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China Report

RED FLAG

No 14, 6 JULY 1986

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CHINA REPORT

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

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LEARN TO CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE PARTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] Contradictions in the party are a universal phenomenon. Contradictions frequently occur in every party organization and leadership group including county, city, and township CPC committees. Some comrades hold the view that there are no contradictions in the party. When comrades from the higher authorities come to inspect work and ask whether there are contradictions in the leadership group, they will say no. This is not telling the truth. How can there be a place where there are no contradictions? Contradictions exist in everything in the world, and without contradictions there could be no world. Our party, too, has developed in the course of exposing and solving contradictions.

There are large numbers of contradictions in the party. One is contradictions between differences of understanding and opinion in work and the other is contradictions between individual interests and the interests of the party and the people. Most of these contradictions are nonantagonistic and not life-and-death contradictions, with the exception of a small number of these which may turn into antagonistic ones. To say that our party is divided into factions, the so-called conservatives and the so-called reformers, is to exaggerate contradictions in our party and is even a distortion and fabrication of facts. To assign people to this or that faction is a "creation" of the "Great Cultural Revolution." That era of turmoil is over. Our comrades should not be incited by rumors from outside.

In the party, we should not fear and evade contradictions, but should correctly handle them instead. We should handle the large number of non-antagonistic contradictions by adopting mild measures, such as exchange of views, democratic consultations, individual talks, mutual accommodation, and so on. If some problems cannot be resolved through consultations, they may be put aside for the time being. It is of course good to place problems on the table. However, we should not place all problems on the table. Problems that can be resolved by other means should not be placed on the table. Our party should foster the habit of resolving a large number of contradictions through consultations, exchange of views, heart-to-heart talks, and mutual accommodation, instead of repeating the previous method of intensifying

contradictions, which has caused serious losses. If nonantagonistic contradictions are not properly handled but intensified instead, they may become life-and-death contradictions. We should frequently pay attention to resolving contradictions in the party in a correct way. We should fear neither difficulties nor the democratic way of airing views.

Of course, the very small number of antagonistic contradictions, such as serious violations of economic law and discipline, cannot be resolved through heart-to-heart talks or consultations. Such contradictions can only be resolved by the application of law and discipline. However, we should draw a lesson from our past experience in handling such contradictions. For several decades in the past, such contradictions were exaggerated. Now, we should take a fact-finding attitude when handling such contradictions. As we are now rectifying party conduct, we should deal with major cases. If serious violations of law and discipline are not dealt with, people will remain indignant over the cases and more cadres may become degenerate. The purpose of punishing some individuals is to educate a large number of people. Of late, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "An important thing in strengthening the legal system is to solve the problem of education. The fundamental issue is to educate people." We have not done well enough in handling the two types of contradictions. On the one hand, many nonantagonistic contradictions are often intensified into antagonistic ones; and on the other, the handling of some antagonistic contradictions is often too soft; with major problems turned into small ones and small problems into no problem at all. We should strive to overcome these two tendencies. With the enhancement of our ideological level, we will improve our ability to correctly handle contradictions in the party, and the unity of the party and leadership groups as well as the stability and unity of the people of various nationalities throughout the country will be greatly strengthened.

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NEW CADRES SHOULD ALSO BE READY TO WORK AT BOTH HIGHER AND LOWER LEVELS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 3-4

[RED FLAG commentator's article]

[Text] Since 1982, several hundred thousand young and middle-aged cadres have entered leading bodies at and above county and departmental levels in our country. Since they took up leading posts, most of them have been courageously doing pioneering work and making progress and they have worked with good results in reform, opening up, enlivening the economy, and building the two civilizations, thus enjoying the trust of the people. Party organizations and old comrades at various levels should continue to give them enthusiastic support and let them have a free hand in creating a new situation. Of course, there are indeed a small number of comrades who are not suitable for their present posts. Practice over a certain period has shown that these cadres are actually incompetent in their work, but each of their cases are different. Some have been promoted too fast. They have not been seasoned by practice in leadership work and therefore they do not have the necessary foundation. Some are good at professional and technical work, but lack necessary ability in doing organizational and managerial work. A very small number of them are not good politically and professionally and they were inappropriately selected. No matter how these cases differ, we must adhere to the principle that cadres should be ready to work at both higher and lower levels and resolutely make readjustments according to specific situations.

To implement the principle that cadres should be ready to work at both higher and lower levels is a key and important task in reforming the cadre system. The party Central Committee's determination on this issue is firm and unshakable. Through reform, we shall establish a good rule in the whole party and throughout the country: All cadres, irrespective of their age or the level at which they work, must voluntarily go to work at a higher or lower level in accordance with the needs of the party's cause. New cadres who have taken up leading posts in the course of reform must have a clear understanding and full awareness of this and attain a breakthrough to this end. It is not right that so long as a cadre selected for a leading post does not commit any serious mistake, he will not leave that post before the age of 60, no matter whether he is competent or not.

As a matter of fact, conditions are ripe for carrying out this kind of reform. Young and middle-aged cadres selected according to the principle of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent usually know about their own profession and have specialized knowledge or skill in a certain field. It will be less difficult to arrange other jobs for them if they step back from leading posts in the party. Moreover, the number of cadres who really are not qualified for their jobs and who must be transferred is not large. After being transferred to the appropriate posts, these comrades will be able to give full play to their specialized knowledge and offset their weaknesses. This, in a certain sense, will help train and temper the cadres and therefore, will not cause too much ideological disturbance among these cadres. This is particularly true of some comrades with specialized technological knowledge who, from the very beginning, have thought that they are not suitable for doing party and government leadership work and are willing to be transferred back to their original profession. Therefore, regarding a very small number of comrades who have been proved in practice in the past few years that they are not suitable for the party and government leading posts, it is better for leading departments to make up their minds to have them transferred, the earlier the better. If we do not make any progress in solving this problem this year and the next, many other problems are bound to accumulate and they will hinder the development of reforms in a deep-going manner.

In transferring the very small number of cadres who are not competent in their present jobs, we must adopt a solemn and serious attitude, closely follow the mass line, have their cases seriously discussed by the party committee, proceed from showing care and concern for them, specifically and realistically handle each case, and make appropriate arrangements for them. For example, if the basic quality of such a cadre is relatively good and if he has a relatively strong enterprising spirit, is worthy of receiving further training, and can be put in charge of a branch of work, he can be transferred from a chief post to a deputy one. If he is competent at leadership work at a lower level, we can make arrangements for him accordingly. If the basic qualifications of such a cadre are not bad and if he lacks scientific knowledge in leadership work or lacks experience in leadership work at the grass-roots level, he can be relieved of his duties and sent to be seasoned at grass-roots units or sent to study at a party school so that he can gain experience in leadership work or increase his ability in organizational and managerial work as soon as possible. Regarding specialists, scholars, professional and technical cadres who are not currently suitable for party and government leadership work but who possess the qualities for doing leadership work, we can assign them to leading posts in departments where they can give play to their specialized knowledge or skills. If such a cadre has made great professional accomplishments, we can, in accordance with his own wish, let him take up professional work again. If such a cadre's basic quality is relatively poor and he lacks an enterprising spirit, we can assign him to whatever job that is suitable for him. Regarding those whose problems in the "Great Cultural Revolution" are serious, and who are seriously involved in unhealthy trends and are not suitable for their present posts, we must resolutely remove them or dismiss them from leading posts because the nature of their problems is different from that of those of ordinary cadres who are not competent in their present posts.

Closely related to the issue of implementing the principle that cadres should be ready to work both at higher and lower levels is the issue of making corresponding adjustments in salaries and benefits in accordance with changes in cadres' posts. All party and government leaders at various levels are servants of the people and the posts they hold are expressions of their respective duties. The corresponding political and compensation treatment they receive is also to meet the needs of their work and to urge them to fulfill their duties, to undertake political responsibilities, and to become good servants of the people. Therefore, the salaries and benefits enjoyed by leading cadres at various levels can only be determined by their duties, contributions, and the needs of work. This should be one of the principles of the managerial system of cadres. In view of the actual situation of our party and country and at a time when we have just started to abolish the life tenure system of leading posts, it is correct and necessary to allow retired cadres, who have offered meritorious services to the founding of the country and old cadres who have given up their posts for outstanding young and middle-aged cadres, to retain their original salaries and benefits. This has met with the approval of most cadres and the people. However, it is necessary to do away with the notions that cadres can only be promoted to posts at higher levels and cannot be transferred to posts at lower levels and that cadres can retain their original salaries and benefits after they have changed their posts. Much less should these notions be applied to new cadres. At present, since we have implemented the system of structural wages with wages based on the particular posts as the main aspect, we should establish a rule for cadres in party and government organs and institutions throughout the country, that is, remuneration should be commensurate with the position, wages should correspond with duties, and the "system of life tenure remuneration" should be resolutely smashed. This is an important measure for further abolishing the system of life tenure posts of leading cadres and this is conducive to implementing the principle that cadres should be ready to work both at higher and lower levels. Otherwise, the implementation of a structural wages system with wages based on the position as the main aspect will become empty talk. We may come across more difficulties in handling this matter at the beginning. However, we should not underestimate people's receptiveness. At a time when bold and resolute reforms are required, if one hesitates to make a decision or to move forward, one may let slip a golden opportunity.

The implementation of the principle that cadres should be ready to work at posts both at higher or lower levels is an important reform in the cadre system. It is also a profound change in social concepts. We must foster the correct attitude in the whole party and the whole society. In the past, only cadres who had committed a serious mistake were transferred to posts at lower levels and people were accustomed to mentioning in the same breath the transfer of cadres to lower levels and making mistakes. It is time to thoroughly change this notion. Generally speaking, the number of cadres of any age and at any level who can be promoted to leading posts at a higher level is always small. The number of cadres who are removed because of their mistakes is also small. The majority of cadres normally step back from their posts after they have been in office for a certain period, or after their terms of office are over, or when it is necessary to reduce the

average age of members of leading bodies, or to meet the needs of work or because they have been proved definitely inferior, and so on. With the rising level in every aspect of the ranks of cadres following efforts to make these ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent, it is necessary to readjust from now on the posts of cadres who temporarily are not suitable for their work. It is also possible to make readjustments in the posts of comrades who are competent in their posts if the needs of the party's work require such readjustment, or if there are more outstanding and more appropriate candidates. Besides, since cadres are required to be ready to work both at higher and lower levels, they may, after they are assigned to posts at lower levels, be promoted to posts at higher levels again in the future when they have both ability and political integrity and when work requires such a promotion. It can be foreseen that many of the young and middle-aged cadres who are asked to work at lower levels at present may make even faster progress and be able to shoulder heavier loads in future so long as they make efforts to lay a solid foundation.

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REFORM AND SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 5-10

[Article by Jiang Liu [3068 3177]]

[Text] Economic structural reform, which is in progress in China, has attracted general attention both at home and abroad. Most of the people support it and expect it to succeed. Some people cast doubt upon it for various reasons, and are worried about the possibility that our country will be led to capitalism. Of course, some people still think that reform is tantamount to capitalism. With regard to these questions arising in people's expectations, doubts, or even misunderstanding, we should answer them in both theory and practice so that they know how to correctly understand and persist in the socialist nature of reform.

I

Socialist society is the first stage of communist society. Socialism should not only eliminate all exploiting systems and exploiting classes, but also vigorously develop social productive forces, further improve and develop socialist productive relations and superstructure, and, on such a basis, gradually abolish all important social differences and social inequality mainly due to the insufficient development of social productive forces until the full realization of communism. There is no doubt that this is an unprecedentedly great change in the history of mankind. To realize such a great historical change, it is insufficient to merely rely on the past experiences and methods. We should study new things and devise new forms for the realization of such change under socialist conditions.

With regard to the forms for such change, the founder of the theories of scientific socialism predicted: "Under the conditions that there are no class and class antagonism, social evolution is no longer a political revolution." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 198) In 1917, the first socialist country emerged. When marking the fourth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin wrote an article entitled "The Role of Gold Now, and After the Complete Victory of Socialism." In this article, Lenin further discussed theoretically the problems of new forms for realizing revolutionary tasks, and the nature and role of reform under socialist conditions. He maintained that Marxism should accurately and

correctly define relations between reform and revolution in light of different historical conditions. Before the proletariat won its victory, revolution mainly followed a form of class struggle, namely political action with emphasis on overthrowing the old regime. Reform was a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle. After the victory of the proletariat, although relations between reform and revolution were the same in principle as those of the past, the forms had already changed. Lenin explained the changes in these relations in accordance with the transition of Soviet Russia from wartime communism to the New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy was a measure for reform, which was different from the "revolutionary method" of wartime communism. The form of reform was characterized by "slow, cautious, and gradual progress, but does not mean retrogression." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 576) The experience after the first 4 years of the October Revolution already proved that with regard to the fundamental problems of economic construction, the method of reform should be adopted. This was also a new thing which should be understood after the victorious proletariat had entered the period of construction. Confronted with new things, we should not feel doubt, or waver. Lenin further pointed out: "In the course of developing productive forces and culture in the future, each and every step and progress we make will surely improve and reform our social system. Our economic and cultural level is still very low, and many things are to be reformed. If we feel perplexed and uneasy because of all this, it will be utterly absurd (or even worse)." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 577)

Lenin's exposition and certain practice of the socialist construction in Russia after the October Revolution can play a role of enlightening us so that we understand today's reform. Generally speaking, reform might play a role of improving certain things, or perfecting things in general. It might also play a role of completely transforming things. Our present structural reform is aimed at improving and perfecting things. However, it is not merely aimed at perfecting things in general. Under the prerequisite of upholding socialist system, we reform a series of interrelated links and aspects in productive relations and superstructures, which do not conform with the development of productive forces. Such reform will not only bring about great changes in people's economic and political life, but also promote great changes in their way of life and mental outlook. Such reform under socialist conditions is truly a fundamental change with regard to the eradication of certain obsolete links in production relations and superstructures, and the abolition of obstacles to the development of productive forces. In this sense, it can be regarded as a revolution. However, it is completely different from the political revolution before the overthrow of an exploiting system in terms of contents and forms. It is a practice carried out step by step in a planned way to specifically abolish the old system and establish the new one under the unified leadership of the party and government. It is not a turbulent revolution of mass character characterized by the overthrowing of one class by another.

Unlike the capitalist society, contradictions in socialist society are not antagonistic contradictions. They can be continuously solved with the improvement of the socialist system itself. In other words, the socialist

system itself has the capability for self-improvement and reform. Reform is precisely a form for self-improvement, and for solving socialist contradictions. Just as Engels pointed out, socialist society is a society which is constantly changed and reformed. Reform is required by the development of socialism itself, and a general and inexorable phenomenon in the course of the development of the socialist society. It is also a factor contributing to the vigor and vitality of the socialist society. Without reform, it is impossible for the socialist society to continue to advance. Reform means increasing improvement, maturing, and development of socialism. In a word, socialism advances amid reform.

Generally speaking, the form of reform has demanded that "we reform old things in a cautious, slow, and gradual way, and avoid damage as much as possible." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 575) Under present historical conditions, reform in our country can only be carried out in a gradual way. To carry out reform in such a way, we will experience a stage of coexistence between the old and new systems, namely a stage of double systems. At this stage, the new system is bound to touch and readjust the former economic interests and relations reflected by the old system. However, due to the fact that the new system has not yet been completely perfected and improved as a whole, a rational pattern which reflects new interests and relations cannot be established at one go. Therefore, friction and contradictions of interests as well as unequal opportunities will inevitably occur. This is where the arduousness and complexity of the problems lie.

Reform in a socialist society is truly a great, profound, arduous and complicated project. To carry on such reform smoothly, we need to regain understanding of socialism in practice. From an objective viewpoint of historical development, reform has reflected the fact that socialism needs constantly improving transforming its own law. Subjectively speaking, reform has also reflected a process of reunderstanding socialism on the part of communists and the broad masses of the people. A very important experience gained from the historical development of socialism throughout the world so far is that under the guidance of Marxism, we should constantly understand and promote the building of socialism. Shortly after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin said that as far as Russia was concerned, the period of debating about the socialist program in books was over. Today, we can only discuss socialism according to experience. The so-called discussing socialism according to experience means that people should understand socialism again in practice. According to the Marxist theory of knowledge, very often correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Facts have shown that a scientific knowledge of socialism, which conforms with practical reality, can only be arrived at after many repetitions of practice and knowledge. Understanding socialism again means that we should apply the universal truth of Marxism to the practical socialist construction in China. In this practice, we should continuously improve our incomplete and unscientific understanding of socialism. Through practice, we should establish, develop, and perfect socialist theories with Chinese characteristics.

Our practice in reform since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has shown that construction in socialist society has demanded that people stick to the fundamental principle of socialism and understand socialism again continuously. They should integrate the principle of sticking to the socialist road with the flexibility of adopting various different specific forms. Lenin said: "We still remember what Engels said: We should adopt a method of demonstration. Before fully attaining a communist stage, no form should be regarded as final. We should not arrogantly claim that we know a correct path. However, we will definitely and unswervingly follow a communist path." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 28, p 179) A process of exploration and experiment for a "correct path" which "leads toward communism" is a process of reform in the socialist society.

II

In the course of reform, we pursue a guiding principle of letting some people get rich first, vigorously developing socialist commodity economy in a planned way, opening up to the outside world, and so on. While implementing the guiding principle, we should take scientific socialist theories as our guide in handling and coordinating contradictions and relations in various aspects. Only thus can we stick to and ensure the socialist orientation and nature of our reform, so that our reform will progress smoothly.

1. With regard to the problem of "prosperity," we should adopt a Marxist attitude toward it.

Socialist society should ensure gradual enhancement of the level of material and cultural life of members of the society, and their prosperity. However, common prosperity does not mean synchronous prosperity. It is impossible to attain such prosperity. If we regard common prosperity as synchronous prosperity, we will not be able to achieve common prosperity. On the contrary, it can only lead to common poverty. Only by letting some people get rich first through hard work, can the majority of people be strongly attracted by the practice of getting rich through hard work, and can the practice itself play an exemplary role. More and more people will thus be brought along the path of prosperity. Therefore, the policy of letting some people get rich first through hard work conforms with the law of development of socialism, and is the only way for the prosperity of the entire society. Common prosperity is our objective, and letting some people and some areas get rich first is a step and condition for attaining our objective. At the ending of Chapter Two of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels predicted that in the new society, "free development of individuals is a condition for free development of all people." This famous thesis has enlightened us so that we know how to handle relations between letting some people get rich first and promoting common prosperity of all members of the society. Marxism never thinks that development of social history can be completed at one stroke. Letting some people get rich first in order to achieve common prosperity of the entire society conforms with the basic principle and ideological method of Marxism. Therefore, we should on no account set individuals' prosperity against common prosperity,

still less achieve individuals' prosperity at the expense of common prosperity.

However, with regard to the problem of dealing with "prosperity," there are two completely different kinds of attitude toward it. 1) A Marxist attitude which first considers the strength and well-being of the state, and the prosperity of the people. The broad masses of our cadres, CPC members and CYL members should take part in reform with such an attitude. Under the new situation, we should particularly stress that serving the people wholeheartedly is the sole purpose. We should also stress adhering to the socialist road in order to attain lofty ideals of communism. 2) A bourgeois attitude characterized by putting profit-making first and forgetting all moral principles at the sight of profits. Just as Lenin profoundly revealed: "The bourgeoisie is always governed by the following principle: We do not care how severe the floods will be after our death!" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 160) "We do not care how severe the floods will be after our death!" fully reveals the out-and-out egoism of the bourgeoisie, their decadent philosophy of life characterized by pleasure-seeking, harming others to benefit oneself, and disregarding the fate of the people and the state. These are two kinds of attitude which are completely different. The first attitude is guided by a communist world outlook, and conforms with the nature of the socialist society, because the "campaign of the proletariat is a campaign of the majority of people, and serves their interests." To use such an idea to guide reform, we will be able to develop socialist economy and culture, and make our country gradually powerful, and our people gradually rich. In such a way, we will eventually march toward communism. The second attitude is connected with the decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. If we use such ideas to guide reform, "polarization" will occur, and reform will no longer be supported by the majority of people. It will eventually go astray. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that a criterion testing whether we have taken a correct path is whether we have upheld socialism. If we carry out equalitarianism and the practice of eating out of the same big pot, the majority of people will become poor. If we pursue capitalism, only a small number of people will become rich. Only socialism can ensure the common prosperity of the people. This is where the great superiority of the socialist system lies.

2. While developing commodity economy, we should uphold education in communist ideology.

Practical experience of socialism has told us that instead of eliminating commodity economy, the socialist society should vigorously develop it. In practical life, people ask the following question: While developing commodity economy, is it still necessary and possible to conduct education in socialist and communist ideology? There is a prevalent view which states that if we stress the development of commodity economy, there will be no objective basis for education in socialist and communist ideology. People with such a view maintain that this is a problem of mutual exclusiveness between the two matters. We should admit that conducting education in socialist and communist ideology in the course of developing commodity economy, and integrating them is truly a new problem. However, this is

where a guarantee for building a civilized and powerful socialist country lies.

Although socialist commodity economy shares the generality of commodity economy in general, it is essentially different from the capitalist commodity economy. In the process of historical development of capitalist economy, the development of commodity economy actually played its historical role in the following two ways: 1) In the process of the socialization of production, means of production were in the hands of a small number of individuals; 2) the incompatibility between further development of the socialization of production and capitalist ownership became increasingly marked, and social ownership of the means of production was needed. In the socialist society, there exists no conflict between socialization of production and private ownership of means of production. At present, the main contradiction which our country should solve is the contradiction between the increasingly higher material and cultural demands of the people and the backward social production. Due to the fact that the level of development of our country's social productive forces is comparatively low, to solve this contradiction more rapidly, we should fully consider the great promoting role of the commodity economy in the history of the development of social productive forces. On the one hand, commodity economy, which is connected with socialism, conforms with the socialization of production, and planned management on the basis of socialist public ownership is needed. On the other hand, due to the fact that the development of production is insufficient, we should make full use of the law of value to promote the development of socialization of production. All these are needed by the development of the socialization of production. Socialist production means socialized production of materials. Under capitalist conditions, the development of the socialization of production has sharpened basic contradictions of the society, and created material prerequisites for socialism. Under the conditions of public ownership, the development of socialization of production resulting from commodity economy will not give rise to social conflict. Therefore, the aim of developing commodity economy is identical with the aim of socialist economy. Socialism will enable the methods of production, ownership and exchanges to conform with the socialization of the means of production. Socialization, cooperation and joint operations are objective trends of the development of socialist commodity economy, and also mark the socialist orientation.

Under the conditions of the socialist society, there are two trends existing in the commodity economy: 1) A trend of enhancing the level of socialization of production so that socialist production advances, which is the main aspect of things; 2) the trend of spontaneity and blindness detrimental to socialism, which is the secondary aspect of things. Since we are promoting commodity economy, it is impossible to completely avoid blindness. In the meantime, the principle of exchange of equal values cannot but be reflected in certain relations of interests in our society. For this reason, while developing socialist planned commodity economy, we should strengthen education in communist ideology. They are identical, rather than contradictory.

The characteristic of the planned development of socialist commodity economy means that we should consciously readjust and administer commodity production within the scope of the entire society. This can only be done under public ownership of the means of production. It is because under public ownership, fundamental conflict of interests among members of the society has disappeared. The state can "organize production of the whole country in accordance with the general plans," and the common interests of the entire people. According to Marx' view, this means communism. (See "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 379) People are asked to proceed from the long-term and overall interest, disregard personal gain and loss, serve the people wholeheartedly, become the masters of their own affairs, and foster lofty revolutionary ideals. All these reflect the concepts of planned socialist economy. If people only pay attention to the interests of individuals and small groups at the expense of the interests of the state and the majority of the members of the society; if they only pay attention to the increase in value of the individuals and small groups at the expense of the needs in the material and cultural life of the state and the majority of members of the society, such individualism and the practice of putting profit-making first not only run counter to the communist ideology and morals of our time, but also completely violate the "planned" characteristic of the commodity economy on the basis of socialist public ownership. Our purpose in conducting education in communist ideology is to emphasize the socialist nature of our commodity economy, because such a nature is markedly demonstrated in communist theories, ideology, and morals.

Of course, we should also realize that we are now at the initial stage of socialism. There exists a gap, or even contradiction in certain aspects between our present social mode of production and the abstract theories on such a mode of production. The problem is what stand we should take to understand the gap and solve the contradiction. Faced with this gap and contradiction, should we side with conservative forces in the society, or take the stand which promotes the progress of the society? We should, of course, take the stand of promoting future development of the society. We should look forward rather than look back. In the course of reform, we should march step by step toward our ideal future.

3. Opening up to the outside world should be beneficial to the overall situation in the development of social productive forces.

Opening up to the outside world is an important policy for reform. The aim of opening up to the outside world is to develop social productive forces. It is an organic component part of the socialist modernization.

Socialism and communism are two stages of a social formation with different degrees of economic maturity. An essential condition determining the transition from socialism to communism is the high level of the development of social productive forces. Otherwise, the realization of communism is only empty talk. Our fundamental task at the socialist stage is to develop productive forces. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we explored the way to develop socialism in China. In the final analysis, we should develop productive forces. We

should implement a policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy. We should carry out economic structural reform. Our purpose in so doing is to promote the development of social productive forces.

There exists a problem of subordination in the implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world. We know that opening up to the outside world is an important policy adopted by various capitalist countries after the formation of the world market. In other words, capitalist countries also adopt the policy of opening up to the outside world, which is subordinated to the capitalist policies, and aimed at developing capitalist economy. The policy of opening up to the outside world adopted by a socialist country is subordinated to the socialist policies, and aimed at the development of socialist economy. Here, the crux of the matter lies in the subordination of the policy of opening up to the outside world. With regard to such a social phenomenon, Marx pointed out in the introduction of his "Criticism of the Political Economy": "In all social forms, there must be a certain production which dominates the positions and influence of all other kinds of production. Therefore, its relations also dominate the positions and influence of all other relations. This is a kind of illuminating light which absorbs all colors, and changes their distinguishing features." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 109)

It is a matter of vital importance to clearly understand the subordinate nature of the policy of opening up to the outside world. As far as ideological understanding is concerned, we should understand that opening up to the outside world is a long-term and fundamental policy of our socialist country, and an indispensable and important aspect in the economic reform and the development of social productive forces. The policy serves our country's socialist modernization program. The modernization we are pursuing is a socialist modernization, which relies on the strength of the people throughout the country, and their efforts to get rich through hard work. It means a common prosperity mainly based on public ownership system. In the meantime, we should also stick to the policy of opening up to the outside world, with the aim of developing social productive forces, making our country powerful and our people rich. Polarization is not allowed. Capitalist modernization relies on the exploitation and plundering of the wealth created by laboring countries or one particular country and other countries in order to accumulate funds. The purpose in so doing is to enable a small number of capitalists to get rich. This will inevitably lead to polarization between the rich and the poor. Therefore, the socialist policy of opening up to the outside world should be subordinate to the overall arrangements for developing socialist social productive forces. From beginning to end, we should not separate ourselves from this general strategy. We want to absorb foreign capital and import advanced technology and facilities. However, we should also resist and oppose decadent bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life. Therefore, we should adopt dual tactics: While implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, we should deal blows at criminal activities in the economic field, while grasping the building of material civilization, we should promote the building of spiritual civilization.

Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. We stress mutual cooperation and support among socialist enterprises. However, we do not rule out the possibility of their competition under the prerequisite of cooperation of mutual support. However, the purpose of our competition is to promote the development of social productive forces rather than harm it, and impair fundamental economic interests of the people. Therefore, unlike enterprises under capitalist conditions, socialist enterprises must not benefit themselves at the expense of others, or pursue the practice of "big fish swallowing little fish." In particular, they must not compete with each other in foreign trade to force prices down for the interests of individuals and small units regardless of the overall situation, and the interests of our socialist country. In a word, as long as we understand that the policy of opening up to the outside world should be subordinated to socialist modernization, and that we should conscientiously implement the guiding principles and policies of the party and state, the policy of opening up to the outside world will play its proper role.

Socialism develops and becomes prosperous in the process of reform. We are marching toward communist future step by step in the course of reform. This is an irreversible trend in the course of historical development. However, such a trend cannot occur automatically. Therefore, we should realize the inevitability of reform, and regard reform as our motive force to promote socialist modernization. In the meantime, we should also realize that reform should be guided by the Marxist world outlook, and the party's line, guiding principles and policies. We should understand the necessity of education in communist ideology. In so doing, our reform will progress along the track of scientific socialism. This is the historical responsibility of our Chinese communists.

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THE ISSUE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN THE PERIOD OF REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 11-13

[Article by Rui Xingwen [5360 2622 2429], secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee]

[Text] Lately "culture fever" has emerged in Shanghai.

The climax of the "culture fever" was marked by the convention of the "discussion meeting of cultural development strategy of Shanghai" in May this year. Over the past year, activities to discuss cultural development have been expanded vigorously in the city. With the question of "what kind of culture Shanghai should develop in the age of reform" in mind, we have made a thorough investigation and study of the history and present condition of the city's culture and looked into the objectives, orientation, features, policies, and methods of the cultural development of the city. The unprecedented "culture fever" has aroused the attention of personalities of various circles in various localities.

Where did the "culture fever" come from?

This is the outcome of the deepgoing implementation of the party's policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the focus of the work of the whole party has been shifted to economic construction and China has entered an age of great changes. In particular, the decision adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has led the surging waves of reform in the country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the reform is China's second revolution. Reform of the economic structure and of other aspects, as well as the extensive development of opening to the outside world, have had a powerful impact on all spheres of our society and people's souls, and many new concepts and problems have appeared. Just as the "Decision on the Reform of the Economic Structure" adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee points out: "Reform of the economic structure will lead to tremendous changes not only in people's economic life, but also in their mental outlook and way of life." The "culture fever" in Shanghai emerged under just such background and conditions. Tracing its nature, we can see this is a course of people's new understanding of socialist society since our socialist revolution and construction entered a new historical period.

China's history tells us that all major social changes are attended by a certain degree of cultural movements. The glaring example in our modern history is represented by the "4 May" Movement of 1919. Holding aloft the great banner of opposing imperialism and feudalism, a large number of progressive intellectuals propagated new culture to retard the old culture of the feudal society. Around the "4 May" Movement, people's minds were greatly assailed and emancipated to a certain degree. Ideologically, this provided favorable conditions for the wide spread of Marxism in China and the founding of the CPC. The current reform led by our party is an extremely profound and extensive great revolution. Since the revolution is aimed at attaining socialist modernization, we must naturally establish a compatible ideology and habits. All ideas and culture which fetter the modernization of our society must be pounded and removed, and the historical mission of seeking and establishing a new culture which is compatible with our modernization drive is imposed upon the Chinese communist members and all people with the lofty ideal of fighting for the great cause of socialism.

Socialist modernization should in no way be regarded as modernization only in economic construction. If there is no cultural construction which can catch up with the progress of modernization and if people's ideology and cultural accomplishments remain at the previous level, then the realization of modernization is inconceivable. The decision adopted at the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee points out: We should work to create a cultured, healthy, and scientific way of life for the whole society that meets the requirements of expanding the modern forces of production and social progress, and we should foster throughout society an active, forward-looking, and enterprising attitude. It also says: "Such an approach to life and such an attitude are important aspects of a socialist civilization that has a high cultural and ideological level. They give great impetus to the reform of the economic structure and the building of a socialist civilization with a high material level." Therefore, in the great course of modernization, we should work to promote the development not only in the economic field but also in the ideological and cultural fields. Precisely in this sense, we may say that the key to modernization lies in the quality of man and modernization of social culture. The party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must strive to build both material and spiritual civilizations simultaneously. This is a matter of great significance.

In probing the road to cultural development, we will inevitably come across problems in the spheres of social sciences, literature, art, science, technology, and morality, and must set new demands on them so as to meet the needs of carrying out reform, opening up to the outside world, and developing the socialist commodity economy. In the new historical period, we must stick to and develop Marxism and build a new socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. This accords with the short-term interests of the Chinese people. From a long-term point of view, it is also a strategic necessity for building socialist modernization in China.

At present, the new structure and the old one are locked in a stalemate. It is therefore necessary to carry out the reform in depth. Great social

changes will inevitably find expression first in philosophy and the social sciences. With the in-depth development of economic reform, vigorous development of revolution and construction, quickening tempo of the times, and the replacement of the old structure by the new, people were dazzled by the social effects of reform and opening to the outside world, as well as by some unhealthy tendencies that emerged in the course of reform and opening to the outside world. They said all sorts of things about them, some of them giving praise and some making criticism. This is because while some things that appeared in the development of the situation could be predicted, but many things were unforeseen. Undergoing such large-scale, profound social changes is unprecedented in a big country with a population of 1 billion, or even in history of the world. How should we build socialism in a country which mainly relied on the natural economy for a long time? How should we deal with China's traditional culture? When developing the planned socialist commodity economy, how should we adhere to and develop Marxism? We can find no solution to all these problems in the classics of Marxism. For this reason, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has called on us to have a new understanding of socialism. This is very important. With the development of reform and opening up to the outside world, a series of theoretical problems have cropped up. Therefore, our social scientists and theorists are urgently needed to study, explain, and solve these problems. The present endeavor to explore the way of cultural development can be regarded as another ideological and cultural drive in exploring theories for socialist development following the great debate on "practice as the sole criterion for testing truth."

Great social changes inevitably lead to relative changes in ideology. The rapid development of the socialist commodity economy has correspondingly changed people's sense of value, time, competition, information, and work efficiency. The ever-changing social life has changed their sense of morality, qualified personnel, family, and consumption. Conversely, if we want to carry out reform in depth and achieve good results, what we should do first is to get rid of conventional ideas. Viewing our present work, we can find that backward and conventional ideas and the outworn concept of morality have become major obstacles to further reform of the economic structure and other structures. Therefore, the change in mentality should be treated as a key problem in the discussion on the issue of cultural development strategy. The vast and extensive change in mentality proposes new requirements not only for the party's ideological and political work, but also for our writers and artists. In the period of socialist construction, how should we do the party's ideological and political work? How should our literature and art reflect the essence of social life and the change in people's mentality? All these are the major tasks confronting us.

Great social changes also imperatively require us to correctly handle the relationship between Chinese culture and the cultures of the world. Our nation has thousands of years' history of civilization, an age-old tradition of culture, and a valuable cultural heritage. Under the situation of carrying out reform and opening up to the outside world, more foreign culture will certainly enter our country along with our economic exchange with other countries. Therefore, the attitude toward the cultures of other

countries is a problem that we must solve at present. Today, continuing to keep ourselves to ourselves in culture is out of the question. In dealing with backward and conventional things in our culture, we should no longer "cherish them simply because they are our own." In this connection, the principle of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong is still of practical guiding significance for us. We must have national self-confidence in assimilating the cream of both our national culture and the cultures of other countries and work to have a thorough and profound grasp of them and digest them so as to develop and build our new culture.

Great social changes take the progress of science and technology as their own motivating force and link the development of science and technology closely with the development of social sciences. People are more aware of the relationship between social and natural sciences. Historically, all major achievements of the social sciences and the establishment of their new theoretical system were not separated from scientific and technological development, and the development of social sciences and the appearance of their new theoretical system also had a positive influence on scientific and technological advance. The development of our culture is aimed at enhancing people's cultural level and accomplishments and updating their mentality. This forms the necessary cultural background for social changes and modernization in our country and also provides necessary conditions of intelligence and culture for faster development of science and technology. Today, world science and technology is developing at a noticeable pace and numerous new successes are achieved every year in space science, astronautic technology, oceanographic engineering, atomic energy, microelectronic technique, computer science, and bioengineering. Such giant strides in science and technology will certainly give great impetus to the development of the social sciences. It is expected that Marxism will enter the best historical period of its development.

Today we are at an important juncture--a historical turning point. The whole world is watching China's reform. What is the most important factor for making the reform a success? It is the human factor. Our cultural development is a project of nourishing the human soul. The spirit and ideology of our people must meet the needs of the course of the contemporary socialist history of our country and have the characteristics of the Chinese nation and the times. What kind of people should be cultivated for our society? What world outlook should be fostered? Comrade Deng Xiaoping said briefly and penetratingly: "We should encourage all our people to foster lofty ideals and moral integrity, to become educated and cultivate a strong sense of discipline." In developing culture in Shanghai, we should help all Shanghai people to foster lofty ideals and moral integrity, to become educated, and to cultivate a strong sense of discipline. In the years of sharp class antagonism and national oppression, many people were relatively apt to accept the ideals of communism in order to get rid of class and national oppression. Against the background of that time, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and intellectuals joined the revolution and embarked on the road of fighting for communism all their lives. Now we have won the victory and class exploitation and oppression have been annihilated.

Under such circumstances, what should we do to help people foster the lofty ideals of communism? To this end, we should create a good cultural environment. This is a matter of great importance because such an environment can exert an imperceptible influence on people's thought. People should be brought up sound in body and mind when they are very young and should achieve perfect education and enjoy healthy entertainment from families to society and from schools to factories. This can help them cultivate good ideals in life. We should now devote ourselves to creating such a cultural environment and bringing up a new generation who are willing to dedicate themselves to the cause of socialism.

The central authorities hold that Shanghai should be built into an open, modern socialist city with many functions and a high level of civilization. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and with the strong nationwide support of the people, 10 million Shanghai people are working hard toward this goal. In the past year, the party Central Committee and the State Council have approved the "Strategy for Economic Development in Shanghai" and approved in principle the "Overall Plan for Urban Construction in Shanghai." Now we have the blueprints for economic construction and urban development. Through discussions, we will also formulate a "Strategy for Cultural Development in Shanghai" so that we will have a blueprint for cultural construction. A vigorous development of culture will benefit the profound development of reform, economic growth, and the implementation of the "Strategy for Economic Development in Shanghai" and the "Overall Plan for Urban Construction in Shanghai." The three blueprints are mainly aimed at building Shanghai into a modern socialist city with a high degree of civilization.

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HELPING YOUNG PEOPLE GROW MORE RAPIDLY IS AN IMPORTANT TASK FOR OLDER SCIENTISTS

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[Speech by Wu Jieping [0702 7132 1627]--delivered at the Third National Congress of the China Association for Science and Technology (no date given); with revisions by author before publication]

[Text] The great cause of socialist modernization we are undertaking urgently calls for the training of myriads of skilled personnel who have socialist consciousness and a knowledge of modern science and technology. We hope that the young people can grow more rapidly and that our country's scientific and technological forces can expand more quickly. The training of skilled personnel involves a process. We must study some basic problems in the young people's growth process and guide them with a purpose in mind. This is actually very valuable. If we do not give correct guidance on these basic problems, it is very likely that young people will have to train for a very long time before they can gradually understand things. Moreover, some people may even end up without ever getting a clear idea of things. Many old scientists teach the younger generation with skill and patience. In light of their own experience of growing up, they help young people get ahead and have achieved rather good results, for that matter. They often use such methods as "If I could relive my time as a student or youth, how would I study and work" to illustrate some guiding ideas that help in the growth of young people. Such a practice is worth promoting. The China Association for Science and Technology, and other units recently held a forum of representatives of older scientists and young students on how to bring about the quickest possible growth of young people. At the meeting, older scientists recounted their ideas on how to succeed, which were well received by the young people. This shows that young people are badly in need of such help. In my opinion, old and middle-aged scientists should do more of such work and should regard it as an important task to be accomplished.

Here I wish to give my own views about some basic problems in the process of the growth of a doctor, or a scientific worker in the medical field for everyone's study. Scientific and technical workers in various fields may have similar problems during the growth process.

First, it is the problem of closely combining practice, knowledge, and thinking. We must repeatedly stress the importance of practice to the young people. It is mainly work practice and laboratory practice. Without practice, we can hardly understand what is taught in the book and what is passed on by the teacher. Still less can we know how to apply what is learned. In the medical field and especially in clinical medicine, it is common, to a certain degree, for young medical personnel and young students to pay inadequate attention to practice and to treat clinical work lightly. In fact, without clinical practice, we cannot possibly acquire the ability to solve problems in this area. The importance of knowledge can easily be seen. But knowledge being what it is cannot accord people an appropriate capacity for applying knowledge. Therefore, in our approach to knowledge, we must stress application. "Knowledge is strength." In this, two links, that is, practice and thinking, are missing. Without these two links, knowledge cannot possibly be turned into strength. Of the three--practice, knowledge, and thinking--thinking is often neglected. Practice or the acquisition of knowledge must be combined with thinking. Only through thinking and through application in practice, can knowledge be translated into an ability to solve problems. In practice, we must set ourselves to thinking and cultivate a habit of deliberation. We must take the initiative to avail ourselves of all opportunities to seek improvement in practice. An individual's process of growth is actually one of continuously improving the ability to combine practice, knowledge, and thinking. In real life, practice, knowledge, and thinking seem to be always combined. The only difference is whether they are combined automatically, or consciously to achieve self-improvement in a quicker way. What should be stressed is conscious combination. Only in this way can growth be accelerated. Confucius said: "Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous." If "learning" itself is to cover the two aspects--acquisition of knowledge and practice--then this line gives expression to the proper relations among the three--practice, knowledge, and thinking.

We may take an example for the sake of explanation. An important feature of clinical medicine is the availability of many opportunities for practice. The treatment of each patient is a relatively complete process of practice. Due to medical needs, a doctor must make timely judgments on many problems. As to whether these judgments are compatible with objective realities, conclusions, in most cases, can be drawn from clinical practice in a relatively short period of time. Therefore, a doctor has many very good opportunities to sum things up and seek improvement in practice. But if not given guidance, a young doctor must go through many years of exploration before he can understand these features [as published]. These features do not seem to amount to much. But to really master them and use them to speed up a person's own growth is quite another thing. There is a famous remark from Pasteur, father of contemporary microbiology: "In the area of observation, an opportunity favors a prepared mind." As to how to prepare minds, various people must learn things amidst serious pondering and practice. To pose pertinent problems to ourselves more frequently is definitely wholesome. For example, a certain doctor diagnosed a person afflicted with abdominal pain as a case of acute appendicitis. An operation proved the diagnosis correct. This doctor gained experience in one way. But if, before the operation, this

doctor had not been satisfied with the above general diagnosis, and instead asked himself more questions, such as the position of the appendix, whether there was hardened excrement [fenshi 4747 4258] in the appendix, what was the reaction of the peritoneum, and so forth and strived to make judgments on the important problems among them in light of the actual condition of the patient, then this doctor may have gained more than one kind of experience after the operation. In fact, the experience obtained was limited. There was also the possibility of cultivating a habit of not seriously pondering things. Just because of different demands imposed on himself, a doctor 5 years after graduation from school can very likely surpass his counterpart who has been graduated from school for 10 years. Striving to raise his capacity for clinical thinking and impose more exacting demands on himself plays an important role in accelerating a young doctor's growth. Mental and manual work similarly calls for training.

Second, we must strive to distinguish between subjective analysis and objective reality. Clinical problems, like anything else, are complicated and are restricted by many factors. People's thinking must be compatible with the law governing the development of objective things. Sometimes, it is relatively easy to understand a process. But at other times setbacks are inevitable. An error of clinical judgment sometimes arises from mistaking subjective analysis as objective reality. In making a diagnosis and giving treatment, a doctor must have given ideas or views of his own to facilitate the progress of work. But he must guard against turning his own views into preconceptions. Where a change in objective reality calls for a change in an original view, he must make a timely change. Some young doctors, and even those with many years of work experience, still do not understand this very much, or fail to form their own views, or turn their own views into preconceptions. They end up going from one mistake to another. In the process of diagnosing and treating cases, a doctor must constantly review work at the preceding stage to guard against individual phenomena being erroneously interpreted and ideas being led astray. An important characteristic of a good doctor is to form a proper estimate of the correctness of his own judgment.

We must not only maintain a clear understanding of the differences between subjective analysis and objective reality but also strive to find the causes of error where an error has arisen in subjective analysis. The aim is to check whether it is after all due to lack of knowledge, incomplete data collected, or problems that exist in relation to ideas, methods, and other fields. A person must have "knowledge of lack of knowledge" and know his own inadequacy. With such an understanding, even a well-seasoned doctor would still have the feeling of "approaching the brink of a deep hole and walking on thin ice" in handling clinical problems. Thus, more prudence can be exercised in pondering and handling problems. He can also improve himself more quickly. And only in this way can the wish of wholeheartedly serving the people be realized.

Third, we must consciously use materialist dialectics to guide study and work. Objective things are replete with dialectics. Clinical medicine is radiant with the brilliance of dialectics. In their approach to the problem of

people's health, medical personnel at all times seek to see through the appearance to the essence and at all times carry out repeated deliberation by "discarding the dross and selecting the essential and eliminating the false and retaining the true, from this to that and from inside out." People who have made special contributions to science not only are well educated and knowledgeable but must also be good at scientific thinking. Only after reaching a certain professional level do many Western scientists realize the importance of philosophy. In our socialist China, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding thought for all our work. Actually, our love for dialectic-materialist education is constant. We are the best equipped to direct a natural improvement in the professional field to the conscious application of correct ideas toward self-improvement. Many of our comrades had certain professional accomplishments before the founding of the new China. After studying "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," they really felt like "tigers with added wings." If we can influence young people so that they can raise their consciousness in this respect, their growth can definitely be accelerated. Such growth will naturally go beyond the professional field, stimulating their growth in the political field at the same time. While transforming the objective world, people are also transforming the subjective world. Moreover, only in the practice of transforming the objective world can there be a fundamental transformation in people's subjective world. Many of our scientists have a deep understanding of this.

Fourth, we must pay attention to cultivating good work habits. Every man has his own work habits. The handling of problems is affected at all times by a person's own habits. Habits can be formed automatically and also consciously. Some of the habits formed automatically are conducive to a person's own growth and some are harmful to his growth. Therefore, consciously forming good habits, especially in the first few years of a working career, is of unusually great importance. This is actually also a test of will. Such matters as seeking truth from facts, being honest to oneself, being honest with others, being honest in a person's approach to work, being strict about a person's work, and so forth--all involve the question of habit. Seriously pondering problems and being keen on summing up experiences and lessons are often the habits of those growing fast. In these respects, old scientists' verbal instructions and personal examples have an important effect on young people. We must warn young people against the risk of unconsciously forming bad habits.

The above can be summed up as two points: 1) We must set ourselves high standards. 2) We must strive to be our own masters and pay attention to consciousness. As far as the medical profession is concerned, a person should not rest satisfied with being a doctor and should strive to be a good doctor and a good scientific worker in the medical field. He must switch over from automatic growth to conscious growth. Actually, after automatic growth reaches a certain degree, not only is continuous growth impossible but also retrogression will finally set in in the absence of progress. Quite a large number of doctors have always failed to step on the path toward conscious growth, thus failing to give full play to their own role.

The experienced scientist's help is no replacement for young people's tempering in their own practice, but can have a guiding effect. How to bring about effective guidance is also determined by experienced scientists' respective creative labor.

Here it is worth pointing out that certain systems and concrete methods in our training skilled personnel are actually incompatible with the law governing the growth of young people. They must be seriously studied, so that necessary reforms can be made.

It can be foreseen that older scientists, middle-aged scientists, and young scientists who are growing up will continuously make new contributions in our socialist modernization effort.

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REASONS FOR THE SHORTAGE OF WORKING FUNDS AND METHODS FOR ALLEVIATING THIS PROBLEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 17-19

[Article by Yu Ji [0060 0679]]

[Text] I. The Major Reasons for the Present Shortage of Working Funds

In 1985, the national industrial output value grew 18 percent over the previous year. The fixed quota volume of working funds for industry grew 19 percent and current bank credit for working funds grew 18.4 percent. The speed of growth of enterprises' working funds and the speed of growth of bank credit for enterprises' working funds both exceeded the growth of industrial output value. Normally, enterprises' working funds should thus be plentiful, but enterprises have generally indicated that funds are in short supply and turnover is difficult. Why is this?

First, the prices of some means of production have been readjusted, working funds have gone down in value, and the working funds which can be actually used by the enterprises have seen a relative decrease. In 1985, after the prices of goods outside planned allocation were freed, two forms of pricing--within the plan and outside the plan--were instituted. This promoted the development of the production of the means of production. However, because there was a lack of concrete management methods, the prices of some products doubled or tripled. Enterprises with the same amount of money could not buy the same amount of things, which meant they had to use a greater amount of working funds. In 1985, the state-owned industrial and communications enterprises in Shandong Province increased working funds by 420 million yuan as a result of price factors, a 35 percent increase in the total amount of working funds. In addition, after the prices of some goods and materials were adjusted, the book value of goods and materials in stock in enterprises were not appropriately adjusted, and the increased portion of the prices was considered "profit" and handed over to financial departments. In terms of the state, this is false income, and in terms of the enterprises it has reduced the amount of working funds they can actually expend.

Second, the working funds and the scale of investment in fixed assets are not in accord. Last year the investment in fixed assets completed in urban and rural areas throughout the nation totaled 247.5 billion yuan, 35 percent up

on the previous year. If we use the 1983 ratio between the fixed assets of whole-people ownership enterprises and working funds (1:0.55) for our calculations, the completion of over 200 billion yuan of fixed-asset investment requires an increase of 136.1 billion in working funds. However, in fact, last year banks increased working funds by only 70-plus billion yuan, only a little over half the amount needed. This resulted in some projects, after being completed, being unable to go into operation, as they lacked working funds. Those that did go into operation had to vie for working funds with the existing enterprises. Having enterprises supplement their own working funds is not completely workable. Some enterprises, when using production funds, first arranged technical transformation projects and only later worried about supplementing working funds.

Third, stored goods and materials have increased and thus the amount of funds tied up in produce and completed products has risen. At the end of last year, the amount of funds tied up in produce and completed products of state-owned industrial enterprises was up 30 percent over the same time in the previous year, exceeding the 18 percent increase in industrial output value. The proportion of working funds tied up in produce and completed products has also risen dramatically. At the end of last year, it reached 21.2 percent. The great increase in funds tied up in produce and completed products is also reflected in a material way. That is, quite a proportion of some products are stockpiled in warehouses. Some of the stored products are normal reserves, but quite an amount is abnormal overstocking. The major reasons for overstocking are: 1) A one-sided seeking of output value which results in blind production and ends up with products being unmarketable. For example, there is a blindness in the production of cameras, domestic washing machines, electric fans, and lesser-known brands of sewing machines, watches, and so on. The varieties and standards do not find a ready market and thus many of such products end up being stockpiled. 2) Blind importation, producing stockpiling. There is excessive importation of color television production lines and Western suit production lines. The blindly imported cars stockpiled in warehouses tie up over 6 billion yuan of funds. Nylon zippers have flooded the domestic market, resulting in domestically produced zippers having little market. Thus 50 percent of zipper enterprises are operating at under full production capacity. The quality of "838" calculators and hot and cold air blowers has been poor and their sales have been slow, resulting in more serious stockpiling. 3) Shortage of communications and transport, with the result that some products cannot be transported and sold in a timely way. Last year, of the contracts which various steel plants were unable to complete, 9.3 percent were subject to the effects of transport. Also, because transport is tight, the coal stocks at mines have grown. In Shanxi Province alone, at the end of last year, there were excess stocks of 24.34 million tons, which meant that 400 million yuan of funds was stockpiled. 4) The tightening of credit has restricted purchasing power, resulting in stockpiling. 5) Some enterprises have purchased blindly and overstocked, tying up funds. At the end of last year, coal stocks were 29.4 percent up on the beginning of the year, steel product stocks were up 16.6 percent, and cement stocks were up 9.6 percent.

Another thing which needs pointing out is that following the further deepening of the economic structural reforms and the development of the commodity economy, the state has reduced the number and quantities of products subject to unified allocation. Commodity circulation between regions and between departments has also been developed. The consumer product market and the means of production market have gradually expanded and a funds market and technology market have been gradually established. Thus, the demand for working funds from enterprises has grown.

II. The Major Avenues for Alleviating the Shortage of Working Funds

The normal circulation of working funds is determined by the production situation of an enterprise and the level of its operation management. It is also subject to the effects of production, allocation, exchange, and consumption in society. Thus, in alleviating the shortage of working funds, on the one hand we need to strengthen the management of working funds so that they are rationally used and, on the other hand, we must improve macro-economic controls, do well in the vertical control and the horizontal melding of funds, tap funds potential, and expand the supply of funds.

First, we must adhere to the credit policy of "differential treatment and selective support" so as to assist enterprises in obtaining funds urgently needed for production and circulation.

The amount of increased funds credit which the state can supply cannot resolve the working fund shortage problems of all enterprises. How are we to get limited funds to produce the greatest effect? I believe that banks should adhere to the policy of "differential treatment and selective support." They should provide funding support to enterprises which produce products with ready markets. For example, preferential credit should be given to energy, communications, transport, and raw and semifinished materials enterprises. There should also be active support given to those enterprises which produce highly salable products such as light industry and textile, electronics and machinery enterprises, as well as those enterprises which produce export products which can earn foreign exchange. Second, in respect of products like chemical fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, which are produced throughout the year but for which demand is seasonal, and for products such as motor vehicles, which at present are poor sellers, but for which there will be a great demand in the long term, financial departments should allocate funds and banks should issue credit, part of which will be interest-free, and this should be provided to commercial enterprises and goods and materials departments as reserve turnover funds, to purchase goods and to bring into play their role as reservoirs between production and demand. Banks can also provide specific credit to clear up arrears, to assist those enterprises seriously in arrears in settling accounts and preventing major repercussions. At the same time, they must improve account-settling services, and promote the acceptance and discounting of commercial bills. Expanding the scope of check use will enable those individual households with good reputations to use checks in settling accounts.

Second, raising funds through many avenues and on many levels, and expanding the sources of working funds.

Expanding savings deposits. Bank savings are the major avenue for the wide collection of social funds. At the end of last year, the savings deposits of the people in urban and rural areas totaled 162.3 billion yuan, a 33.6 percent increase over the beginning of the year. This can play a very big role in increasing working funds credit. This year, in accordance with the expansion of demand for working funds, apart from continuing to improve service attitude and raise service quality, we need to strengthen the construction of savings network points, do well in having organs, institutions, and enterprise units act as representatives for savings account business, and gradually establish urban credit cooperatives, so that a greater proportion of social funds is included in the bank's credit business.

Having various specialized urban banks issue financial bonds. Since October last year, a total of 1.5 billion yuan of financial bonds have been issued in the rural areas. At the same time, the provision of an equivalent amount of special credit allowed many township and town enterprises to extricate themselves from their predicaments. If all specialized banks pay attention to bringing into play the urban characteristics of large population and high income, and issue a certain amount of financial bonds and, at the same time, issue an equivalent amount of working fund credit, it will be advantageous to promoting production, enlivening the market, and increasing the people's income.

Developing the raising of funds in society, under the management and supervision of the banks. The collection of funds in society is a supplement to bank credit. It can, within a certain period, transfer a part of consumption funds to production development funds and increase the enterprises' sense of responsibility in terms of financial ideas and the use of funds. In respect of those enterprises which do not operate well, have difficulties with funds turnover, and which even incur losses, and those enterprises the products of which do not have ready markets and which need to change or transfer production, the financial departments and banks cannot supply the funds they need in a timely way. Thus, appropriate methods of collecting funds in society can be adopted to resolve the funds problems of some enterprises. However, banks must control the overall scale of the raising of funds in society, strengthen investigation of stocks and bonds issued by enterprises, and encourage enterprises to mainly use the funds raised in supplementing working funds.

Using commercial credit. Enterprises which produce products which are in short supply can, by using the methods of selling on credit and payment in advance, compensation trade and drawing in investment, make use of the buyers' funds to supplement their own working funds.

Third, grasping production and circulation together, and speeding the turnover of working funds.

The floating funds of enterprises pass successively through the production sphere and the circulation sphere and serve various links in the process of

reproduction. They are thus in constant change. Thus, if we wish to raise the use efficiency of working funds, and speed the turnover of funds, we must grasp production and circulation together.

In the production sphere, we must organize production in accordance with market needs. The quality, varieties, types, and quantities of products should accord with social demand and sales avenues. In production, we should as far as possible, use new technology and raise productivity. We must also strengthen the production organization and guidance systems, raise the technological level and the degree of proficiency of the workers, and reduce the period needed for production.

In the circulation sphere, we must organize well product sales and the purchasing of new and semifinished materials so that production and sales meet directly and the intermediate links are reduced. We should appraise and decide upon the limits for stocks of produce and completed products so that stocks are rational. We must strengthen the management of working funds and strictly prohibit the use of working funds in capital construction or their diversion to other uses.

Fourth, strictly controlling the scale of capital construction.

The excessive scale of capital construction is a major reason why there is a shortage of working funds. In order to avoid the problem whereby an excessive scale of capital construction squeezes out working funds, we should firmly implement the principle of "production first, construction second." The funds necessary for state-arranged new construction and expansion, as well as the 30 percent start-up working funds required by newly added production capacity, should be included in the overall scale of investment and be allocated by the financial departments. In some units, where fixed-asset investment funds have not been used or are not completely used, we should allow the enterprises to use some of the funds to supplement their working funds. As to those enterprises which have raised their own funds, to arrange construction, the enterprises should also arrange their own start-up working funds. As to those enterprises which have deployed funds not in accordance with regulations, the banks should not provide them with credit. A system should be established whereby every year a fixed amount should be retained from increased profits to supplement working funds. In addition, we should appropriately resolve the problems of projects which have already been completed but which need funds in order to be put into production, so as to guarantee that these enterprises go into production on time.

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RESOLVE TO ACCOMPLISH A GREAT CAUSE RATHER THAN TO BECOME A GREAT OFFICIAL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 p 19

[Article by Sun Jiankun [1327 1696 0981]; reprinted from XIN CHANGZHENG, No 2, 1986]

[Text] "Resolve to accomplish a great cause rather than to become a great official." This is a famous dictum left to later generations by Mr Sun Zhongshan, a pioneer of the democratic revolution.

"Resolving to accomplish a great cause" is the ideal of the progressive class and is the aspiration of those with insight. The great aspiration of the elder generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhe De, and Deng Xiaoping was to completely overthrow the three great mountains which weighed on the backs of the Chinese people, establish a socialist system, and finally realize communism.

"Resolving to become a great official" is the decadent idea of the exploiting classes. In feudal society, some people saw being an official as their aspiration and ideal. It was a way to bring honor to one's ancestors and a ladder by which to stand out from others. Today, in our nation, state power is a tool for protecting the interests of the people and "officials" are representatives of the basic interests of the masses. Officials and the people are no different. The only difference lies in the social division of work. However, we should recognize that due to the influence of remnant bourgeois and feudal ideology, in our revolutionary ranks there are more than a few people who are "resolved to become a great official." They have divorced themselves from the aim of serving the people with all their heart and seek promotion in their posts and an increase in their grades. Some individuals even adopt unhealthy methods to cheat or coerce their way into official positions. This is a complete departure from the noble morality which a revolutionary should have.

In "resolving to accomplish a great cause," we need to clarify what we mean by a great cause. The "great cause" of the proletariat and revolutionaries is to be concerned before all others in the world are concerned and to enjoy themselves only after everyone else in the world is enjoying themselves, and to place the interests of the party and the people in the highest position. When we speak of a "great cause," it is the cause of the party, the state, and the people. It is the glorious cause of communism. Making an

outstanding contribution in the various trades and industries is also accomplishing a great cause, and in an ordinary work post, one can also do extraordinary things.

In the new historical period, a large number of middle-aged and young cadres who accord with the standards necessary for the four modernizations have entered leading positions and, in this sense, have "become officials." However, we should soberly realize that this is a great task entrusted to us by the party and the people. We must properly arrange the relationship between individuals and organizations and between individuals and the masses, properly use and exercise the power which the party and the people have given us, and always be public servants.

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SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION AND THEORETICAL WORK--EXCERPTS OF SPEECHES
AT A FORUM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 20-29, 40

[First paragraph is RED FLAG introduction]

[Text] Theory should serve our construction of socialist modernization. At present, and in a period to come, it is particularly important and imperative that it should serve our practice of reform. The questions, such as how to closely combine our theoretical work with the practice of reform and encourage the theoretical workers to further carry out daring explorations on a series of theoretical questions raised during the reform and how to implement more effectively the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend so as to create an atmosphere of unity, harmony, mutual trust, and mutual understanding and to promote the vigorous development of theoretical work, have yet to be further studied and settled. To this end, our journal has planned to hold a number of forums to exchange views on the questions under the general topic of "reform and theoretical work." Recently, we invited some theoretical workers in Beijing to a forum to discuss the question of socialist spiritual civilization and theoretical work. At the forum, each of the participating comrades aired his own views and talked about the question from various angles. Following are excerpts of their speeches at the forum.

Han Shuying [1728 2885 5391]: The question of how theory serves the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is an important question for study. In my opinion, in order to make theory effectively serve the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, the following points merit the serious attention of our theoretical workers.

1. Making a correct appraisal of the current situation of spiritual civilization in China. Compared with some developed capitalist countries, China has lagged behind in some aspects such as keeping the cities clean and taking buses in good order, but is much better in some other aspects such as the rate of robberies and other criminal cases in large cities. At present, there are some intolerable phenomena in our country in matters of social atmosphere, but there are also many good people and good deeds, leading some foreigners to regard China as a country of courtesy and friendship. A task for theoretical workers is to make a scientific analysis of the causes of our problems and to explore the law of our construction of socialist

spiritual civilization. Although the level of our productive force is relatively low, we are sure we can promote our socialist spiritual civilization, which is higher than capitalist civilization.

2. Making bold explorations of major and practical theoretical questions. With the deepgoing development of the construction of socialist modernization, many new and important theoretical questions have been raised. For example, what is the relationship between the development of the socialist commodity economy and the construction of socialist spiritual civilization? Some people say that the development of the commodity economy over the past few years has contaminated our social atmosphere. This question should be clarified by our theoretical workers through painstaking investigation. In theory, the development of the socialist commodity economy and the construction of socialist spiritual civilization should promote each other. Of course, the question of how to make them promote each other should be further studied.

In building socialist spiritual civilization, it is necessary to oppose the decadent capitalist ideology as well as the feudalist ideology and the old concept of small production. The development of the commodity economy is conducive to overcoming the remnants of feudal ideology and the concept of small production. The socialist commodity economy is different in nature from the capitalist commodity economy. It is necessary and also possible to overcome capitalist ideology in the development of the socialist commodity economy. The question is that we must do our political and ideological work well.

3. Correctly understanding and carrying out the task of propagating Marxism. There is a question in this respect, that is, is it still necessary to imbue the masses of people with Marxist ideas under socialist conditions? If the word "imbue" is interpreted as propagate and educate, the answer is certainly affirmative. This is because communist ideas cannot spontaneously emerge among the masses of people. Thus, we must carry out propaganda and education among the masses in light of their practice. Our theoretical propaganda is aimed at making the masses correctly handle the relations between their immediate and long-term interests, between the interests of the individual and those of the collective, and between themselves and other people. Easy-to-understand propaganda is very important, but it must be based on profound study.

What is the status of the Marxist foundation in our country, which has a population of over 1 billion? I feel that the foundation is rather weak. Our Marxist education was comparatively good in the period from the founding of the state to the basic completion of the socialist transformation. At that time, many people believed in and studied Marxism. Later, during the "Great Leap Forward" and the 10 years of internal disorder, normal Marxist education was destroyed, and Marxist theories were distorted, resulting in a poor foundation of Marxism in our country. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, much work has been done to raise the Marxist level of both cadres and masses. Nevertheless, in building socialist spiritual civilization, it is still an arduous task for theoretical workers to do a good job in this respect.

Yao Xinhua [1202 6932 5478]: The relationship between developing the commodity economy and building socialist spiritual civilization is really a very important subject for study. Recently, I heard two entirely opposite views in some places. One holds that the development of the commodity economy has given birth to many bad concepts and bad atmosphere and has even affected our party style, while the other holds that opening up and developing the commodity economy has not only promoted the construction of material civilization but has also benefited the construction of spiritual civilization. The latter cited an example as follows: In the past, "one person alone has the say" could be seen everywhere, and democracy was not well developed; but now, anyone who tries to have the say alone is sure to run into snags. These different views can impel us to ponder the relations between the commodity economy and the construction of spiritual civilization and to conscientiously study the possible influence the commodity economy may bring about on the people's ideas and on spiritual civilization as a whole.

What is the main question for our theoretical research at present? I think the key question is the one about adherence and development, that is, the question of adhering to and developing Marxism. How do we adhere to Marxism? Does it mean reciting some old conclusions? Of course not. Marx has been dead for more than a century, and Lenin has been dead for more than 60 years. There have been great changes in the world situation. If we do not study the new situation, new phenomena, and new problems which have emerged both at home and abroad since the deaths of Marx and Lenin, and do not draw some new conclusions and put forth new ideas on the basis of this study, our theories will certainly be unconvincing. Of course, we must follow the basic principles of Marxism in studying and summarizing the new things.

Some people do not like "old sayings" while emphasizing the "new." Can we use old sayings? I think we can. For example, "all men must eat" is an old saying. When someone is in a bad mood and does not want to eat, we may persuade him to eat with this old saying. I am afraid it is impossible for anyone to write an article full of new things, that have never been heard or seen, and yet the article is entirely correct. New things emerge from the old foundation. The question is that we must adhere to the basic principles of Marxism and combine them with practice and must study and summarize the new situation in a scientific way.

In order to adhere to and develop Marxism, there must be an atmosphere of unity and harmony and a situation of contention among a hundred schools of thought. In the current contention, there have also appeared phenomena such as being swayed by personal emotions and trying to use contention to air personal grievances. For this reason, I think that we should encourage contention on the basis of equality and calmness and on purpose to adhere to and develop Marxism. We must avoid being swayed by personal emotions and, in particular, avoid easily exaggerating the significance of things by readily referring to them as matters of principle. We must really present the facts and reason things out.

Xing Benshi [6717 6321 1835]: On the question of theory serving the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, I think we must make clear an important question, that is, both theory and spiritual civilization are multi-layered. The first layer is comparatively common and simple, for example, to educate people to observe social order and public morality and not to spit and drop litter everywhere. This work is easier to do and yields results.

The second layer is an advanced one, or one concerning social and cultural mentalities. Our theoretical work must touch the minds of the broad masses of people, especially the broad masses of youths. For example, in the current discussion on cultural issues, some young people put forth the theory of "cultural fault zone," holding that China's traditional culture has fractured in the current stage of development. In other words, they mean to exclude traditional Chinese culture, and hope to introduce Western culture for the rehabilitation of Chinese culture. However, we must not simply label them as advocating "overall Westernization." Why have the young people got such ideas? It is because that they feel that China's feudal traditions are too dull for them and do not know how to sort out traditional Chinese culture. Some of them have even wrongly equated Westernization with modernization. In order to communicate with these young people, we must raise our theoretical level. We must not only know things about traditional Chinese culture and Western culture, but must also know the social background of the theory of "cultural fault zone." Before we criticize people, we must ask ourselves more questions and must understand what the young people are thinking. Otherwise, our criticism will be of no help to them, but will arouse their aversion.

The third layer is a more advanced one, that is, the research of basic theories. The core of spiritual civilization is belief. Ours is a big nation. Without a relatively unified belief, we cannot begin to talk about the construction of spiritual civilization. The problem of belief cannot be easily solved through simple theoretical lectures. It can be solved only when our theoretical workers have made great efforts and written great theoretical works on this solution and when the basic theories have been enhanced. What is the unified belief? In my opinion, it refers to Marxism, but the developed Marxism rather than rigid Marxism. It has absorbed the good parts of traditional Chinese culture and foreign culture and is based on China's realities.

We must pay attention to understanding the question of theory serving practice not as a mere work to deal with the situation. We cannot require that all theoretical workers become experts in dealing with the situation. Some theoretical workers may become experts in this respect, but most researchers in the Academy of Social Sciences cannot. We must not look down upon the study of basic theories since it is different from the work to deal with the situation.

Zhao Guangwu [6392 0342 2976]: The construction of spiritual civilization is an important aspect of our efforts to solve the main social contradictions. The main contradiction at present is "the contradiction between the

people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life and the backward social production." To promote spiritual civilization can satisfy the spiritual needs of the people and can promote the development of the productive forces as well.

How does theoretical work serve the construction of spiritual civilization? In this connection, we must pay attention to the following two points: 1) To dare to face the reality and face the challenge and to serve the current reform; 2) to adhere to the correct guiding ideology.

There is the question of having faith in the masses in this respect. We must believe that the masses have the ability to distinguish between good and bad and will accept correct guiding ideologies. When they made a comparison between this year's Spring Festival evening performances and those of the Spring Festival last year, they generally agreed that this year's performances were better than those of last year. This shows that the masses have the ability to distinguish between good and bad and that they prefer wholesome ideas to the unwholesome.

In the construction of spiritual civilization, theoretical work, as well as propaganda and educational work should be carried out in light of the reality and under correct ideological guidance. This is very important. We have had some lessons in this respect. For example, it is not a good thing that a university student is absent from school without leave or practices fraud in an examination. This is not good for his growth. However, at times, some papers and journals one-sidedly emphasized the defects of examinations and setting one's knowledge against one's ability. According to them, a student can have great ability without attending classes or accumulating knowledge. As a result, there were some confused ideas among the students.

We should admit that our propaganda and education in Marxism have encountered some difficulties. One of them is that many new problems which have emerged in practice have resulted in certain doubts about Marxism-Leninism among some people, especially some young people. However, we must realize that if we carry out our propaganda and education in the proper way, we can make them believe in Marxism-Leninism. We examine our teaching work every year. During examinations, we find that many students are satisfied with the political lessons, including philosophy, political, economic, and party history lessons, given by some teachers. A main reason is that these teachers have a comparatively higher theoretical level and have done their work in a proper way. They do not evade realistic problems and often combine the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with these problems in discussion and writing. Some foreign scholars have said that the Chinese scholars usually go deeper in pondering historical questions and hold that this has something to do with their study and application of Marxism-Leninism. From these opinions of Chinese students and foreign scholars, we feel that if we carry out our propaganda and education in the proper way, people will believe in Marxism-Leninism.

Gao Fang [7559 2397]: The position and role of theoretical work in the building of socialist spiritual civilization is a very important question.

When we say theoretical work, we refer to Marxist theoretical work. It plays three roles in the building of spiritual civilization: 1) Solving the problem of faith, confidence, and belief. In this regard, the key problem is whether socialism is better than capitalism and whether the replacement of the latter by the former is an inevitable trend of historical development. 2) Pointing out an orientation for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The building of spiritual civilization covers a wide range of fields including the ideological and cultural fields, such as education, science and technology, journalism, and publication. Only when we follow the guidance of Marxism can we make our spiritual civilization different from capitalist spiritual civilization. 3) Toppling old idols and overcoming ignorance and backwardness among the masses in the ideological and cultural fields. Since there are deep-rooted feudalist traditions in our country, which have a great influence in various fields of our life, the weapon of Marxist theory is more important for us.

What should we do to enable Marxist theory to play its role in the building of spiritual civilization? Some people hold that under the condition of socialism, it is not necessary to instill Marxist theory into the minds of the people in order to give play to the role of this theory. I think this is not correct. Instillation means education and study. Marxism is a science. Like all other sciences, it needs to be taught and studied. It cannot be directly perceived and grasped through the senses.

But how do we instill this theory? We are not in favor of the rigid way of instillation. Instead, we must offer systematic guidance with great patience in light of the current realities. It is not only necessary to instill Marxism into the new cadres, but also the veteran cadres. We must not think that the veteran cadres are all proficient in Marxism, but must realize that in the long-term international communist movement, many non-Marxist or semi-Marxist theories, which look like real Marxist theories, have affected many veteran comrades. We must disseminate real and complete Marxism among these veteran comrades.

In order to give play to the roles of theory, we must not merely rely on the speeches of central leaders, but must also encourage the broad masses of theoretical workers to make explorations. In the course of exploration, there must be an atmosphere of unity and harmony. The phenomenon of a small number of people monopolizing the right to explain theories must be prevented. For many years, the problem of letting a hundred schools of thought contend has not been well solved in the theoretical circles. A very important reason is that a small number of persons have monopolized the right to explain theories. Once they have explained a certain theory, no one else can make an explanation. Otherwise, they are sure to be criticized. Publishing houses and newspapers and journals must not regard themselves as theoretical judges, but must provide more space for the contention among a hundred schools of thought and must play better roles in this respect.

Xu Zongmian [1776 1350 0517]: In order to play a greater role in the building of spiritual civilization, theoretical work itself needs to be improved and reformed. In order to strengthen its fighting capacity and become more

convincing, theoretical work must be combined with reality and must not evade contradictions and problems in reality. Some comrades said that old sayings cannot but be used on some occasions. But in my opinion, when we use old sayings, we must give them some new meanings. Only thus can they attract and convince people. No science can be full of new ideas. New ideas are developed from the old ones. But science must be developed, and so must Marxism. Therefore, there should be some new ideas. New ideas can emerge only from the combination of theory and practice, and theory can be developed only in the course of solving practical problems. Only by linking the old sayings with practice can we endow them with new ideas. In our real life, some problems are very complicated and sharp. Theoretical workers must try to do something and must be courageous and meet the difficulties head-on.

Theoretical workers must not be fond of "mass criticism," but must have the true spirit of criticism. This means that they must make scientific analyses of problems. All judgments and political labels without analysis are expressions of "mass criticism." In the past, when one was able to prove the viewpoints of the other side did not conform to Marxism, he was sure to win the debate. This is unfair. When passing judgment on an article, we must not merely stress whether or not it conforms to Marxism, turning our judgment into a form of contention for the "laurels" of Marxism. An article should be convincing and should make realistic and scientific analyses of things so that it may prove itself correct while pointing out the mistakes of the other side with sufficient grounds of argument. In this way, even if it does not point out that the viewpoints of the other side do not conform to Marxism, the readers can also understand. Thus, it can play its role, whether the other side accepts it or not. We must encourage conscientious criticism and anticriticism in the theoretical circles, and must encourage criticism by name as well. So long as the criticism is reasonable and based on equality, one should not be afraid if one is criticized as having run counter to Marxism, because one can make a counter-criticism. However, under the current situation, in order to create a harmonious atmosphere and environment, it is better to avoid using phrases such as "running counter to Marxism."

We must try our best to adopt the methods of discussion and exploration in our theoretical work. Nobody is able to give completely satisfactory answers to some questions raised in the course of reform and construction. They need to be explored by all of us. Even if there are already some definite answers to certain questions, in our propaganda, it is also better to adopt the forms of discussion and dialogue, rather than putting on a stern expression. Thus, our readers will find it easier to accept.

In order to give more satisfactory answers to the practical questions in our theoretical work, we must not only be knowledgeable in one field. Theoretical workers are required to acquire extensive knowledge and absorb more achievements in scientific research. At the same time, on some major and complicated issues, they must seek cooperation with other branches of learning and organize the comrades in various branches of learning to tackle the problems together.

You Lin [2589 2651]: In the building of socialist spiritual civilization, the development of Marxist theory will play an important role. Marxism needs to be continuously enriched and developed along with the development of practice. Otherwise it will lose its vitality. This is clear to all. However, to the socialist theory of Marx, this development is not only significant in this general sense, but also has some special contents and requirements. In the past, people did not talk much about this question.

As we all know, the future society mentioned by Marx basically refers to the advanced stage of communism. Communism was not divided into advanced and primary stages until the "Critique of the Gotha Program" was written. Later, Lenin called this advanced stage communism and the primary stage socialism. In the "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx summed up the basic characteristics of the socialist stage. All these characteristics exist only in pure and mature socialism. When making an analysis of a social-economic formation, it is necessary to take this formation as a pure and mature one. Otherwise we cannot talk about its essence. Therefore, what Marx did was not only permissible but also necessary. However, the real situation at present is very complicated. There is neither pure capitalist society nor pure socialist society in this world. The situation is especially so when socialism is in its primary stage.

We once held that through a short-term transitional period socialism could become mature very soon. Facts provided later that socialism is a very long historical period, which cannot become mature until it has gone through many development stages. How does socialism develop in this long period? Are there any important laws governing this development? The founders of Marxism, including Lenin, who had led the socialist construction for a short period of time, did not, and were unable to, make sufficient expositions on these questions. In the course of socialist construction, all socialist countries have gained much experience. But generally speaking, since the time is rather short, many of them have yet to be further summarized through practice. Thus, we are endowed with an important task, that is, to continuously sum up our experience in the socialist construction and to enrich and develop the socialist theory of Marxism on this basis. We must realize that some basic socialist principles of Marxism, such as the public ownership of the means of production, the development of the national economy in a planned way, and the distribution of consumer goods according to labor, are applicable in various stages of socialism. We must also realize that in different stages, there are different requirements on the implementation of these basic principles. For example, in the primary stage of socialism, they must be restricted to a certain sphere and to a certain extent. Before socialism reaches its advanced stage, some situations that are entirely different from what were envisaged by the founders of Marxism will appear. For example, for rather a long period, the commodity economy should be vigorously developed rather than being abolished.

Since we were not clear about the protracted nature of socialism and its nature of development by stages, we once unrealistically attempted to do everything in accordance with what was envisaged by the founders of Marxism.

Facts have proved that the results cannot be satisfactory by doing so. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have gradually realized that our socialism is still in its primary stage of development at present. We have also worked out a series of realistic policies to promote the development of the national economy. As a result, great changes have taken place in our society. This shows that we have gained a deeper understanding of the protracted nature of socialism and the nature of development by stages.

Jiang Siyi [1203 1835 3015]: In the building of socialist spiritual civilization, an important task is to eliminate feudalist ideology. In China, the feudal system existed for several thousand years. Our socialist society emerged from the womb of semicolonial and semifeudal old China. Of all the remnant ideologies left over from the old society, feudalist ideology is the most deep-rooted and has the greatest influence. In this connection, I would like to mention the following three points.

1. Judging from our party's historical experience, the influence of the remnant feudalist ideology should not be underestimated. In the struggle to seize state power, although the mistakes committed by Chen Duxiu, Wang Ming, and Zhang Guotao were different in nature and form, they had no difference in practicing feudalist paternalism and letting one person alone have the say within the party. In the course of socialist construction, our party has also made mistakes. Particularly, the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" made our party, state, and nation suffer an unheard-of calamity. Facts show that many mistakes have much to do with abnormal democratic life within the party, and the influence of feudalist ideology is a major ideological root of abnormal democratic life. As to the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, what they did were full of feudalist color either in the political and organizational fields or in the ideological field. In a sense, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was an outcome of feudalist ideology. On the other hand, the 10 years of catastrophe enabled the remnant feudalist ideology to run rampant in a broader sphere and to a greater extent.

2. Judging from the existing problems in the party style, there is still a comparatively great influence of feudalist ideology. For example, from such practices as appointing people by favoritism and state cadres and their relatives engaging in commercial business, we can find the shadow of the poisonous influence of feudalist ideology. The ideas and practice such as abusing one's power, wantonly spending public money, placing power above the law, ignoring democracy, and behaving in one's own way regardless of discipline, are more typical examples reflecting the influence of feudalist ideology.

3. Judging from the problems we have encountered in the reform, feudalist ideology is an obstacle obstructing the smooth progress of our reform. Why do some people who are determined to carry out the reform and who have made some outstanding achievements often meet troubles deliberately created by some others? We can attribute this to the influence of feudalist ideology.

In short, the existence of feudalist ideology is incompatible with our strategic target of building a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. But how can we eliminate the remnants of feudalist ideology? First, we must realize that this is a long-term and arduous task, because feudalist ideology is more deep-rooted in China than in Western countries. In the past, we attached great importance to the struggle against bourgeois ideology but neglected the systematic criticism of all kinds of feudalist ideas. Second, we must handle well the relationship between eliminating the pernicious influence of feudalist ideology and inheriting our national cultural heritage. We do not favor the theory of "culture fault zone," which chops up Chinese history and adopts an attitude of nihilism toward our cultural heritage. But we favor the theory of "thoroughly breaking with the pernicious feudalist influence," so that we can eliminate all such pernicious influence and promote the advance of history. Third, we must handle well the relationship between eliminating feudalist ideology and resisting the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology. Feudalist ideology and decadent capitalist ideology are not entirely the same, but they are the same in many aspects. To criticize capitalist ideology by means of feudalist ideology is a retrogression in history. We can also use some good and wholesome things of capitalist ideology and culture. "It is necessary to combine elimination of surviving feudal influences with the criticism of decadent bourgeois ideas, such as the notion of putting profit above everything else and benefiting oneself at the expense of others." (Deng Xiaoping: "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership")

Lin Jizhou [2651 1015 3166]: I would like to say something about Lenin's later works and the question of building spiritual civilization in China. In his "Pages From a Diary," Lenin pointed out that in 1920, the illiterate people made up more than two-thirds of the total population in Russia. This shows that Russia was still in an uncivilized situation and had to do a vast amount of arduous work in order to reach the standard of an ordinary West European civilized country. In his "On Cooperation," he pointed out that Russia was building socialism in an insufficiently cultured country, in which the political and social revolution preceded the cultural revolution. Only when this cultural revolution was completed could Russia be transformed into a completely socialist country. In his "Our Revolution," he emphasized that on the cultural question, impatience and rashness are harmful. All this was an important aspect of Lenin's understanding of the Russian situation and consideration of its development strategy in his later years. Now, looking at our national situation: In China, the semiliterate and illiterate people above the age of 12 constitute one-fourth of our total population. Primary education has not been made universal even to this day. The phenomena of ignorance and backwardness can be seen everywhere. In such a situation, our theoretical workers must have a sufficient understanding of the arduousness of building spiritual civilization in our country. After restudying Lenin's expositions on ridding tens of millions of people of illiteracy, which he made in his article "On the Significance of Fighting Materialism," we feel more deeply that our theoretical workers should carry out activities among the masses at various levels in an effort to build spiritual civilization. Lenin held that the Russian cultural

revolution was arduous both in the cultural and in the material field, which needed an entire historical period to fulfill it. The French Enlightenment Movement took about 100 years. The pioneers at that time were large numbers of thinkers, including philosophers, natural scientists, statesmen, and economists. In China, theoretical workers must play an important role in building spiritual civilization and must persevere with the long-term task. Their burden is heavy and the road is long.

In order to give play to the role of theoretical workers, it is necessary to provide them with opportunities and conditions to air their views. This was also a matter Lenin attached great importance to in the national affairs. He held that in order to work out correct national policies, it is entirely necessary to discuss them in newspapers and journals before formal decisions are made. The New Economic Policy of Russia was worked out by Lenin in those years after studying, concentrating, and summarizing the wishes of the peasants and concentrating the opinions of party and state cadres and some economists. Before the party congress was held to discuss this new economic policy, the matter had been twice discussed in newspapers. Lenin advocated open discussion, pointing out that all articles were for discussion. Thus, they were all published in the writers' names without mentioning their positions to avoid their being considered official articles. This is a very good measure to encourage the free airing of views in working out important national policies and principles. At present, along with the deep-going development of our reform, more and more questions have been raised. If our theoretical workers cannot make daring explorations and cannot air their views freely, it will be harmful to our socialist construction. The abnormal phenomenon of regarding all articles published by newspapers and magazines as a reflection of the will of the central authorities should be changed. Otherwise, we cannot successfully draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas and cannot successfully explore theoretical questions. I sincerely hope that our party newspapers and journals will take the lead in implementing the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend.

Xue Dezhen [5641 1795 7201]: In building socialist spiritual civilization, we need the guidance of correct theories and correct methods. I would like to begin with some concrete matters. At present, we can see that some plates have been put up on the sides of some streets, on which is written "civilized street"; some shops are called "civilized shops"; and some residential buildings are called "civilized buildings." I think these units must be comparatively more civilized than others. But can a street, a shop, a building really become civilized when you put up such a plate for them? I do not mean to negate this practice, but it is not enough in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In this respect, there is a question of method for building spiritual civilization. In the past, when we wanted to do something, we usually attempted to have it completed in a short while, and the result should be affirmed by higher authorities. We usually gave some titles, held commendation meetings, and gave awards, resulting in the waste of human and material resources. If we use the same method to build spiritual civilization, we can hardly achieve any successes, or will achieve very little success.

We must not be overanxious for quick results in the building of both material and spiritual civilizations, but must do a lot of arduous and painstaking work day by day and month by month. Of course, this does not mean acting slowly and dilatorily. In the past, we always expected to realize a qualitative change all at once through a certain campaign but neglected the quantitative change before it. This was chiefly because in the long-term struggle to seize state power and in a war situation, we were used to that kind of work style. However, in the period of construction, the goal of building material and spiritual civilization cannot be attained through one single activity. It requires a long historical course. We must foster the idea of perseverance in the course of construction and must work in a down-to-earth manner and with a definite goal, rather than having a fondness for the grandiose and being impatient. In this respect, the fundamental question is that our thought processes and work methods must suit the needs of socialist construction. Our theoretical work too, must change its way of leadership. For a long time past, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, the questions concerning right and wrong in theory were not settled through equal and democratic discussions in the theoretical circles, but were settled by the decisions of high-level authorities. When someone above says you are right, then you are right. Otherwise, you are wrong. However, this phenomenon could not stand the test of practice and enjoyed no support among the masses.

In urban administration, many things are related with the building of spiritual civilization. Recently I paid a visit to a socialist country in Eastern Europe. The streets and environment of many cities were very beautiful and clean, but I did not see any slogans there. Urban traffic was orderly, and the people there were observing and maintaining public order conscientiously. I think this is a symbol of spiritual civilization. Of course, this was not attained all at once. It was a result of long-term efforts. We may also take it as our reference in building our spiritual civilization.

Lu Zhichao [4151 0037 6389]: The relationship between developing the socialist commodity economy and building socialist spiritual civilization should be regarded as a general question. In the current stage of reform, many questions concerning theoretical work and the building of spiritual civilization are related to the development of the commodity economy. Marx made a sound analysis in theory on the development from small commodity economy to the highly developed capitalist commodity economy and their influence on ideology and culture. But the socialist commodity economy is a new subject. At present, we must vigorously develop the socialist commodity economy. When we say that our theoretical work is not well combined with the reality, we mean that quite a few theoretical workers have not gone deep into the reality and carried out conscientious theoretical study of the changes in all kinds of concepts caused by the development of the socialist commodity economy and their relations with ideological and cultural construction. Some theoretical workers have not paid enough attention to this. As a matter of fact, many questions raised in the course of reform and the building of spiritual civilization, which are difficult to answer but cannot be evaded, such as the question concerning various changes in the concepts, the question

of how to inherit and improve our cultural heritage, the question concerning the new channels for political and ideological work, the question of "looking for money everywhere," and the question concerning democracy and freedom in the political field, should be studied by relating them with the development of the commodity economy, so that we can find correct answers in theory. Therefore, at present, when we are talking about the position and role of theoretical work in the building of socialist spiritual civilization and how to make theoretical work serve the construction of socialist modernization, I think we must not evade and neglect the study of the socialist commodity economy.

As to the positive and negative influences the development of the commodity economy has on ideology, culture, and social concepts, we must not rashly draw affirmative or negative conclusions, because such conclusions are unable to explain things clearly, but must make concrete analysis and regard it as a course of motion and a course of solving one contradiction after another. We must study various aspects, layers, and natures of these different influences and study the problem of how to make our building of spiritual civilization suit and promote the development of the commodity economy. Along with the development of opening up and enlivening the economy and the development of the socialist commodity economy and productive forces, our socialist ideology, culture, and spiritual civilization will surely be greatly developed. This is a general trend. In this development, there will probably be a course of developing from the lower level to the higher level, which is accompanied by a course of development from blindly pursuing vulgar interests by some people to gradually accepting high-class culture. Capitalist modern culture has also been gradually developed in the course of developing the capitalist commodity economy. This course covers a period of several hundred years. If we realize this is a course of development, we must guide it to develop from spontaneousness to consciousness. Low-level and even some tasteless things can often emerge spontaneously. It is also easier to accept the influence of these things from abroad. However, the development of scientific and wholesome ideology and culture and the work to absorb the quintessence and the positive achievements of Western culture on the basis of analysis and criticism cannot be spontaneous. Thus, we need to do a lot of work under the guidance of Marxism.

Generally speaking, our commodity economy is a socialist commodity economy. But there are still some small parts belonging to the private economy and foreign capital. Under the guidance of correct policies, these economic sectors are necessary and can play a positive role in promoting the development of socialist productive forces. But their influence on ideology and culture cannot be the same as that of the socialist sector of the economy. In this regard, we must also make scientific analysis and on this basis, do a good job in ideological education. Even in the commodity economy based on the socialist public ownership, there is also a problem of correctly handling the relations between politics and economy, which needs to be solved through our socialist ideological and political work. In other words, we must guide the masses to understand in a scientific way the essence of socialist commodity economy and its relations with the development of ideology and culture. As a matter of fact, this is also a way to "instill" Marxist

theory. All this shows that strengthening theoretical work and building socialist spiritual civilization is an inherent and inevitable demand of the development of the socialist commodity economy.

In view of the coming changes in our concepts and the new situation and new problems in ideological and cultural development, it is imperative that we carry out conscientious investigation and study on some major theoretical questions and tackle some hard ones. Creating an atmosphere and environment of unity and harmony and implementing the double-hundred policy are also aimed at making more effective explorations and study of these theoretical questions.

Jin Guantao [6855 6034 3447]: An important content of building socialist spiritual civilization is science and democracy. Today, I would like to mainly talk about the scientific spirit, which is also an important content of Marxism. Then, what is the scientific spirit?

In my opinion, the scientific spirit includes three aspects of things:
1) Practice is the criterion of truth. This is also a basic principle of Marxism. Since the Renaissance, modern science has been developed on such a basis. This question seems quite easy, but actually it contains a profound meaning. People often mistakenly interpret examining truth with practice as examining with one's experience. However, the two are different. One's experience is limited. Sometimes it may be unscientific or even wrong. But the "practice" we are talking about refers to the practice conforming to the scientific theory of knowledge. Science requires the spirit of rationality. Therefore, while advocating seeking truth from facts, the scientific spirit also requires us to enhance our rational thinking.

2) Conditioned skepticism. Well-known scientist Huxley once made the following famous remark: The fate of the development of scientific theory is usually like this: A new theory is often regarded as an unorthodox opinion at the beginning and then becomes a kind of superstition. These attitudes are all harmful to the development of science. The reason why science has been able to develop rapidly over the past 400 years or so is that a new concept has been formed in the scientific spirit, namely, conditioned skepticism. Conditioned skepticism does not mean suspecting everything. At all times, we believe the truth that has been proved through scientific examination. At the same time, with the spirit of skepticism, we must continuously examine and critically consider the truth through our practice so that it may not become a superstition. But our skepticism is not unconditioned. The scientific spirit encourages people to suspect things, but this kind of suspicion should not be groundless, it should be based on analysis and experiment. When a certain theory has not been verified through experiment, when we still cannot put forth a hypothesis that is better than the original theory, or when our new theory still cannot explain more facts, we should continue to believe the original scientific theory. However, this belief is not superstition.

3) Science encourages creation and tolerance. Apart from freedom of academic research, tolerance should also include the creation of a friendly atmosphere

and scientific criticism in academic circles. I think scientific debates should be aimed at creating new things and should not be restricted by quibbling over trifling and side issues. Scientific discussion and criticism should be centered on the creative and new ideas of the opposite side. In the criticism carried out in our academic circles, it often happens that some people are fond of finding fault with certain material or a certain sentence. Of course, we must be rigorous in academic research, but in academic criticism, we must make constructive criticism.

I believe that it will be something very significant if we combine a scientific spirit with the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535]: Why do we say "socialist spiritual civilization"? I think the core of socialist spiritual civilization is democracy and science, and its opposite is the influence of remaining feudalism and ignorance and backwardness resulting from it. Democracy and science cannot be separated. Without the spirit of democracy, there will be no spirit of science.

When we talk about democracy and science, we easily come to another important question in the building of spiritual civilization, that is, the role of the intellectuals. Of course, theoretical workers occupy an important position among the intellectuals. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has created very good conditions for theoretical workers to exploit their roles. To sum up, they are mainly the following two: 1) Emancipation of the mind and 2) seeking truth from facts. In order to seek truth from facts, we must, first of all, have a clear understanding of China's current situation. Without such a clear understanding, the efforts of the theoretical workers will be aimless. We have made great achievements. This is beyond doubt. But on the other hand, the influence of remaining feudalism is also very serious in our society. For example, phenomena such as the children of cadres engaging in commercial business and appointing cadres by favoritism have been strongly opposed by the broad masses of people. If we go deep into the grass roots or some local areas, we can easily find examples showing the serious corrosive influence of remaining feudalism autocracy. Also, due to the great influence of remaining feudalism, some good things have also been changed. For example, the commodity economy is an effective measure of smashing the rigid system. But being influenced by feudalism, it has been changed into the form of senior cadres' children engaging in commercial activities. It is even worse that Marxism itself has also been changed. Have we already gained a full understanding of this influence? Dare the theoretical workers face this reality in order to promote our socialist spiritual civilization?

In order to make daring exploration of the practical problems, it is necessary to smash the trammels of dogmatism. In other words, we must emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts. This does not mean that I do not favor instillation and education, the question is what to instill and how to educate, and whether to instill rigid dogmas or true Marxism. This is a matter of key importance. If we continue to instill rigid dogmas, the people's minds will continue to be fettered. At present, there is still a

serious influence of dogmatism. Opposing dogmatism is still an important task for we theoretical workers. We can cite many examples of dogmatism. For example, we totally negated bourgeois democracy in the past. This was unrealistic. Bourgeois democracy was advocated during the French Revolution by the third-class citizens including the laboring people. Therefore, some systems such as universal suffrage and checks and balances of power merit our discussion.

To sum up, in order to really give play to the roles of theoretical workers, there should be, first, a political situation of unity and harmony, and the true implementation of the double-hundred policy. Second, it is necessary to provide theoretical workers with some conditions, such as the conditions for carrying out investigation and study and reading up reference materials. Third, the theoretical workers themselves must have real courage and boldness of vision and must ponder questions independently rather than mechanically following the instructions of higher authorities and books. They must not be afraid of being regarded as advocators of "unorthodox opinions." Many "unorthodox opinions" were later proved correct through scientific experiments. Our theoretical workers must have such courage in the course of promoting our socialist spiritual civilization.

Duan Ruofei [3008 5387 7236]: I would like to go into only one point--creating new theories of our era on the basis of Marxism.

The history of the international socialist movement and the history of the socialist movement led by our party have repeatedly provided that whether the theoretical guidance is correct has an important bearing on the destiny of revolution, reform, and the building of both material and spiritual civilizations. Marx said that philosophy is the soul of civilization. This is an extremely profound exposition on the relationship between theoretical ideology and civilization. We must understand the question in this way and place theoretical work in the most important position in the building of spiritual civilization, and even in the building of the entire civilization.

Of course, in our theoretical work, we must further study and actively publicize the theoretical achievements which have been developing since the founding of Marxism, including the translation and compilation of Marxist classics and relevant materials, the study of the basic principles of Marxism, the compilation of Marxist textbooks and popular readers, and many other arduous tasks. The research and propaganda in this field are by no means overdone. They have yet to be greatly strengthened. This is the basis and the starting point of our theoretical work, without which we cannot even begin to talk about the development of the Marxist theory.

However, the most important and most fundamental task for our theoretical work is to open up new paths and blaze new trails. All eras need to create their own theories in order to realize respective self-consciousness [zi wo yi shi 5262 2053 1942 6221]. To us, all the past theories in history are the "streams," and not the "sources." The "source" of our theories is in our era. We must encourage the spirit of opening up new paths and blazing new trails and use the Marxist world outlook to make a profound theoretical exposition

of the historical position, basic characteristics, the law of development, and the trend of our era, so as to create on the basis of Marxism, new theories that can reflect the demands of our times and guide its advance. Such theories will be able to grasp the souls of hundreds of millions of people. If we agree that in Marx' times, it was necessary to create the Marxist theory represented by "Das Kapital" in order to bring to light the essence and law of development of capitalism; that in Lenin's times, it was necessary to create the Marxist theory represented by "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" in order to bring to light the essence and the law of development of monopoly capitalism; and that in the period of China's new democratic revolution, it was necessary to create the Marxist theory represented by "On New Democracy" in order to bring to light the essence and the law of development of China's semicolonial and semifeudal society, then in China today, it is necessary to create a Marxist theory "on China's socialism," so as to bring to light the essence and the law of development of China's socialist society and to guide our reform and building of socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the whole party and the people throughout the country have made many new achievements in practice and theory in the course of opening up new paths and blazing new trails, and have found a correct road of building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics. But we must realize that the creation of a new theory, from the establishment of new principles to the formation of a complete system, needs a long course of indomitable exploration and research. Marx said it took 20 years to turn some embryonic principles of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" into theories in "Das Kapital." In the history of our party, turning the anti-imperialist and antifeudalist principled programs put forth by our party on its founding into complete theories in "On New Democracy" also took 20 years. We must make daring explorations and continue to advance under the guidance of Marxist world outlook and on the basis of the theoretical achievements made after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, so as to create a complete theoretical system and concrete programs of action for building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics. They will serve our socialist construction and guide us to advance toward communism.

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PONDERING ON REALISTIC LITERATURE

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[Article by Xu Junxi [1776 0193 6007]]

[Text] Over the last few years, following the daily enrichment of our nation's social life and the continued deepening of the people's aesthetic consciousness during the process of the four modernizations, many ideas and methods in literature and art creation and criticism have faced new examination and innovation. Of these, the position, role and development trends of realistic creation are important questions which have already given rise to new understandings and new thoughts. In facing the many explorations and experiences which have appeared at present in our nation's literature and art creation, some people hold that, overall, they have not moved into the sphere of realistic literature and thus realism is still the only correct creative principle in our nation. However, other people believe that those literary phenomena which are appearing in the new period cannot be embraced by the traditional realistic models and that future literature will only be able to accord with the needs of modernization by adopting new creative principles and methods of expression, and thus realism has already become outdated.

Is realism, then, the "only correct" creative principle or a traditional model which has "already become outdated"? This is an important question which current practice of literature and art creation and literature and art criticism have placed in front of us, and it needs study and answers.

I

For a long period, people have had different ideas, on the theoretical level, as to what the creative principle of realism actually is. Many of the divergences and debates in the past have arisen as a result of a lack of clarity on this concept and confusion of definitions. For example, the above-mentioned people who believe that realism is the only correct creative principle, look at it as a "philosophical principle which is the only correct way to resolve the aesthetic relationship between literature and art and reality." Thus, they feel it is only correct artistic principle to be used in all creative forms and that it has "value as an eternal truth." That view which holds that realism has become outdated often sees realism as a fixed

and unchanging creative model and method of expression, and believe that, like other specific literary and art trends and schools in the history of literature, it will, following the times, gradually change and wither away. In my view, realism, as a creative principle, cannot be equated with general philosophical principles, and at the same time is not a specific form of expression. Rather, it is a basic form and type of aesthetic reflection and artistic creation, realized through the "melding" of the mutual roles of these two things.

Seen from the historical practice of the artistic development of mankind, people have artistically grasped the aesthetic activities of the world mainly through the following two basic ways. The first is by proceeding from objective reality, and through truly "imitating" and reproducing the patterns of reality, they portrayed the real world of experience to achieve the aesthetic aim of helping people correctly understand life and to transform life. The second is by proceeding from subjective thoughts and, through the methods of experience, imagination and freely associating things in the mind, creating a fictitious, illusory world, in order to realize the artistic demands of people's subjective emotions and inner desires. The former has resulted in us having what is generally referred to as "reproduction" art and the creative principles of the various types of realism. The latter has resulted in us having "expressionist" art and the creative methods of the various types of romanticism. It is because of this that throughout the ages, when an overall view of writers and artists in terms of their artistic expression and creative principles has been made, they have been summed up into these two different types. Aristotle divided the form of art which reflected reality into two types--"imitation in accordance with the original appearance of a thing" and "imitation in accordance with the appropriate appearance of a thing." ("Poetics") Hegel also believed that there were clearly two types of poetry--that which manifested "the external form of a real thing" and that which expressed the innermost "feeling soul." ("Aesthetics") Goethe and Hiller, who are today seen as the earliest of those to divide creative principles into the two major areas of realism and romanticism, also used "the principle of proceeding from the objective world" (that is, the principle of "imitating reality") and "the principle of proceeding from the subjective world" (that is, the principle of "expressing ideals") to differentiate the forms of expression of poetry. ("Goethe's Talks" and "On Simple Poetry and Sentimental Poetry") After this, Belinskii and Gorki also used this idea in classifying the creative principles and methods of expression of literature. Belinskii, in his "On Russian Medium-Length Novels and Mr Gogol's Medium-Length Novels," clearly pointed out: "Poetry, it can be said, uses two methods to sum up and reproduce the phenomena of life." These are "reproducing life" in accordance with the original appearance of reality and "reproducing life" in accordance with ideal, illusory forms. Gorki pointed out more than once that there are two "main trends": romanticism and realism. ("Discussing How I Study Writing") In addition, among contemporary Western writers and artists, there are some who divide novels into various types of patterns in accordance with differences between the so-called "world of fiction" and the "world experience" in artistic expression. (Robert Scholes: "Literary Structuralism") Soviet theorists often divide the most general principles of artistic creation into

the "objective-type" and "subjective-type," or else into the two major classes: "reproduction type," where reproduction is obtained by subjectivity through objectivity, and "nonreproduction type," where expression is realized by objectivity through subjectivity (L. Si-tuo-luo-wei-qi, "The Essence of Aesthetic Value") and so on. [sentence as published] All of these divisions show that "objectively-described reality" and "subjectively-expressed ideals" are indeed the two most general and most basic creative principles and artistic forms by which man artistically grasps the world. The realistic creative principle which we speak of is to be understood in this sense. Thus, its internal makeup should include the acceptance of the philosophical principle that "reality is the source of art and art is a reflection of reality." It also includes the artistic requirement to "reflect reality in accordance with the original appearance of reality." If we only have the former and do not have the latter, we will not be able to differentiate it from the Marxist dialectical materialist epistemology which "can only include but cannot replace" it. Conversely, if we only have the latter and do not have the former, we may equate it with various concrete methods of expression and creative schools. This will obstruct us in gaining a full understanding and mastery of it.

II

The creative principle of realism as a basic form by which man can artistically understand the world and reflect the world cannot become outdated. This is because: First, in the course of artistic practice, reproduction of the objective world in accordance with certain aesthetic ideals accords with the aesthetic pattern spoken of by Marx, whereby in people's labor, they "create an objective world" in accordance with both the yardstick for all species and their own internal, innate yardstick. Thus, many scholars of aesthetics and literature and art theoreticians throughout the ages have held that "imitation is our nature" (Aristotle: "Poetics") and that the realism of describing things in accordance with the original appearance of objective things has "from the beginning always been the impetus in the development of art" (Finklestein: "Realism in Art"). In this way, imitative, reproduction-type art has all along been an important form in aesthetic activities. However, this century, following the rise in the West of the expressionist literature and art trend, it has become popular to pay little attention to and to negate the theoretical ideas of the creative principle of realism. Many modernist writers and artists have proceeded from subjective idealism and said that the reproduction-type principle of "reflecting life in accordance with the original patterns of life" is a "firmly ossified" creative formula, and state that "reproduction" is an indication of artistic imbecility. It should be recognized that this ideological trend has had some influence on our nation's literary creation and literary criticism over the last few years. Apart from in the above-mentioned belief that realism is already outdated, this has been manifested in the area of literary creation, in the existence to differing degrees of being indifferent to and looking down on the reflection of current real life. In the view of some comrades, getting far away from life and achieving an empty spirit and abstraction completely divorced from all the fetters of "material casings" is the highest plane of artistic creation. This clearly does not accord with the principles of the Marxist

theory of reflection on the relationship between literature and art and reality, and also does not accord with the historical practice of literature and art creation.

Second, seen from the aesthetic characteristics and social function of realistic literature, the objective-type creative principle which stresses reproducing reality, undoubtedly has some characteristics and functions which the subjective-type artistic methods which stress the expression of the spirit cannot replace. These are mainly seen in: 1) The historical concrete and authentic descriptions and representative methods have enabled it to have some unparalleled value in terms of knowledge. The outstanding realistic works have all along been seen as being depictions of society and customs and as having an "indisputable value as historical documents." 2) The clear-cut ideological trends and political trends built on a basis of appraising the concrete phenomena of life and historical events, have enabled it to play a role as a "textbook for life" and become the artistic form with the "greatest educational force." 3) Artistically reproducing objective reality is the most basic aesthetic requirement for people to realize their own affirmation in the objective world. Thus, "being fond of all imitative actions and imitative art" is a type of joy which originates in people's spirits. It is a fine creative activity which cannot be replaced by other artistic forms. All of this shows that the creative principles of realism have not, as some Western prophets have claimed, already lost their charm, and will not, as they suggest, be replaced by modernist literature and art in future. On this point, the facts of the development of realistic literature are the best evidence. In this century, the tradition of realistic literature has realized new and great achievements in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries as well as in various Latin American countries. Also, it has maintained its own special artistic vigor in Western countries where modernist literature and art is popular, and is moving toward new revival and development.

Of course, when we say that realism is the creative principle which is the most universal and that it cannot become outdated, we do not mean that it is a solid, closed creative pattern. In fact, following the development and changes in social activities and people's aesthetic consciousness, it is always manifesting the different characteristics and artistic aspects of different periods. If we divide it up in accordance with the great historical stages and ideological trends in mankind's literary and artistic development, I believe that realistic literature can, on the basis of modern practice, be divided into the three streams of ancient realism, critical realism and socialist realism (or revolutionary realism). Although, in their basic characteristics of their understandings of life and their reflection of life, they all adhere to general creative principles of realism, in their philosophical, sociological and logical guiding ideologies and literary concepts, they have different characteristics of the times and different class consciousness. As far as socialist realism (or revolutionary realism) is concerned, the difference between it and the other realist streams lies in that it is built on a philosophical base of dialectical materialism and through the true reproduction of the actual world, it realizes the aesthetic aim of using the ideological trends and moral sentiments of socialism and communism to educate and influence readers.

While adhering to the general direction and requirements of socialist literature, at present our nation's realistic literary creation is, with an unprecedented spirit of exploration, exploring and advancing in two opposite but complementary directions.

On the one hand, in order to better exercise the creative advantages and artistic characteristics of the creative principles of realism in truly reproducing reality, in our nation's current literary creation, there has appeared a development tendency whereby there is more writing on reality and more writing on life. Its main purpose is to break down various fixed, closed patterns and artistic standards in the creative structure, and seek freer and more diverse development in the themes and subjects of creation and in the styles of expression. For example, in the choice of subjects and the development of themes, as compared to the past aesthetic tastes and literary concepts which stressed centralized unity and clear-cut contrasts, it often pays more attention to artistic pursuit which is wider and more complex, natural and ordinary and which is subtle and has various meanings. In novel creation over the past few years, the rise of the "marketplace literature" of Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734], Lu Wenfu [7120 2429 1133], and so on as well as Jia Pingao [6328 1627 0425], Li Hangyu [2621 2635 5148] and so on in their pursuit of village atmosphere and Deng Gang [6772 0474], Zhang Chengzhi [1728 2110 1807] and so on with the development of their natural themes...show the strengthening of the abilities of writers to discover beauty and develop beauty from the undercurrents of life and the mysteries of nature. It also shows the prospects for the diverse development of realistic works. In terms of expression, there is no longer rigid adherence to the creative formulas whereby the overall plot of the story, the prominent characters and the linear cause-and-effect relationships oversimplify life and depict life in an incomplete way. Many writers have adopted relaxed actual depictions and multi-dimensional network structures to reproduce the natural process of life and to open up the area of thought on literature and art. In terms of creative style and artistic appeal, this gives people an aesthetic impression which is both deep and natural. Also, in terms of the forms of expression, it has been possible for ideological and artistic results to be obtained in the seeking of a unity in disorganization and in demonstrating major points through small details. In this respect, the works of the above-mentioned authors as well as those of Liu Xinwu [0491 1800 2976], Han Shaogong [7281 1421 0501], Wang Anyi [3769 1344 2011], and other authors all have such creative tendencies. However, what is worthy of note is that things often have a dual nature. If actual depiction and prose methods are used inappropriately, it may lead to naturalist tendencies which are not representative and are not literature. Also, if the complexity and diversity are excessive, it may produce the problems of blurring and dispersal and of the work being cumbersome and jumbled. In addition, subtlety and small details are not necessarily superior to clear-cut and prominent ideas, and natural reality cannot replace magnificence and the unusual. Thus, as we carry out various types of experiments in innovation we should implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and need not adopt the attitude of thinking that only oneself has wonderful skills.

In another respect, in order to strengthen the artistic measures and creative capacity of realistic literature to depict people's subjective worlds, literary creation in the new period has gradually formed a so-called "introverted" and "subjective" creative tendency. The reasons for this tendency, apart from changes in social life within the country and the development of people's cultural consciousness, are also closely connected with the influence of the literary and art ideas of foreign modernist schools. Thus, when we speak of the development tendencies of realistic literature in this respect, we must relate it to the appraisal of Western modernist literature and its use as reference.

As everyone knows, the literary and art schools and creative methods which have been popular in the West for close to a century and which are generally referred to as modernism, are an extremely numerous and diverse phenomena. In terms of their forms of expression, they mainly fall within the artistic category whereby the expression of people's subjective worlds is the major characteristic. Meanwhile, their philosophical-sociological ideological and theoretical bases mainly fall within the categories of subjective idealism and individualism. Thus, in using revolutionary realism, which is the creative principle of socialist literature, to view the influence of the literature of the modernist schools, several questions need to be clarified.

The first question is how to correctly understand and handle the dialectical relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. For a very long period, due to the influence of dogmatism and philistine sociology, our nation's literary and art circles have drawn an equal sign between the artistic pursuit of the subjective world by people who emphasize the subject of creation and the target subject of expression, and idealism. This has resulted in people's spiritual sphere becoming, for a time, a forbidden area for literature and art creation. The result was as Marx said long ago when he was criticizing old materialism: "Objectivity, reality, the sensible world is conceived only in the form of the object or of observation; not however as sensible human activity, and practice, not from the aspect of the subject." ("Theses on Feuerbach") It is precisely because of this that when literature and art ideological trends of the Western modernist schools appeared in front of us, that they gave people a feeling of something "entirely fresh and new." It should be recognized that some successful methods and experiences which have been achieved in the exploration and expression of people's innermost world through using the literature and art of the Western modernist schools as reference have played a positive role in developing our literary field of vision and in enriching our means of expression. However, the majority of aesthetic theories and literary and art concepts of modernism are not built on a dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, but built on the basis of an idealist theory of knowledge. Thus, they often place subjectivity above objectivity and perception above reason--"All reality is false. Only with a soul does one reach the highest truth." Thus, they believe that depicting emotions and stealing into the innermost being is the only motive and aim of literature and art creation. No matter whether it is Freud's "transfer of desire," Collingwood's "expression of emotions," or Susanne Langer's "symbol of emotions," their common characteristic is that they deny that real life is the only source of

literature and art, and thereby deny that writers and artists need to understand reality or reflect reality. Thus, in the question of how we are to view the expression of people's subjective worlds in works of literature and art, we must both overcome the former mechanical innermost being, and must also guard against the present subjective idealist tendency which makes the depiction of individual's emotions and subjective will in literary and artistic creations absolutely mystical. The debate which was carried on in our nation's literature and art circles for a period in the past as to whether literature and art are "self-expression," was in fact also a discussion of how we are to correctly understand individual subjective emotions and their expression. I believe that the key is not whether or not to express the "self," but whether the "self" you speak of is worthy of expression, and if so, how it is to be expressed. If what you wish to express is simply a solitary, lowly individualist who is external to mass consciousness, then it will result in what Belinskii criticized long ago: This is nothing but "literary egoism," and not worth dwelling on. On this point, some insightful Western literary and art experts have pointed out: "What artists depict is not their own emotions, but the emotions of mankind which they have recognized." Because of this, although "a crying baby is more able to give vent to its feelings than is a musician," people will not "go to a concert hall to enjoy a baby crying." (Susanne Langer: "Problem of Art")

The second problem is how to understand and view the relationship between perception and reason. Modernist writers and artists in general believe in the aesthetic idea of irrationalism whereby "intuition is expression." They often say that people's subconsciousness and instinctive impulses are the only sources and motive power for literary and art creation--that art is only "a recorder of the subconsciousness" and that reason and thought "suffocate all lively and original" artistic life, causing literature and art to move toward decline. Of course, we cannot accept the anti-reason and anti-thought stand they take in respect of literature and art. However, in respect of the role that intuition, the subconsciousness and other psychological and physiological activities play in creation, and the question of whether or not they become the object of expression in literature and art, this is quite complex and we need to carry out specific and deep research and investigation.

The Marxist theory of knowledge is different from the theory of knowledge of all agnostic thought. All along, it stresses the importance of reason and thought and believes that the "historical contents people are made conscious of" is an important indicator of the depth of literature and art works. However, this is not the same as negating the role of activities of perception in man's artistic practice. In "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," when Marx discussed the great significance of artistic perception in man's aesthetic creation, he said: "Man affirms himself in the objective world not only through thought, but through his entire feelings." "Thus, through feelings and his own practice directly becomes a theorist." This exposition by Marx provides us with a theoretical basis for correctly understanding the role of nonrational emotional activities in literary art and creation. We know that the creation of literature and art works, from

the objective reality to the subjective image and further to the aesthetic image, is an extremely complex and profound process. Within it, not only is their analysis, judgment, inference and such rational activities involved, but there is also the role of nonrational activities such as psychological experience, spiritual experience, sentimental memories and even illusory metamorphosis. Ignoring or negating either of these sides is not in accord with the reality of literature and art creation. This is just as Lukacs said when he noted that artistic creation requires both the phenomenon and essential, living "artistic resolution." Also, writers must expend "dual labor" in the two areas of summing up rationality and manifesting perception. ("Debating Realism") In addition, as to the question of whether intuition, illusion and other subconscious activities of people who are the target subjects of literature and art can directly become the object of expression in literature and art works, I believe that it is not a difficult question to understand. Seen from the angle of social psychology, the reflection of people's intuitive and illusory emotions is, in general, the result of the role of the knowledge, experiences and desires accumulated by mankind in social practice over a long period and which have been unknowingly precipitated in the recesses of consciousness. Thus, in specific circumstances, literature and art works, by hidden analogy in the revealing or abstraction of images can arouse emotional experiences and sentimental memories. Thus, they have a type of abstruse and complicated ideological significance and aesthetic value. On this point, we only need to read some of the representative works in the area, such as "Spots on the Wall," "Metamorphosis" and "On My Deathbed" to see verification of this. Thus, we should understand that in the study of literature, proceeding from the general ideas into the deep levels of consciousness is a step worthy of affirmation. However, the revealing and bringing to light of the deep levels of consciousness must still be carried out consciously in "spiritual thought" (Hegel's words), as only thus will it not lead to a "completely incomprehensible code from another world." If, like some writers and artists of Western modernist schools, we take artistic intuition to be above all else and abandon ourselves to depicting people's wild emotions, fabricated illusions and confused dreams, and overlook or look lightly on the seeking of "quite great ideological profundity and a consciousness of historical contents," this will cause our literary and art creation to be divorced from the line of correct Marxist understanding. Thereby, "broad prospects for wanton and wild actions of subjectivism in art will be opened up." (Bie-er-mi-ke-fu [0446 1422 4717 4430 1133]: "On the Subjectivist Trends in Aesthetics")

The third question is that, apart from having to clearly differentiate between right and wrong in the above-mentioned theoretical concepts, when the creative principles of realism are "opened up" to the creative principles of nonrealism, will there still be certain limitations and problems of endurance? In other words, will it be "limited realism" or "limitless realism"?

Seen from the historical experience of literature and art creation, the forms and methods of expression in the two different types of creative principles of objectively reproducing reality and subjectively expressing

ideals are often not mutually isolated, but mutually permeating. This point has been discussed at length in the past when the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism was being discussed. Recently, when discussing how to view the influence of the thought of the modernist schools on our nation's realistic literature, many comrades have correctly pointed out that various of the methods and techniques by which modernist literature depicts people's emotions and ideas (such as stream of consciousness, symbolism, hidden analogy and hyperbole) have existed for a long time in the realistic literature tradition. Thus, it is said that it is both necessary and possible for our current realistic literature and art creation to selectively and with certain aims, adopt some methods and means of expression from modernism. However, as has been said before, apart from creative principles having to observe a certain ideological and cognitive line, there should also be certain aesthetic demands and characteristics in terms of forms and methods of expression. Thus, I believe as realism opens up to nonrealism, we should not change the basic characteristics of "reproducing reality in accordance with the original appearance of reality." If we do, then quantitative change will give rise to qualitative change. Then the creative principles of realism will become, in a short time, like what some people in the West have said, and after changing into "limitless realism," will cease to exist except in name. On this point, we only need to proceed from the reality of current literature and art creation and it will not be difficult to discover that there are some literature and art works which we really cannot class as using the creative principles of realism. Earlier examples of this include some of the works of Wang Meng, Zong Pu [1350 3877] and Gao Xingjian [7559 5887 0256] as well as the "misty poetry," while the most recent include controversial novels like "The Transparent Carrot," "You Do Have a Choice," "Going Back" and "Wilderness" as well as exploratory films and plays such as "Yellow Earth" and "Savage." If we sweepingly class these works as realistic and do not see their clear differences in literary concepts and forms of expression, while on the surface it will appear that we are maintaining the "respected" position of the creative principles of realism, in fact we will be abolishing the significance of their independent existence. However, if we simply equate them with the modernist literature schools and ignore the differences in terms of philosophical and social ideas, it may result in these brave experiments and this beneficial exploration all being negated. This will not be beneficial to innovation and creation in literature. Thus, in my view, socialist literature and art creation, on the basis of adhering to the four basic principles, should apart from firmly supporting and developing the creative principles of realism which are part of reproduction-type art, also allow and support experiments and exploration in the creative principles and forms of expression of expression-type art (of course, this does not mean copying and indiscriminately imitating modernism). In this way, under the precondition of firmly adhering to the socialist literary direction, we will be able to achieve a prosperous scene whereby artistic styles and creative schools can see diverse development.

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LITERARY CRITIQUE AND THE CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE--A DISCUSSION ON THE METHODOLOGY OF LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Wang Chunyuan [3769 2504 0337]]

[Text] In its 1986 issue No 8, RED FLAG carried Comrade Chen Yong's article entitled "On Methodology in the Study of Literature and Art." It criticized a series of theses on literary introspection by Comrade Liu Zaifu published in recent years and pointed out several problems in literary critique.

Comrade Chen Yong has always been an upright veteran scholar whom I respect. In the conclusion of his article, he frankly aired his views on some of Comrade Liu Zaifu's concepts on literature and art and expressed the hope of "discussing them with literature and art theoretical workers." I believe in the sincerity of his words. If, by taking this opportunity, earnest discussions and comparing of notes with each other are conducted on the differences existing in the theories of literature and art circles, it will be a fine thing for literary and art circles, no matter what the conclusions. Therefore, I will frankly air my views, with the hope of consulting Comrade Chen Yong and all theoretical workers in literature and art. However, Comrade Chen Yong has touched upon a wide range of topics. It is impossible to discuss all the issues in a short article. Therefore, I should like to deal only with my first impressions on Chen's article.

Chen's article touches in general terms upon the basic tenets of Marxism, and I think, is correct on the whole. For example, his analysis and criticism of Liu Zaifu's view on human "passivity" and "activity" is entirely correct. True, man has an objective existence and one who acts and practices cannot live by himself independent of others in an isolated condition. Man's "passivity" and "activity" are unified in his social practice. Discussing the unification of man's "passivity" and "activity" in their practice of creating history in their book "German Ideologies," Marx and Engels pointed out: "Every historical phase will invariably find the totality of certain material results, a certain amount of productive forces, the relations between men and nature, and human relations formed in history, as well as the large volume of productive forces, capital, and environment handed down from one generation to the next. This is despite the fact that on the one hand these productive forces, capital, and environment will be changed by

the new generation; on the other, they will determine the living conditions of the new generation and enable it to acquire certain development and its own nature. Therefore, we can see that a concept has demonstrated that men are creating their environment, and in turn, the environment is creating men."

"On the one hand, these productive forces, capital, and environment will be changed by the new generation; men are creating their environment"--this displays human historical activity.

"On the other hand, they also stipulate the living conditions of the new generation; the environment is creating men"--this displays human historical passivity.

This is also what Marx referred to in "The Poverty of Philosophy," that men in every historical phase are the actors in their own histories as well as the playwrights. It is impossible for man to dispel all restrictions of historical passivity and "actively and unconditionally act according to his own will, ability, and creativity." In addition, some of Chen's criticism of the extreme poverty of certain literary critics in their knowledge of Marxism is also to the point.

Nevertheless, regarding the whole structure of Chen's article as well as its theme, I think Comrade Chen Yong lacks the necessary patience and enthusiasm for the new atmosphere emerging in current studies in literary theory and in literature and art science. He is not proceeding from modern ideology and the ideology of reform and progress in viewing matters, but looks at realities from a conventional and conservative angle, with the material he quotes mostly outmoded and nothing fresh in his viewpoints.

The article has revealed many problems worthy of discussion, such as the problem of "external law" and "internal law," and the question of how to deal with the study on the aesthetic characteristics of art and literature. Regarding the argument that the relationship between art and literature and the economic base as well as other ideologies is the most basic internal law governing art and literature, is such a formulation appropriate? Is the relationship between art and literature as one aspect and politics and economics as another aspect the relationship between form and essence? How should we evaluate the right and wrong, successes and failures of revolutionary literature since the 1930's? What actually is the relationship between the development of the social productive forces and that of art and literature? Are literature and politics, literature and the realities of life, the world outlook and artistic approaches of the writer extremely important principles of Marxist aesthetics? Finally, a general question is: Is reform necessary in our literature and art science? How should the reform be conducted? What is the relationship between the reform in literature and art science and the adherence to Marxism?

We might as well make a rough analysis of some of the important theoretical questions, in the hope of rousing further exploration and deep discussions.

Comrade Chen Yong says: "A certain culture is the reflection of the politics and economics of a certain society, and in turn exerts great effects on this politics and economics. This is the common and universal nature of all cultural departments of the ideology, so literature and art are no exception."

Speaking frankly, I do not agree with this formula.

To say that culture is the reflection of politics and economics is too narrow a concept. Culture includes the superstructure as well as the economic base, social ideology as well as social existence, and human spiritual creation as well as material creation. It is the embodiment of human civilization. Man himself is the product of a certain culture as well as one who bears, spreads, enjoys, and creates a certain culture. As a nation, the creation, ingestion, and conveyance of oral and written language, the accumulation of history and knowledge, the passing down from one generation to another of productive forces, science and technology, and all kinds of ideologies and ideological data, conventional concepts, traditional ways of thought, common psychological structure, and continuing customs and habits--all constitute the network of the national culture. Every man has been shrouded in this cultural network from the day of his birth, living and multiplying, inheriting and creating. How can "the reflection of politics and economics" generalize all this? Let us use an example: The ideological system, theories, and doctrines of socialism can be counted as culture, but can we say that its birth and development are all the reflection of the political movement and economic movement of the working class? No! Lenin said: "The workers themselves can by no means create an independent ideological system in the course of their movement." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 256) Lenin made a further explanation on this point in his notes: "Of course, it does not mean that the workers will not participate in the work of this creation (referring to creating the socialist ideological system--the author). However, they do not participate in this work as workers, but as socialist theorists, in the category of such people as Proudhon and Weitling. In other words, only when they can more or less master the knowledge of the times they are in and are pushing the times forward will it be possible to participate in the work of this creation." This means that as a particular cultural form, the socialist ideological system, like other new doctrines, must proceed from existing ideological materials, but not economics or the direct reflection of politics in particular.

At the same time, literature should not merely follow the general principle of the theory of cognition. The nature of literature is creation and expression. Marx said: "The premise of Greek art was mythology," but "any mythology is the conquer and domination of the forces of nature by means of imagination." Imagination is giving great play to human subjective initiative, which is precisely creation. Hence, imagination cannot be the direct reflection of politics and economics.

Now let us take a look at the theory of realism. Comrade Chen Yong is for realism. Adhering to realism is an academic advocacy and it is above reproach whether one agrees to it or not, only Comrade Chen Yong's realism

remains in the stage of Cao Xueqin, Balzac, and Tolstoy, and he has turned a blind eye to the development and evolution of the literature and theory of realism over the century since Marx and Engels passed away. Even the Soviet literary theory circles have made very great progress in the exploration of realism in the recent 2 and 3 decades. The doctrines of "boundless realism," "the open system of realism," the "theory on aesthetic value," "the theory on passion," and the writer's "world outlook on concrete perception"--is not all this worthy of our attention? As to Comrade Chen Yong's statement that "the creation of prototypes has more and more become a key issue in literature," it does not conform to realities, the realities of world literature, nor the present conditions of Chinese literature.

When criticizing Comrade Liu Zaifu's concepts on literature and art, Comrade Chen Yong simultaneously criticized some "ideological trends" in the study of literature and art science at present.

According to Comrade Chen Yong, such trends are demonstrated in the following phenomenon: In the study of literature and art science at present, "pretexts of all descriptions on the peculiarities of literature and art are used to repel the concept that literature and art belongs to a certain social ideology. Marxist theory on ideology--the theory on ideology of historical materialism and the theory of cognition of dialectical materialism--is regarded as outmoded 'traditional concept' and 'traditional methods.' 'New concepts' and 'new methods' should replace Marxist (or at least include Marxist) 'traditional concepts' and 'traditional methods.'"

Therefore, "this is not a minor problem, but just an individual theoretical problem, but a problem that has a direct bearing on how to deal with the basic tenets of Marxism."

This is a clear-cut opening judgment in the initial part of Chen's article. Toward the end of the article, Chen again made a conclusive remark and emphasized: "At present, there are actually a minority of people who disregard or even demote Marxist tenets under the pretext of 'developing' Marxism or 'renovating literary concepts.'"

This involves not only the criticism of the literature and art concepts of Comrade Liu Zaifu as an individual, but how to correctly evaluate the basic conditions, tendencies, and posture of exploration in literature and art science at present.

In another article of mine, I talked about the general development of literary theories over the past decade. The general idea is that during the first 3 years after the fall of the "gang of four," the theories of literature circles did the work of "street sweepers" for a while, repudiating ultraleftism, bringing order out of chaos, getting rid of rubbish, and sweeping clean the base. However, regarding the course of theoretical development, it has not been pushed forward, has returned to the general standards of the first "17 years" since the founding of the PRC, maintaining the pattern of literary critique with social historical criticism as the sole theoretical norm. However, history has marched on amid people's noise and

excitement, and time has slipped away quietly with people's silence. This has caused literary theory perplexity and meditation. It is conscious of the fact that it is no longer suited to the needs of the times, and there have been reproaches around. It was precisely amidst such reproaches that it went through sleepless nights, examining its conscience and going through painful historical introversion. At the same time, there has been the implementation of the policy of opening up to the world and winds blowing in from all parts of the world, along with information of all kinds on literary critiques of various descriptions and the import of samples of various theoretical norms. Hence, an unprecedented new situation in the study of literary theory has emerged. In the eyes of some people, a brand-new world with flowers of all sorts blooming in a riot of color has emerged in China's literature and art science. But in the eyes of others, the presence of such a phenomenon is nothing but unbearable confusion, a carnival for devils. In fact, to my mind, there is sense as well as one-sidedness in the views of either party, and an overall view should be that it is as thriving as it is confused. Looking at it from the general trend of development, this is the inevitable road for the progress of theory and research in literature and art science in China, as well as an entirely normal and healthy phenomenon.

This is precisely my view on the basic conditions, trends, and posture in our study of the literature and art science at present, which I maintain to this day.

Differences in views and evaluations on the situation of literature and art science in the course of reform are normal, and no cause for a fuss. But surprisingly, Comrade Chen Yong has drawn from them a political conclusion: "It has a bearing on the fate of Marxism in China as well as the fate of China's literature and art." I will never believe that very bookish people like Liu Zaifu and those who hold the same view as him could possibly make use of the realm of research in literature and art science to fight against Marxism in a big way. Even if there really are points that do not conform to the basic spirit of Marxism in their articles (such as the issue of human "passivity" and "activity" as mentioned above), that is only a theoretical exploration within a specific branch of science (literature and art science), and by no means will they produce such a tremendous and universal theoretical impact as a "spiritual atom bomb" which would blast out "the fate of China's literature and art" and "the fate of Marxism in China."

Such language is not new, and it has been used in all the political campaigns of theoretical and ideological repudiation as well as criticism of literature and art. Such language could be the product of the inertia of a certain type of thought as well as the theory on ideology determining the situation.

For decades, we have thought that compared with the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are an instable factor. Of all intellectuals, those in the cultural circles in particular are the chief factor for instability, and of all intellectuals in the cultural circles, those in literary and art circles are the factor for extreme instability. Under the domination of such thinking, a definite prejudice is shaped, manifesting itself in a

peculiar sensitiveness and tension on the issue of literature and art, which believes that a few articles, a play, and two or three novels are powerful enough to bring about the fall of the party and the nation, and literature must be most acute and fiercest battlefield for ideological and even political struggles. Such a consciousness has not only spread to the literary circles, but also to the cultural circles and the deep structure of the entire society. Literature and art are to be blamed whenever some problems crop up in society or some unhealthy tendencies emerge. A few years ago, the social order was not so good, which was chiefly the evil result left over by the "Cultural Revolution," but some people put the blame on literature and art. Some problems have emerged in the course of reform which were inevitable mistakes in the course of progress. Those problems could be solved by the departments concerned. But likewise, some people put the blame on literature and art. Lenin expressed his admiration for Diderot's view: Do not regard literature and art as realities. The social effects of literature are chiefly aesthetic ones. It exerts an imperceptible influence on people's emotions and purifies their emotional quality. It affects the psychological sentiments of the masses, but is not directly responsible for their behavior. Moreover, looking at the actual conditions over the past few years, what has impeded reform is not literature and art. On the contrary, literature and art as a whole has firmly taken the side of reform since the very first day the Central Committee proposed reform.

Of course, with the Central Committee repeatedly urging the implementation of the policies on intellectuals, their social status has undergone basic changes. However, the theory of ideology determining the situation concerning intellectuals remains rooted in people's minds (including the intellectuals themselves), and will not easily be changed overnight. I think the fact that Comrade Chen Yong has elevated a question of sheer theoretical exploration to one that has a bearing on the fate of Marxism in China is precisely a manifestation of such a theory of ideology determining the situation.

Comrade Chen Yong believes that Marxism should be developed and Marxist literature and art science needs to be developed, but the question is how? Will it do to shut the door and refrain from any contacts with the outside world? Can we study literature and art science as a closed and self-sufficient entity in isolation? It has been 103 years since Marx passed away, 93 years since Engels left us, and 62 years since Lenin departed. In the past century, the recent 50 years or so in particular, the world has undergone tremendous changes and the level of the world's productive forces have increased manifold. Profound leaps have taken place in science, technology, and culture. Can a Marxist close his eyes to all this and pay only lip service to "development"? Should he adopt an ostrich policy on culture, refraining from utilizing the accomplishments of bourgeois modern culture? We talked about the "double hundred" policy in the past, but under the best conditions, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" has been carried out only in matters of "style," "approaches," and "forms." As to literary theory, the existence of pluralism in literary concepts was absolutely forbidden. But if only a sole theoretical school is allowed existence and one literary concept is

announced as the absolute truth, can there be any "contention" to speak of? Can there be any development to speak of?

Therefore, the import of various theoretical patterns in literary criticism is inevitable, which includes in itself exploration, discussion, comparing of notes, dialogue, competition, and, of course, the sense of criticism and sublation. But literary criticism should not be predominated by one thing; that is, there is no precondition for one party to be predetermined as the personification of truth and another to be the bearer of mistakes. The two parties are equal, and they are exploring and contending with the same objective of seeking the truth of literature and art science. Therefore, I believe that attention should be attached to "leniency" in human relations. However, neither "leniency" nor favors are necessary in normal contention in literature and art science, but the creation of a harmonious, cooperative, and relaxed cultural atmosphere is absolutely necessary. This is directed at the inharmonious, noncooperative, and tense atmosphere still dominating people's minds like a nightmare, forming the strange mental state of ideology determining the situation.

The concepts of literature and art came into existence historically, thus they are forever in evolution. Marxist literature and art science is a specific branch of science. It does not include all philosophical thought, and it is not superior to other branches of science. Neither will it be possible to explain all phenomena in literature and art by applying its concepts and logic. Regarding the world as a whole, it is but one of many schools of literature and art science. Even if it is the most scientific school, it is the offspring of history and inevitably has the limitation of its times. Some of its laws and categories were correct in the past and are still suitable today; some were correct under the historical conditions of the times, but need be revised, supplemented, or renewed at present; others were wrong, one-sided, and specious even when they were first proposed, but have been accepted and passed down for some historical reasons; and still others have always been disputed and have never come to a unified and steady conclusion, for example, the nature of beauty and artistic characteristics.

Marxism has opened up infinite possibilities leading to truth; however, it is not an omnipotent formula exhausting all truth. If someone should regard Marxism as a panacea, he would not be advocating science but propagating superstition. Marxism is science; therefore, it cannot be omnipotent. If Marxism is not omnipotent, on what grounds should we require Marxism to be omnipotent in the realm of literature and art science?

In conclusion, I hope that comrades holding different views and understandings can proceed from a common objective, highly prize the advantageous conditions the Central Committee has created for us to air our view freely, turn concealed or half-concealed differences into open discussions and contention, and learn from others' strong points to offset one's weakness, in order to accomplish the coexistence and prosperity of all schools. This will be favorable to the growth of different schools and genres as well as the development of Marxist literature and art science. Tainer, the author

of "The Philosophy of Art," put it well: "Science shows equal sympathy for all artistic forms and schools and holds no prejudice against diametrically opposed forms and schools, regarding them as different expressions of the human spirit and believing that the more forms and schools there are, and the more they oppose each other, the greater diversity and originality of human spiritual features can be expressed." (Tainer: "The Philosophy of Art," Chapter 1, Section 1)

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CSO: 4004/62

FULLY UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF A STRENGTHENED LEGAL SYSTEM IN PROMOTING AND GUARANTEEING REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 41-44

[Article by Zhang Yongmin [1728 3057 3046]]

[Text] Strengthening the Legal System Is a Pressing Need in the Economic System Reform

The in-depth development of our economic system reform has caused profound changes in social relations. Many new economic relations have appeared, leading to the establishment of many new norms governing economic activities. The development of the situation has made it increasingly essential to institutionalize a growing number of economic relations and norms governing economic activities by enacting laws, which will serve as an important means for regulating economic relations and activities.

First, changes in macroeconomic management of the national economy call for the corresponding strengthening of the legal system. Our economic system reform makes it necessary for the state to gradually change over from relying mainly on direct control to relying mainly on indirect control in enterprise management; the state should control and regulate the functioning of the economy by relying mainly on various economic means and legal means, with some necessary administrative means as a subsidiary measure. Our reform has enabled the enterprises and other economic organizations to acquire greater decisionmaking power in production and operation, but this does not imply a weakening of the state's management of the macroeconomy. In the arena of economic management by the state, a mechanism must be gradually established whereby planning and the market, as well as macroeconomic control and microeconomic invigoration, are organically integrated. To control the invigorated enterprises and render various enterprises' economic activities compatible with the overall requirement for national economic development, the state must use economic, administrative, and legal means to undertake the necessary management, inspection, guiding, and regulation of the enterprises. In this context, using legal means to manage national economic activities is an objective requirement for the effective exercising of macroeconomic control by the state, and is an important part of our economic system reform. In his "Explanations on the Proposal for Formulating the Seventh 5-Year Plan," Premier Zhao Ziyang said: "The task facing us is

to further perfect microeconomic activities and the microeconomic mechanism in conjunction with strengthening indirect macroeconomic control, that is, to develop the regulatory role of various economic levers and perfect economic supervision and the enactment of economic legislation." With the decontrolling of microeconomic activities, macroeconomic control must correspondingly keep pace with the development. An important means of macroeconomic control and regulation is to enact and enforce economic laws, and to strengthen economic supervision and management by making use of the state's economic management and supervision departments.

Second, those microeconomic activities which strengthen the enterprises' vitality must be supervised and safeguarded by law. Further strengthening the vitality of the enterprises, particularly large- and medium-sized enterprises under ownership by the whole people, is the central link to our economic system reform. In order to strengthen the enterprises' vitality, we must first end the old practice of treating them as appendages of administrative organs, and turn them into true, relatively independent economic entities which are socialist producers of and dealers in commodities, which carry out independent operations, which assume sole responsibility for profits and losses, which have the ability to transform and develop themselves, and which are legal persons with definite rights and obligations. This gives rise to a series of new questions. For example, when the right of ownership of the enterprises is separated from the power over operation of the enterprises, what should be the new relations between the state and the enterprises? To what extent should the enterprises' decisionmaking power be increased? Because our enterprises are state-owned and must be guided by state planning, they cannot resemble capitalist enterprises and exist in a complete "state of dissociation." Because it is stressed that our enterprises must operate on their own, assume sole responsibility for profits and losses, and bear risks by themselves, they are no longer appendages of government organs as prescribed by the former management system. According to the resolution of the CPC Central Committee on economic system reform, under the precondition that they subordinate themselves to state planning and management, the enterprises are empowered to flexibly use many different methods of operation, to plan their own production, supplying, and marketing activities, to own and use their own retained funds, to appoint, dismiss, employ, and select their own staff members according to relevant provisions, to determine methods of employment and forms of wages and awards, and to decide on the prices of their own products within the limits prescribed by the state. If these rights of the enterprises are to be genuinely realized, they must be clearly stipulated in legal form.

With the opening of our economy to the outside world and the invigoration of our economy, competition between enterprises must be launched under the guidance of socialist principles. In competition, some enterprises may strive for their own gains by illegal means, for example, using false trademarks, doing shoddy work and using inferior materials, speculation and profiteering, and so on. Under this new situation, strengthening the building of the legal system and perfecting the enactment of economic legislation is an effective way for the state to manage and supervise the enterprises and to safeguard the sound development of our reform.

Now that the enterprises are operated independently, many new relations have appeared in economic life; for example, ending the segregation between departments and between localities, the enterprises have organized economic combines whose operation extends across different localities, sectors, systems of ownership, or relations of subordination. Thus the old system has ended. Reforms of the planning, fiscal, taxation, statistical, industrial, and commercial systems must be opportunely carried out to make those systems compatible with lateral economic association, and corresponding provisions must be enacted to legalize, and promote the development of, lateral economic association. Inter-enterprise economic association is very complicated. It may be close or loose; it may involve cooperation in the area of funds, goods and materials, technology, equipment, or labor force. Under different forms of association, there are different relations of rights and obligations between the parties undertaking association. If an enterprise is operated poorly, it may have to assume responsibility for its own bankruptcy; it will no longer be able to distribute wages and bonuses and let people eat out of the same big pot, without caring about its profits or losses. These new things must be gradually institutionalized in legal form.

Finally, legislation is also necessary for developing the socialist market in commodities. The development of this market and the gradual perfecting of the market system calls for removing the barriers between localities and between departments, vigorously developing the flow of commodities between localities and between departments, expanding and perfecting markets in consumer goods and the means of production, opening up and founding a capital market and a technology market, and establishing a rational pricing system. These are key matters related to the creation of an external setting favorable to the enterprises, and are external conditions which complement the enterprises' decisionmaking power. Without these conditions, the enterprises cannot be invigorated even though they may enjoy decisionmaking power. If inter-enterprise competition on the market is to be permitted so that the good ones can be distinguished from the poor ones, with the former winning and the latter being eliminated, there must be laws that govern readjustment and management. The socialist market in commodities can more satisfactorily develop if corresponding complementary laws are enacted, like laws concerning commodity prices, market management, protection of consumer rights, proper competition, responsibility for products sold, bankruptcy of enterprises, and so on.

Strengthening the Legal System Is an Effective Means of Promoting and Safeguarding Reform

The reform of our economic system requires the state to manage the economy by economic means, legal means, and the necessary administrative means. Of these, legal means perform a unique function or role in promoting and safeguarding reform, and cannot be replaced by other means.

First, laws have the advantage of stability. They are drawn up through pooling the wisdom of the masses on the basis of adequate investigation and study. In the past our work was often guided by our leaders' spirit, which might show inclination toward one orientation one day but the opposite

orientation the next. Very often, some kind of intrinsically good "spirit" could be freely interpreted by some people according to their own likes and dislikes or their own different ideas. In contrast, laws have the advantage of stability. They cannot be changed at will. Once they are promulgated for enforcement, all members of society must obey them. Therefore, laws can safeguard the stable and well ordered development of our economic system reform.

Second, laws have the advantage of standardization. Compared with documents and policies, legal concepts have more clearly defined intension and extension. Prescribing clearly defined qualitative and quantitative limits, and phrased in concise wording, legal concepts give a specific, precise, and standardized stipulation of certain things pertaining to economic activities, like what is right or wrong, what is legal or illegal, rights and obligations, and so on. For example, buying long and selling short, phony companies, speculation, and so on, should be expressed as clear-cut concepts with a legal meaning, and qualified by scientifically defined boundaries between what is legal and what is not. How can today's view on something be diametrically opposite to yesterday's view? This is because there are no laws to serve as a basis for judging what is right or wrong. The method for ending vacillations to the left and right is to institutionalize in legal form what is ascertained as good in reform. Everything in the world has qualitative and quantitative limits. Things will develop in an adverse direction when these limits are surpassed. Legislation is essential to clearly defining these limits in human behavior. Without it, it is difficult to avoid vacillations or the "whipping up of storms."

Finally, laws have binding power. The state confers legal power on various categories of economic activities, behavior, and relations which are compatible with objective economic laws and the orientation of development of our economic system reform. The state also ensures the thorough enforcement of the relevant laws by means of its coercive power. The laws are binding on all organizations and individuals and must be strictly obeyed. Anyone who violates the laws will be investigated and punished according to law. This is the most important reason why laws can protect the socialist economic order and promote and safeguard our economic system reform.

Continue To Do Legislative and Law Enforcement Work Well in the Light of the Need for Reform

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, after reviewing our experience in socialist construction over more than 30 years in the past, particularly the bitter experience of the "Great Cultural Revolution," our party has set forth the important mission of developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system. Over the past several years, the Standing Committee of the NPC and the State Council have enacted several hundred laws, rules, and regulations, and normative documents. Over half of them are economic laws, rules, and regulations. The lack of a legal basis has initially changed. However, the present situation of the building of our legal system is highly incompatible with the arduous mission of our ongoing economic system reform. Therefore, in his "Report on the Seventh

5-Year Plan," Premier Zhao Ziyang said that we must "strive to establish a relatively complete system of economic rules and regulations during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, so that we can gradually build a legal basis for various categories of economic activities." To fulfill this mission and promote and safeguard the smooth progress of reform, we should continue to do legislative and law enforcement work well.

In legislative work, we must proceed from objective, practical needs and possibilities arising in our reform, and continue to vigorously grasp the work of enacting economic laws, rules, and regulations, giving different consideration to matters differing in their degree of importance or urgency. Because reform is a process of gradual change, various categories of problems and contradictions will inevitably arise in reform. Thus, while we urgently need to enact a series of laws, there are many problems which for the time being have not been thoroughly perceived, and relevant legislation can be enacted only after considerable experience has been accumulated through exploration and experimentation. In the light of this situation, at the Third Session of the Sixth NPC, a resolution was adopted which empowers the State Council to enact provisional regulations and provisions related to our economic system reform or the opening of our economy to the outside world. This is an instance of pioneering experience in the building of our legal system, and represents the overall guiding ideology concerning economic legislation in the process of reform and opening our economy to the outside world. Generally speaking, laws are relatively stable; they should not be lightly amended once they are enacted. Provisional regulations and provisions are more flexible. In tackling certain problems arising in the economic system reform, certain behavioral norms which must be observed can be opportunely stipulated in the form of provisional regulations or provisions which can be amended or augmented after a certain period of practice and which can thus be continually perfected and finally upgraded into laws. This method is relatively compatible with our actual current situation.

Straightening out and reorganizing the existing laws also constitute an important legislative job. The laws, rules, and regulations enacted by the state must develop and change with the development of the political and economic situation. When society advances and the situation changes, the effectiveness of the laws, rules, and regulations enacted in the past will also correspondingly change. Some of them will continue to be effective; some will need to be amended or augmented; and some will become outdated and must be formally annulled. Recently, more than a dozen departments under the State Council have done preliminary work in straightening out the rules and regulations enacted since the founding of the PRC. It has been found that 40 to 50 percent of them should be annulled, 20 to 30 percent should be augmented or amended, and only 30 percent do not conflict with the existing policies and laws and can continue to be effective. The mighty torrent of reform, which has broken through the old economic system that fettered social productive forces, also challenges those laws, rules, and regulations which should be annulled but have not been formally annulled. In the course of reform, there are many things which are "reasonable but illegal"; this is because some outdated laws, rules, and regulations are fettering the initiative of those who undertake reform.

Over the past few years, in the building of China's legal system, great success has been achieved in legislative work. However, the problem of laxity in law enforcement is still very serious. If laws are not earnestly obeyed and enforced, it is useless to have a larger body of laws, which will merely be empty words on paper. According to Lenin, what can ensure the enforcement of laws? First, law enforcement must be supervised; and second, those who do not enforce laws must be punished.

The methods for solving the problem of laxity in law enforcement are as follows. First, the vast numbers of party members, particularly those who are leading cadres, must be educated. They must, through their exemplary conduct, encourage all people to consciously get to know the laws, obey the laws, work strictly according to the laws, and deepen their appreciation of the legal system. Over many years, we have been accustomed to managing the economy by administrative methods. In the handling of matters, the leading cadres usually have the final say. This has led to an erroneous idea that "power is above the law." The NPC Standing Committee has decided upon a 5-year program for basically popularizing common legal knowledge among the citizens, so that the vast numbers of cadres and the masses will more deeply understand the laws and conscientiously obey them under the current situation of reform, opening our economy to the outside world, and economic invigoration. This is an important guarantee for the healthy development of our economic system reform.

Second, legislative work must have definite goals and produce clear-cut limits governing the application of policies. New circumstances and new problems continually appear in the current situation of reform, and offenders can easily take advantage of the lack of unified understanding among people and the absence of clear-cut limits in policies. Therefore, legislative work must have very clearly defined goals, produce very rigorously defined concepts and limits, and use very accurate wording, so that a clear line of distinction can be drawn between right and wrong, between what is legal and illegal, and between what are crimes and what are not.

Third, administrative and law enforcement departments must possess the requisite means of coercion. The majority of the laws, rules, and regulations which were enacted and are enforced in China stipulate enforcement by certain administrative and law enforcement departments which are given a definite amount of power by law. However, these departments lack the necessary means of coercion. The handling of individual offenders is somewhat easier, but it is very difficult to handle cases of violation of laws by state organs, enterprises, institutions, or social groups. With the in-depth development of reform, the state's management of the enterprises will gradually change over from relying mainly on direct control to relying mainly on indirect control; enacting economic rules and regulations and supervising their enforcement will constitute the main function of government agencies in economic management; and those departments responsible for industrial and commercial administration, banking, taxation, auditing, statistical work, inspection of commerce, and so on, will be charged with an important mission in supervising the enforcement of laws, rules, and regulations. The judicial organs should promptly punish criminals who interfere with or undermine our reform, and should uphold the dignity of the law, adhering to taking facts as the basis and laws as the standard.

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WHY SHOULD WE ACTIVELY EXPAND THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 pp 44-45

[Article by Wu Weimin [0124 5588 3046]]

[Text] The proposal of the CPC Central Committee on the Seventh 5-Year Plan pointed out that we must actively expand the export of technology in order to earn more foreign exchange. This is an important principle and policy.

Our nation is a developing country and our science and technology is backward compared to that of the world's advanced nations. However, in the 30-plus years since the founding of the PRC, with the great efforts of the party leaders and the vast number of science and technology personnel, our nation has already created many unique technical achievements which reach or surpass the present advanced world standards. Since 1980, our nation has exported over 30 items of technology, while other new technical products and technical services have been put into the international market. For example, the technology for spraying coal powder into blast furnaces, which was successfully developed in 1964 by the Shoudu Iron and Steel Works, is in a leading position in the world, and several years ago this technology was transferred to England. The Shoudu Iron and Steel Works has also successively transferred overhead combustion blow furnace technology, which it researched and developed, to the United States and Luxembourg. As a further example, our nation's rice hybridization technology was transferred to the United States a few years ago and it has been further spread and used in various other countries. Also, large quantities of germanium sodium bismuthate crystals [she suan bi jing ti 7926 6808 6940 2533 7555] produced by our country were purchased by the West European Joint Nuclear Research Center in early 1985, after comparison and assessment by the U.S. Science Foundation found that their quality surpassed that of U.S. and Japanese products of the same type. Our nation's carrier rockets have already entered world markets and in the future will launch postal service and communications satellites for Sweden and the United States. All of this shows that it is not true that we have no technology to export, and in fact we have much latent potential.

Why do we need to actively expand the export of technology? It is because:

First, the expansion of the export of technology is an objective demand of scientific and technological development. Following the development of

science and technology, as well as of industrial and agricultural production, scientific and technological achievements have gradually become separated from material commodities, and have become independent as a special type of commodity, that is, as intellectual commodities. As the various states and nations of the world each have their own strong points and weak points, and technological and economic development is uneven, there is a need for countries to help supply each other's needs, to learn from each other, and to carry out technical transfer between them. No country can realize modernization if it completely shuts itself off from the world. The increase in the speed of international technological trade and the daily increasing vigor of technological markets is a very good illustration of this. In ancient times, our nation's four great inventions--gunpowder, the compass, printing, and paper-making--spread to Europe and greatly speeded the growth of modern European civilization. In essence, this was a type of international technological transfer. Today, in our nation's four modernizations, at the same time as drawing in foreign technology, we must actively expand the export of technology and strengthen international technological interflow. This accords with the objective pattern of scientific and technological development and is an inevitable trend in our nation's scientific and technological development.

Second, expanding the export of technology can increase foreign exchange income. Technology, as a commodity, is a type of wealth and is also a source of wealth. It can even be used to monopolize the domestic or international market in a particular product. Thus, the export of technology can gain a much higher foreign exchange income than normal commodities. Because of the intensification of technological competition between nations and because the period over which technology becomes outdated is becoming increasingly short, various countries are using all sorts of means to obtain technical intelligence from their competitors. Many products which today are unique will be developed or copied by others tomorrow and they will quickly become outdated and lose their appropriate exchange value. At the same time, the export of technology can spur on the export of complete sets of equipment and more mechanical, electrical, and instrument products, thereby increasing foreign exchange capacity. Thus, grasping beneficial opportunities and actively organizing and expanding the export of technology not only can change our nation's export commodity structure and develop international markets, but more importantly can increase foreign exchange income.

Third, expanding the export of technology will be a benefit in promoting the speedy development of our nation's science and technology. Organizing the export of technology is the means by which to participate in international technological competition. Participating in this competition on the one hand allows us to exchange the advanced technology our nation possesses for technology we do not have but need. On the other hand, training our sights on the international technological market can stimulate the lofty aspirations of the vast masses of scientific and technological workers to catch up with and surpass the international advanced levels, so that our technology can continually improve and be perfected in international competition. Through the export of technology, we can make use of foreign technology to

jointly develop various new technologies, promote our nation's scientific and technological development, and speed the formation of new commodity production capabilities.

Fourth, expanding the export of technology can make quite a great contribution to mankind and raise the international standing of our nation. The technology exported by a nation is an indicator of that nation's economic power and technical power. Thus many nations, in their international intercourse, often vie for opportunities to demonstrate their own technological strengths and level of technology. The gradual growth of our nation's technological exports means that we will gradually step into the ranks of the modern nations. The export of technology is also a contribution to mankind by the Chinese nation. Comrade Mao Zedong, in a 1956 article, "Commemorating Mr Sun Zhongshan," said: "China should make quite a great contribution to mankind. For a long period in the past, the contribution has been too small and this makes us feel ashamed." These words express the wishes and feelings of our nation's people. Today, actively expanding the export of technology will make a contribution to mankind and is also real action for improving the international standing of our nation.

Will expanding the export of technology result in the loss of secrets? This is an unnecessary worry, because the export of technology is the trading of the right to use technology under conditions of strict management and control, which technology can be exported and which cannot be exported must be decided upon and approved by the government. Only when a technological export contract has been approved by the government and the partner has handed over, in accordance with what has been set down, a certain proportion of costs will the technology be transferred to the partner. At the same time, in all technological export contracts, there are clear provisions on secrecy. Also set down are methods for compensating for losses incurred as a result of the divulgence of technological secrets. Thus, as far as technology suitable for export is concerned, its export will not result in the divulgence of technological secrets.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT THE 'SPARK PLAN' IS A GOOD FORM BY WHICH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CAN SERVE THE RURAL ECONOMY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 p 46

[Article by Yang Rupeng [2799 1172 7720]]

[Text] The "Spark Plan" is a scientific and technological development plan approved by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the implementation of which is being organized by the State Science and Technology Commission. Its aim is to take the spark of modern science and technology to the rural areas and to township and town enterprises so that the force of a prairie fire is gradually formed, thereby promoting the vigorous development of the rural economy.

In the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, there are three specific targets of the "Spark Plan": 1) Develop 100 types of complete sets of equipment suited for use in the rural areas and organize their large-scale production and supply to the rural areas; 2) assist in the establishment of 500 technological demonstration-type township and town enterprises and the provision of complete technologies and techniques, management rules, production planning, and quality control methods; and 3) annually provide short-term training in the rural areas for 200,000 intelligent rural youth and grassroots-level cadres, so that each person studies one or two technologies suited to their own areas. Over 5 years, a total of 1 million people will be thus trained. Implementing the "Spark Plan" and transferring science and technology to the rural areas is a good form and a good method by which science and technology can serve the rural economy.

The "Spark Plan" is an effective route by which to improve rural labor productivity. At present our rural areas are still basically in the situation of a natural economy or a seminatural economy and labor productivity is very low. The "old, minority, border, and poor" areas have still not shaken off their poverty. In vigorously developing the rural economy, on the one hand, we must rely on policy, and on the other hand, we must rely on science. Only if at the same time as we implement party policies we draw science and technology into the rural areas will it be possible to change the rural areas from a natural economy to a commodity economy and gradually improve the productivity of rural labor. The "Spark Plan" sets down that precedent projects will first be selected in 14 spheres, including planting, aquatics

breeding, animal raising, agricultural and sideline product processing, as well as the development of construction materials for mountain areas, sandy and muddy areas, and villages. These will be the prominent points from where production technologies for use in factories and new technologies will be widely spread. This will be of benefit in fully developing local resources and in proceeding along a road of diverse operations and comprehensive development. It will promote the development of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, and mountain area economic crops, and will raise the commodity production rate, thereby greatly increasing the labor productivity rate and providing assistance to the peasants in shaking off poverty and becoming rich as quickly as possible.

The "Spark Plan" is an effective means by which to promote the technological progress of township and town enterprises. In the last few years, our nation's township and town enterprises have developed very quickly, but on a national scale, the technological level and the management level of the township and town enterprises are quite low. They also have low labor productivity and poor economic results. The basic reason for this is that township and town enterprises lack advanced technology and skilled personnel. Thus, if we are to develop township and town enterprises, there is a need to transport science and technology to the township and town enterprises so as to train technological backbone forces and skilled management personnel. The "Spark Plan" stipulates the provision of specific guidance and support to township and town enterprises in terms of scientific and technological results, intellectual information, and scientific and technological personnel. By this means it will be possible to actively help township and town enterprises carry out technical transformation, improve economic results, and fully manifest the spirit of having science and technology serve the rural economy.

The "Spark Plan" is a technological development plan which accords with our nation's rural reality, stresses effectiveness, and is realistic and feasible. First, the various targets proposed by the "Spark Plan" were stipulated in accordance with the rural economic situation and the situation in the township and town enterprises after the State Science and Technology Commission comprehensively analyzed domestic scientific and technological strengths, results, and information. It is a plan with down-to-earth contents. Second, in the technological development projects arranged by the "Spark Plan," before implementation, specialists and scientific and technological personnel will be needed to prove their feasibility and there will be major reliance on those technological results achieved within the country which are easily propagated. These will be projects which the villages and township and town enterprises can buy and use and which are convenient to apply and maintain. This accords with the demands and capabilities of current rural economic development and the transformation of the structure of agriculture. Third, in the implementation of the "Spark Plan," there will be no "cutting with one knife." There will first be propagation projects in key points and, after experience is obtained, these will be demonstrated to other units and regions. Gradually this will expand and the force of a prairie fire will be created. Fourth, the "Spark Plan" requires close cooperation from scientific and technical, educational, and economic departments at all levels as well as production units and training and propagation organs. This will guarantee the organized, step-by-step implementation of the "Spark Plan" and the attainment of the anticipated results.

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CONTINUATION OF 'VARIOUS KINDS OF SHIRKING CADRES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 p 47

[Article by Ding Fucun [0002 4395 2625]]

[Text] Over 20 years ago, Comrade Deng Tuo wrote a famous essay, "Various Kinds of Shirking Cadres." After describing various types of behavior of "shirking cadres," he told two stories to show that "shirking cadres" do harm to themselves aside from deceiving people, and both bungle matters and bring calamity to the people. Thus, shirking must be resolutely ended. The essay left a deep impression on its readers.

Many years have passed, but the evil which Deng Tuo pinpointed and asked people to correct still exists. Therefore, it is necessary to write a continuation of "Various Kinds of Shirking Cadres," so that people can think deeply about the problem and vigorously combat it.

There are some among our cadres who, in handling affairs, stick to the policy of "maintaining high prestige by avoiding involvement in matters not concerning oneself." When a matter arises they will kick it away or around or shift the responsibility to people at a different level. In the past they were called "shirking cadres," and they are now called "shirking officials." Under the circumstances of the current unhealthy tendency, "shirking officials" have new methods of shirking.

The first method is: "If the people do not report a matter, government officials will not deal with it." Even if someone knows that some of his subordinates are violating the law of discipline, so long as the masses do not report the matter to the authorities, he will not bother about it and will pretend to be ignorant of it. Naturally he will not bother to conduct secret investigations; even if people come to report something, he will be reluctant to deal with it, thinking that "less trouble is better than more trouble," and "let us not seek trouble."

The second method is: "New officials will not handle old matters." In the reorganization of our administrative organs and leading groups, some new leading cadres are reluctant and too lazy to tackle the problems left over by former leading cadres. Some even declare: "We should not deal with matters handed down after a certain date."

The third method is: "A reorganization of personnel brings all matters to a close." Suppose someone has made mistakes at his post or has not handled some long-pending cases. When the leading group is reorganized and he is transferred to another post, he will absolve himself of all responsibility. He would rather shirk even if he can solve the problems under his charge. He might even say: "I cannot take charge because I have been transferred."

Discussing "shirking officials," I remember a story by Ji Yun of the Qing Dynasty. A government official was led before the King of Hell after his death. The official claimed he had been free from corruption as an official, and wherever he went, he only asked for a glass of water. The King of Hell broke into laughter and said: "The posts of officials are created to promote what is good and eradicate evils. If any official who does not practice corruption is a good one, will not a puppet put in your place in your office excel you, since it would not even ask for a glass of water?" The official hastily defended: "Though I did not achieve anything, neither did I have any faults!" The King of Hell then pointed out many things which he should have done but were not done, and said: "You only cared about protecting yourself. Did you not thus fail in your obligation toward your country and people? Do you not know that not achieving anything is in itself a fault?"

It is true that not achieving anything is a fault and that "shirking officials" are in error. We communists and revolutionary cadres shoulder heavy responsibilities; our obligation covers the whole world and we devote ourselves to our nation. "Serving people is without limits" and "a revolutionary's obligation is without bounds." In our great, earth-shaking undertaking of the four modernizations, we should gladly shoulder heavy responsibilities, wholeheartedly devote our efforts at our posts, and achieve outstanding success in politics and professional work. If we shirk whenever we can or wish to, if we lack the practical spirit of Qiao, the factory director in "Qiao the Factory Director Assumes Office," or the boldness of Li Xiangnan in "New Star," who dared to take drastic actions in reform, then, how can we live up to the great trust that the party and the people place in us?

True, it is important for a cadre to insulate himself from corruption and avoid seeking personal privileges. However, this is merely one of the most basic moral qualities expected of a cadre. If one is contented with possessing this quality alone, if one always "shirks" in the face of the party's cause and the people's great trust, if one remains mediocre and inactive, then the party and the people can only request one to "quit."

Of course, there are some "shirking officials" who succeed in securing repeated promotions through repeated shirking and repeated "kicking" of balls. But this is after all a dishonest practice which cannot work in the long run. Their "method of conducting themselves as government officials" will finally come to naught.

There are always people who are willing to add continuations to famous works or essays. However, the continuations are usually much inferior to the

original works. Because I am weak in talent and learning, it is even more difficult for this continuation to augment the original essay like "adding flowers to the brocade"; it may even spoil the fineness of the original essay like "adding a dog's tail to a marten."

Nevertheless, I admit that my intention is good; I hope that by rereading the good essay "Various Kinds of Shirking Cadres," people can be aware of, and keep a watchful eye on, the "shirking officials" of today. I hope everyone will resent the malpractice of shirking so that it can be eliminated as quickly as possible.

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AS THE HEAVENLY WAY IS ETERNAL, PROGRESS SHOULD BE PERPETUAL--READING THE STORY 'ROMANCE ABOUT RENOWNED PHYSICIAN LIANG YOUZHI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 86 p 48

[Article by Lei Da [7191 6671]; "Romance About Renowned Physician Liang Youzhi" was carried in SHIYUE [OCTOBER], No 2, 1986, and XIAOSHUO XUANKAN [MAGAZINE OF SELECTED STORIES], No 4, 1986]

[Text] This story by Wang Meng hardly arouses in the reader strong emotional surges of grief or delight. As a reader, you feel as if you have walked out of your tiny room and are contemplating the starry summer night sky and boundless universe, lost in the vastness of space and time. Your thoughts will turn from Liang Youzhi to yourself. Reflecting on the entirety of man's changeable and unpredictable life, and impressed by the alternate appearance of the sun and the moon and the order governing everything in the universe, you deeply feel that man's will cannot in the slightest degree resist the progress of history, the changes of society, and the reorganization of human affairs. Truly, things happen and pass as they are, while day and night continue without cessation. You thus feel that all the resentment, boredom, and grievances of the day are soothed and become quite trivial. However, this story in no way teaches one to be content with one's life as predetermined by heaven and destiny, to be passive, apathetic, inactive, and devoid of any desires or aspirations. Man is not a slave at the disposal of random chances. Thus, it makes you realize that only by always knowing, renewing, and mastering yourself can you merge the "individual self" into the heavenly way without losing your own identity, "brave the waves" in the tide of history without drowning, and achieve a more solid existence. This is what I felt after reading the story.

This story is a "romance" because the destiny of Liang Youzhi, the leading character, seems to comprise a series of "surprises." How should we view his rise and fall, glory and disgrace, adversities and achievement of prominence in halcyon days? The work does not assign him a mission to denounce or review anything, but the joys and sorrows in his destiny will often be reminiscent of human life. He joined the revolutionary ranks at an early time. He was pure of heart, intelligent, and capable. However, he was too curious, too sensitive, and "too clever," so that by the 1950's, he gradually acquired the taint of an outcast who was "always not progressive." Why he was regarded as "not progressive" could not be easily

explained in terms of a single cause or effect. Was it because he "was a quick worker," "was too fond of reading," "heard foreign music," and "used many 'literary expressions' in his conversations," so that it was thought that he "liked to show off"? This was plausible. Anyway, it was probably correct that people's "impression" of him was poorer than that of his elder brother Liang Youde, who always stuttered and appeared to people as being "stoic." But, what was "impression"? This seemed to land him in a "void." Being "stoic," his brother was repeatedly promoted to ever higher positions, whereas being "clever," Liang Youzhi remained "backward." Later, "feeling the pain of a life that was 'dragging on,'" he simply chose to be reticent and to "give up by hiding himself." He "never thought" that his switch to the study of medicine halfway through his life would eventually lead to a change in his destiny. With great fear of failure he helped the peasant who belonged to the poor and lower-middle class to stand up "with haste, half-kneeling, and bowing nearly to the ground," and promised to give him medical treatment. How surprised he was when he successfully cured the patient of his dumbness by acupuncture, thanks to his "wild vigor," and heard many people shouting slogans! When the new period came, he "unexpectedly became the head of the school of Chinese medicine overnight." By an "unexpected" chance he nearly became a deputy provincial governor. His incompetent brother, "a person who always tried not to offend anybody," had to "quit his post" unexpectedly. Does the author really believe that destiny is mysterious, unpredictable, and full of "unexpected" events? Certainly not. The author precisely wants to say that those were inevitable events catalyzed by highly accidental factors. What happened to him could perhaps be related to his genetic code, but was ultimately due to the social atmosphere and the historical trend. The comparative changes in the destiny of Liang Youzhi and Liang Youde reflected enormous changes in social mentality and value judgment. The fact that Liang Youzhi's abilities were not used for many years essentially reflected the enormous difference between what kind of person he, driven by his own character, hoped to be, and what society wanted him to be. On the other hand, his change in luck under favorable circumstances demonstrates the great extent to which people's potentials can be tapped in the current period.

However, the intention of the story is not confined to this point. Viewing this story as one concerning the discovery of a "highly gifted individual" in the current period is a great departure from the author's intention. The change in Liang Youzhi's status did not imply that he would henceforth be freed from the difficulties of life. On the contrary, his troubles increased. He was landed in another "void" which stealthily generated his decline. He disliked philistinism, but could not avoid being philistine himself; he opposed lack of optimism, but often unavoidably became dispirited himself; as often as he felt a sense of mental adequacy, he felt a lack of spiritual ballast. The sharp decrease in "incoming correspondence, documents, telephone calls, and visitors" for a time made him despondent. He could not suppress his anger when he knew he "had not been informed" about some affairs of his institute. He was elated when he read the "commentary" in print compiled by Liu. These showed that he could not free himself from worldly worries and consideration. Does not his relationship with Liu tax one's brain to explain? Liu was undoubtedly a hypocrite obsessed with greed.

At first Liang Youzhi treated him as a reliable agent. Later he yielded to his greed. Finally he saw through his tricks. However, when he drank a toast in the end he still harbored consideration for that mean fellow. This showed that Liang Youzhi realized after all that fleas invariably coexist with dragons, and that it is impossible to destroy all fleas before achieving historical progress. This time Liang would no longer "remain reticent." His life did not stagnate or wither, but began to overflow with new vigor. This was a benefit of his study of medicine, of his analysis of life and society, and more importantly, of the habit of "reflection" peculiar to our nation. At the end of the story, he displayed confidence in heartily chatting in a carefree manner with three postgraduate students who were ridiculed as "obsessed by illusions," and peace of mind in realizing that "they would not listen to everything we say anyway." This shows that he really possessed wisdom that can be described as "enjoying freedom of the mind without breaking rules."

This is surely a work filled with wisdom, insight, humor, rationality, and inherent power of encouraging progress. It shows a picture of this bustling and hustling world, depicting human life in condensed form. Closing the book and listening carefully to its message, we can readily feel the beating of a heart that is never at peace.

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CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND AND EVALUATE WESTERN LITERATURE OF THE MODERNIST SCHOOL--A BOOK REVIEW OF 'BRIEF NOTES ON WESTERN LITERATURE OF THE MODERNIST SCHOOL'

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[Book review by Wu Cheng [0702 1004]]

[Text] What exactly is the modernist school? What basic characteristics does it have? What major streams does it have and which are the representative authors and works? What attitude should we take toward it? In regard to these questions, "Brief Notes on Western Literature of the Modernist School" written by Comrade Chen Hui [7115 1979] (published by Huashan Literature and Art Publishing House and hereafter referred to as "Brief Notes") provides satisfying answers.

The modernist school is a general term for various nontraditional schools of literature which have appeared in Western nations from the mid-19th century until today. In different periods and under different states, they have had different names and different forms of expression. Although it is only a part of modern Western literature, its social influence has been great and it has attracted much attention.

In our nation, following the "4 May" new culture movement, literature and art circles were introduced to modernist literature. Starting from the latter part of the 1950's, due to the influence of "leftist" ideology, introductions to modernist literature were few and the methods simple. There was no concrete analysis and at times there was even total repudiation. Since our nation implemented the policy of opening to the outside world, at the same time as drawing in science and technology, various types of foreign trends of thought, including the ideas of modernist literature, have arrived in a continuous stream. The drawing in of all sorts of ideologies has positive significance in breaking down the ossified situation of complacency and conservatism which has been formed by closing the nation to international intercourse. Under the pounding of these ideologies, many people have still been able to maintain a sober mind, take a firm stand, clearly differentiate between right and wrong, and look at them with a scientific attitude. However, there are some people, especially young people, who, because they lack Marxist theoretical guidance and lack the ability to think independently, have been confused and disoriented by the pounding of these ideologies which

are arriving with tremendous force. There are some who, even without having a clear idea of what modernist literature is, blindly worship it. They take some outdated trash which in the West was cold-shouldered or cast aside long ago and play it up as the newest discovery. This practice has a negative effect on the development of socialist literature and on the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

In facing this undesirable tendency, Comrade Chen Hui has summed up his teaching experience and scientific research, collected and researched a large quantity of first-hand materials, and used a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and methods to carry out deep analysis and provide a systematic introduction to literature of the modernist school. "Brief Notes" consists of a total of 12 chapters. The first two chapters introduce the development, basic characteristics, social origins, class basis, literary views, and theoretical basis of modernist literature. The 3d to 12th chapters separately introduce the 10 most important schools of Western modernism--symbolism, expressionism, futurism, stream of consciousness novels, surrealism, existentialism, drama of the absurdist school, the "new novel" school, "the fallen generation," and "black humor." It analyzes the basic characteristics of the various streams as well as their strong points and weak points, their contributions and restrictions. It also specifically analyzes and provides a concise introduction to representative authors and works of the various schools.

An obvious characteristic of "Brief Notes" is that its viewpoints are unequivocal, it has a clear-cut stand, the key points are prominent, and it grasps the essence of questions. For example, when discussing the social origins of the modernist school, "Brief Notes" points out that the authors had completely lost hope with capitalism, but the restrictions of their class and world view prevented them from seeing the new forces produced in society and mankind's bright future. Thus they saw the decline of capitalism as the end of all mankind. They had no hope and felt despair for the future of society and even for the continued existence of mankind. Of course, we cannot unanalytically completely negate all Western literature of the modernist school. The works of many writers of the modernist school have a certain depth in their exposure of capitalism and their artistic methods can be studied and used as reference. "Brief Notes" is quite pertinent and persuasive in its assessment of these works.

"Brief Notes" has another characteristic; that is, its language is lucid and it explains the complex in simple terms. For a long period in the past, when the works and theory of the modernist school were being discussed, many people felt a sense of mystery. The reason is that many writers and works of the modernist school truly are obscure and difficult to understand. Many introductory articles and analytical articles also lacked a comprehensibility and readability. Thus, readers in general have been terrified of them and kept them at a respectful distance. "Brief Notes" is not like this. On the basis of the author's independent research, it truly and thoroughly goes to the essence and grasps the crucial points. In his writing, the author seeks to use understandable and lively language to express quite deep and complex ideas. This removes the dense fog spread by Western literature of the modernist school and clarifies understandings about many things which appear

right but which are actually wrong. Thus, the author has provided an introductory book worthy of being read by the vast numbers of readers and especially by young people. Because it has a certain value in terms of materials contained therein and a certain academic value, it also has reference value for specialized academic workers and education workers.

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