to how to tap the potential, when to increase, and how much to increase, the production capacity, what new products to be developed, where the needed funds will come from, and so on, are left unanswered. A target structure of this kind is the product of imagination. Its foundation is built on sand and is not reliable.

As for the state's large and medium-sized backbone enterprises, in order to ensure that their directors' or managers' target structures for their terms of office are complete, advanced and reliable, the departments in charge of the enterprises should first consult the departments in charge of finance, auditing, planning, taxation, banking, labor and wages and the trade unions. After revision and supplementation, the target structures should be taken up for discussion at the congress of representatives of the enterprises' staff members and workers. This process should be carried out level by level.

#### Integration of Checking and Assessment During Tenure of Office With Post-Tenure Checking and Assessment

Checking and assessment is an important measure in enforcing the control and management of targets during a director's or manager's tenure of office. A complete or integrated target structure is the basis for checking and assessing a director's or manager's real ability and real contributions. Simply looking at the growth in output value without looking at the amount of realized profits is not sufficient to check and assess a director's or manager's operation and management level and his actual accomplishments but to look only at the realized profits of the enterprises without knowing how the director or manager handles the interest relations between the state, the enterprise, the staff and the consumers is likewise not sufficient. This is because there may be falsehood in the reported gross profits of an enterprise. Concretely speaking, it is possible, by means of evading taxes, or concealing a part of the cost of production, or failing to cut down the prices of questionable products and commodities stored up in the warehouses, to show false profits in lieu of actual losses. It is also possible to harm the consumers' interests by questionable means and thus to increase the enterprises' earnings. However, if we have a clear objective of protecting and increasing the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the consumers and supplement it with stern and strict measures of checking and assessment and punishment and reward, then the only way open to the director or manager is to do hard and real work in the improvement of operation and management.

In real life, the following situation is frequently seen: The department in charge of the enterprise stresses the delivery of taxes and profits in assessing and judging the director or manager while the staff members and workers evaluate a director or manager simply by how much he increases the staff's salaries, wages and bonuses as well as welfare benefits. Thus, it is easy to overlook the long-term interests of the consumers and of the enterprise itself. In both cases, there is hardly any way to effectively restrain the director or manager. In certain enterprises, so long as the products are sold, any damage done to the consumers will not affect the director or manager one bit. Although we may try out ways and means from outside the enterprise to protect the consumers' interest, it is of no avail. Hence, in checking and assessing a director's or manager's "real accomplishments," the views of the consumers should be heard, and a test of public opinion should be made within this scope. When the tenure of office of a director or manager is about to expire, witnesses should be invited to check and assess the assets and take stock of the properties of

the enterprise to find out if there has been any increase in assets and whether or not there are loopholes and a burden left behind. Even though the director or manager has already vacated his post, we cannot be perfunctory and only after the merits and demerits and rights and wrongs have been made clear can the director or manager be allowed to hand over the post to his successor. If not, then there is the danger of a publicly owned enterprise being "eaten up."

Aside from checking and assessing during the tenure of office, it should be supplemented by post-tenure checking and assessment. This is because the work of a director or manager cannot necessarily produce the desired effects during his tenure of office and hidden problems may not necessarily be revealed or potential consequences manifested during the tenure of office. Only when checking and assessing is made during the tenure of office and after it can the talents and contributions of a director or manager be fairly and completely evaluated. This affects the reserve strength and reputation of an enterprise.

A director or manager who cares for the long-term interests of the enterprise during his tenure of office, may have effected the utmost "retrenchment" in carrying out various projects and devoted great efforts to training up talented personnel and frequently the production capacity and economic effects can only be seen during the tenure of his successor. But in checking and assessing the work of the cadres, these successes are frequently ascribed to the successor. Thus, the preceding incumbent did a good job and retired and his successor reaps the benefits and receives the award and commendation despite having made only a small contribution, or no contribution at all. In contrast, we could find directors and managers who would carelessly sacrifice the long-term interests of the enterprises in order to please their superiors and staff members and workers, are eager for quick results and instant benefits, care for the present without any regard for accumulating any "reserve strength," or would even go so far as to borrow money to pay salaries, wages and bonuses and to deliver profits to the state. On the surface, everything may look normal but in reality the enterprise suffers from a large internal deficit. Moreover, some directors or managers make a "mess of buying and selling," hardly care for name or credit, and in fact rely on harming the enterprise's reputation in exchange for certain "benefits." By so doing, the current incumbent seems to have accomplished "superior results," whereas actually, his successor will be surrounded by difficulties.

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## IDEALS AND RESISTANCE TO CORROSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 41-43

[Article by Shen Baoxiang [3088 1405 4382]]

[Text] A vivid and lively situation has occurred everywhere in our country as a result of the implementation of the party policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the domestic economy. The policy of opening to the outside world and stimulating the domestic economy not only forcefully promotes the building of material civilization, but also produces multi-faceted influences on the building of spiritual civilization. However, we should realize that under the new situation, there is also a new development in corrosion by decadent bourgeois ideology. After reviewing many important cases of violating the law, which have happened in recent years, we know that some corrupt party members and cadres were involved in them. Such horrid facts have posed new problems for us that our party members and cadres should strengthen the dikes of resistance to corrosion in order to guard against attack by sugarcoated bullets. To attain this objective, the most important thing for us to do is to uphold communist ideals at all times.

Communist ideals are spiritual pillars of our revolutionaries. Today, they are not only strong motivating forces which encourage us to carry out reform and the "four modernizations" program, but also a powerful ideological weapon which ensures that under complicated conditions "neither riches nor honors can corrupt us, neither poverty nor a lowly condition can make us swerve from principle, neither threats nor force can bend us," and that we will be able to consciously resist corrosion by the decadent ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes.

Communist ideals can help us resist corrosion, because, first, by having firm communist ideals, we will be able to adhere to the correct political orientation in complex environment. The lofty objectives and ideals of communism are based on the communist ideological system. This ideological system has pointed out the general historical trend that capitalism will inevitably be replaced by socialism, and that the society of mankind will eventually march toward communism. It has also pointed out the difference between socialism and capitalism. In the course of coming into contact with the capitalist world, this will help us keep a clear head, maintain a firm stand, and avoid being misled by certain superficial phenomena, and lured by the corrupt things of

the dazzling world of capitalism. For historical reasons, the economy, science, technology, culture, and education of our socialist China still lag behind those of capitalist countries. However, the superiority of our socialist system is being increasingly and markedly demonstrated. The socialist economy is based on public ownership, and its purpose of production is to satisfy to the maximum the material and cultural needs of the people, rather than serving private interests of the exploiting classes. Due to the fact that our socialist economy does not cause polarization, our people have shared common social ideals, and moral standards. They have demonstrated their powerful spiritual strong point in communist ideals and beliefs. Although developed capitalist countries have tremendous material wealth and advanced science and technology, and appear prosperous, they are unable to solve their own acute contradictions or avoid economic crises; the practice of each trying to cheat, outwit, or harm the other; and various kinds of extremely severe crimes, degeneration, and despair. Therefore, all the people in capitalist countries, who are progressively inclined politically are trying to study and publicize socialism and struggle for the elimination of various unjust and irrational phenomena in capitalist society and for the realization of socialist revolution. Therefore, in the process of opening to the outside world and selectively importing advanced science and technology and scientific management methods from capitalist countries, we should on no account learn from or import the capitalist system and various ugly and decadent things. On the contrary, we should resist these things. Under the present situation, as communists we should have our basic attitude toward socialism and capitalism. In our practical life, there are many examples which show that some of our comrades can adhere to the correct political orientation because of their firm communist ideals in the course of dealing with the capitalist world. For example, when some comrades were engaged in advanced studies in foreign countries, they studied hard, and were never swayed by money or the material comforts of capitalist society. What was always uppermost in their minds was that they were the builders of socialist China, and that they were studying with the aim of reinvigorating the Chinese nation. In economic activities related to foreign countries, some comrades paid attention to learning from the strong points of others. They were conscientious in their work. They resolutely refused bribes and seduction of lawbreaking foreign businessmen. In so doing, they guarded our national dignity and pride. These comrades have imported advanced technology from foreign countries, and contributed to the socialist construction of the motherland. In addition, they are also respected by people at home and abroad. However, some people admired and yearned for the luxurious life of the bourgeoisie, and appreciated and spread those decadent things such as pornography, violence, weirdness, and so on, propagated by capitalist society. They treated them as treasures. Some of them even did ugly things which harmed our national dignity and pride and departed from the socialist path. In the final analysis, the reason they did this was that they did not have, or had abandoned, their communist ideals.

Second, the core of the communist ideological system is collectivism. With communist ideals, one can persist in the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and resist the corrosion of the bourgeois individualist ideology. Contrary to communist ideals, the core of the bourgeois ideological system is

individualism. The views of communists on life and values are completely different from those of bourgeois individualists. A person who has communist ideals and has taken the realization of communism as his own task, is bound to be a conscientious representative and defender of the national interest. Therefore, he can remain steadfast in his principles in the face of evil winds and noxious influences of all forms, and will never be swayed by money or material comforts. One of the salient features of the corrosion of the decadent bourgeois ideology is that the individualism of certain persons is regarded as a breakthrough point. Money is used to open up the way, and the persons concerned are corrupted step by step. A tiny number of Communist Party members and cadres have yielded to the temptation of money or material comforts because they do not have firm communist ideals, or are seriously influenced by selfish ideas. They have accepted "payment because of benefits gained," "gifts," or even undisguised bribes. In so doing, they eventually became captives of bourgeois ideology, and fell into the net of justice.

Of course, since Communist Party members live in a practical world, various kinds of ideologies will inevitably find expression in their minds, and unhealthy ideas of this or that kind will exist among them. This is not at all unusual. However, as long as one has firm communist ideals and beliefs, he will unswervingly study hard, strengthen his ideological cultivation, "use proletarian ideology to fight against nonproletarian ideology, use the communist world outlook to fight against various kinds of noncommunist world outlook, and use proletarian principles, which place the interests of the party and people above everything else, to fight their own individualist ideology." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 121) In so doing, certain healthy ideologies in their minds will be constantly overcome, and they will not become a crack through which decadent bourgeois ideology and various kinds of evil winds and noxious influences can penetrate.

Third, a person who has fostered communist ideals will also have lofty moral values. Proceeding in all cases from serving the people wholeheartedly and the spirit of absolute selflessness, a communist is bound to have a lofty realm of thought, moral concepts, values, and aspirations. This type of person profoundly understands the aim and significance of his life. Therefore, although he might lead a comparatively hard material life, his spiritual life is magnanimous. It is impossible for him to accept the decadent way of life and culture of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, who lead lives devoid of meaning. It is impossible for him to accept bourgeois ideas characterized by the practice of each trying to cheat and outwit the other and securing private interests by force and trickery for the sake of making a fortune. This is not just logic, but has been proved by the glorious life of communists. Marx was poor all his life, but he repeatedly refused to be bribed by the Prussian authorities. He not only established theories on scientific communism for us, but also set a good example in fostering lofty morals and values. Martyr Fang Zhiming handled funds for the revolution in sums of several million yuan, but he always lived a thrifty and simple life. He never lived in luxury. After he was arrested, the enemy searched him, but could not get even a copper coin from him. The enemy's effort to combine threats with inducements against him was of no avail. In

our revolutionary ranks, such examples are too numerous to mention. The good 8th Company on the Nanjing Road is a good example, and so are the many comrades working in customs and in posts for suppressing smuggling. There was a party-member cadre who rejected gifts and bribes more than 10 times. Nothing could lure her, whether it was a watch, or a large sum of money. She said: "A large sum of money means nothing to me. The prestige of the party and the moral character of a party member are far more valuable than money!"

We should educate party members and cadres so that they can adhere to communist ideals and consciously resist the corrosion of the decadent ideology of all exploiting classes under the complex environment of struggle. This is an important historical experience of our party. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, our party established a united front with the bourgeoisie. In the base areas of resisting the Japanese, we let the capitalist economy develop. When party members and cadres were in contact with the bourgeoisie, the CPC Central Committee reminded them that some Communist Party members might be corrupted by the bourgeoisie. It also stressed that "we should seriously and resolutely preserve the communist purity of the party members." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 751)

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic, in view of the fact that the work focus was shifted to cities after the victory of the revolution, and that some comrades might not be able to withstand the attack of the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, the CPC Central Committee once again issued a warning to the whole party so that party members would not be defeated by the sugarcoated bullets. We have been implementing a policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The CPC Central Committee has stressed again that while building a high level of material civilization, we should build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. It has also emphasized that the more we try to open up our country to the outside world and enliven the domestic economy, the more attention we should pay to resisting the corrosion of decadent capitalist ideology and to overcoming the malpractice of abusing power for private gains. It has stressed the importance of providing education in ideals and discipline in order to preserve the communist purity of the party members. In the past, we kept firmly in mind the teachings of the CPC Central Committee so that we could resist the corrosion of decadent bourgeois ideology, and win a great victory in both revolution and construction. In the course of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, as long as we strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, provide more education in ideals, morals, culture, and discipline, and raise our consciousness of resisting corrosion, we will certainly win a new and great victory in socialist modernization and all-round reform!

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## WHAT ARE THE SYSTEMS OF PRICING AND PRICE CONTROL AND WHAT IS THEIR RELATIONSHIP?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 43-45

[Article by Bian Yongzhuang [6708 0516 1104]]

[Text] China turns out several hundred thousand commodities, the prices of which vary according to different specifications, designs, colors, styles, and quality. The different stages in the process of production and circulation and the different localities and seasons result in the several hundred thousand commodities having as many as 1 million prices. These prices constitute an organic whole, linking up with, and conditioning, one another. This is precisely the system of pricing.

The system of pricing consists of two principal parts: the system of price parities and the system of price differences. It develops in light of the conditions in various national economic departments and includes the prices of farm produce and manufactured goods, the costs of transport, communications, and construction, and the charges for serving food and drink and for labor services. The proportional relationships among them and among the prices in various departments develop into a system of price parities, such as the price parities between farm produce, between manufactured goods, and between industrial and agricultural products. In the course of circulation, commodities also have different prices at different stages of circulation, and thus develop a system of vertical price differences, such as differences between buying and selling prices and between wholesale and retail prices, regional price differences, seasonal price differences, and price differences between goods of different qualities.

The system of price control is the summation of the decrees and regulations on the limits of authority for setting, adjusting, and controlling prices as defined by the state. It includes: 1) Defining the limits of authority for setting prices. The limits of authority for setting prices can be divided into two major categories, namely, the setting of unified prices by the state and the setting of prices by the producers. The former principally takes the forms of planned prices and floating prices, while the latter includes various forms of free prices, such as negotiated prices and village fair prices. 2) The limits of authority for adjusting prices. Due to changes in market supply and demand and in production costs, it is also necessary to adjust prices. The state has the authority to adjust planned

prices and the fluctuation margin of floating prices. In addition to adjusting the prices that come within the limits of their authority, the producers also have the authority to adjust prices within the range of floating prices fixed by the state. 3) The limits of authority for controlling prices. Price control chiefly refers to the general price level and the various relative price levels. It is achieved through economic levers or administrative means other than prices. The authority is chiefly concentrated in the hands of the state.

Although the system of price control is a component part of the economic structure, it is determined by the basic characteristics of the economic structure. Under the traditional system of the planned economy, mandatory planning plays a leading role. The state adopts a method of direct control to manage the economy and the enterprises have neither decisionmaking power nor relatively independent economic interests. Prices are not an instrument of competition among the enterprises. Accordingly, the unified state prices and the planned prices play a leading role in the system of pricing and the producers basically have no power to set or adjust prices. Under the planned commodity economy, guidance planning plays a leading role and the state chiefly relies on indirect control to regulate economic operations. As independent commodity producers, the enterprises have ample decisionmaking power and relatively independent economic interests. Prices become a powerful instrument of competition among the enterprises. Accordingly, the scope of unified state prices is narrowed and the producers' limits of authority to set prices are broadened. Most commodities and labor services come within the scope of floating prices and free prices. Therefore, selecting the system of price control is crucial to the improvement of the economic structure and the interests of the producers.

Reforming the systems of pricing and price control is the key to the formation and improvement of the socialist market system. Only when we have a rational system of pricing is it possible to ensure the coordinated operation of the market system. But the rationalization of the price system again primarily depends on the reform of the system of price control.

A rational system of pricing should be able to bring into full play the functions of prices as means of accounting, regulation, distribution, and information and to reflect commodity value and changes in market supply and demand. If the price relations and price differences are rational, the general price level will be relatively stable. This is the principal basis for statically judging the rationality of the price system. However, the rationalization of the price system is also a dynamic process moving from irrationality to rationality. Due to changes in production costs and in market supply and demand, commodity prices must change accordingly. The relation between supply and demand constantly draws prices away from value and, with a balance achieved between supply and demand, prices again constantly draw value toward them. Following changes in the relation of supply to demand, prices fluctuate around value. This precisely shows the special feature of prices as simultaneously reflecting value and changes in supply and demand. If prices remain unchanged, the functions of prices will be restricted.

Therefore, in maintaining the long-standing rationality of the price system, it is necessary to provide it with a self-regulatory function. The system of price control is a decisive factor in providing the price system with a self-regulatory function.

Under the system of price control with the overconcentration of the power to set prices and the predominance of unified state prices, the price system cannot fully reflect changes in supply and demand and in value. This is primarily because there is such a great variety of commodity prices that it is impossible for the state to accurately forecast changes in market supply and demand and in production costs and to promptly adjust their prices. Moreover, unified state prices are bound to have the nature of relative inflexibility. This makes the price system excessively rigid, depriving it of its self-regulatory capability.

Reforming the price system is aimed at straightening out the irrational systems of price relations and price differences, while reforming the system of price control is aimed at providing the price system with a self-regulatory function. Both supplement each other. If we fail to change the system of price control while reforming the price system, it will be difficult to maintain the long-standing rationality of the price system.

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WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPING SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES AND TOWNS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 45-46

[Article by Hua Kuiyuan [5478 1145 0337]]

[Text] Our country's system of cities and towns consists of cities and small towns. By cities we mean what has been formally designated as cities through the approval by the state, while by small towns we mean those towns that have been formally designated as towns and the county towns that have not been formally designated as towns. Our cities are classified into four categories: a city with a population of more than 1 million people is an especially large city; a city with a population from 500,000 to 1 million people is called a large city; a city with a population from 200,000 to 500,000 people is called a medium-sized city; and a city with a population less than 200,000 people is called a small city. As our country's modernization progresses, and in particular as our rural economy develops toward specialization, commercialization, and modernization, a process must emerge in which our agricultural population is transformed into one that is non-agricultural, and our rural population is transformed into a city and town population. This is a process that all economically developed countries in the world have undergone in their industrialization. Therefore, while carrying out national economic and social development, the percentage of our city and town populations will continue to increase, our cities will develop greatly, and new cities and towns will emerge.

In the process of transforming an agricultural population into a nonagricultural one and a rural population into a city and town one in Western countries and many Third World countries, a series of serious "city illnesses" and a large number of social problems developed: concentration of industry and population in large cities, a quick increase in the number of large cities, and a sharp expansion of the population in large cities. In the development of cities in our country, there are different degrees of problems such as too great and too quick an increase in the number of large cities, and excessive growth in the scale of large cities. The excessive scale of a city will inevitably give rise to problems such as land shortage, housing shortage, shortage of water resources, jammed communications, an inconvenient supply system, and environmental pollution. This will lead to a reduction in environmental and social benefits in our urban areas and hinder our urban



economic progress. Moreover, as industry and population are excessively concentrated in our large cities, it will be difficult for us to correspondingly develop our medium-sized and small cities, and this will be detrimental to the rational layout of our productive forces and to the rational exploitation and use of natural resources in various areas. The government of our country has summed up the experience and lessons from the development of cities at home and abroad, formulated a basic policy for controlling the scale of our large cities, reasonably developing our medium-sized cities and vigorously developing our small cities, thus pointing out a clear orientation for the construction and development of cities and urbanization of the rural areas in our country.

By controlling the scale of our large cities, we mainly mean controlling the population and scale of use of land in urban areas of our large cities. This does not mean restricting the economic and social development of our large cities. Our large cities, which have taken shape through long-term development, are the major bases of our country's construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. They have very important positions and play very important roles in our national economic and social development. Our large cities should not rely on an increase in their population or use of land in developing their economy and thus follow the path of expanded reproduction by extension. They should instead bring into full play the advantages of large cities in science, technology, economy, and management, thus following the path of expanded reproduction by intension through tapping their potential, renovation, and transformation.

Compared with our large cities, our medium-sized and small cities have relatively fewer problems related to the acquisition of land, water resources, housing, communications, supply, and environment. Moreover, such problems are relatively easy to solve. Generally speaking, our medium-sized cities have a relatively satisfactory technological foundation and are provided with relatively satisfactory conditions for carrying out production cooperation. They also have a certain level of development of their basic urban facilities. All these are conducive to the improvement of comprehensive urban economic results and to urban economic and social development. As our small cities are not of a large scale, they have considerable development potential to tap. As they are scattered in vast areas, they facilitate rationally scattering our industry and population. In addition, our medium-sized and small cities are links and bridges between our large cities and small towns and provide political, economic, and cultural centers in certain areas around them. The development of our medium-sized and small cities is of very great significance in promoting the construction and development of our small towns, reducing the overexpansion of the scale of our large cities, improving the economic networks of different scales and levels and developing a regional economy.

Our country's city and town people account for only 23.5 percent of its total population. As our economy and society develop, by the end of this century, in our country's rural areas, there will be hundreds of millions of surplus laborers who will be released from our agricultural production. Obviously, we cannot rely on existing cities to absorb these laborers. There is already

a surplus population in our existing large cities and as we do not allow our existing medium-sized and small cities to grow into large cities, naturally, they will be unable to absorb so many surplus laborers. Moreover, at least at present, the state has no financial or material resources to build some 1,000 new cities to absorb rural surplus laborers or to mobilize them to emigrate. Therefore, the only feasible way is to establish township and town enterprises, develop diversified undertakings, and vigorously develop small towns. If our existing small towns continue to develop and become prosperous and if we gradually build and develop a larger number of attractive small towns in our rural areas, then most of our rural surplus labor will be absorbed and taken by the tens of thousands of small towns that spread all over our country. In addition, small towns are political, economic, and cultural centers for our country's vast rural areas. The construction and development of small towns are of tremendous and far-reaching significance in promoting the development of rural agricultural production, speeding up the specialization, commercialization, and modernization of our rural economy, promoting the construction of spiritual and material civilizations in our rural areas, putting an end to backwardness in our rural areas, and reducing disparities between urban and rural areas. Therefore, in developing our country's cities we must steadfastly implement the principle of focusing on developing medium-sized and small cities and towns.

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## WILL THEORIES LEAD TO A 'DECLINE' IN CREATIVE WORK?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 p 47

[Article by Chu Shaobai [5969 1421 4101]]

[Text] Some people say that Lu Xun's essays symbolize the "decline in Lu Xun's artistic creations." This "decline," they say, was caused by his "increasing tendency toward rationalism." In other words, Lu Xun's "artistic temperament (fervor) decreased" and his "philosophical temperament (thought) increased," and this led to a "decline" in his work which is characterized by "being dull and rigid." It is indiscreet of them to make such remarks!

Lu Xun, a great writer, thinker, and revolutionary, erected a monument to the history of modern China's culture and left valuable spiritual wealth for us. Essays are the most important part of Lu Xun's works. Lu Xun's essays embody the fine cultural tradition of the Chinese nation, give expression to the spirit of the new era, and will influence people for several generations. His essays still have a strong artistic appeal and play an important role in educating people. His essays reflect storms in the revolutionary struggle and have blazed a new era in terms of writing style. The profoundness of thought and exquisiteness of art in his essays are without parallel. In the "Preface to 'Collection of Lu Xun's Random Thoughts,'" Qu Qiubai said: "This collection embodies the history of ideological struggle in China since the May 4th Movement. Random thoughts, as a type of writing, will, because of Lu Xun, become a synonym for artistic (Freudian) theory."

Readers of Lu Xun's works understand that, as Lu Xun himself said on many occasions, he believed in the theory of evolution in his early years and that his early works were markedly affected by this theory. Lu Xun's acceptance of the theory of evolution as advanced thought in the ideological field did not lead to a decline in his creative fervor. In his later years, Lu Xun "corrected" his "bias toward the theory of evolution" and began to "seek knowledge from fundamental and practical social sciences." In the practice of the Chinese revolution, he gradually familiarized himself with Marxism and learned how to observe society and life with dialectical materialism. Bursting with youthful vigor, he continued to improve his work. His work (mainly essays) in his remaining years was more profound and convincing, with a higher degree of proficiency that led to an entirely new period. All these are irrefutable facts. How can we ignore them? How can we interpret Lu Xun's

familiarization with Marxism as his "increasing tendency toward rationalism" that brought about a "decline" in creative work? Taking the attitude of respecting objective facts, we might as well say that when a writer deviates from the guidance of correct theories (including progressive ideas in history), the influence of erroneous theories and ideas will certainly lead his works to a decline or even to moral corruption, and he will take the evil road. There have been many such examples, in the past and at present.

The above views seem to uphold creative work, but in reality they are harmful to creative work. These wrong views were refuted by Lu Xun long ago. I am of the opinion that although deprecatory remarks about Lu Xun are not numerous and their influence is not difficult to escape, such deprecation involves the major principled issue of whether Marxist theory should be applied to creative work. For this reason we must treat this problem carefully.

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ONE 'CHINESE HEART' AFTER ANOTHER TEMPERED IN THE FLAMES OF WAR--READING  
'LOVESICK TREES ON THE MINEFIELD'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 p 48

[Article by Huang Guozhu [7806 0948 2691]]

[Text] Perhaps, young writer Jiang Qitao is the first to accurately focus on a group of new-type military men--"officer students" who graduated in relevant specialities in various colleges and institutes of higher learning outside the army since the 1980's, and have joined the ranks of the Chinese PLA. This new focus vests war, as described by him, with an unusual pattern, atmosphere and color. The protagonists in the novel head for the front as military academy students, participating in war as mere apprentices. But they undoubtedly span two important parts of life at the same time--student and military man; war and peace.

The novel begins with the "officer students" on their march toward an assembly area. After Yin Motao, a biology graduate, frees a homing pigeon out of the car window, college students in the same car suddenly stop their animated talk on strategy and tactics, put down love letters which they have been writing with beautiful Chinese characters purposely inscribed in reverse order, or lay aside sketches of figures exuding the style of the contemporary school. ...They suddenly feel that they themselves have to say goodbye to the several decades of peaceful life to which they have been accustomed! Given his insight into and understanding of, the psychological and aesthetic interests of the young people of the 1980's, and his own familiarity with, and passion for, a military career, the writer exquisitely and accurately pinpoints the states of mind and inner feelings of this group of figures with their given backgrounds in a given war environment--states of mind which are complicated and changing--thus bringing the readers into the "officer students'" world with its images and feelings.

War is a grim and cruel affair. Life and death; love and hate, good and evil, beautiful and ugly, great and small, sincere and false; courage and cowardice...everything is sharpened and intensified, forcing fighters to ponder and judge things with a solemn and sacred attitude previously unknown in their lives. As new generation college students with higher education, they were once Dame Fortune's favorites. As military men heading for the battlefield, they are also the ordinary sons and daughters of the

motherland simultaneously assuming the heavy burdens of history, society and life. Yin Motao, who always judges everything with a critical eye and "exudes the air of a great artist," is suffering from the pain of unrequited love and jealousy. Ji Gang, an athletics graduate who is well practiced in boxing thanks to the guidance of a labor-reform convict given at the side of a lake in Qinghai, is also a victim of his girl friend's rebellion against "noble love." Though they cannot immediately detach themselves from the troubles which ordinary people cannot escape, and though they are all still young and set great store by the beauty of youth and the value of love and life, when asked to choose between "responsibility" and "benefits," they unhesitatingly choose "responsibility"! Especially when the motherland is making the appeal, they understand all the more their weight of responsibility. With fervent poetic passion and with hot blood surging through them, they bravely come forward prompted by a sense of duty and with no thought for their own lives. After the death of a deputy company commander and the commander of the first platoon, Yin Motao leads soldiers in a bloody battle occupying high ground, securing a position, and sticking it out until he falls. Ji Gang goes behind the enemy lines several times, discharging his espionage mission with flying colors. Cong Peimin, "a former doctor of traditional Chinese medicine" proficient at interpreting "yin and yang and the five elements linked with traditional Chinese medicine," gives full play to his speciality. In a show of bravery, he loses both legs. "The author," a Chinese language student, time and again asks not to be given privileges because of his "platelet deficiency." He leads the forces in a rush to the forward position. ...In this beautiful and dignified dominating melody of patriotism and revolutionary heroism and in the baptism of blood and fire, they think nothing of their own interests and find harmony and unity between self-value and the lofty spirit of nationalism and support for the dedication of youth and even the sacrifice of their lives. Liu Guozheng, an agricultural graduate who once dreamed of returning to his hometown to help his father set up a mushroom greenhouse to make money, at last, in the flames of war, purges himself of the shame of once losing confidence and attempting to be "left out" and heads for the minefield, prompted by a sense of duty in a switchover from cowardice to firmness, and from fear to courage, he paves the way for the advance of the fighters behind. His body is blown to smithereens by a landmine and dissolves as part of the blue sky of the vast motherland and the endless stretch of red soil....

The writer uses as yet unpopular military parlance as the title of his novel. The wonderful fusion of two images in the story gives expression to the fighters' true love of life and their contempt and scorn for the god of death, and especially the kind of radiant spirit that "shines so as to blind a person" displayed after the fighters go beyond the temporal concept of life and death. This adds profound philosophical meaning to the work, thus giving deeper expression to the true, the good and the beautiful in the fighters' mental world.

A contemporary novelist pays greater attention than at any time to the message he embodies in his novel and is especially mindful of fruitful intellectual results. The introduction of various kinds of relevant technical knowledge in scenes to fit given figures and backgrounds in the novel,

without giving the least impression of a rhetorical effort, not only shows the true style and features of college student military men but also highlights their significant role in army building. A large number of truthful and exquisitely executed minute descriptions, vivid and lifelike, especially bring to life the images of the protagonists in the novel. For example, the several appearances of that red-colored "lovesick bean," the lonely homing pigeon let loose "sleek with its raindrops," the presence of "the author" and a petite nurse with her snob nose at a dance party, and so forth--not one of these scenes fails to move a person to tears. With profound love, the writer puts down everything about the "officer students" full of poetic youth. It seems that we are feeling the beat of one fiery "Chinese heart" after another appearing over the vast land of China!

(The "Lovesick Trees on the Minefield" carried in KUNLUN [2492 0178], No 5, 1985)

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A MIRROR REFLECTING AMERICAN SOCIAL OUTLOOK--REVIEWING 'AMERICAN KALEIDOSCOPE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 inside back cover

[Article by Liu Ying [0491 4481]]

[Text] Comrade Wang Zuomin's new work "American Kaleidoscope" has been published by the China Social Science Publishing House. This book provides an all-round objective description of the conditions in various aspects of American society. It is the first outstanding elongated travel notes about the United States published in the new China. It also represents a gratifying result in academic and cultural exchanges between China and the United States.

This book is like a mirror which reflects the real image of American society. It has substantial content which covers an extensive period of time and has wide scope. It not only presents the lives, wishes, and habits of American people of various races and social strata, but also includes an account of America's development course during the past 200 years and more. At the same time, the book profoundly analyzes the state of affairs and development tendency in the American economy; politics; science and technology; culture and education; movement of workers, young people, and women; lives of the elderly; juvenile delinquency; food; clothing; living conditions; and other aspects of daily life. So, it is like a miniature encyclopedia about the United States.

The author wrote this book after spending a year visiting all parts of the United States. She used her personal experiences during the visit to the United States, her knowledge about American society, and much authoritative material to present an all-round, true picture of American society to the readers.

For example, what is the main reason for the rapid development of American society? In the past, some people mentioned only America's favorable natural conditions and neglected the importance of the American people's spirit of respecting objective laws, daring to make innovations, and working hard. As a result, some people even think that America is a "natural paradise" where "gold has been spread all over the country since the old days." All this is obviously a false impression of America's history and present situation. The book gives people many facts about the hardships undergone by the



American pioneers in the early years, suffering hunger and cold and threatened by pestilence. At the same time, they were cruelly oppressed by the ruling British colonists. It was after 8 years of bloody fighting in the 18th century that the American people defeated the British Colonialist Army and won independence and built the first bourgeois republic on the American continent. After that, they launched an industrial revolution and began to vigorously develop the economy. In a period of less than 100 years, America changed from being a backward agricultural country into an advanced country whose industrial output value ranked fourth in the world. Through the 4-year-long Civil War in the 19th century, the United States abolished the slavery system in the southern states of the country, and this further promoted the development of the economy. The United States is a young country, and the country adopted the new bourgeois democratic system when it was founded. This caused the American people to strongly feel the urgency to develop their economy. In order to catch up with other economically advanced countries, they made great efforts to increase their international competitive power, and paid close attention to the development of new sciences and technologies, education, and organizational and management reform. At the same time, the United States also absorbed large numbers of outstanding professionals, and introduced advanced technologies and management skills from other countries. Systems were formed and developed, on the basis of these things, and this in turn greatly accelerated economic growth paving the way for the United States to become the No 1 economic and technological power in today's world. The per capita income of this country also ranks first in the world now.

As another example: Are all people in the United States able to lead a rich life, or are there still any poor people in that country? The author quoted the study results of Ian Robertson, an authoritative American sociologist, to show the living conditions of the three social strata, namely, the upper, middle, and lower classes in the United States (each stratum being divided into two groups). According to rough statistics, the upper class (including rich families) account for 1 to 3 percent of the population; the middle class (including senior management personnel, professionals, farm owners, and petty proprietors) account for 40 to 50 percent; and the lower class (including blue-collar workers, people in service trades, poor people, and jobless people) account for 60 to 75 percent. Since the 1950's, although workers' living standards have been raised, the jobless population has still been rather large. The number of jobless people in 1982 reached 13 million, which was the highest since 1941, and the unemployment rate last December remained at a high level of 10.8 percent.

In the course of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, we should understand various aspects of things in the outside world more deeply. We should firmly follow the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the same time, we should also learn from the strong points of other countries, especially advanced countries. In the short period of some 200 years, the United States developed from a new British colony into the number one economic and technological power in the world. This is by no means an accidental event. We can learn a lot from its experiences in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and educational fields. We should highly value these things and give deep thought to them.

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